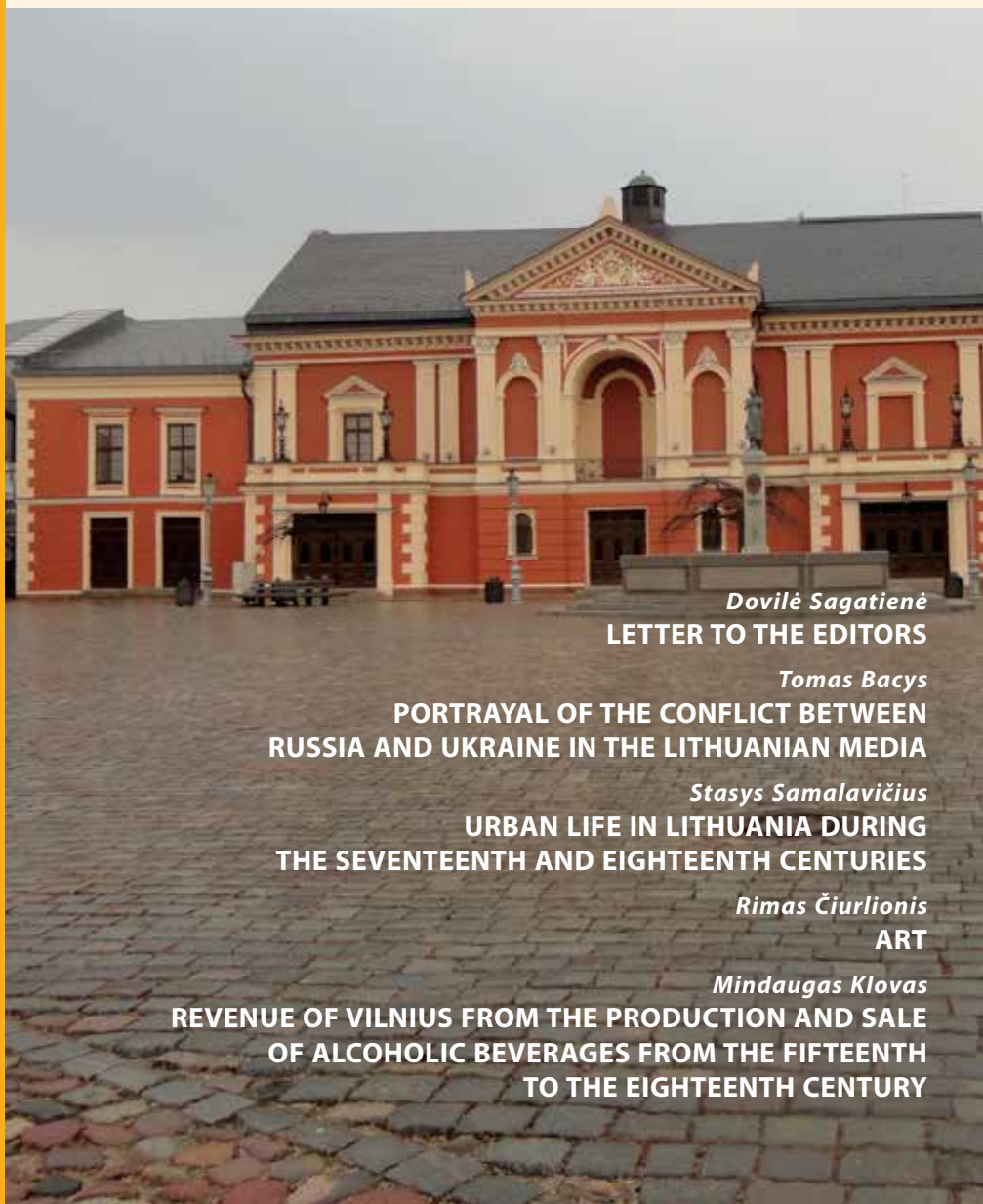


# LITUANUS

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# LITUANUS

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THE LITHUANIAN QUARTERLY JOURNAL OF ARTS AND SCIENCES

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# Letter to the Editors

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DOVILĖ SAGATIENĖ

## **The European Court of Human Rights on Soviet Genocide in Lithuania: The 2019 case *Drėlingas v. Lithuania***

Since 1990 Lithuania has been the leader among the Baltic states in terms of claiming that what happened in Lithuania during the Soviet occupation (1940–1941 and 1944–1990) is genocide. The main reason for the perception of Soviet crimes in Lithuania as genocide is that the term “genocide” bears the power to precisely evaluate the huge losses of the Lithuanian nation and to address, at least, symbolic justice for the victims. In addition, the 1948 Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide (Genocide Convention) is the foremost legal background for the evaluation of Soviet repressions, mainly because of its story telling function, which was the major purpose of the local trials undertaken by the Baltic states after 1990.

The persistence of Lithuania was recently rewarded. In March of 2019, the European Court of Human Rights (ECHR) in Strasbourg (France) promulgated a decision in the case of *Drėlingas v. Lithuania* which may have a role in ongoing efforts to combat attempts to whitewash history today. The European Court of Human Rights was established in 1959, as an extension of the European Convention on Human Rights (European Convention, 1950) in order to make real the postwar aim to prevent human rights violations in the future. The court serves as the

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Dr. DOVILĖ SAGATIENĖ, Fulbright Visiting Scholar at Columbia University, New York (September 2019–January 2020). Associate Professor at European Humanities University, Vilnius, Lithuania, Vice-Dean for Research at Law School of Mykolas Romeris University, Vilnius, Lithuania.

linchpin for the protection of human rights in the 47 members of the Council of Europe, encompassing more than 800 million inhabitants, with a jurisdiction that stretches from Reykjavik in the North Atlantic to Vladivostok on the Pacific coast of the Russian Federation, which joined the Convention twenty years ago, on May 5, 1998.

In the case of *Drėlingas* several legal problems, which have hampered efforts to hold people accountable for Soviet era repressions, were considered by the ECHR in particular. In this case a man called Stanislovas Drėlingas, former KGB officer, who took part in the detention operation of the last partisan leader Adolfas Ramanauskas-Vanagas and his wife in 1956, was convicted of genocide by Lithuanian courts in 2016. Mr. Drėlingas complained to the ECHR, that the provision of the European Convention's Article 7 that one cannot be held criminally accountable for something which is not a crime at the time it was committed was violated, as he could not have known that his actions (being a guard in the detention operation) in 1956 could be punished for genocide under the Lithuanian regulation adopted in 2003. However, in 2019 the judgment of the ECHR ruled that Drėlingas had to have been aware in the 1950's that he could be prosecuted for genocide and his conviction had been foreseeable (paragraph 110).<sup>1</sup>

The most complicated issue addressed in the 2019 ECHR ruling regarded the definition of genocide, established in the Genocide Convention, adopted by the United Nations in 1948. Article I of the Genocide Convention states that the Contracting Parties confirm that genocide, whether committed in time of peace or in time of war, is a crime under international law which they undertake to prevent and to punish. Article II stipulates that in the present Convention, genocide means any of the following acts committed with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group, as such: (a) Killing members of the group; (b) Causing serious bodily or mental harm to mem-

<sup>1</sup> *Case of Drėlingas v. Lithuania*, online.

bers of the group; (c) Deliberately inflicting on the group conditions of life calculated to bring about its physical destruction in whole or in part; (d) Imposing measures intended to prevent births within the group; (e) Forcibly transferring children of the group to another group. Thus, according to this Convention genocide is an action committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnic, racial or religious group. Most importantly, this definition excluded acts of extermination aimed at people belonging to a particular social or political group. It is possible that *Drelingas* challenges this definition.

This ECHR judgment illustrates the debate over the inclusion of political groups in the definition of genocide, a debate that has raged since the adoption of the Genocide Convention. The inventor of the term “genocide” (Greek word *genos* birth, kind, race and the Latin suffix – *cide*, killing) in 1944 was a Polish-Jewish lawyer named Lemkin, who identified several forms of genocide: political, social, cultural, economic, biological, physical, religious, and moral. As the famous genocide scholar A. Weiss-Wendt concluded, Lemkin interpreted genocide as an intention to annihilate a group of the population by destroying essential foundations of life such as: social and political institutions, culture, language, national feelings, religion, economic means, personal security, liberty, health, dignity and, finally life itself. Such a broad interpretation of the crime would make almost any instance of gross human rights violation genocide.

While the initial draft of the convention defined genocide as “the intentional destruction of a group of human beings,” including racial, national, linguistic, religious or political groups, the Soviet opposition to this broad definition played a crucial role in the omission of “political” (including “social”) groups from the definition of genocide when the Genocide Convention was adopted in 1948. As Estonian scholar Lauri Mäliksoo states, the argument that the “political” groups lack the required stability has not been able to persuade a number of legal and social scientists criticizing the exclusion of “political” groups from the genocide definition. Another prominent scholar William A. Scha-



bas, even though favoring the restrictive definition of genocide, admits: "It is clear that political groups were excluded from the definition for 'political' reasons rather than reasons of principle."

These debates and controversies would be "harmless" intellectual exercises on historical matters, had they not become so topical from a practical legal point of view after the USSR collapsed in 1991. Soon it appeared that different states within the territory of the former USSR opted for different models of historical and legal clarification of the past crimes. The final exclusion of political groups from the definition of genocide in 1948 was probably the main reason why Latvia and Estonia after 1990 took a less problematic approach of considering that Soviet repressions during occupation were mostly crimes against humanity or so-called ethnic cleansings. Meanwhile, Lithuania took the approach that Soviet repressions were genocide, as this crime addressed the specific historical context in Soviet occupied Lithuania. Since 1992 Lithuania has adopted a broader definition of genocide, which includes crimes against political and social groups, along with national, ethnic, racial and religious groups, as established in the Genocide Convention. In 2014, the Lithuanian Constitutional Court held that national law (2003), which stipulates that actions, aimed at physical destruction, in whole or in part, of persons belonging to any national, ethnic, racial, religious, and also social or political group, could be considered as genocide, was compatible with the Lithuanian Constitution. The Constitutional Court took the view that states have a certain discretion, because of particular historical, political, social and cultural contexts, to establish in their domestic law a broader definition of the crime of genocide than that which is established in international law.

Indeed, wide sweeping Soviet repressions in 1940–1941 and 1944–1956 targeted not only the armed resistance but different layers of Lithuanian society: intellectuals, state officials, police, military personnel, farmers, entrepreneurs, politicians, supporters of partisans in particular, etc. – the backbone of pre-war Independent Lithuania. After 1917, the Bolshevik regime was determined to transform human existence and create an entirely

new kind of human being – the New Soviet man. Therefore, the nationality was not important anymore, and a new socialist nation had to emerge. Since 1940, the Soviets took the view that the legitimate post-1917 governments in the Baltic states had not been the ones with which they had negotiated peace treaties in 1920, therefore, accordingly, everyone involved in governing the Baltic states between 1918 and 1940 was seen as having played a role in an illegal usurpation of Soviet power. As a result, Lithuanians, together with Latvians and Estonians, were considered as persons belonging to the so-called “untrustworthy” or “unreliable” nationalities, which interfered with the Soviet plan of successful sovietization.

According to various estimates, around twenty thousand people were killed during the armed resistance, more than two hundred thousand were deported to GULAG camps or exiled to Siberia, where around fifty thousand perished. The onslaught on a three million-size nation was brutal, widespread and crippling. As the Lithuanian Constitutional Court summarized in 2014, the repressions against the residents of Lithuania were not in any manner coincidental and chaotic, but rather such repressions sought to exterminate the basis of the political nation of Lithuania, *inter alia*, the former social and political structure of the State of Lithuania. Those repressions were directed against the most active political and social groups of the residents of the Republic of Lithuania: participants of the resistance against the occupation and their supporters, civil servants and officials of the State of Lithuania, Lithuanian public figures, intellectuals and the academic community, farmers, priests, and members of the families of those groups. The Lithuanian Constitutional Court also concluded that actions which took place before the 2003 national legislation and which had been directed against certain political and social groups might constitute genocide, if it could be proven, that the aim of such actions was to destroy groups that represented a significant part of the Lithuanian nation and whose destruction had an impact on the survival of the entire Lithuanian nation.

The Lithuanian Constitutional Court also indicated that Lithuanian partisans constituted such a group, considering their activity during the 1944–1953 partisan war. Partisans were dangerous to the Soviet regime because they were putting into practice the right of the Lithuanian nation to self-defense against occupation and aggression. The resistance obstructed the Soviet occupational structures in carrying out their deportations and other repressive measures against Lithuanian civilians. In this way, the participants in the resistance not only sought to ensure the survival of the nation (by defending it) but also embodied that survival. Moreover, as the Republic of Lithuania, as a state and a subject of international law, did not disappear due to the Soviet aggression, the Lithuanian partisans were the armed forces of the Republic of Lithuania and their leadership was the legitimate government of the Republic of Lithuania fighting the occupation.

However, the first ECHR case *Vasiliauskas v. Lithuania* in 2015, in which Lithuania argued that Soviet genocide had occurred, was unsuccessful mainly because the national courts failed to prove the importance of partisans to the whole nation.<sup>2</sup> Probably this was the reason why in the *Drėlingas* case, Lithuanian domestic courts were more careful to clarify the significance of Lithuanian partisans to the national group. In 2016 the Supreme Court of the Republic of Lithuania argued that the two killed partisans belonged to a significant part of a separate national-ethnic-political group, by introducing the twofold concept of the nation, meaning that the features of ethnicity and nationality were interrelated in postwar Lithuania. Therefore, a complete delimitation of such groups as a separate formation in the crime of genocide is not always possible. The Court further described that people of different status participated in the national armed resistance, mostly Lithuanians by nationality. They were united by a common goal, namely to restore the independence of Lithuania. The resistance was supported and the occupation was also resisted in other ways by a large part of the Lithuanian nation.

<sup>2</sup> Case of *Vasiliauskas v. Lithuania*, online.

The applicant Drėlingas complained that the wide interpretation of the crime of genocide, as adopted by the Lithuanian courts, did not have a basis in the wording of that offence as laid down in international criminal law. He claimed that his conviction for genocide therefore amounted to a breach of Article 7 of the European Convention. To the question whether the applicant's conviction for genocide was compatible with Article 7 of the European Convention, the Strasbourg court found that the Lithuanian Supreme Court had explained why the partisans who had resisted Soviet regime could be considered as an important part of the nation and, so be covered by international law – the Genocide Convention:

The Court cannot but observe that in the applicant's case the [Lithuanian] Supreme Court did indeed provide an extensive explanation, elaborating upon the elements what constituted the "nation" as well as elements which had led to the conclusion that the Lithuanian partisans had constituted "a significant part of the Lithuanian nation as a national and ethnic group". Among other things, the [Lithuanian] Supreme Court noted that the Soviet repression had been targeted against the most active and prominent part of the Lithuanian nation, defined by the criteria of nationality and ethnicity. These repressive acts had the clear goal of creating an impact on the demographic situation of the Lithuanian nation. In turn, the members of the resistance – Lithuanian partisans, their liaison persons and their supporters – had represented a significant part of the Lithuanian population, as a national and ethnic group, because the partisans had played an essential role when protecting the national identity, culture and national self-awareness of the Lithuanian nation. The [Lithuanian] Supreme Court therefore held that such characteristics led to the conclusion that the partisans as a group were a significant part of a protected national and ethnic group, and that their extermination had therefore constituted genocide (paragraph 103).

There is also a vehement dissent to the *Drėlingas'* case by the Romanian judge Motoc and the judge Ranzoni from Liechtenstein. Judge Motoc considered that such judgment, which in fact recognizes "ethno-political" genocide and reverses *Vasiliauskas* decision,

must be transferred to the Grand Chamber. In addition to that, judge Ranzoni also pointed out that the majority grossly misinterpreted *Vasiliauskas* case, especially regarding the “foreseeability issue”, emphasized in the latter, i.e. that the applicant, even with the help of the lawyer, would not be able to foresee that

his actions, having regard to international law, in particular the Genocide Convention, as interpreted at that time, could constitute the offence of being an “accessory to genocide”, leading to his later criminal conviction.

These opinions show how unequivocally this case alters the definition of genocide. Nevertheless, the judgment in *Drėlingas* case entered into effect on September 10, 2019, when the defendant’s request for referral at the Grand Chamber of ECHR was rejected.

The implications of the ECHR judgment in the *Drėlingas* case are fundamental. For the first time, an international judicial institution has recognized genocide in Lithuania by the Soviet regime. This decision also sanctions the resumption of the long-lasting discussion about the scope of genocide crime among international scholars. However, more importantly, the legal arguments of the *Drėlingas* case, empowers challenging ongoing efforts to whitewash the Soviet history of brutal and massive repressions in the former Soviet-occupied nations. The judgment in the *Drėlingas* case also serves to give, at least, symbolic justice to the victims of Soviet genocide, as well as keeping these issues in the public eye in the West.

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# Portrayal of the Conflict Between Russia and Ukraine in the Lithuanian Media

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TOMAS BACYS

## Introduction

The year 2014 when Russia annexed the Crimea can be deemed as a turning point. This annexation was indeed a major turn of events in world history. In this article, the conflict between Russia and Ukraine is specified as a “conflict” rather than “war”, as it was characterized by peculiarities not typical of wars that took place before 2014. Russia did not even admit that a war was going on, denying its aggression against Ukraine despite the deployment of its military units there.

The portrayal of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine in the media is a topical issue as it is important that the information about it aims to understand and analyze, rather than influence the general attitude of the Lithuanians towards the Russian–Ukrainian war.

The key issue of the article is: What kind of information is presented in the Lithuanian media on the conflict between Russia and Ukraine.

The aim of the article is to reveal the presentation of this conflict in the Lithuanian media. To this end, the author sets the following tasks for himself:

1. To single out the peculiarities of the Russian–Ukrainian conflict.
2. To analyze how the Russian–Ukrainian conflict is portrayed in the Lithuanian media.

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TOMAS BACYS is a doctoral student in political science of Vytautas Magnus University.

3. To analyze the Russian–Ukrainian conflict-related metaphors used in the Lithuanian media.

Content analysis and critical metaphor analysis method were chosen for this survey.

The article analyzes individual articles published in Lithuania's most popular Internet portals. The most characteristic articles on the events of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine and the attitude which is being developed on this historical event were chosen. Quality content analysis is a data analysis method for the systemic analysis, generalization, and interpretation of data. According to Vaidas Morkevičius, content analysis is usually also text analysis – that of the mass media and political texts.<sup>1</sup>

For document analysis, one more method was chosen – critical metaphor analysis developed by Jonathan Charteris-Black.<sup>2</sup> This method is a synthesis of the analysis of the cognitive study and of the critical discourse of a metaphor. Critical metaphor analysis enables the revealing of prevalent ideologies, attitudes and convictions; therefore, it is a significant means to get a deeper insight into the complex relationships among language, thought, and social context. The critical analysis method is suitable for analyzing the portrayal of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine in the media. The use of this method involves the following procedures: initially, identification of key repetitive words in documents, in this case – in the Lithuanian media; then, interpretation of metaphors according to the context of a document; and finally, ascertaining of the meaning. This way it becomes clear what is the real meaning of a metaphor or of key words used by one side or the other.

After carrying out a content analysis, this article touches upon the portrayal of, the surfacing attitudes towards, and the public opinion being developed on the Russian–Ukrainian conflict.

<sup>1</sup> Morkevičius, "Turinio analizė socialiniuose tyrimuose," online.

<sup>2</sup> Charteris-Black, *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor*, 34–51.

## Peculiarities of the Russian–Ukrainian Conflict

The Ukrainian conflict escalated as a three-phase process. The first phase included the protests in Maidan, the second one – the annexation of the Crimea, and the third one – the unrest in Donetsk and Luhansk. The Lithuanian media emphasize the significant impact of the human factor on the Ukrainian crisis. For instance, there are statements that

had the indecisive Viktor Yanukovich dared to sign the Association Agreement with the EU in November 2013, there would not have been the morally, West-supported revolution in Kiev and Russia's open military aggression in Ukraine.<sup>3</sup>

In fact, all human history has been influenced by a combination of multiple human factors and there is no point in speaking about “what if”.

The Russian–Ukrainian conflict is distinctive in that Russia, which is perpetrating aggression against Ukraine, denies any connection with this conflict, despite the deployment of its military units in Ukraine, the seizure of a part of Ukraine's territory, and the continuing claims of human lives. For example, *Delfi.lt* informed that “from 2014, when Russia annexed the Crimea, the war in Ukraine had already claimed 13,000 lives” (till August 2019).<sup>4</sup> It is not commonplace for a conventional war that civilians were killed. The Lithuanian media reported that, “from 15 February to 15 May, 2016, 36 civilians perished and another 157 were wounded <...>, an <...> increase of 48 percent from the three previous months.”<sup>5</sup> *Delfi.lt* also published the statistics of the civilian casualties until the summer of 2017:

From the beginning of the conflict in eastern Ukraine in April 2014, according to the UN report, a total of 10,090 people, including 2,777 civilians, were killed and almost 24,000 wounded.

<sup>3</sup> Tracevskis, “Rusijos agresija: palaikytojai ir atsivertėliai,” online.

<sup>4</sup> “Zelenskis dėl Krymo susigražinimo žada kovoti ne tik žodžiais,” online.

<sup>5</sup> “Karas Ukrainoje toliau šienauja civilių gyvybes,” online.



More than 1.6 million people left their home. About three million people live in the territories controlled by armed groups, according to the data.<sup>6</sup>

Consequently, it is namely Ukrainian civilians who have suffered the most from Russia's aggression.

*Delfi.lt* also reported that the conflict between Russia and Ukraine is characterized by a combination of conventional military actions with an information war: "Russia's authoritarianism is unique because it functions with the help of television".<sup>7</sup> Combining of an information war with conventional military actions is called a hybrid war.

Hence, the following features of Russia's aggression against Ukraine are disclosed in the Lithuanian media: the existence of the human factor, Russia's denial of having perpetrated aggression against Ukraine, killing of civilians, and combining of military actions with an information war. The Russian-Ukrainian conflict is also characterized by foreign fighters taking an active part in it.

## **Lithuanian Media Information about the Russian-Ukrainian Conflict**

The Lithuanian media published a lot of information about the participation of foreign fighters in the Russian-Ukrainian conflict. *Lrt.lt* reported that 21 Lithuanians fought in eastern Ukraine.<sup>8</sup> It reported that "sixteen fighters stood shoulder to shoulder to fight with the Ukrainian forces, while five chose to fight on the side of Russia." Eglė Murauskaitė, who analyzed the foreign fighters in Ukraine, underscores that, despite the demonstrated support of the Baltic States for Ukraine, in 2014–2018, the fighters from

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> Tracevskis, "Rusijos agresija: palaikytojai ir atsivertėliai," online.

<sup>8</sup> Murauskaitė, "Rytų Ukrainoje kariavo Lietuvos ir Baltijos šalių kovotojai," online.

Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania accounted for a minor share of the around 1.5–2 thousand foreign citizens from 54 countries who had arrived in Ukraine to fight. The source underscores the unwillingness to go to the conflict zone, yet the fighters from the Baltic States are motivated by the perception that “this conflict is like the last wall that must be defended from Russia’s expansion; otherwise, their own country could be invaded.”<sup>9</sup> Murauskaitė also noted that young men with similar attitudes – disappointed with everyday life or ideals, become fighters in Ukraine. Ukraine is supported for ideological reasons, out of patriotism, and in order to combine forces against the common enemy.

The year 2014 when Russia annexed the Crimea can be viewed as a turning point, according to the *Delfi.lt* portal. This was indeed a major turn of events in world history. Lilia Shevtsova, a political scientist and analyst at the Chatham House Institute of International Politics, noted that “Russia is not a liberal democracy at all and only mimics democratic principles; that the system of personified power has remained in place, suppressing Western values.”<sup>10</sup> Before 2014 one could still doubt this or at least not state it too categorically. But now, there is no doubt anymore. It is emphasized that Russia’s actions have become a challenge for the West for which Western countries were not prepared, “especially given the lobbying network that defended the Kremlin’s interests in the West”. More than that, according to Lilia Shevtsova, this marked a new stage in world history or at least in European history:

The year 2014 and the annexation of the Crimea, Russia’s aggression in Ukraine ended this postmodern era and it became clear that Russia returned to the world stage to defend its interests that can safely be assumed as anti-western, in an attempt to fill the niche and to present itself as an opponent of Western civilization.

Hence, *Delfi.lt* stated the geopolitical implications of the Russian–Ukrainian conflict.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

<sup>10</sup> Masiokaitė, “Analitikė: Kremlius Lietuvos visuomenę paveiktų,” online.

Since, as was mentioned above, the conflict between Russia and Ukraine is extraordinary and exceptional, and as it is a new phenomenon in world history, it is not clear how it should be responded to and what tactics should be used. Vaidas Saldžiūnas, in his *Delfi.lt* article, concludes that the European states have not decided upon the choice of a strategy:

The outbreak of war in Ukraine in 2014 not only demonstrated the ambitions of the Kremlin to ignore the international agreements, to risk the redrawing of the maps of European countries by using military force, but also by applying a similar strategy and tactics which, irrespective of the more rigorous response from Western states, continues to strike, and coming as a shock, can catch them unprepared.<sup>11</sup>

It is obvious, however, that Europe condemns Russia's actions in Ukraine and senses a threat: "<...> the security situation has changed essentially, and namely Russia may pose a threat to the interests of Western states."<sup>12</sup> Saldžiūnas in his article also highlights that the sanctions on Russia have not been lifted; while the media have become somewhat less narrowly focused on them, their application continues. The United States is also reported to support the sanctions on Russia as long as the conflict in Ukraine has not been resolved.<sup>13</sup> Nevertheless, irrespective of the sanctions, the Lithuanian portal *Delfi.lt* informed, citing the *Financial Times*, that in 2016 Russia became the major exporter of cereals in the world, was going to undertake oil exploration in the Arctic region, and planned for economic growth in 2017.<sup>14</sup> However, the media expressed doubts whether this could be trusted, whether Russia's figures were real. All these plans could be fake news.

<sup>11</sup> Saldžiūnas, "Kruvinos pamokos, kurias Europa dar tik bando suprasti," online.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid.

<sup>13</sup> "JAV sankcijos Rusijai bus paliktos, kol neišspręsti konfliktai Sirijoje ir Ukrainoje," online.

<sup>14</sup> Andrulevičiūtė, "Teigiami signalai Rusijoje maskuoja tikrąją padėtį," online.

The crisis in Ukraine had an impact on the increasing influence of the President of the Russian Federation on the residents of this country. The Lithuanian media published information about it as well. *Delfi.lt* statistics shows that in 2014 Vladimir Putin's influence increased in relation to the annexation of the Crimea:

According to a Gallup polling company survey, in 2013 Putin's rating in Russia fell to a dangerous level – just 54 percent of the Russian population said they supported his policy, whereas after the annexation of the Crimea and the start of the hybrid war in eastern Ukraine, according to the April 22–July 9, 2014 Gallup survey, already 83 percent of the Russian population supported Vladimir Putin.<sup>15</sup>

Hence, Putin benefited personally from the Russian-Ukrainian conflict. Russia, as well as its residents, are imperialistically minded, and “Vladimir Putin's popularity grows when he makes decisions and acts using force”, as shown in the survey carried out by the Levada Center public opinion research organization, which is not affiliated with Russian governmental structures.<sup>16</sup>

The Lithuanian media also brought the issue of cooperation with Russia into the discussion. *Delfi.lt* published arguments behind two of the opinions. Some commentators claim that cooperation with Russia is necessary despite the occupation of the Crimea; others believe that as long as the issue of Ukraine has not been resolved, there should be no entering into diplomatic or economic relations; this is not the time for that yet. For example, prior to holding the international conference ‘20 years after *Nida initiatives*’ in Kaunas in the fall of 2018, to which participants from Russia were invited, Eastern policy experts criticized this, saying that such conferences are beneficial for Russia itself and are no good for Lithuania. However, Vygaudas Ušackas, former European Union Ambassador to Russia, called such criticism as “politicking”. Whereas political scientist prof. Raimundas Lopata is convinced that such conferences cannot be held at present

<sup>15</sup> Tracevskis, “Rusijos agresija: palaikytojai ir atsivertėliai,” online.

<sup>16</sup> “7 priežastys, paaiškinančios V. Putino populiarumą,” online.

at all, given the current geopolitical context: “The thing is, can we talk with the Russians at all as long as the issue of Ukraine has not been settled, as long as Ukraine’s occupation continues? I would say this is not the time for that.” Marius Laurinavičius, Senior Expert at Vilnius Institute for Policy Analysis, agrees with Raimundas Lopata, paying attention to “the very format of the conference and the choice of its participants”. According to him, “Conferences in this format are a classical example of Russia’s expansion of the network of its influence”.<sup>17</sup> Thus, the *Delfi.lt* portal presents two opposite viewpoints concerning cooperation with Russia, underscoring that the conflict between Russia and Ukraine is a geopolitical issue and that there can only be one kind of talk with the aggressor – about it putting an end to its aggression. The *Delfi.lt* portal stressed as early as 2014 the necessity to put a stop to Russia’s aggression in Ukraine, otherwise this imperialistic country’s aggression can become dangerous to the whole of Europe. Senior Expert at Vilnius Institute for Policy Analysis Marius Laurinavičius notes that

Russia’s goal is a civil war in Ukraine, which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Great Eastern Neighbor is publicly proclaiming that it be prevented. It’s time for the West to revise its foreign policy <...>; without stopping Russia in Ukraine, we will soon be waiting to see “little green men” or other *démarches* of the Kremlin still closer to the European Union (EU) or NATO.<sup>18</sup>

Hence, the position is that support for Ukraine is necessary in order to stop Russia’s aggression in general, and to prevent it from fulfilling its imperialistic ambitions.

Russia’s aggression in Ukraine had no features of a war until a certain moment in time. The Lithuanian media have specified the moment when the war between Russia and Ukraine turned into a “real war”. It was the clash between Russia and Ukraine

<sup>17</sup> Ketlerienė, “Kandidato į prezidentus iniciatyvą vadina pavojumi valstybei,” online.

<sup>18</sup> Černiauskas, “Jei Rusijos nesustabdysime Ukrainoje, teks ją stabdyti savo kieme?” online.

in the sea in the fall of 2018. Russian border ships refused to allow three Ukrainian ships to try to enter the Sea of Azov from the Black Sea through the Kerch Strait, which separates the Crimea. The *Delfi.lt* portal published information that there had been estimates that a real war broke out because the Ukrainian ships were rammed, fired at, and seized.

Unlike in 2014 in the Crimea when Russia initially claimed that the “little green men” who were noticed in the region were not Russian soldiers, and not like during the war that erupted later in Donbas, when this time it was an open clash between Russian and Ukrainian military.<sup>19</sup>

This fact was also admitted by the then Ukrainian President Petro Poroshenko, who noted that the incident was open military aggression by the Kremlin. Consequently, as of this moment, the Russian–Ukrainian conflict can be deemed a hybrid war.

The term “hybrid war” is used in the Lithuanian media as well. For example, *Delfi.lt* presented information about the way Russia is fighting a hybrid war in order to destabilize Ukraine.<sup>20</sup> This portal announced that the United Kingdom-based Royal United Services Institute (RUSI), the oldest-in-the-world independent forge of defense and security ideas, on July 16 published its report on the above-named actions of the Russian Federation. The report analyzes leaked emails of Vladislav Surkov, adviser to the Russian President Vladimir Putin, and underscores that this man, who is nicknamed “Putin’s Rasputin” or his grey eminence, is unofficially responsible for Russia’s puppet republics in Donbas. It has turned out that Russia seeks to prevent Ukraine from “moving westwards” and this must be ensured through local activists, who are curated by Surkov. Russia interferes in Ukrainian elections, encourages separatism. It uses its power on different societies by analyzing target audiences and closely selecting messages through which it plans to manipulate them to make them

<sup>19</sup> Saldžiūnas, “Nustumtas į paraštes karas,” online.

<sup>20</sup> “Daužo į šipulius Kremliaus melus,” online.

follow its dictates. The *Delfi.lt* portal has defined the essence of Russia's strategies in Ukraine: "to promote separatist small states in eastern Ukraine, which <...> actually are Russian subjects."<sup>21</sup> This is in line with the long-known principle "divide and rule".

This conflict has costs for Ukraine; this is why the country is unable to duly resist the aggression. On December 2, 2019, *Delfi.lt* announced that the Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelensky, in his interview for the European publications *Der Spiegel*, *Le Monde*, *Time*, and *Gazeta Wyborcza*, declared that Ukraine would not start a war in Donbas because that would come at "too high a cost." He also said he would not allow the armed conflict in the east of the country to escalate, and stressed that "the responsibility for the calls for resorting to force falls on the people who were previously in power."<sup>22</sup> However, Zelensky was going to fight for the Crimea "not just in words".<sup>23</sup> *Delfi.lt* wrote that Zelensky "has several strategies" of how to recover the Crimea, e.g., by way of negotiating with Russia or exchanging war prisoners. The *Delfi.lt* portal also notices that Zelensky urges Western states not to lift the sanctions on Russia because, despite the loss of money, peace is more important and "as long as there is no peace, sanctions must remain".<sup>24</sup> As was already mentioned, these sanctions have not been lifted, but there is much less focus on them in the media now than before, when they were first applied.

The Lithuanian media devote close attention to Russian propaganda. They encourage being resilient to Russia's propaganda related to the Russian-Ukrainian war. For example, information was provided that "after the occupation of the Crimea, a popular show was released, in which children were urged to join the army and guard Russia's borders." Similar propaganda can be perceived in the popular animated cartoon *Masha and the Bear*.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> "Zelenskis nežada imtis karinių veiksmų Rytų Ukrainoje," online.

<sup>23</sup> "Zelenskis dėl Krymo susigražinimo žada kovoti ne tik žodžiais," online.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid.

One more example of misrepresentation of history is the film *The Crimea* directed by Aleksey Pimanov (2017). At the epicenter of the story is the love story of a Maidan activist and a guy fighting on the other front line.<sup>25</sup> Russia's tools of propaganda are aimed not only at adults but at children as well. All this is just a little part of the tools of its propaganda.

Thus, after carrying out an overview of the Lithuanian media from 2014 to present, it can be stated that the information about the Russian–Ukrainian conflict provided in the Lithuanian portals is not biased. Just facts are presented and described, e.g., participation of foreign fighters in the conflict, and statistics are provided. There is also judgmental information, e.g., it is emphasized that Russia is not a liberal democracy at all and just mimics democratic principles; that Russia's actions have become a challenge for the West that it was not prepared for, as there exists a network of lobbyists who defend the Kremlin's interests in the West. The significance of the Russian–Ukrainian conflict is highlighted: it has become a turning point not only in European but also world history. In this new phase, it became clear that Russia had returned to the world stage to defend its interests, that can safely be assumed as anti-western, in an attempt to fill the niche and to present itself as an opponent of Western civilization. There exist two different opinions in the Lithuanian media: some experts say that cooperation with Russia is necessary despite the occupation of Ukraine; others believe that there should be no entering into diplomatic or economic relations until Ukraine's issue is resolved. The Lithuanian media has specified the moment when the Russian–Ukrainian conflict became a “real war” – the clash of Russia and Ukraine in the sea in the fall of 2018. Russian border ships refused to allow three Ukrainian ships to try to enter the Sea of Azov from the Black Sea through the Kerch Strait, which separates the Crimea. Much of the Lithuanian media attention is focused on the perpetration of a hybrid war and Russian propaganda.

<sup>25</sup> “Manote, kad tai tik filmukas?” online.



## Metaphors Related to the Russian–Ukrainian War Found in the Lithuanian Media

When dealing with the Russian–Ukrainian war in the Lithuanian media, we often come across the metaphor “little green men.” These are Russia’s Special Operations Forces that fight during peace time. “Green little men” carry out illegal activities beyond Russia. The purpose of their activities is to make a political and/or economic impact on a country when no diplomatic means are helpful anymore. The manner of their activity differs, including causing unrest inside a selected country and destabilizing its political situation, e.g., through choosing leaders favorable for Russia. Such leaders declare that they defend Russians as the ethnic minority in that country.

Russia’s Special Operations Forces had been active in Ukraine’s Donbas region as early as before April 6, 2014, when protests in Donetsk and Luhansk sparked. The so called “little green men” acted in the Crimea as well. “Little green men” refers to the paratroopers of the elite platoon of the Army of the Russian Federation wearing uniforms without insignia and thus unrecognizable. They were called “little green men” because their uniforms are green, the same as those of all other military, except that they have no distinctive insignia. These military elites are very professional and well-trained, and have prior experience as operatives in the hot spots of the world.<sup>26</sup> The media underscores that they can cross a border with ease. At the beginning of the Russian–Ukrainian war, they used to be sent to Donetsk region and then began acting without restraint in eastern Ukraine, although Russian President Vladimir Putin refused to publicly admit their presence. Therefore, one more metaphor – “negating forces”<sup>27</sup> is used in the media.

The *15min.lt* portal, citing *War on the Rocks*, writes that this method of hybrid war is used not only by Russia, and is not an invention of the Kremlin.<sup>28</sup> For example,

<sup>26</sup> “Ukraina: ‘maži žali žmogeliukai,’” online.

<sup>27</sup> “Žaliųjų žmogelių istorija,” online.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

Daniel Altman, Ph.D. in political science at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in the United States, has been collecting data on all illegal occupations of foreign territory since 1918. There were 105 such cases, three of which involved the use of “negating forces.”<sup>29</sup>

In 1932, armed Peruvian soldiers disguised themselves as civilians and occupied the remote Colombian town of Leticia; in 1999, Pakistani forces entered the Kargil region of Kashmir; in 1919, Finnish volunteers, supposedly acting on their own initiative but actually blessed by the government, occupied part of the Karelian region.

The Russian–Ukrainian conflict is also referred to as an “innovative war” in the Lithuanian media. We know from books, films and television that, in such cases, tanks, warplanes and artillery are used, as well as uniformed soldiers, modern equipment, and special means of communication. Anne Applebaum explains why:

In the understanding of the West, the words “war” and “invasion” have a clear meaning. We know from books, films, and television that tanks, warplanes and artillery are used in such cases, as well as uniformed soldiers, modern equipment, and special means of communication.<sup>30</sup>

As information is also sometimes used in the Russian–Ukrainian war as a weapon, such a war is also referred to as “hybrid war” or “innovative Russian war”. The media have it that such a war is considered a departure from traditional tactics, perhaps even a new model of conflict in the twenty-first century; thus, not only Ukraine must be alert, but other countries related to Russia’s imperialistic ambitions as well.<sup>31</sup>

During the Russian–Ukrainian conflict, prior to the clash in the sea in November 2018, war was not going on in its direct sense. Local pro-Russian groupings are armed with firearms but do not use heavy artillery; just organized attacks against police

<sup>29</sup> Ibid.

<sup>30</sup> “Kas tie žali žmogeliukai?” online.

<sup>31</sup> “Žaliųjų žmogelių istorija,” online.

stations, city councils and airports are carried out on a systematic basis. This kind of activity is referred to as a “private war”:

It seems it was the representatives of a private military company who, of course, were former employees of the GRU and possibly other Russian special services, but are now reserve officers, who operated there right from the start.<sup>32</sup>

Consequently, the Russian–Ukrainian conflict is a new phenomenon in world history.

## Conclusions

1. The Lithuanian media single out the following peculiarities of the conflict between Russia and Ukraine: the existence of the human factor, Russia’s refusal to admit its aggression against Ukraine, killing of civilians, combining of military actions with an information war. It is commonplace that any war should be declared. A conventional war is also not characterized by killing of civilians. Russia’s aggression against Ukraine was also a combination of military actions with an information war: the use of propaganda and fake news. Most importantly, Russia managed to brainwash Ukrainian residents in such a way that a fair number of them took Russia’s side. The conflict also involved active participation of foreign fighters. Ukraine was supported for ideological reasons, out of patriotism, and with the idea of combining forces against the common enemy.

2. The information on the Russian–Ukrainian conflict provided in the Lithuanian portals is not biased. They just give facts and describe them. The Lithuanian media enlightens its audience on the participation of foreign fighters in the war, and provides statistics. There is also judgmental information, e.g., it is emphasized that Russia is not a liberal democracy and just mimics democratic principles; that Russia’s actions have become a chal-

<sup>32</sup> “Kas tie žali žmogeliukai?” online.

lenge for the West for which it was not prepared, as there exists a network of lobbyists who defend the Kremlin's interests in the West. In this new phase, it has become clear that Russia had reappeared on the global arena, seeking to defend its interests that are far from Western, in an attempt to fill the niche and present itself as an opponent of Western civilization. There exist two different viewpoints in the Lithuanian media: some experts say that cooperation with Russia is necessary despite the occupation of Ukraine; others believe that there should be no entering into diplomatic or economic relations as long as the Ukrainian issue has not been resolved. The Lithuanian media have specified the moment when the Russian-Ukrainian conflict became a "real war" – the clash of Russia and Ukraine in the sea in the fall of 2018. Russian border ships refused to allow three Ukrainian ships to try to enter the Sea of Azov from the Black Sea through the Kerch Strait, which separates the Crimea. Much of the Lithuanian media attention is focused on the perpetration of a hybrid war and Russian propaganda.

3. When dealing with the Russian-Ukrainian war, the Lithuanian media use metaphors. For example, the metaphor "little green men" refers to Russia's Special Operations Forces operating in foreign countries, destabilizing their political situation through e.g., choosing leaders favorable for Russia during elections. The metaphor "negating forces" refers to the same "little green men" who were sent to Donetsk region and began acting without restraint in eastern Ukraine, although the Russian President, Vladimir Putin, publicly denied their presence. "Innovative war" is one more metaphor used in relation to the Russian-Ukrainian conflict because this war is different from all other conflicts and wars between countries that had ever occurred before. Information technologies currently enable the use of information as a weapon. When conventional military actions are combined with an information war, such a war is called "hybrid". A hybrid war in the Lithuania media is defined as a deviation from commonplace tactics.

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*Translated by KERRY SHAWN KEYS and DALIA ŠATIENĖ*

# Urban Life in Lithuania during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries

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STASYS SAMALAVIČIUS

## Introduction

*Dr. Stasys Samalavičius (1930–1992) was one of the few Lithuanian historians who did not fit in the “matrix” of the official historiography that prevailed in the Soviet period. Unlike most of his colleagues who underwent ideological indoctrination while pursuing historical studies, he chose to study English philology instead, and entered doctoral studies at Vilnius University after spending more than a decade as researcher in monument conservation and eventually as an English lecturer at Vilnius University. His doctoral thesis was focused on the activities of Vilnius builders’ guilds during the sixteenth–eighteenth centuries. This was quite an unusual choice for an academic research subject during the Soviet period. He obtained his doctorate in history in 1973 and spend his whole life researching the culture of Lithuanian urban dwellers and architectural monuments, and Vilnius Baroque architecture in particular.*

*He is known as a scholar who introduced historical urban studies focused on various aspects of everyday life into the Lithuanian context, [These studies were founded in Germany as Alltagsgeschichte by such historians as Alf Luedtke and Hans Medick]. Stasys Samalavičius’ research covered such diverse topics as activities of artisans’ and merchants’ guilds, the history of Vilnius’ town hall and other urban institutions, dwellings and their interiors of town-dwellers, urban festivities in Vilnius and other cities of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania as well as urban daily life in a broader sense: consumption of tobacco, tea, coffee, mead and other beverages, the culture of inns, tea and coffee houses, drugstores, book-shops, books and libraries of town-dwellers of the sixteenth–eigh-*



*teenth centuries and other topics, such as urban crimes and public executions hardly discussed by the Lithuanian historians of the Soviet era.*

*He spent a quarter of a century as a research associate of the Institute for Monument Conservation and Restoration and moved to the Institute of Lithuanian history shortly before Lithuania's independence. He spent the last years of his life as the head of the historical research unit at the Research Center for the Studies of Lithuanian Castles.*

*Several articles we are publishing have previously appeared in two posthumous volumes of his writings, and so far were only available in Lithuanian. I am grateful to professor Aivas Ragauskas who induced me to make at least some of the historian's articles available in English during the exhibition of Stasys Samalavičius' works at the Library of Vilnius University held in the fall of 2020.*

A. S.

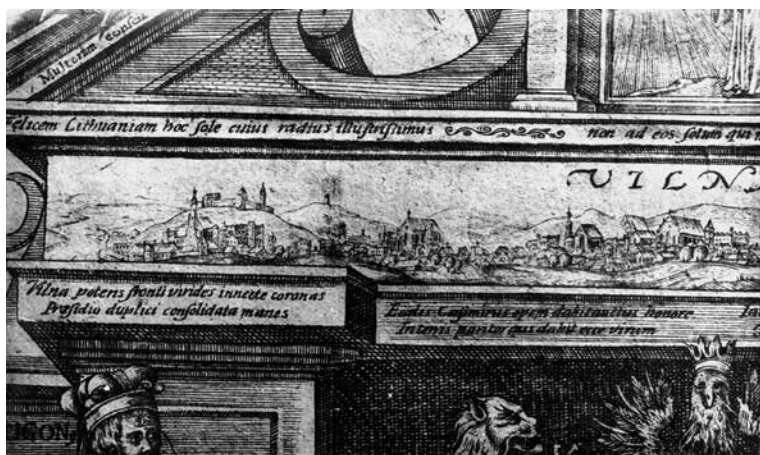
## **The Great Plague in Vilnius**

One of the most dreadful and most fatal scourges in the feudal epoch was plagues, against which the then medicine was helpless. Spontaneous expansion of feudal cities densely crammed with houses, narrow, unceasingly polluted streets, seldom cleaned squares and yards in which piles of waste were littered about, the absence of sewage – all this was a most favourable medium for the spread of epidemics of contagious diseases. As often as not, any contagious disease epidemic was referred to as “plague”. This word filled the then citizens with unspeakable horror. Compared to it, the ghastliest events of the epoch such as wars, fires, and other mass disasters, paled into insignificance.

In Vilnius, as well as in other European cities of the time, plague raged more than once. However, it affected the city in the most painful way in the mid-seventeenth century. At that time, Vilnius had been devastated by the recent war with Russia. In the summer of 1655, after persistent battles, military units of

the Russian Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich marched into the city. Juozas Jurginis indicates that the resistance fighting led by Kazimir Zheromsky "was hopeless, similar to a bloody clash rather than a battle." The Tsar was horrified at the sight of the city devastated by the battles and fires, with hundreds of corpses lying on the streets and in the yards. He ordered that the killed be buried immediately. Soon after, the Russian ruler returned to Moscow, leaving a garrison of four thousand soldiers in the city. Famine struck the ravaged Vilnius, as well as the whole of Lithuania, and in the spring of 1657, a plague epidemic began spreading. The citizens were horrified, and the rich began to flee from the city. The Tsar appointed Semion Shakhovskay as Voivode of Vilnius, and he tried prevent the people from fleeing, but having realized that this might have even graver consequences, let the residents of Vilnius retreat. This proved to be a reasonable decision (forbidding healthy members of infected families to retreat from London during the plague epidemic in 1665, which ravaged the city, such a regulation accelerated the spread of the infection instead of stopping it, thus dooming thousands of people to death). However, the residents of Vilnius had to promise they would return to the city when the epidemic was over. The lot of those who fled was not easy, as shelter could only be found with one's relatives or close acquaintances. Some of those who fled stayed in the outskirts of Vilnius, others even reached Kėdainiai and other more remote locations.

When leaving the plague-struck city, residents of Vilnius would lock and board up their homes, shops, and cellars with goods and household effects inside. Others, fearing robbery and expecting to come back soon, would bury their wealth. A merchant of Vilnius, Kochanski, did so, burying part of his goods near Voskresenskaya Tserkov (Resurrection Church). They were unearthed after Kochanski's death, at the end of 1658. Citizens hid their wealth for a reason. In case of a hasty withdrawal of residents from the town or of the public order going awry, looting would accelerate. As an example, citizen



Etching with an image of Vilnius City. From the archives of Stasys Samalavičius.

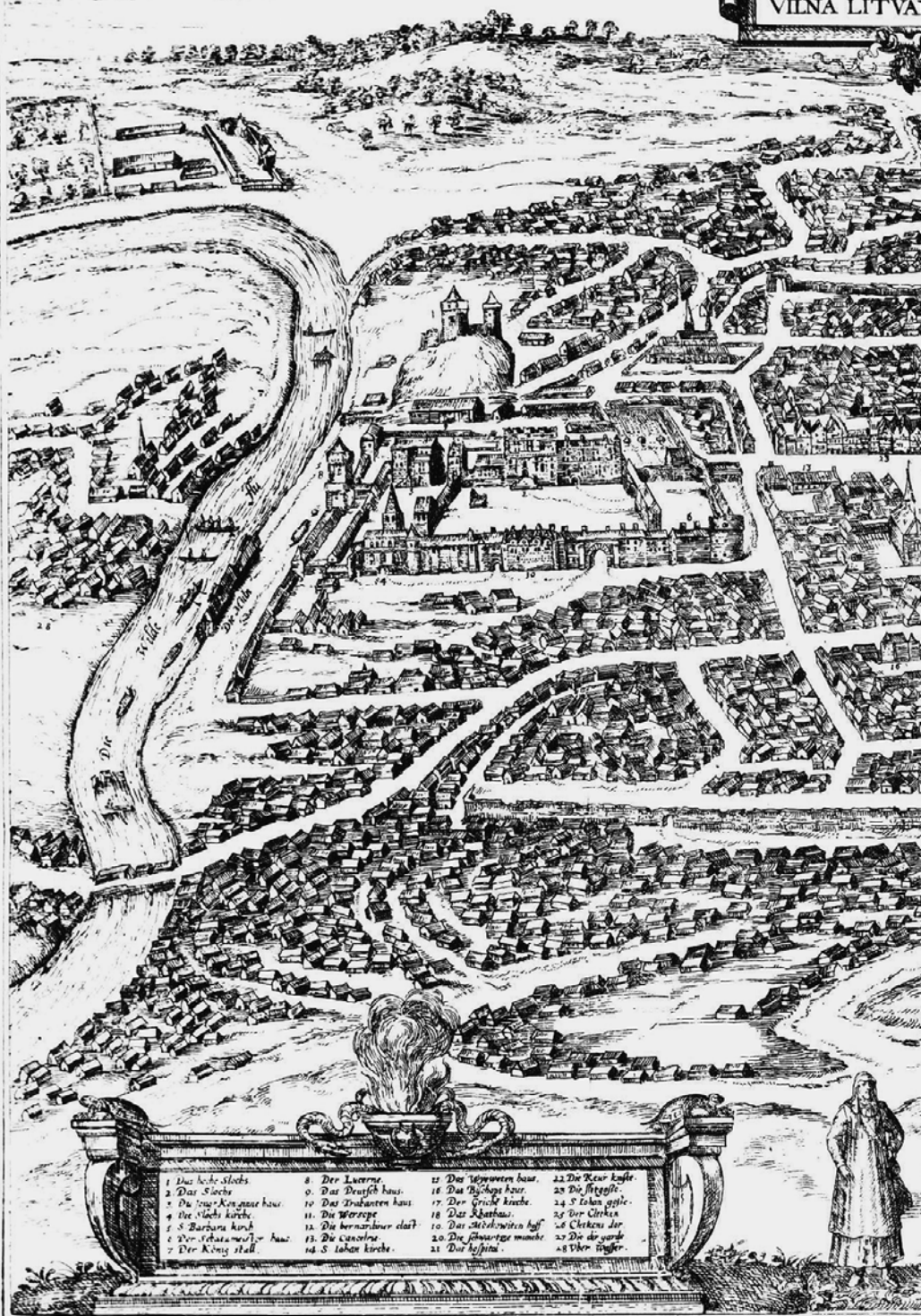
Povilas Bildžiūnas, having boarded up 40 hides, 20 skins, a barrel of butter and other things in 1657, upon returning to the city, found his cellar ransacked. After boarding it up again, he left, only to find his hiding-place ransacked again and the remaining things plundered upon his return. Poor, starving citizens, and peasants from surrounding villages who would find their way into the city, and soldiers of the occupation Russian Army, looted the most.

The Magistrate too, withdrew from Vilnius together with the residents. To keep calm in the city, the so called “plague authorities” were established, with Burgomaster Juozapas Kairelevičius elected as their head, who also held the position of *wójt* (mayor). Two assessors, a clerk, two “servants under oath”, whose duty was to disseminate information about the authorities’ decisions to the citizens of Vilnius and to bring wrongdoers to the court, also an executioner, who at that time was particularly needed and who must have had a lot of work, were under his authority. Four gravediggers were hired to bury the dead. To keep order in the city, which was of particular importance, Kairelevičius hired 30 armed men. They were led by a superior who was paid

ten auksinas (zloty). Voivode Shakhovskay promised to give another 20 soldiers. They were to assist the city's security platoon and to "prevent the unruliness of the Russian men." To keep up the city government, to guard the city, and to hire an executioner and gravediggers, 1,148 auksinas and 15 groats were collected from the citizens of Vilnius. This amount was to suffice for five months. Juozapas Kairelevičius was allotted 100 auksinas, two assessors 150, the "servants under oath" 60, the executioner 30, the gravediggers 80 auksinas; 30 city guards were to be paid 600 auksinas, their superior – 50 auksinas; hence, a total of 1,070 auksinas were to be allotted to the above-named persons over five months, while the remaining 78 auksinas and 15 groats were to be kept by the Burgomaster for contingencies.

The instruction of the Magistrate of Vilnius of 30 May, 1657 issued to the head of the "plague authorities", Juozapas Kairelevičius, reads that many of Vilnius' residents retreated from the city without contributing their share to the protection of the city. The same instruction also specified the responsibilities of the "plague authorities". The security platoon was to patrol the city and check houses to see that poor citizens were not abused by evil-doers and burglars. The powers of all courts were given over to the "plague authorities", while the decisions of the *wójt* (mayor) could only be appealed against to the Voivode of Vilnius. The *wójt* was also entitled to the compiling of an inventory of the properties of the diseased and to get them placed in a separate warehouse. Should any of his assistants die during the plague, the *wójt* could choose any person as a replacement for the deceased. For external communications, only the Rūdininkai gate was left for passage in and out, but it was to be locked diligently. To prevent the threat of fires, it was mandatory "to keep the sewage pipes uncovered."

The "plague authorities" did their best to maintain order in the city. Unfortunately, this was not easy under the circumstances. People fell dead from the plague like flies; entire families



ANIAE Metropolis.



died, and their dead bodies lay for several days before being detected. The property of the deceased would be taken to the inn which stood where the National Philharmonic Society building now stands.

Any social and cultural life in the city died down; people did not gather in the markets, which used to attract crowds of people, the taverns emptied, the shops closed down. Vilnius Port to which *vytinė* and *strugas* vessels (types of Lithuanian trading vessels) used to bring all kinds of goods, died down too. The once noisy streets and squares became ghostly and unwelcoming, many houses stood empty and deserted. The residents of Vilnius were overwhelmed by despair and horror. When a person began shivering with cold and throwing up, and fever followed, these were the first signs that plague had visited their home. Dark swellings appearing on their underarms and groins – secondary signs of this disease – would confirm the gloomy speculation. The disease did not spare the “plague authorities” either. From a 30 March, 1658 document, we learn that the chief authority of the city, Juozapas Kairelevičius, and his wife died of the plague, and their properties were put in storage in the cellars of merchant inns.

Many of the citizens of Vilnius who had abandoned the city were not destined to return to it either. Plague raged across the entire land. A document from 1663, attests that a citizen of Vilnius, Uršulė Didžiagrašienė, and her two daughters had retreated to Kėdainiai prior to the seizure of Vilnius and lived there with Adomas Mackevičius. When plague reached Kėdainiai in 1657, her daughter Marijona was the first to die. The other two women did not avoid the same fate, no matter they had moved over into the barn which stood farther off. Another document from that period – a complaint of the children of Vilnius merchant Areštavičius from 1664, reads that once the plague epidemic broke out, their father fled to Kėdainiai, yet he soon fell ill and died. His belongings, and their aunt Tamoševičienė, who survived, were for some time guarded by a person under the surname Žempla. When he was fleeing from Kėdainiai, he was accused of

leaving Tamoševičienė, already a widow, alone by the roadside, as a result of which she died from hunger. There was more than one similar event in the region that was ravaged by plague.

That the disseminators of plague were small rodents infected with plague bacilli, mainly rats, the people of the time were unaware of. The prevalent opinion was that the plague infection was "airborne." This opinion prevailed across Europe (though it has been since established that pneumonic plague is indeed airborne), and people believed that it was possible to ascertain whether the air in the city was infected with plague. For example, they would take a bit of fresh bread onto the roof or impale it on a post in an open area. If the air was infected with plague, the bread allegedly would become moldy. Allegedly, if one gave such bread to a dog or a hen, they would either not eat it or peck at it at all, or would die immediately after eating it or pecking at it. Human imagination gave rise to other concocted recipes of plague identification as well. Bonfires would be made to clean the air. It was believed that juniper, oak or pine were the most suitable trees for that purpose. Thus were the attempts at "saving oneself", and not only in Vilnius. During the Great Plague in London in 1665, bonfires were built by order of the authorities by each sixth house, in expectation that this would get rid of the infection.

It is hard to ascertain when exactly the plague epidemic in Vilnius ended. Probably, it only ended with the setting in of winter frosts, as the surviving documents from March 1658 read as though the plague was in the past. Meanwhile, the members of the Magistrate who had remained alive, returned to the city to inspect the goods and things of merchants and other citizens stored in the cellars.

It is even harder to tell how many citizens of Vilnius died from plague. At that time, population censuses were not taken yet. The precise population of Vilnius is not known either. The nineteenth century historian and writer Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, who wrote one of the first histories of the city of Vilnius, based on the infor-



mation of his contemporary, whom he called “a chronicler”, indicates that half of Vilnius’ citizens died during the plague epidemic. The instruction from 1658 for the delegation of Vilnius citizens who went to meet with Tsar Alexei Mikhailovich says that half of the citizens died. This being the motive behind their request, the delegates asked the Tsar for exemption from taxes and levies for the city for 20 years, and not to keep soldiers in it.

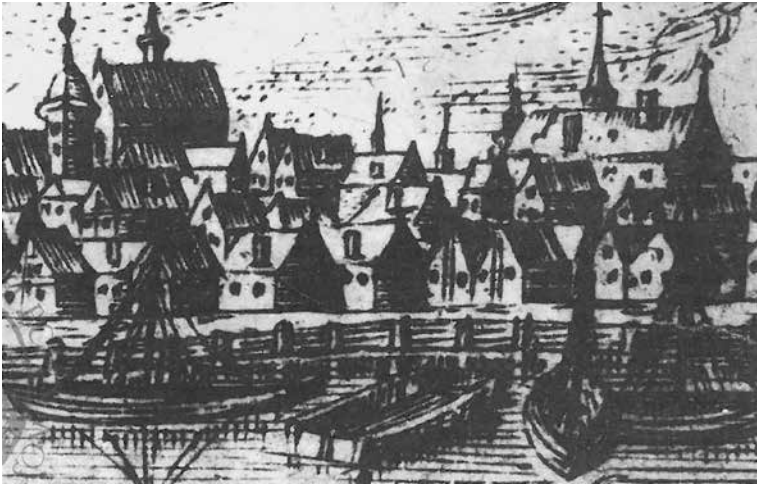
One document from 28 July, 1662 about the poll tax in Vilnius, attests to a significant decrease in the city’s population. It tells us that a special commission was set up to collect this tax from the city and the farm estates that belonged to it. The poll tax was to be paid by people of both genders who had turned ten years old. In the territory of the Magistrate, i.e. the city, its environs and the associated Aukštadvaris, Ribiškės, Kuprijoniškės and Leoniškės farm estates, the poll tax was paid by 4,476 persons, 495 villages within the jurisdiction of the *horodniczy* (castellan) and belonging to the castellany, as well as by 415 Jews. The tax was collected from a total of 5,386 persons. However, the clergy within the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Vilnius and of the Episcopal College and the nobles residing in the city did not have to pay this tax. On the other hand, we are not aware of the precise population of the city on the whole. The guess of Józef Ignacy Kraszewski was that, in the sixteenth century, the population of Vilnius was about 120 thousand; according to the calculations of Władysław Kowalenko, it must have been 30 thousand; according to Maria Lowmianska, there were 14 thousand residents in the mid-seventeenth century; in the opinion of Juozas Jurginis – 20 thousand; whereas the Polish historian Józef Morzy indicates that the population of Vilnius was 40 thousand, and after the wars and the plague epidemic just 19,700 of them remained. One thing is clear: the outbreak of plague in Vilnius in the mid-seventeenth century was one of the most terrible disasters that ever struck this city. It took a long while before its citizens forgot about the epidemic. In the Church of St. Peter and St. Paul in Vilnius, the left altar of the cross plan

nave is dedicated in memory of this plague. The sculptors depicted in the altar the lords of heaven punishing with plague. There is also a picture that was given to the Church as a present by Jerzy Tyszkiewicz (Lithuanian: Jurgis Tiškevičius), Bishop of Vilnius, which at that time was considered as having extraordinary powers against plague. One of the reliefs of the altar features the ceremony of carrying this picture over to the Church.

Those dreadful times were mentioned by Vilnius' residents long after; when purchasing a house or a plot, or selling one, they would be told that many of these houses stood near the houses of their neighbors who had died during the plague, near their deserted, uncultivated plots and gardens. Over time, residents increased in number; new buildings were put up on empty plots and new little shops replaced the old ones; taverns were opened; the old artisan workshops began to recover and new ones appeared, while towards the end of the century, the city had already somewhat cured itself from the wounds made by the war and the plague.

## **Merchant Fleet in Lithuania in the Seventeenth–Eighteenth Centuries**

In the second half of the fifteenth century to the early seventeenth century in Lithuania, *vytinė*, *strugas*, *skultas*, *botas*, *kamiaga* and *pergas* merchant vessel types transported goods by river. Unfortunately, very little knowledge of the last four vessel types has survived. More information about *vytinė* and *strugas* types is available. The prevalent type was *vytinė*. Historians Maciej Strykowski (1547–1614) and Alexander Guagnini (1534–1614) mention vessels of this type as having sailed up and down the River Nemunas. The book *Golden Mountains* by Gastkowski issued in 1622 reads that “quite a lot of goods from Lithuania came to Königsberg by water by *vytinė* vessels.”



*Ships at Kaunas harbor. From the etching by Tomasz Makowski circa 1660.*

From the information contained in the first volume of *The Sources of Lithuanian History*, it turns out that in April-May 1601, at least 26 *vytinė* vessels paid a duty on the goods they transported abroad. In May-June 1613, six *vytinė* vessels sailed past Jurbarkas from abroad. Out of other types of vessels, apart from boats, *kamiaga* vessels (the number not specified) that sailed through Hrodna returning from abroad on 13 May 1600 and the *pergas* vessel of a resident of Veliauona, Augustinas Šeškaitis, on which he sailed past the Jurbarkas customs house on his way abroad on 5 June 1613, are only mentioned. In 1676, 852 *vytinė* and *strugas* vessels sailed down the River Nemunas on their way to Königsberg.

Quite substantial knowledge of the *strugas* vessels has also survived. For example, in 1685, “in Lukiškės, on the shore of the River Vilija,” there stood a *strugas* of the *wójt* of Vilnius, Andrius Gerkevičius. Apparently, the ships of this type varied a lot in size, as the inventory of the property of Henrikas Monesas, a member of the Magistrate of Vilnius, from 1666 mentions “*strugeliai* (diminutive form for *strugas* in plural) with all the necessary

equipment of the sail" rather than *strugas*. *Strugas* vessels are also referred to in the diminutive form in documents pertaining to the properties of some of town dwellers. Large *strugas* vessels were up to 60 meters long and up to 11–12 meters wide, with a load capacity of about 200 tons.

The largest of the vessels that used to sail on the Lithuanian rivers were *vytinė* vessels – flat-bottomed sailboats with pointed ends, mainly built of pine wood. Based on the measurements of the ships that used to sail on the River Nemunas provided in a document from 1877, their length varied between 46 and 67.7 meters, their width between 5.3 and 8.7 meters.

There was a storeroom in the very bow of the vessel for holding cables, ropes and other things; behind it – a premises for the crew, and an oven for baking bread and for cooking. This premises contained a few cauldrons for making food for the crew, a dough trough as well as other tools necessary for making food, and dishes.

The middle part of the vessel was meant for loading cargos on board a ship. A narrow gap from the top to the bottom of the vessel divided this middle part in two. From this gap, the crew drew water that would soak through into the boat. This was done by special scoops that were fixed on long poles. There was a rudder in the stern of the vessel and a cabin for the helmsman. The owner of a *vytinė* or a person who managed his own trade related affairs, the 'shafar', had a separate cabin. It is, however, not clear which part of the vessel it was in. Some sources mention that the shafar's cabin used to be in the bow, others – in the stern of the vessel.

In the middle part of a *vytinė*, there was a thick pillar called a 'boy'. A mast was attached to it, which was additionally supported by thick ropes extending from the top of the mast to the sides of the vessel. The mast was decorated with a metal weathervane with the owner's coat of arms at the top – of course, if he had one. A sail would be fixed to the mast; it was raised with the help of a yard (a long wooden spar). In addition, a *vytinė*

had large oars. A roof of thick planks covered it; when loading or unloading the vessel, part of the roof would be removed.

Every *vytinė* usually had a '*barbora*' on board – a thick strong cable some tens of meters long to moor the vessel to the pier side, also to tow it when it ran aground; a thin, long trawl (a rope for dragging the vessel) with traces as it returned upstream; one or two dugouts on which the navigators brought customs officials from the shore, saved those drowning or used them for other needs; and an '*ožys*' – a device for dragging the vessel when it ran aground.

The crew of a *vytinė* consisted of over a dozen people. The highest-ranking on a vessel was the helmsman – the actual captain of the *vytinė*. Crew members differed in rank: according to the then guild (Lithuanian: *cechas*) order, a helmsman and crew members – brothers (qualified boatmen) – enjoyed privileges compared to persons who were learning this trade.

When sailing the Neris and Nemunas Rivers downstream, a vessel was driven by the current and the sail, or by the crew with the oars where necessary. When sailing upstream, the sail and the oar work were not sufficient. Twenty to thirty people would be hired to draw the vessel. The navigators would throw from the top of the mast of a vessel to the shore a thin strong rope with wide traces of a thick linen cloth, harnessed into which, the hired men, moving together and leaning on long staffs, pulled the vessel upwards along the river. No archive data on the use of horses to pull vessels has been found.

With the expansion of cities and development of trade, shipping developed and professional navigators grew in number. They began to join brotherhoods and guilds. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, Kaunas' navigators (helmsmen and crew members) had the 'Guarding Angel' brotherhood, which acted under the privilege granted to it in 1617. This brotherhood had been established under the Kaunas Bernardine Church and maintained an altar there. After thirty years, this brotherhood developed into a guild, whose members were given the privilege

by the Grand Duke of Lithuania and King of Poland, Władysław Vasa. The statute of the guild obligated the navigators to elect four elders on the day of Three Kings every year, to convene three meetings of the members over a year and manage other affairs, as well as to submit a report on its activities at the end of the year.

The statute also specified some other shipping issues. From it, we learn that those who were not members of the guild were prohibited from engaging in the trade of navigator, helmsmen – from winning away members of other crews, hiring unknown persons as junior crew members, etc.

A lot of attention in the statute was given to mutual assistance. Where several *vytinė* vessels sailed together and one of them ran aground, the crews of the other vessels were supposed to help it. Otherwise, the helmsmen of the *vytinė* vessels who did not provide assistance risked a fine from the Magistrate; moreover, the guild had to give half an *akmuo* (*akmuo* – 14 kg 619 g) of wax. The statute also had it that assistance was to be provided not only for *vytinė* vessels that sailed together, but to any vessels that had run on stones or aground as well. A helmsman was supposed to get both his crew and the men who tugged his vessel involved in salvage operations. Any person who did not help to salvage a vessel risked a 10 *auksinas* fine. However, the helmsman of a *vytinė* which had experienced bad luck was supposed to pay for the assistance provided.

Where people were unable to pull their ship off a sandbank, they used an '*ožys*', which was in place on every *vytinė* and *strugas*. They would hammer two piles into the ground with an equipped roller, which by turning would wind the '*barbora*', which was fixed to the vessel. Where this was of no use either, they would unload part of the goods on the shore and reload them once off the sandbank.

Geographer Zygmunt Gloger, describing the shipping on the River Nemunas in the nineteenth century, indicates that for such reloading of goods, smaller ships, the so called *lichtancas*, were

used. Alas, no knowledge of Vilnius' residents possessing such special ships in the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries has been found in the currently available sources.

A helmsman was to oversee that the members in his crew did not get lost in a conversation for too long. The current of the river, the shoals and other barriers, which were numerous in the Neris and Nemunas Rivers, were to be watched closely. On the other hand, a helmsman was also to make sure that food was given "according to the old habit" and no riots of the crew sparked off as a result. Navigators would take so much food as was sufficient to sail to a necessary destination (Kaunas, Hrodna, Königsberg, etc.) and return. Moreover, it was recommended to have some extra food lest no money should be spent to buy it in case of a delay in returning. Normally, crews would take with them a certain amount of barley, wheat and buckwheat, peas, some sides of bacon, and flour; crews of smaller ships – some bread as well. As was already mentioned, larger *vytinė* vessels had a dough trough and their crews baked bread themselves.

Upon returning safely from a journey, the ship was to be left in a safe place. Unfortunately, this was not always easy to do, moreover if the journey took longer or winter came earlier than expected, and one had to leave the ship on the way. The ships of Vilnius' merchants as often as not would be left in Kaunas for winter. Sometimes, quarrels would ensue about a convenient place for them to be moored at. For example, in 1668, two *vytinė* vessels of the burgomaster of the Magistrate of Vilnius, merchant Jonas Giliauskas reached Kaunas, and he left them in the territory of the castle to spend the winter, having attached them to poles he had hammered in the ground. The assessors of the Magistrate of Vilnius Mikalojus Bžozauskas and Simanas Ostrauskas, who sailed up to Kaunas later, sailed Giliauskas' vessels to a different place, attaching their own vessels to the poles hammered in by Giliauskas, although he had paid for the place to leave his *vytinė* vessels at during winter time. From a complaint lodged by Jonas Giliauskas in 1669, we learn that both of his *vytinė* vessels were swept away by ice.



*Ships at the junction of the Nemunas and Neris rivers. From the etching by Tomasz Makowski, circa 1660.*

Loading and unloading of vessels was a responsibility of ship crews. At the end of a sailing season, a helmsman would get the ship unloaded and, after mooring it for the winter time, had to report to the merchant on whose *vytinė* he had sailed. To avoid any misunderstanding, a helmsman would report to the person he had been hired by in the presence of several witnesses. A helmsman risked a fine of up to half of his annual remuneration for failing to report. An agreement with the owner of a vessel for the next year could be made the same day after reporting to him in the eyes of witnesses or later with the owner alone.

A *vytinė* was usually in use for 10–15 years. An obsolete ship which had become unfit for use was mostly burned down. Normally the sides as well as other upper parts of a ship decayed earlier than its bottom. Therefore, masters used their solid bottom with a dough trough and other equipment for the building of a new *vytinė*. This was sometimes indicated when taking an inventory of town dwellers' property and evaluating their belongings. For example, the inventory of Vilnius resident Jonas Cichavičius taken in 1687 reads that "his *vytinė* with all its accesso-



ries, that is the cables, anchor, cauldron, sail and other requisites, as it had been built on the old bottom, was estimated at 600 auksinas." Old *vytinė* vessels were usually estimated at approximately this amount. For example, "the old *vytinė* of merchant Motiejus Opankovičius with all its accessories" in 1694 was estimated at 500 auksinas, "the old *vytinė* with the accessories" of Mikalojus Stročynskis in 1698 – at 600 auksinas. At the same time, his "new *vytinė* with new sails" was estimated at 1,300 auksinas. We also come across such prices of *vytinė* in other sources from the second half of the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century, however, their prices went up. The *vytinė* of Vilnius merchant Juozapas Savičius with the equipment and accessories was assessed by the assessors in 1701 at 1,600 auksinas, whereas it was sold for 1,800 auksinas. In 1720, a new ship of this type owned by Grigas Stroškevičius was evaluated at 2,000 auksinas. This amount was sufficient to buy oneself a fairly good brick house in Vilnius, Kaunas, or elsewhere. In the mid-nineteenth century, the prices for a new *vytinė* varied between 1,000 and 1,200 Tsarist rubles.

The prices of *strugas* vessels varied even more. For example, in 1675, the *strugelis* (small *strugas*) of Simonas Narbutavičius with the 'ožys', anchor and all of its other accessories was estimated at 200 auksinas. Large *strugas* vessels were much more expensive. The inventory of the property of Vilnius resident Danielius Svirščeviskis in 1735, indicating that his repaired *strugas* with new devices and accessories, cost 1,500 auksinas, confirms that.

The sources pertaining to the shipping of Vilnius citizens in the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries are rich in information not only about transporting of goods with *strugas* vessels from Vilnius to Königsberg but also back to Vilnius. There is also mention of newly repaired vessels of this type in the sources. Therefore, the statements in the sources that "*strugas* vessels with a cargo would in spring normally be sailed on a river and sold for firewood" should be looked at skeptically. The owners would only

sell for firewood old ships or those wrecked during a journey and no more fit for shipping.

Interestingly, when planning the Magistrate of Kaunas' revenue from "the city's *aleksotas*", i.e. the shipyard, in 1595, it was established that if one built a *strugas*, they had to pay thirty groats into the city's cash office. Those who wished to build a new *vytinė* for themselves, were supposed to pay a fee of twelve groats. For the non-citizens of Kaunas, this fee was double in size.

We have no information about the shipyard in Vilnius. Sometimes, however, the mentions of unfinished building of *vytinė* vessels in the Vilnius shipyard in Lukiškės, "on the shore of the river", show that ships were built in the then pier. The largest shipyards in the seventeenth-eighteenth centuries were in the Upper Nemunas and Neris, in the territory of present-day Belarus; here, entire villages were engaged in ship building alone.

*Translated by KERRY SHAWN KEYS and DALIA ŠATIENĖ*

## Rimas Čiurlionis

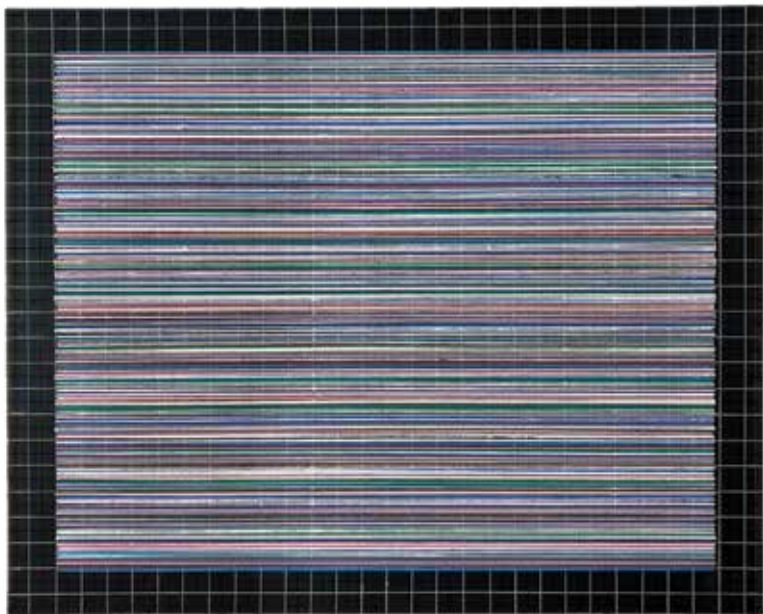
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In his visual vocabulary, Rimas Čiurlionis employs minimalist elements to convey corporeal and ethereal relationships. He avoids direct references to his physical surroundings, political symbols, social memes, and ethnic iconography, preferring the impact of subtle relationships between line and color.

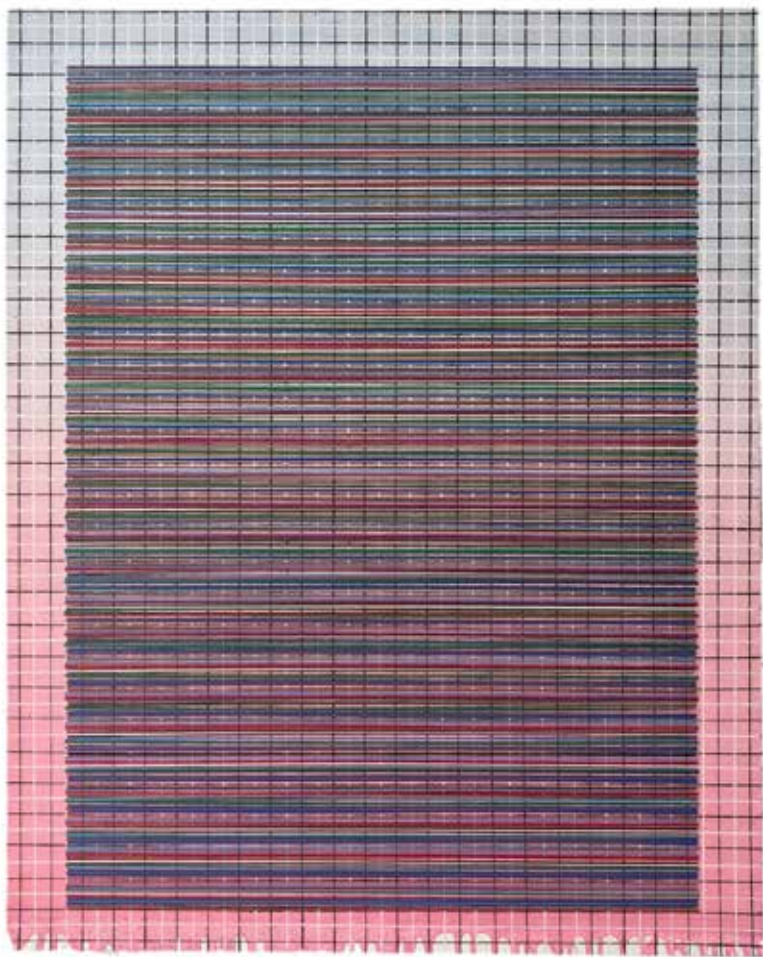
Čiurlionis speculates, a circle, square, triangle, and vertical and horizontal lines, distinct and geometric forms that are familiar, can reference mysterious things. He asserts that by using these forms, an abstract expression of inner experience can result. Rather than conveying an allusion or illusion of experienced emotions or memories that would make the work “understood,” each work becomes an active instrument of contemplation attuned with a particular resonance. Further, the works carry “a subtle and deliberate vibration that heightens awareness of the space within and around the work”. The forms are like musical notes creating an experience.

Rimas Čiurlionis was born in Kaunas, Lithuania, in 1959. He studied painting and graphic design at the Stepas Žukas Art Technical School in Kaunas. After completing his studies, he was employed as an architectural restorer and worked on the frescos at the Pažaislis Monastery and the Church of the Visitation. The latter is known as the most magnificent example of Baroque architecture in Lithuania.

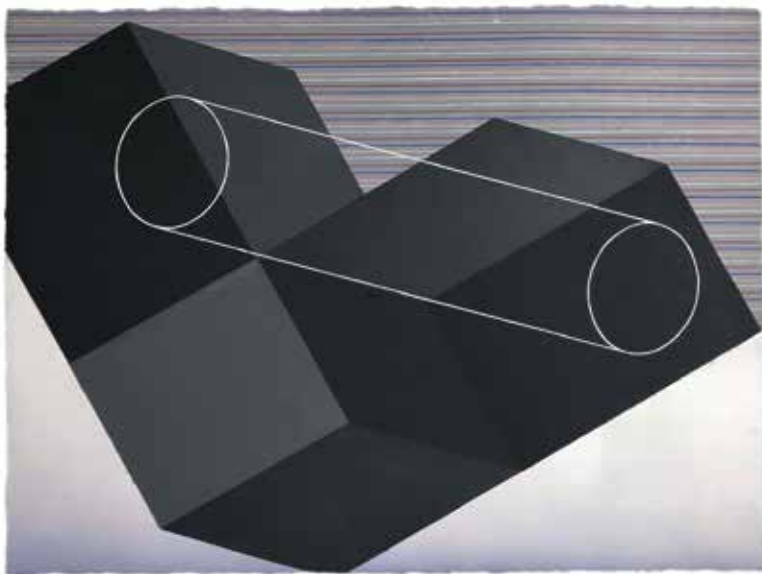
In 1992, Čiurlionis came to the United States and settled in Chicago. His work is often shown at SOFA – Sculpture Objects Functional Art and Design and Art Expo at Navy Pier in Chicago, Illinois; and has been showcased at Holly Hunt Showroom Collection in Los Angeles, CA, SPACE Gallery in Denver, CO, Art Palm Beach, in West Palm Beach, FL, and Art Silicon Valley/ San Francisco in San Mateo, CA. He has participated in solo and group exhibitions throughout Europe and the United States and his work is included in public and private collections.



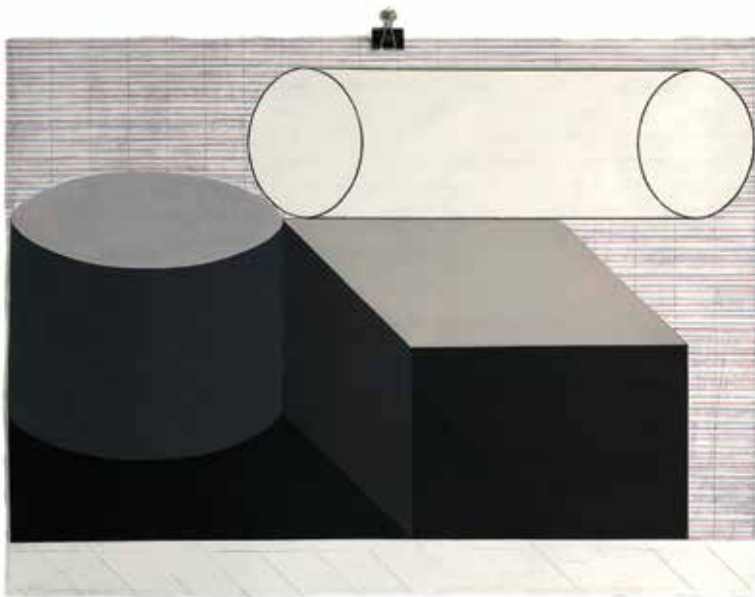
Rimas ČIURLIONIS. *Day melts in night*  
24" × 30", oil on canvas, 1920



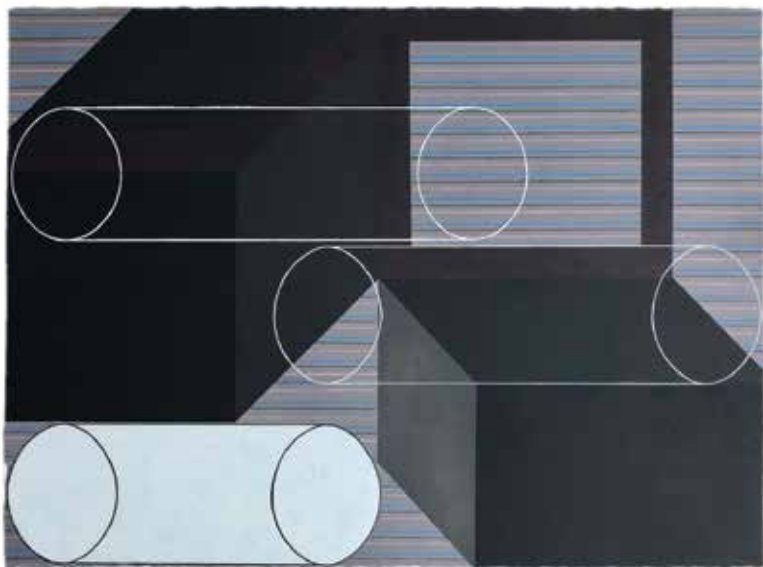
Rimas ČIURLIONIS. *Morning melts in evening*  
30" × 24", oil on canvas, 1920



Rimas ČIURLIONIS. *Approaching contrast II*  
22.5" × 30", oil on paper, 1919–20



Rimantas ČIURLIONIS. *And shadows praise light I*  
20.5" × 30", oil on paper 1919–20



Rimas ČIURLIONIS. *Approaching contrast I*  
22.5" × 30", oil on paper, 1919–20





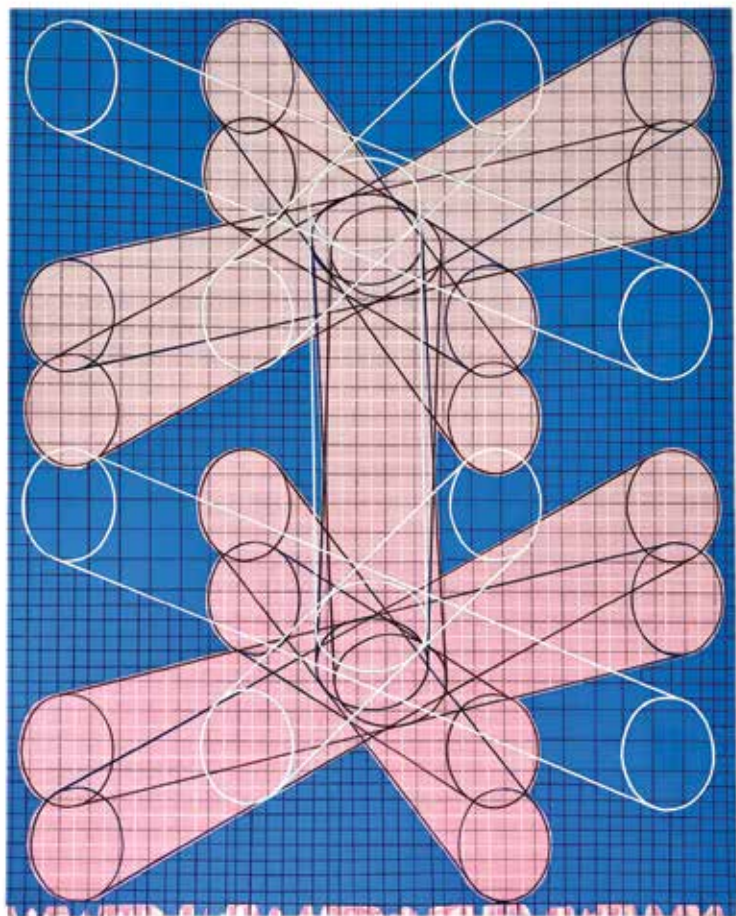
Rimas ČIURLIONIS. *And shadows praise light II*  
20.5" × 30", oil on paper, 1919–20



Rimas ČIURLIONIS. *And shadows praise light III*  
20.5" × 30", oil on paper, 1919–20



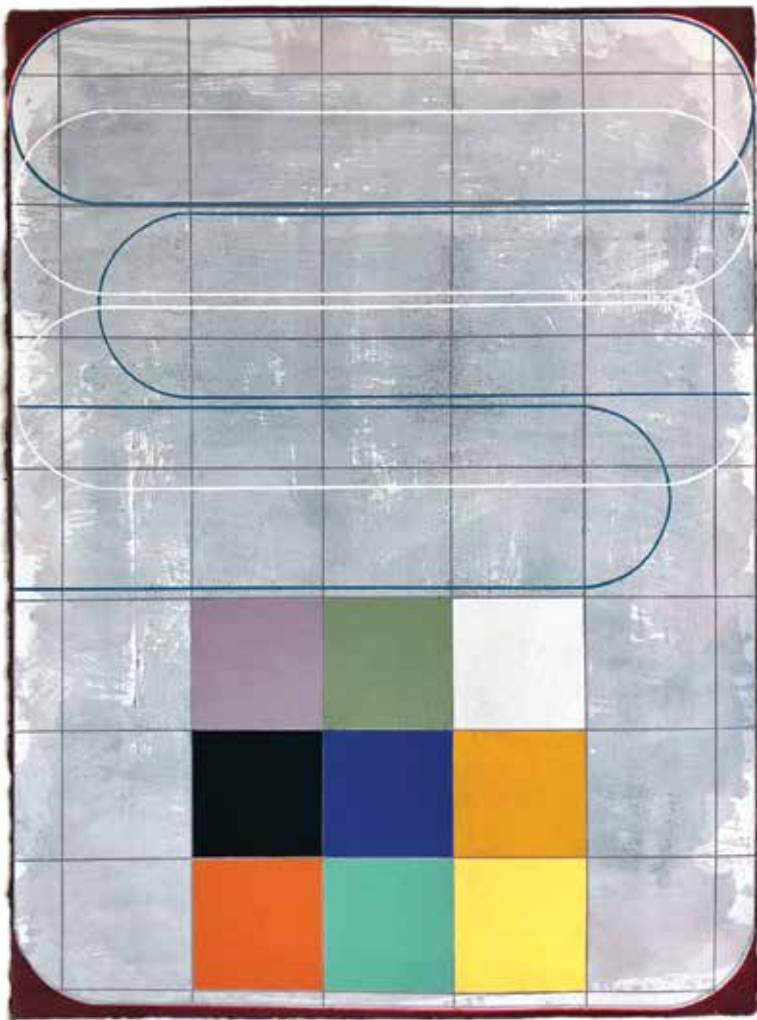
Rimas ČIURLIONIS. *And shadows praise light* E  
30" × 24", oil on canvas, 1920



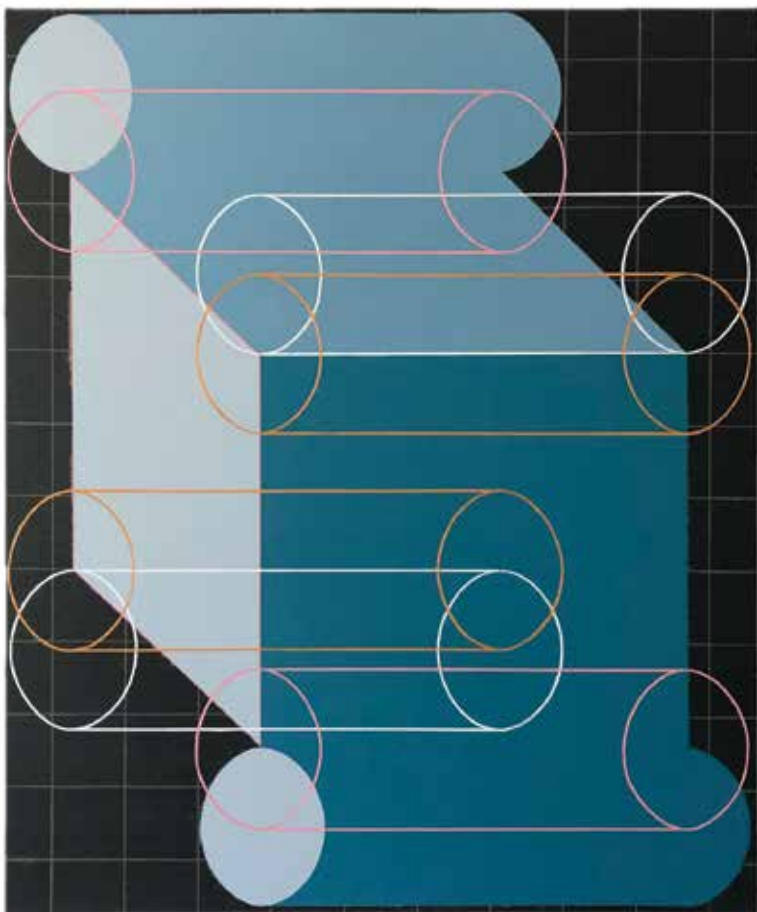
Rimas ČIURLIONIS. *Celebration blue*  
30" × 24", oil on canvas, 1920



Rimas ČIURLIONIS. *Composition for summer I*  
30" × 22.5", oil on paper, 1920



Rimas ČIURLIONIS. *Composition for summer II*  
30" × 22.5", oil on paper, 1920



Rimas ČIURLIONIS. *Dreaming in Reality C.*

30" × 24", oil on canvas, 1920

- All photos by artist, Rimas Čiurlionis;
- Color corrected and cleaned by Katryna Ciurlionis

# Revenue of Vilnius from the Production and Sale of Alcoholic Beverages from the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century

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MINDAUGAS KLOVAS

Taxes levied on the production and sale of alcoholic beverages are one of the oldest and were the privilege of the state monopoly, while the privileges of the grand dukes of Lithuania to inns were known from the end of the sixteenth century.<sup>1</sup> Over the course of time, revenue of this kind added to the treasury of the ruler and filled the wallets of all the landowners: in 1498, the law of propination was introduced in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which enabled the landowners to freely produce and sell alcoholic beverages in their holdings.<sup>2</sup> Having received the ruler's privilege to engage in this activity, the owners of taverns or inns had to pay a fixed tax to the state.<sup>3</sup> Before the Union of Lublin, the tax was known as '*kapczyzna*', a tax on production and sales

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<sup>1</sup> Tyla, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės iždas*, 128.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid., 128. Cf.: Довнар-Запольский, *Государственное хозяйство*, 420–438.

<sup>3</sup> For the terms of the inn and the tavern, see: Jurginis, "Feodalinės Lietuvos miestų tyrinėjimai," 15; Jurginis, *Lietuvos valstiečių istorija*, 83; Samalavičius, *Vilniaus miesto kultūra*, 168, 174–175.

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Dr. MINDAUGAS KLOVAS is a research fellow at the Urban Research Department of the Lithuanian Institute of History (Vilnius, Lithuania). His field of research includes the treasury of Vilnius from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, ethnic and confessional composition of the residents of Vilnius from the late fourteenth to the eighteenth century, evolution of private documents in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the late fourteenth to the early sixteenth century.



of alcoholic beverages.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile, in the tax proclamation of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth adopted in Lublin in 1569, it was supplemented by the 'cork' (*czopowe*) tax.<sup>5</sup> This tax belonged to the category of extraordinary taxes and was collected only in the presence of need, mostly in the case of war; it required the approval of the Sejm. The 'cork' tax had to be paid by all landowners despite their being exempt from state taxes. Basically, the 'cork' tax was levied on the production and sales of local alcoholic beverages (based on the value of production) and on storage and sales of imported beverages (a fixed tax).<sup>6</sup> This tax had to be paid not only by landowners but also self-governing cities, among them the mead-selling innkeepers and fraternities in all *jurysdykas* of Vilnius.<sup>7</sup>

Cities and towns that had been granted self-governing rights would augment their treasuries with returns from alcohol.<sup>8</sup> For example, the case of Kaunas shows that revenue from alcohol had been raised from 1408, when the city was granted self-governing rights. The privilege of the Grand Duke Vytautas indicates that the city had the right to levy taxes on alcohol.<sup>9</sup> At least two lists of the revenues of Kaunas in the sixteenth century show that the city further received this kind of profit.<sup>10</sup> The 1540 privilege of Sigismund I the Old records city's revenue from vod-

<sup>4</sup> Tyla, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės išdas*, 133.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., 133–134. The proclamation itself: *Volumina Legum*, vol. II, 40–41. Also, see the collection of laws on the *czopowe* tax: *Inwentarz Voluminow Legum*, cz. 1, 335–337. Zigmantas Kiaupa explains that the name *czopowo* "is derived from the Polish *czop*, which means either a spigot of a barrel, or a large cauldron used in the production of beer or vodka" (Kiaupa, "Karčema," 11). Antanas Ignas Veryha-Darevskis used the term 'volinė', as the translation of 'kapščina' (Veryha-Darevskis, *Lietuvos mokesčiai*, 33–36).

<sup>6</sup> Cf.: Rybarski, *Skarb*, 252–254.

<sup>7</sup> Tyla, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės išdas*, 135. For more on fraternities, see: Ragauskas, "Midaus brolijos," 234–240; Morzy, "Geneza," 11–14, etc.

<sup>8</sup> Some historians use the term *gėrimai* or *gėralai*, cf.: Kiaupa, "Karčema," 11; Tyla, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės išdas*, 127, etc.

<sup>9</sup> "[...] *dajemy [...] szrotową* (in another copy – *szrotownią*) *z wszystkichmi pożytkami ich jako mienione bydź mogą*" (Kiaupa, "Pirmosios Kauno miesto privilegijos," 31).

<sup>10</sup> Kiaupa, *Kauno istorija*, 303.

ka-brewers and sellers. Meanwhile, the inventory of 1595 indicates that vodka-brewers each had to pay 48 groszy to the city's treasury annually. However, inadequate sources (the books of revenue and expenditure of Kaunas did not survive) restrict the studies into the treasury.<sup>11</sup> Thus it is not clear what part of the city's revenue was made up of the taxes on alcohol, how large these taxes were, and what their dynamics was. In this respect, examination of the treasuries of other cities of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth contributes to the comparative analysis. There is a study on the late fourteenth-to-late fifteenth-century treasury of Cracow.<sup>12</sup> Its results show that this city received revenue from production and transport of wine and beer (the latter was called '*Schrotwagen*') at least from the late fourteenth century.<sup>13</sup> Analysis of the books of revenue and expenditure made it possible to determine that in 1390, the revenue of this type amounted to around 15 per cent in 1487 to about 6 per cent of the total revenue of the city.<sup>14</sup> In the late fifteenth century, Cracow was granted the right to collect '*wayngeld*', the wine duty tax, which came up to a considerable share of the city's revenue.<sup>15</sup> An exhaustive analysis of the 1624–1635 treasury of Lviv showed that the revenue from '*szrotarstwo*' amounted to about 0.7 per cent of annual revenue on average.<sup>16</sup>

In this respect, Vilnius was not an exception among other self-governing cities. Revenue from alcoholic beverages augmented the city's treasury at least from the early fifteenth century (see below); in historiography, however, this aspect has not attracted

<sup>11</sup> Ibid., 24.

<sup>12</sup> Kutrzeba, "Finanse Krakowa," 27–152. In addition, Kutrzeba briefly reviewed the finances of other cities (Wrocław, Poznań, Lviv, Peremyśl, and Kazimierz), listing the main sources of revenue which include returns from alcohol, *ibid.*, 136–145.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 60.

<sup>14</sup> Ibid., 154.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid., 100–103.

<sup>16</sup> Zubyk, *Gospodarka*, tabl. 102 "Dochody kasy samorządowej (miejskiej)"; on the '*szrotarstwo*' tax, see: *ibid.*, 139–140.

special attention so far.<sup>17</sup> Based on the 1647 inventory of revenue and expenditure of Vilnius, Maria Lowmiańska attributed the revenue from alcohol to ‘monopolies’ and pointed to the triple nature of this type of revenue.<sup>18</sup> At that time, the city’s revenue from alcohol (the so-called ‘szrotarstwo’) came from: (1) bottling containers (‘od mierzenia – dochód z miednic czyli czopowe’), (2) storage (‘od składania – szrotowe’), and (3) from vodka-distilling vessels (‘dochód z bań gorzalczanych’). This paper is focused on the background of the revenue of the city of Vilnius from the production and sales of alcoholic beverages, its legal regulation, the specifics of collection, the amounts of taxes, its significance to the city treasury, etc.

## The Background

The earliest currently known privilege granted to Vilnius, which establishes the sources of the city’s revenue, is the privilege issued by Žygimantas Kęstutaitis (Sigismund Kęstutaitis), Grand Duke of Lithuania, on 23 September 1432. It includes the right of the city to draw revenue from alcoholic beverages:

ac depositionem seu propinationem cerevisiae, medonis aut vini, quae in vulgari Szrotarstwo nuncupatur, cum ipsarum utilitatus & proventibus, quos Cives, nostri praenominati, in usum & meliorationem nostrae Civitatis Vlnensis convertendi, penam & omnimodam habeant facultatem.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> Major studies on the treasury of Vilnius: Lowmiańska, *Wilno*, 292–328; Blažytė, “Vilniaus miesto iždo pajamos,” 109–112; Čaplinskas, *Didžioji gatvė*, 55–61; Klovas, “Vilniaus miesto iždas,” 77–104; Klovas, “Svarstyklės ir saikavimas,” 5–28.

<sup>18</sup> Lowmiańska, *Wilno*, 305.

<sup>19</sup> Dubinski, *Zbior*, 3–5. Also see the privilege in Ruthenian: “а шинкованья и сложен(ь)е вина, меду и пива, што пол(ь)ским языком словет(ь) шротарство, съ ихъ пожитки и приходы тьи то местчане наши первореченныи оужиток а полепшен(ь)е наше(о) места Вилни исполна моць володети имають” (LMAVB RS, F 1–14).

Adolfas Šapoka explained this section of the privilege as “the right to sell, and facilities for the storage of various wines, mead, and beer.”<sup>20</sup> Stanislaw Kutrzeba, who examined the treasury of Cracow, explained the term of ‘szrotarstwo’ or ‘Schrotwagen’.<sup>21</sup> In his view, this term encompassed the fee for lifting the barrels off the carriages and carrying them to the inns as well as their transporting; in other words, a fee was paid if alcoholic beverages moved to the tavern or an inn or they had to be stored somewhere. According to Kutrzeba, this tax must have been levied not only on imported goods but also those produces in the city: it had to be paid if beer was brewed in the inn and sold to another inn that sold it. Basically, in 1432 Vilnius was granted the right to charge a tax for the storage (stowage) of beer, mead, and wine and propination (production and sales). The latter right was approved in the privileges of Kazimieras Jogailaitis (Casimir Jagiellonczyk)<sup>22</sup> of 1441 and Aleksandras Jogailaitis (Alexander Jagiellonczyk) of 1492.<sup>23</sup> The 1492 privilege can be seen as an explication and expansion of the privilege granted fifty years before. First of all, it corrected the definition of wine, the object of the privilege:

Praeterea volendo dictae Civitati nostrae Vilenſi conditionem & statum facere meliorem, damus eidem & concedimus habere [...] depositionem ac propinationem Malmatui & omnis vini cujuscunque generis Patriae seu Regionis existat, & quocunque nomine appelletur, etiam vinum sublimatum.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Šapoka, *Raštai*, 326. Kiaupa explains the privilege similarly: “this episode can only be explained as a permission for the magistrate of Vilnius to sell alcoholic beverages, or, rather, the magistrate enjoys the exclusive right to manage the storage and sales of alcohol,” in: Kiaupa, “Svečių (pirklių) teisė,” 41.

<sup>21</sup> Kutrzeba, ‘Finanse Krakowa’, 61–62, 67.

<sup>22</sup> “ac depositionem seu propinationem cerevisiae, medonis aut vini, quae in vulgari szrotarstwo nuncupatur, cum ipsorum utilitatibus & proventibus, quos Cives nostri prae-nominati in usus & meliorationem nostrae Civitatis Vilenſis praedictae; convertendi, plenariam & omnimodam habeant facultatem” (Dubinski, Zbior, 8).

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 10–14.

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 13.

Thus the right of storage and propination was granted to “Malvasia and all wines of any sort and any name made in the Homeland and the neighbouring lands, as well as to vodka”.<sup>25</sup> In addition, the city acquired the right of hop propination and weighing.<sup>26</sup>

As we can see, in the late fifteenth century, Vilnius had the right to charge a tax for the storage (stowage) and propination (production and sales) of all sorts of alcoholic beverages (beer, mead, wine, and vodka), which is referred to as ‘*szrotarstwo*’ in the privileges. What remains not clear is the amount of this revenue and its importance to the treasury of the city. The table below (Table 1) shows the development of the revenue sources of Vilnius in the fifteenth century. We can see that each new ruler would grant the Magdeburgian city new sources of revenue and thus the share of the revenue from alcohol must have decreased each time. In 1432, the treasury of Magdeburgian Vilnius had only four sources of income: scales, fabric cutting shop, four fabric stalls, and storage and propination of wine, mead, and beer. Later sources from the mid-seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries show that the fabric cutting shops and four fabric stalls yielded only a small share of the city’s revenue<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup> Cf.: Šapoka, *Raštai*, 329.

<sup>26</sup> “*Damu insuper Eidem Civitati propinationem humuli venditionemque ejusdem ad mensuram sub pretorio vel extra, aut ubi senioribus Civitatis oportunius visum fuit. Ideo statuimus & inhibemus omnibus tam Hospitibus quam etiam Domesticis Civibus, & generaliter aliis omnibus cujuscunque conditionis, vel sub quacunque manu vel potestate fuerint, ut modo nullus in Domo vel extra Domum, neque vinum propinare audeat, nec humulum ad mensuram vendere in praejudicium Jurium Civitatis*” (Dubinski, *Zbior*, 13).

<sup>27</sup> For example, the fabric trimming shop. For example, the 1647 inventory of the city’s revenue specified that the city annually received 40 kop groszy (or 80 zloty) from the rent of the fabric trimming shop (LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 14, l. 1–2, translation into Lithuanian: Baliulis and Meilus, *Lietuvos*, 561–563), which may have come up to 0.4–0.5% of the city’s annual revenue (in total, the city might have collected 15,000–17,000 zloty; see Klovas, “Vilniaus miesto iždas,” 81–84). Meanwhile, after the occupation by the Moscow army in the mid-seventeenth century, the city received no revenue from the fabric trimming shop at all. Four fabric stalls could hardly yield more returns.

and scales was the most significant one.<sup>28</sup> Therefore the revenue from alcohol must have comprised a comparatively large share of the city's treasury; however, due to the shortage of the data it cannot be accurately determined.<sup>29</sup>

Table 1. *Source of revenue of Vilnius in the fifteenth century*

<b>The 1432 privilege of Žygimantas Kęstutaitis (Sigismund Kęstutaitis)</b>	<b>The 1441 privilege of Kazimieras Jogailaitis (Casimir Jagiellonczyk)</b>	<b>The 1492 privilege of Aleksandras Jogailaitis (Alexander Jagiellonczyk)</b>
Scales	Scales	Scales
Fabric cutting shop	Fabric cutting shop	Fabric cutting shop
Four fabric stalls	Four fabric stalls	Four fabric stalls
Storage and propination of wine, mead, and beer	Storage and propination of wine, mead, and beer	Storage and propination of wine, mead, and beer
	All stalls and returns from them	All stalls and returns from them
	Lukiškės (revenue from folwarks and other?)	Lukiškės (revenue from folwarks and other?)
		Storage and storage of vodka
		Propination of hops
		Wax melting house

In the sixteenth century, the nature of the ruler's privileges confirming self-governing and other rights of Vilnius changed.

<sup>28</sup> Before the 1655 invasion by Moscow, scales might have yielded 2000–3000 kop groszy (or 4000–6000 złoty) in revenue, which amounted to about 24–35% of the city's total revenue (Klovas, "Svarstyklės ir saikavimas," 18).

<sup>29</sup> Relying on an analogy is also difficult. Here is the extensively studied fifteenth-century treasury of Cracow, which had a much wider range of revenue sources: In 1431, 9.4% of city's annual revenue came from alcohol ('Schrotwagen') and just 3.3% from weighing shops and the melting house ('Waga i topnie') (Kutrzeba, "Finanse Krakowa," tablica II).

It was very likely due to the growing number of privileges that in the 1506 privilege of Sigismund I the Old, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, the rights of the city of Vilnius were confirmed in abstract wordings and that the texts of earlier privileges were no longer replicated.<sup>30</sup> Therefore it must be pointed out that the term *szrotarstwo* is not encountered in later privileges of the sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth centuries, while in the 1647 inventory of the revenue of Vilnius and in the summaries of the city's revenue and expenditure of the second half of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, this term was used in a much narrower sense: for stowage and trade in wine (*szrotowego od wina*) (see below for more on this). Therefore we tend to think that *szrotarstwo*, the term proposed by Łowmiańska to sum up the monopoly on alcohol, is not exactly suitable.<sup>31</sup>

Despite the laconic nature of the 1506 privilege, Sigismund I the Old promulgated three important documents the aim of which was to regulate legal relations between different *jurysdykas* of Vilnius. First of all, when the construction of the defensive wall of Vilnius was completed in 1522, a need arose to redefine the relations between the Magdeburgian city and the Castle. The privilege of 9 December 1522 relieved the burghers from the castle guard duty and confirmed their right to shops (stalls); it also dwelt on the duties of the residents of the Magdeburgian city and taxes paid to the state.<sup>32</sup> Since the city's right to raise revenue from alcohol was not questioned or specified, it suggests that the Magdeburgian city did not have any stronger disagreements on this issue with the residents of the Castle *jurysdyka*. On 21 December 1522, the ruler promulgated a document that regulated the relations between Magdeburgian Vilnius and the *jurysdyka* of the bishop of Vilnius.<sup>33</sup> Among numerous

<sup>30</sup> Dubinski, *Zbior*, 20–22.

<sup>31</sup> Łowmiańska, *Wilno*, 305.

<sup>32</sup> Dubinski, *Zbior*, 28–31. Cf.: Šapoka, *Raštai*, 336–337.

<sup>33</sup> Dubinski, *Zbior*, 31–34. Cf.: Šapoka, *Raštai*, 357–358.

articles related to trade, taxes, and other important issues, the bishop of Vilnius and his subordinates accepted the commitment or were committed not to interfere into the matters of vodka-brewing and propination:

Vini etiam sublimati ac cujusvis generis dispositionem ipse Dominus Episcopus cum subditis suis Ecclesiasticis ad ejusdem vini ustionem propinationemve intromittere se non debet quomodolibet in futurum.<sup>34</sup>

The above-mentioned 'non-interference' could be understood as a ban on the production and sales of vodka in the Magdeburgian *jurysdyka*, although we cannot confirm it with certainty. One aspect is clear, though: the Magdeburgian part of the city and the residents of the bishop's *jurysdyka* had numerous disagreements and some of them arose in the field of production of alcohol and having it at one's disposal. The Magdeburgian city succeeded in resolving the latter in its favour.<sup>35</sup>

Some aspects of the rights related to the trade in alcohol were considered in the ordinance of 9 September 1536 through which Sigismund I the Old regulated the debatable issues of the city's self-government.<sup>36</sup> Among other things, this document confirmed the city's earlier rights to the taxation of alcohol and pointed out:

For this reason, what [is written] in the Privilege of the City, fabric trimming and sales of wine and vodka in the city of Vilnius and nowhere else must belong to the Town Hall alone.

<sup>34</sup> Dubinski, *Zbior*, 32. Šapoka thus comments on this paper: "The bishop promised that he and his subjects would not interfere in the matters of the distilling of vodka and its sales" (Šapoka, *Raštai*, 357).

<sup>35</sup> Magdeburgian Vilnius had arguments with other *jurysdykas*, for example, in 1636, the ruler announced a decree in the argument between the Magdeburgian city and the Carmelites (Dubinski, *Zbior*, 200–202). In this case, Magdeburgian Vilnius filed a complaint against the Carmelites as the latter prevented the subjects of the former from collecting taxes and the city's treasury incurred losses. The arguments were resolved in favour of Magdeburgian city.

<sup>36</sup> Dubinski, *Zbior*, 53–60. Cf.: Jurginis et al., *Vilniaus miesto istorija*, 68–69; Kiaupa, "1536 m. ir 1620 m. Vilniaus vilkierai," 42–43 and others.



Zaczym szto iest w Prywileju Miskom, postryhanie sukon i szynkowanie wina, horelki, w Mistie Wileńskom ino nihdie indiey odno k Ratuszu to majet przysłuchati.<sup>37</sup>

The ordinance went on to point out that the city had to supervise the traders in alcohol so that in each inn they used mead and beer barrels of identical volume and that these barrels were to be marked with the symbol of the city:

Wzhlad też Rada majet mieti o wahi i o miery kupieckieie i szynkarow, oto tym obyczajem iż majut w každy karczmie boczki miodowye i piwnye ustanowiti odnostaynyie w odnu mieru pod cechom mieskim.<sup>38</sup>

Compared to 1492, when Vilnius had the right to charge a tax for the storage (stowage) and propination (production and trade) of all sorts of alcohol (beer, mead, wine, and vodka), the 1536 ordinance mentions only trade in wine and vodka and supervision of the vessels of identical volume for trade in mead and beer. It would appear that the city's right to gain revenue from alcohol was curtailed.<sup>39</sup>

Still, later privileges of the rulers disprove any sort of restrictions. For instance, in 1607, Sigismund III Vasa, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, confirmed the privileges granted to the city by grand dukes Aleksandras Jogailaitis (Alexander Jagiellonczyk) and Sigismund I the Old, which make references,

<sup>37</sup> Dubinski, *Zbior*, 56.

<sup>38</sup> Dubinski, *Zbior*, 58.

<sup>39</sup> Sigismund Augustus' unsuccessful and notorious attempt to restrict the distilling of vodka and its sales in Vilnius in a year of poor harvest is worth mentioning here. In 1553, the ruler ordered the magistrate to impose restrictions on the distilling of vodka and its sales and to elect one or two individuals who would enforce the order. In 1554, the distilling and sales of vodka were rented out to the burgomaster Lukas Markovičius 'Mundijus', but the contract could not be honoured due to resistance of the burghers. For more on this, see: Šapoka, *Raštai*, 340, 568 (A. Ragauskas' commentary); Kiaupa, "Karčema," 13–15; Ragauskas and Ragauskienė, *Vilniaus burmistro*, XXI, 11–15 (No. 3).

yet again, to the city's right to alcohol stowage and sales of beer, mead, and wine:

też i złożenie, szynkowanie Piwa, Miedu i Wina, i pomiernoie Miedowoie, szto słyniet miednica wodle obyczaiu tamosznoho.<sup>40</sup>

For the first time, this privilege clearly established the city's right to draw revenue from the measuring vessels. This right is established in other seventeenth-century privileges of the rulers, which confirm Magdeburg rights; for example, the 1633 privilege by Władysław Vasa includes the following:

tum etiam mensurarum frumenti, & liquorum, variarum ulnarum & ponderum.<sup>41</sup>

Just as the completion of the defensive wall in the early sixteenth century speeded up the revision of the relations of the Magdeburgian part of the city with some *jurydykas*, the need arose to regulate the relations with the Jewish kahal of Vilnius in the second half of the sixteenth-early seventeenth centuries.<sup>42</sup> The privilege of 1 June 1593 issued by Sigismund III Vasa, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, legitimised the Jews in the city of Vilnius, allowed them to freely engage in trade, and relieved them from the duties to the Magdeburgian city;<sup>43</sup> in 1629 the Jews were assigned to the Castle *jurydyka*.<sup>44</sup> As the number of the Jews was growing and higher tensions between the Jews and the burghers were escalating, Władysław IV Vasa, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, announced an ordinance on 26 July 1633 in which he regulated in detail the subordination

<sup>40</sup> Dubinski, *Zbior*, 167. It should be noted that Šapoka doubts the authenticity of the confirmed privilege of Aleksandras Jogailaitis (Alexander Jagiellonczyk) (Šapoka, *Raštai*, 330–331).

<sup>41</sup> Dubinski, *Zbior*, 196. Also, the right of pouring was confirmed in 1649 (*ibid.*, 219) and in 1669 (*ibid.*, 240).

<sup>42</sup> For more on the Jews in Vilnius, see: Frick, *Kith*, 6; Kempa, *Konflikty*, 525–550; Cieśla, *Kupcy*, 29–41; Šiaučiūnaitė-Verbickienė, *Žydai*, 128–189, etc.

<sup>43</sup> Бершадский, "История Виленской еврейской общины," book 3, 81–82.

<sup>44</sup> Meilus, "History of Vilnius Old Jewish Cemetery," 65–66.

of kahal and the Magdeburgian city, trade, and other issues.<sup>45</sup> The document established that the Jews could trade in mead, beer, and vodka within the quarter defined for their needs (the ghetto) and that they were prohibited to sell alcoholic beverages to the Christians.<sup>46</sup> In addition, the Jews were allowed to freely produce mead, beer, and ordinary vodka.<sup>47</sup> This ordinance can be interpreted as a restriction of the Magdeburgian rights to the alcohol ‘monopoly’, which incurred considerable losses to the burghers.<sup>48</sup>

## The Mid-Seventeenth–Eighteenth Centuries

On 19 July 1647, an inventory of the revenue of the city of Vilnius was compiled<sup>49</sup> and the cash keepers of the treasury were committed to use it as per instruction of 5 August 1647.<sup>50</sup> Currently, this inventory is the only document of this kind that allows forming an accurate picture of the sources of the city’s revenue

<sup>45</sup> Dubinski, *Zbiory*, 196–200. Cf.: Cieśla, *Kupcy*, 29–42.

<sup>46</sup> “*Szynkow w pomienionych Domach, a nie gdzie indziej w Mieście Wileńskim na miód, na piwo, gorzałkę dla Chrześcian Zydom mieć nie wolno; prócz ieśliby z Domu swego, miód, piwo, beczką, gorzałkę zaś kufą, barytą garcem pół garcem, a nie mnieyszą miarą potrzebującym sprzedawali, i kupowali. Dla siebie iednak i dla swey własney potrzeby Zydom wolno będzie mieć szynki. Waruiąc to, aby im w Domach i mieszkaniach ich gorzałkę palić nie wolno było, chyba prostą przepalać którey wolno im będzie; Toż od Ludzi Stanu Szlacheckiego iako i inszych iakieykolwiek kondycyey, publice i privatim nabywać. Miód iednak sycić i piwo warzyć wolno będzie Zydom w Domach ich własnych. [...]*” (Dubinski, *Zbiory*, 198). Cf.: Cieśla, *Kupcy*, 32–34, also see: Бершадский, С. ‘История Виленской еврейской’, book 4, 68–71.

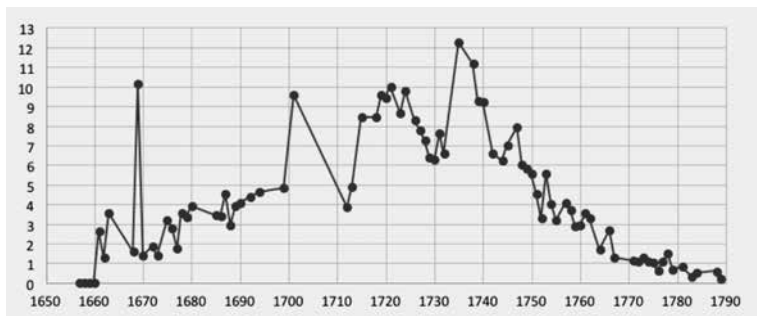
<sup>47</sup> Bershadsky explains that the Jews had permission to distil only ordinary vodka (ibid., 69). It is not clear what other sorts of vodka were.

<sup>48</sup> On burghers’ complaints about the violations of the ordinance and the losses incurred by the Jews, see: Бершадский, “История Виленской еврейской общины,” book 6, 64 and other sources.

<sup>49</sup> The original of the inventory is currently unknown; usually, four copies of the first half of the eighteenth century (a copy of 1721 was used for this paper: LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 12, l. 1v–2) and a 1658 list of the city’s revenue received before the occupation that the officials of Vilnius submitted to the tsar are used. For more on the inventory, see: Klovas, “Vilnius miesto iždas,” 81–82.

<sup>50</sup> Dubinski, *Zbiory*, 210–211. Cf.: Klovas, “Svarstykės ir saikavimas,” 13.

Figure 1. *Percentage of the revenue from alcohol (trade in wine, vodka distilling vessels and pouring vessels) in the treasury of Vilnius, 1657–1789*



before the middle of the seventeenth century. We learn from it that the city received these types of revenue from alcohol: (1) 18 groszy [per barrel] were paid for trade in wine (*‘szrotowego od wina po gr(oszey) 18’*), (2) 30 groszy for vodka distilling vessels (*‘płatn od bań gorzałczanych 30 gr(oszey)’*), and (3) the rent of pouring vessels and measuring barrels, along with the pavement tax, augmented the city treasury by 700 kop groszy (*‘z arędy miednic, brukowego y beczek kop 700’*).<sup>51</sup> The revenue entries in the summaries of the city’s revenue and expenditure of the second half of the seventeenth–the late eighteenth centuries were the same. Graph 1 shows the general trends of the returns from alcohol production and trade in the treasury of Vilnius: From 1657 to 1701, the revenue of this type amounted to 3% of the city’s total revenue on average; from 1712 to 1749, this share rose to 8%, while during the period of 1750–1789 it dropped to 2%. We can see that the returns of this kind were most profitable to the city in the first half of the eighteenth century, after the Northern War, when the city’s revenue from other sources was rather insufficient.<sup>52</sup> Below, different types of returns from alcoholic beverages are analysed in greater detail.

<sup>51</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 12, l. 1v–2. Cf.: Łowmiańska, *Wilno*, 305.

<sup>52</sup> On the revenue of the city after the Northern War, see: Klovas, “Vilniaus miesto iždas,” 90–91.

1. TRADE IN WINE ('SZROTOWEGO'). As has been mentioned above, compared to the privileges of the fifteenth century, in 1647 the term *szrotowego* narrowed down considerably and pertained exclusively to wine trade: "*szrotowego od wina po gr(oszey) 18*".<sup>53</sup> In later books of the city's revenue and expenditure, returns of this type are called in different ways: "*przychod szrotowego od PP. winnikow, ktorzy wino różne przedaia, płacą od beczki po gr(oszey) 18*"<sup>54</sup>, "*szrotowego od wina, ktorzy do piwnic swoich panowie mieszczanie wpuszczaią naprzod*"<sup>55</sup>, "*szrotowego od wina*",<sup>56</sup> and the like.<sup>57</sup> After the invasion by Moscow in the mid-seventeenth century, the city received revenue from trade in wine in 1663, when the returns of this type amounted to 72 kop groszy and 48 groszy (or 145 złoty and 18 groszy).<sup>58</sup> That year, Andrius Hofmanas (Andrzej Hoffman) paid three kop groszy and 18 groszy for 11 barrels, Martynas Fornas (Marcin Forn) 39 kop groszy and 30 groszy for 131 barrels, Kazimierienė Dygonienė (Kazimierzowa Dygoniowa) four kop groszy and 48 groszy for 16 barrels, Mykolas Edermanas (Michał Ederman) one kop groszy and 12 groszy for four barrels, and Jokūbas Deshausas (Jakub Deshaus) 24 kop groszy for 80 barrels. Another 70 kop groszy and 30 groszy were received from the debtors of three previous years.<sup>59</sup> It should be noted that in the same year, at least seven merchants incurred debts for 76 unpaid barrels (22 kop groszy and 48 groszy). In 1667, the returns from trade in wine amounted to 82 złoty and five merchants incurred a total debt of about 65 złoty.<sup>60</sup> For reasons unknown, later the revenue from trade in wine dropped

<sup>53</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 12, l. 1v–2.

<sup>54</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 19, l. 23v–24.

<sup>55</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 34, l. 27.

<sup>56</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 60, l. 28v.

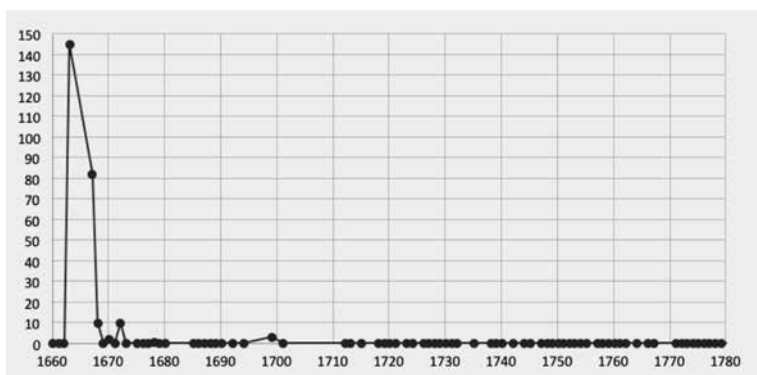
<sup>57</sup> Some books of revenue and expenditure (for example, of 1663) contain later entries "*Szrotowe, czyli Propinacya Wina*" in a different handwriting (LVIA, f. 458, ap.1, b. 19, l. 23v).

<sup>58</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 19, l. 23v–24.

<sup>59</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 19, l. 3v.

<sup>60</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 23, l. 23v.

Figure 2. Revenue from trade in wine, 1657–1790, złoty



drastically: ten złoty and 15 groszy in 1668,<sup>61</sup> two złoty and seven groszy in 1670,<sup>62</sup> ten złoty in 1672,<sup>63</sup> as few as 22 groszy in 1678,<sup>64</sup> and three złoty and 15 groszy in 1699.<sup>65</sup> From 1667 to 1679 (except 1675), debtors were listed in the city's books of revenue and expenditure; later, it would be noted, 'no returns from wine trade', and from 1748 this tax is no longer mentioned in the summaries (see Figure 2). From 1647 to 1663, the wine trade tax was 18 groszy per barrel; then it rose somewhat and from 1667 to 1678 amounted to 22.5 groszy. Not much is known about the control of the collection of this tax. One entry shows that magistrate loaders, who delivered the barrels to inns, recorded this tax and handed it to the treasure cash keepers: "*szrotowego niewypisywali, bogdyż dragarze do reiestru niepodali ani do piwnic wpuszczali panom winiarzom wina rozne(g)o*".<sup>66</sup> For comparison, city transport and loaders were engaged in transporting barrels of alcoholic beverages.<sup>67</sup>

<sup>61</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 24, l. 24v.

<sup>62</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 26, l. 24–24v.

<sup>63</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 28, l. 26v.

<sup>64</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 34, l. 27.

<sup>65</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 55, l. 18v.

<sup>66</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 37, l. 27.

<sup>67</sup> Kutrzeba, "Finanse Krakowa," 66–67.

2. VESSELS FOR DISTILLING VODKA. In the books of the city's revenue and expenditure, this type of returns is called "*przychod od bań gorzalczanych*,"<sup>68</sup> "*przychod od ban albo kotłow gorzalczanych*,"<sup>69</sup> "*przychod baniowego y kotłowego*,"<sup>70</sup> and "*przychod baniowego*."<sup>71</sup> After the invasion by Moscow in the mid-seventeenth century, the city received revenue from hard spirit distilling vessels in 1663, when the returns of this type amounted to 36 kop groszy and 30 groszy (or 73 złoty).<sup>72</sup> Seventy individuals (P. Paweł Sieława, P. Grygier Aponowicz, P. Klimaczewska, and others) paid 30 groszy each and one (P. Nowomeyski) paid 60 groszy (one kop groszy) for two distilling vessels ("*od ban dwoch*").<sup>73</sup> Debtors from the previous year paid an additional 37 kop groszi and 30 groszi (or 75 złoty). The 1663–1701 mean of the tax on the distilling vessels amounted to 100 złoty (see the solid line in Fig. 3; it was paid by 77 individuals on average) and the 1713–1771 mean was about 33 złoty (paid by 25 individuals on average). The city did not have any returns of this type in 1767, and just six złoty and four groszy were collected in 1771.<sup>74</sup> It is possible that a drastic drop in this sort of revenue resulted from merging of the tax on the distilling vessels with the tax on the barrel rent in 1772 and was recorded as one from 1772 to 1779: "*od beczkowego y baniowego od Ichmów PP. magistratowych, kupców y gminowych*"<sup>75</sup> (see the dotted line in Fig. 3). Between 1772 and 1779, it amounted to 82 złoty on average (presumably, the larger share consisted of barrel rent), and at least from 1781, due to undetermined reasons, this type of revenue no longer reached the city's treasury.<sup>76</sup> The location of the distillers would require a separate

<sup>68</sup> For instance, LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 19, l. 23v.

<sup>69</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 156, l. 13v.

<sup>70</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 157, l. 13v.

<sup>71</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 180, l. 14v.

<sup>72</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 19, l. 22v–22a–v.

<sup>73</sup> Łowmiańska counted 74 individuals (Łowmiańska, *Wilno*, 305).

<sup>74</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 255, l. 13.

<sup>75</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 258, l. 9v.

<sup>76</sup> In all likelihood, it is related to the state tax '*czopowe*', which encumbered the burghers and the collection of which was discussed at the magistrate

Figure 3. Revenue from vodka distilling vessels, 1657–1789, złoty



study, but some revenue-expenditure books indicate the quarters of the city (*kwatery*) in which vodka producers operated. In 1744, for example, eight individuals had to pay for distilling vessels in quarter I, 11 in quarter II, ten in quarter III, none in quarter IV, eight in quarter V, and 12 in quarter VI.<sup>77</sup> From 1647 to 1663, the fee for a vodka distilling vessel was 30 groszy, from 1667 to 1740 it amounted to one złoty and 7.5 groszy, and from 1741 to 1766 one złoty and eight groszy<sup>78</sup> (inflation and devaluation of money, which influenced the growth of taxes, should be borne in mind here). There is a record in the book of expenses that this tax was collected by two servants. On 7 October 1667, for instance, two servants, who had been collecting the tax from vodka distillers, were paid five złoty for shoes: “*śługom dwóm komorczanym co baniowe przez niedziel kilka odbierali dano za pracę według zwyczaju na boty zł(otych) 5*”,<sup>79</sup> and on 7 November 1668, two servants were paid five złoty for their services: “*śługom dwóm komorczanym ktorzy przez kilka niedziel baniowego od panow mieszczan odbierali dano za pracę zł(otych) 5*”.<sup>80</sup> It remains unclear why the

sessions in the second half of the eighteenth century (for example, LVIA, f. 1199, ap. 1, b. 5, l. 77v (1774), LVIA, f. 1199, ap. 1, b. 5, l. 101v (1779), LVIA, f. 1199, ap. 1, b. 5, l. 108 (1781), LVIA, f. 1199, ap. 1, b. 5, l. 142v–143 (1787)).

<sup>77</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 156, l. 13v–14v.

<sup>78</sup> One złoty and 7.5 groszy in 1745 (LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 157, l. 13v–14).

<sup>79</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 23, l. 40.

<sup>80</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 24, l. 41.



tax had to be paid only for vodka distilling vessels, but the production of other alcoholic beverages, such as beer and mead, were exempt from this tax. According to Lowmiańska, “returns from vodka distilling vessels came from the inns in respect of which the city waived its rights of alcohol sales”.<sup>81</sup> She did not develop this thought.

3. RENT OF POURING VESSELS (“*Przychód od miednic*”<sup>82</sup>, “*Przychód od miednic meyskich, ktoremi miod y gorzałkę mierzaią*”<sup>83</sup>). Pouring vessels used to be rented, as a rule. It is known that in 1622, these vessels, together with the measuring barrels and the wax melting house (“*arędę beczek, miednic y woskoboini*”) were leased to Jurgis Drenėvičius, a resident of Vilnius, and brought the city an annual income of 340 kop groszy.<sup>84</sup> The inventory of 1647 also mentions the rent of pouring vessels<sup>85</sup> and a known 1654 seven-year rent agreement.<sup>86</sup> After the invasion by Moscow in the mid-seventeenth century, the city received its first revenue from pouring vessels in 1661; the amount collected from September to December was 12 kop groszy, 56 groszy, and eight silver coins (or 25 złoty, 26 groszy, and eight silver coins).<sup>87</sup> In the 1660s–1670s, it was usual to rent the vessels for several years and therefore the city would not receive returns from the rent in the coming year (see Fig. 4). For example, in March–July 1669, the city received 30 złoty and six

<sup>81</sup> “Dochód z bań gorzałczanych przynosiły szynki, którym ustępowało miasto swego prawa szynkowania” (Lowmiańska, *Wilno*, 305).

<sup>82</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 17, l. 14v.

<sup>83</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 18, l. 15.

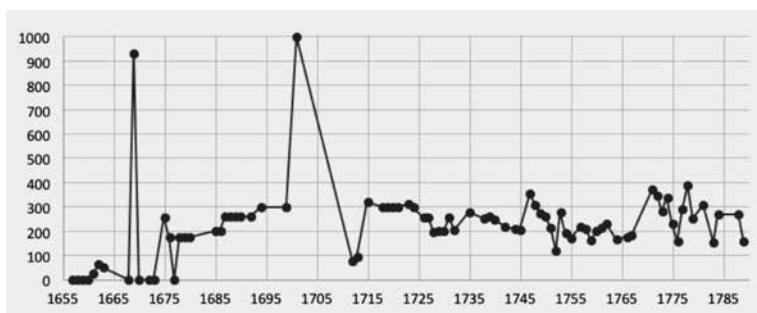
<sup>84</sup> LVIA, f. 23, ap. 1, b. 1 (SA 5096), l. 51-51v; cf.: *Акты издаваемые Виленской Археографическою Коммиссиею*, т. 10: *Акты Виленскаго магистрата и магдебургии*, Вильна, 1879, No. 44.

<sup>85</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 14, l. 1–2.

<sup>86</sup> In 1654, Mykolas Kličevskis, burgomaster of Vilnius, and his wife Katerina lent 14,000 złoty to the city and were granted the rent of the returns of seven years from the city’s folwarks, the suede mill, barrels, cobble street, pouring vessels, and wax melting-house (LVIA, f. 23, ap. 1, b. 3 (SA 5098), l. 121–122v; Meilus et al., “1658 ir 1663 m. Vilniaus miesto tarybos aktų knyga,” No. 172).

<sup>87</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 17, l. 14v.

Figure 4. *Revenue from pouring vessels, 1657–1789, zloty*



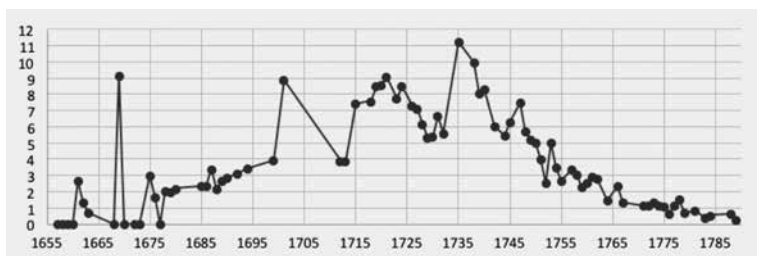
groszy; from September, the vessels, barrels, and the pavement tax were rented out for two years to Jokūbas Leškevičius (Jakubu Leszkiewiczu), Teodoras Špakovskis (Fiedoru Szpakowskiemu), and Bazilijus Sergejevičius (Bazylemu Serhieiewiczu) for 2700 złoty, of which 900 złoty were paid for the rent of the vessels.<sup>88</sup> Between 1678 and 1724, rent agreements were mostly concluded for one year, so these returns used to augment the city's treasure fairly evenly (the year 1701, when the vessels would be rented for three years for 1000 złoty,<sup>89</sup> was an exception). The rent fee was gradually rising: it was 175 złoty from 1678 to 1680, 200 from 1685 to 1686, 260 from 1687 to 1692, 300 from 1694 to 1699, 333 złoty in 1701, and about 300 from 1718 to 1724. The rent of pouring vessels was waived from at least 1747, and the city's revenue and expenditure summaries recorded how much of this tax was collected every month. Figure 4, which reflects the returns from the rent of pouring vessels, shows that the size of this type of revenue was surprisingly stable from the 1670s to the very end of the eighteenth century.<sup>90</sup> At the time, this category of revenue amounted

<sup>88</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 25, l. 19.

<sup>89</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 56, l. 14v.

<sup>90</sup> The graph reflects the data only before 1789 when accurate amounts were known. In 1795, the city also drew returns from the vessels, but they are entered with revenue from the weighing shop and from other sources in the surviving summary of the city's revenue and expenditure (LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 365).

Figure 5. *Percentage of the returns from pouring vessels in the city's treasury, 1657–1789*



to approximately 150–350 złoty . Such stability of the returns was very important in the first half of the eighteenth century when the city's revenue was at its lowest: for example, the returns from pouring vessels amounted to about 11 per cent of the total revenue in 1735 (see Fig. 5). On the other hand, from the second half of the eighteenth century, the significance of the revenue to the city decreased to the minimum. The city's expenses related to pouring vessels were seldom recorded and they were most often linked to the acquisition of new vessels. In 1766, the city paid 100 złoty to a potter for new vessels:

kotlarzowi za zrobienie miednicy, garcy, wielkiego y małego, pułgarcowki, kwarty y pułkwarty do porachunku dalem 100.<sup>91</sup>

It should be noted that pouring vessels were used not only for alcohol. The earliest mention of the pouring vessels in 1607 placed emphasis on the pouring of alcohol, which was mead in that case: *“pomiernoie Miedowoie, szto słyniet miednica wodle obyczaia tamosznoho”*.<sup>92</sup> Mead and vodka are mentioned in some summaries of the city's revenue and expenditure: *“przychod od miednic meyskich, ktoremi miód y gorzałkę mierzaia”* (1662).<sup>93</sup> Over time, the pouring of vodka stopped but oil began to be poured instead. In

<sup>91</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 245, l. 34.

<sup>92</sup> Dubinski, *Zbior*, 167. Šapoka doubts the authenticity of the confirmed privilege of Alexander, Grand Duke of Lithuania (Šapoka, *Raštai*, 330–331).

<sup>93</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 18, l. 15.

the summaries of the city's revenue and expenditure of 1771–1789, the volume of products poured, the payers and the times of payment were specified.<sup>94</sup> They show that only mead and oil used to be poured then ("*przychod od miednicy miodu y oleju*"<sup>95</sup>). For instance, 1817 vessels ('*miary*') of oil and 40 of mead were poured in 1771.<sup>96</sup> In that year, six groszy were paid per one vessel.

## Conclusions

The earliest document that records the rights of the city of Vilnius to collect taxes on alcohol is the privilege of Žygimantas Kęstutaitis (Sigismund Kęstutaitis), Grand Duke of Lithuania, issued on 23 September 1432. Vilnius was granted the right to charge a tax for the storage (stowage) and propination (production and sales) of beer, mead, and wine. Aleksandras Jogailaitis' (Alexander Jagiellonczyk) privilege of 1492 expanded (or simply explicated) this right with vodka and in this way the spectrum of alcohol-related revenue was expanded to the maximum. In the sixteenth century, the rulers would confirm a city's privileges but did not specify its rights to draw this kind of revenue, which makes it difficult to trace the evolution of this type of returns. The 1607 privilege of Sigismund III Vasa, King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania, establishes clearly for the first time the city's right to receive revenue from pouring vessels, which was part of alcohol-related revenue. Sources of the sixteenth and the early seventeenth centuries show that alcohol would spark disagreements between the Magdeburgian city and other *jurysdykas* (those of the bishop of Vilnius or the Carmelites), but they would be resolved in favour of Magdeburgian

<sup>94</sup> 1771 (LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 255, l. 15v), 1773 (LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 259, l. 8v), 1774 (f LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 262, l. 8v-9), 1775 (LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 264, l. 5v), 1776 (LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 265, l. 5v), 1776 (LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 267, l. 6), 1778 (LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 262, l. 105v), etc.

<sup>95</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 255, l. 15v.

<sup>96</sup> LVIA, f. 458, ap. 1, b. 255, l. 15v.

Vilnius. Only the ordinance of 1633 pertaining to the Jews of Vilnius can be seen as a narrowing of the rights of the Magdeburgian city to the alcohol 'monopoly', because the Jews were allowed free trade and production of alcoholic beverages for the needs of their community (exclusively within their quarter). Since the city's early books of revenue and expenditure did not survive, the amounts of the returns from alcohol and their importance to the city's treasury from the fifteenth to the early seventeenth centuries remain vague. The 1432 privilege shows that Magdeburgian Vilnius had only four sources of income: scales, fabric cutting shop, four fabric stalls, and storage and propination of wine, mead, and beer. Although at that time the returns from alcohol were of the utmost importance to the treasury, this cannot be accurately ascertained due to the shortage of data. With the spectrum of Magdeburgian sources of revenue expanding, the share of returns from alcohol in the city's treasury was decreasing. The 1647 inventory of the revenue of Vilnius shows that the following alcohol-related types of revenue were received: (1) for wine trade, (2) for vodka-distilling vessels, and (3) for the rent of pouring vessels. Analysis of the city's revenue and expenditure summarised from the second half of the seventeenth to the late eighteenth centuries shows that from 1657 to 1701 the city's total alcohol-related revenue amounted to 3% of the city's total revenue; in the period of 1712–1749 it rose to 8%, and dropped to 2% from 1750 to 1789. We can see that the returns of this kind were most profitable to the city in the first half of the eighteenth century, after the Northern War, when the city's revenue from other sources was rather insufficient.

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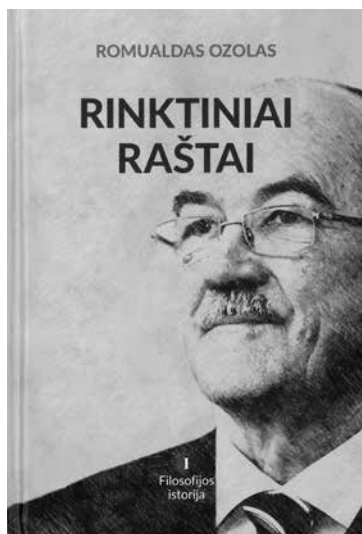
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- LVIA – Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas.

*Translated by DIANA BARNARD*



## BOOK REVIEWS

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Romualdas Ozolas  
Rinktiniai raštai.  
I tomas. Filosofijos istorija  
Sud. Antanas Rybelis  
Vilnius: Romualdo Ozolo  
paramos fondas,  
2020, 599 p.  
ISBN 978-609-8143-15-7

**A** first volume of a collection of writings by renowned politician, philosopher and author Romualdas Ozolas (1939–2015) was recently published. Those who know Ozolas as a politician, statesman, and one of the founding members of the *Sąjūdis* movement will have an opportunity to get acquainted with Ozolas as a philosopher.

Was Ozolas a philosopher? One could object that he never completed his doctoral dissertation *On the Criteria of Cultural Advancement* and despite lengthy independent studies he finally never obtained a Ph.D in philosophy. However, he taught philosophy for many years at the University of Vilnius and published a number of philosophical essays. Besides, he contributed to editing and publishing philosophy books while working at *Mintis* publishers. The title of his doctorate changed: first it was titled *The Cultural and Value Methodology in the Philosophy of Hein-*

rich Rikert – later it got the title of *The Notion of Change of Thought in Vindelbandt's Concept of the Philosophy of History*. Some parts of this work are now included in the first volume of his writings.

Though Ozolas lacked official academic titles, the legacy of his writings do not suffer from the lack of authentic philosophic thinking. During the Soviet period he was one of the few Lithuanian thinkers who realized Soviet occupation as a 'civilizational rupture' but still managed to find ground for his thinking in an intellectual desert of that period. How difficult it was – one can understand while reading the introductory article written by professor Vytautas Radžvilas, entitled *Philosophy of Romualdas Ozolas: a Journey Toward the Light of Certainty*. According to Radžvilas, "Ozolas was the thinker who was the most free from Marxist philosophy in Lithuania before *Sajūdis* came into being." (p. 28). Insightful mind and moral as well as intellectual consciousness were the features that enabled Ozolas to find his way "in search of certainty".

This volume reveals how persistently Ozolas tried to understand the difference between freedom of thinking and the Marxist dogmas any philosopher in the Soviet realm had to obey. For Ozolas, philosophy was not study of the "most abstract laws of natural and historical development" as Marxism insisted. He kept a huge distance from the Marxist philosophy and methodological interpretation that reigned during the last Soviet decades in Lithuania. For Ozolas, philosophy meant "conceptualized (formalized) human consciousness" as another way of knowledge in addition to that one provided by scientific research. It can be as broad as the space it attempts to cover but philosophy according to him is far richer than any other way of gaining knowledge.

The fact that Ozolas' view differed significantly from the ruling regime of thought is clear while studying his philosophical vocabulary. The terms and notions he used in his now published lectures reveal that he was trying to get out of the cage of official Soviet Marxist dogmatism. The writings published in those volumes also indicate the essential foundations of his philosophical thinking. This foundation was Classical Greek philosophy that

discovered in philosophy a new way of dealing with world, and a special way of knowledge. Ozolas saw three huge discoveries in Classical Greek thinking: the human being, human mind, and human norms.

Being faithful to the ideals of the timeless ideal of Greek philosophy, Ozolas realized that everything in the world is destined to change, including philosophy itself. Contemporary philosophy according to him was a historically conscious philosophy. His experience of teaching the history of philosophy at Vilnius University (1973–1989) allowed him to understand the magnitude of shifts in post-Classical philosophy and their consequences. Replying to a question – what is the history of philosophy, Ozolas explained that “it is the study of the center of the present – understanding of a world of a separate human being and his rationalization of life” (p. 42). It is obvious that the history of philosophy to Ozolas was something more than just an academic issue – it was a living way of thinking, the search for the true existence of a human being. This kind of attitude contributed to the ideas of freedom that eventually found its way among younger people as well as their moral choices.

Lectures in philosophy delivered by Ozolas and now published in this volume also bear witness to the upcoming changes of 1990, an intellectual preparation for *Sąjūdis*. Before these social changes, Ozolas and his associates built an ambitious publishing project and implemented it. He initiated the publishing of six volumes of the anthology of the history of philosophy that was followed by translations of world classics of philosophy as well as the greatest Lithuanian figures like Stasys Šalkauskis, Antanas Maceina, Vydūnas, Vosylius Sezemanas and others that are still used by contemporary students of philosophy. As many as 200 hundred titles were published in the field of philosophical legacy. This publishing program was the start of the “intellectual *Sąjūdis* movement” and contributed to the changes of Lithuanian society before 1990. Ozolas wrote: “I have not attempted to create my own philosophy. I tried to comprehend the world so that I could live and act in it. That is why perhaps I had no problems

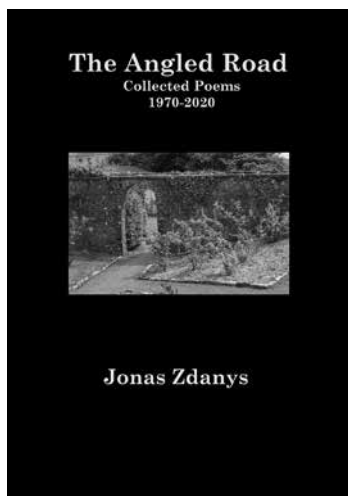
with my future life when the time came to do the things later labeled as *Sajūdis*". (Romualdas Ozolas in his book *Išsivadavimas* [Freeing Oneself] Vilnius: Pradai, 1998, p. 17–18).

Will the texts by Romualdas Ozolas find their contemporary reader? In the age of technologies, consumption and mass culture, philosophy and morality have become marginalized. But there are obvious signs, however, that authentic thinking and the search for certainty have gained currency as well.

This volume will be followed by another book entitled *Philosophy and Culture* and eventually Volumes III and IV containing his political philosophy and literary works, literary criticism, and political commentaries.

ALGIMANTAS JANKAUSKAS  
Vilnius University

## Savoring Eternity



*The Angled Road,*  
*Collected Poems 1970–2020*  
Jonas Zdanys  
Lamar University Press, 2020  
285 pages

*I am moved by shapes diving through  
the air, by the endless arrival of the sea.*

*The Angled Road* (Emily Dickinson’s metaphor for experience) by Jonas Zdanys is an enormous “Collected Poems” that might well be described as in *The Heart of Darkness* as an enigma wrapped in an enigma: the poems timeless in their relentless and insistent present, the speaker something like the Ghost of Everyman: “I am/only half real; the other half is a phase/of emptiness that circles the earth.”

Perhaps appropriately, time runs backward in the book, from newest to oldest, the oldest being fairly straight-forward imagist/landscape poems that evolve over half a century into something more surreal and hermetic: time/eternity obsessed as Proust, or Eliot of the Quartets, or sometimes Faulkner among soldiers, statues, and the fields of fading, interchangeable memories. Often there’s a narrator of gothic, winter scenes that flicker in and out of dream, bearing an almost forced witness to the deceptions and occasional consolations of time—forlorn but

often cosmic fields and forests; and then civilization represented by a province, a town, with old-town European streets peopled with characters reminiscent of Eliot's "Preludes," or a single lonely house in the dark where lovers find and lose each other gropingly and touchingly.

Each passage of these long serpentine poems is a kind of wave of consciousness moving dreamlike just beyond apperception but sprinkled with moments of surprise and lucidity:

The inexactness of light on the stone wall  
is a keystone that drives the holiness  
of night to a confusion of last great shapes...

or

White shadows fill  
the hollow spaces of the day, morning  
steadies the white hand of winter...

or

God will  
be a one-legged old woman having a seizure  
on a dark street corner, with a cardboard sign  
that she will work for shelter or food,  
a pint of muscatel, cheap wine in a jug.

And all are beautiful and mesmerizing in their disembodied lyricism. The language yearns beyond itself, full of birds and angels, walls, tangled undergrowth, mud and ever-changing tell-tale skies—autobiography yearning to transcend autobiography, out of time yet made of time, concrete images morphing into metaphor and back again, cleansed of their mortality in the scour of time and the insistence of time that is only this moment.

Zdanys is a bilingual writer of English and Lithuanian with upwards of 50 books to his credit, including original poetry in both languages and numerous translations of Lithuanian poetry and fiction. Among his many awards are grants from the National Endowment for the Arts, the International Research and Exchanges Board, the Connecticut Commission on the Arts, as well as the Jotvingiai Prize and National Prize for Literary Translation awarded by the Lithuanian Ministry of Culture. *The Angled*

*Road* includes his 11 books of poetry in English that create an overarching sense of epic, though specific details are often ghostly and provisional, with shifting narrators and landscapes, some set in Ireland, some in Lithuania or the New England seacoast, but all concerned with time and its spirit and flesh and moments of epiphany—love, loss and the impending wall of death.

The first, *Notebook Sketches*, features shifting narrators with quite free-standing movements like this tribute to a tree:

They took down the tree at the front door  
and quite unexpectedly the house was colder  
and darker than it was before. It may have  
been a hundred years old, its biggest branches  
surviving discovery and disaster scribbled  
on the winter sky, bewildering the children  
in the yard and tempting the migrating birds.  
But it was as if nothing whatever happened,  
no link in its falling between the living and  
the dead, though an order of existence came to  
an end and destiny now hung naked in the air  
where the thick axle of the world once stood.

Or this portrait of a horse from the second book *Three White Horses*:

15.  
The slow breath of a lost horse  
standing alone in the snow  
at midnight in winter wakes  
the seed asleep in the cold ground.  
He leaves no tracks as the earth  
comes up out of darkness and moves  
slowly toward a tenuous light.  
The shape of the sky is constant,  
the wound on his leg dark wood that  
palls to yellow and stifles with blood.  
Black cinders of houses burning  
to dust beyond the fences spread  
across a world that will never end  
and the patience of desire endures

as it grapples for hours and fades.  
The truth is always bitter in its own  
defeat, no matter the threshold or the  
sad impermanence of white stars.  
The snow for now has stopped.  
The radiance of things loses its place.  
The uncontrollable season prods the year.  
The horse suddenly shakes its head,  
the sound of its mane and slow breathing  
in the shadows of the trees an unexpected  
comfort to the living and the dead.

In fact, all but the very earliest poems in the book tend to be made of these free-standing lyric passages, essentially lyric poems building toward epic visions in a collection so huge and mysterious as to perhaps qualify as that proverbial book to take to that proverbial desert island.

But is it all too much of a muchness?

In the end, reading Zdanys is a little like reading Milton, as dense in the unfolding as a night thunderstorm, both glorious in its flashes and oppressive in its weight. On any given page, he asks the imaginative mind to go six ways at once. Heady but exhausting! On the other hand, it does pose the question of whether we fail to ask enough of poetry in this day of single-feeling ah-poems, more sentiment than thought, however tricked up and tricked out in language. It's hard, for instance, without letting the horses of the sun stretch their legs a bit, to reach the sublime of a poem like "City Evening," which ends,

My lover calls out again and flees. See?  
The side streets stumble, white-faced and illegible,  
and the graves that light the edges of the world  
sing I am I am I am.

MICHAEL JENNINGS



Some time ago, 1917 was considered an important epoch-making date that was referred to with pride and exaltation in the former Soviet Union as well as in the decolonizing or formerly colonial countries all over the world and accordingly it did not suffer from the interest of Western scholars dealing with Communism and the Soviet Union. Things have changed lately – it hardly receives the same amount of attention as it used to get in the last century. Even in Russia, the centenary of 1917 has been largely by-passed by the country's present government, and it has created ambiguity and uncertainty in official as well as in non-official circles of Russian society, to say the least. It looks like scholars and academics interested in the post-Soviet and eastern-European realm are the only group of people who still care about the topicality of the date and its changing discourse. The volume of Harvard Ukrainian Studies indicates this momentum quite precisely: it contains a number of insightful and thought-provoking essays that are focused on different aspects of 1917 and the October Revolution in particular. The central essay, entitled *A Century of 1917s: Ideas, Representations, and Interpretations of the October Revolution, 1917–2017* by renowned Italian historian Andrea Graziosi is followed by four other essays by Mark Kramer, Mikhail Akulov, Serhy Yekelchuk and Adriano Roccucci which were written mainly in response to Graziosi's overview of intellectual responses to this important yet ambiguous event. The authors of this volume share their insights not only as to why 1917 became a point of confusion and embarrassment rather than a reconsideration and/or continuation of the same official discourse in Russia, but the articles also provide interesting discussions and interpretations on various aspects of the October Revolution and its consequences in different contexts, including Ukrainian. As the centenary of 1917 hardly provoked any adequate academic reflections upon it in Lithuania, this collection of informative essays deserves a close reading.



Harvard Ukrainian Studies  
 Volume 36, No 3-4, 2019  
*Ukrainian Modernism*  
 1910-1930  
 Ed. Michael S. Flier

Countries making up the post-Soviet space have become a more frequent object of academic research during recent decades than ever before and one can well understand why. This is particularly so in the history of modern art, moreover so since some of its objects and authors are strongly related to this particular area. As Western modernism has been thoroughly researched, the legacy of Europe's East is now under scrutiny as this geographical and cultural area contains many things that have been either by-passed or researched superficially.

A catalogue of an international travelling exhibition that was first launched in Chicago under the title *Ukrainian Modernism, 1910-1930* was published back in 2006, edited by Anatoliy Melnik. This important and novel exhibition was eventually moved to New York, providing a rare opportunity to get acquainted with an interesting and important collection of art works of Ukrainian visual artists. Since then, however, not much has been published in English on the subject. To my knowledge except for a couple of titles – e. g. *Modernism in Kyiv: Jubilant*

*Experimentation* by Irene R. Mahosh and Virlana Tkatch (2010) and *Avant-Garde Art in Ukraine 1910–1930* by Miroslav Shkandrij (2019), hardly anything else was available until quite recently when a volume of Harvard Ukrainian Studies focused on Ukrainian Modernism was published in 2019.

A volume of Harvard Ukrainian Studies is an extension of the exhibition catalogue that was published some fifteen years ago. One might wonder why it took so long to make a collection of articles on Ukrainian modernism, yet whatever the reasons might have been, the present collection of essays provides a good reading for anyone interested in the varieties of modern art and Ukrainian variety in particular. The volume contains six well-researched scholarly articles and a lengthy and informative introduction written by George G. Grabowicz. A brief, yet impressive essay by Jean-Claude Marcade provides an excellent overview of how modern art came into being in Kyiv at the turn of the twentieth century when it was a provincial city of the Russian empire. In 1910, it had become one of the centers of the European vanguard. Examining the origins of modern art in Ukraine, the author discusses the urban and cultural contexts in which a number of movements of modern art were shaped, providing a balanced account of different circles as well as cultural environments, and discussing the contribution of Jewish artists via the Yiddish cultural organization, Kultur-Lige. In a lengthy study, Myroslava M. Mudrak discusses the relationship between Symbolism and the making of Modern art in Ukraine, providing a thorough narrative on how concern about the national style came into being and what forms in visual arts and architecture it took. Among the Ukrainian Symbolists, the art works of Vsevolod Maksymovich are especially noteworthy, exhibiting both a highly sophisticated personal style as well as aspirations to a national style. As Mudrak emphasizes, “For a culture perceived as being on the margins and overshadowed by the dominance of Russia or Poland, symbolism accorded Ukrainian artists a way of pioneering their own way, circuitous and unconventional as it may have been, toward artistic modernism.” (p. 348).

A brief, yet extremely focused article by Georgy Kovalenko, provides excellent insights into relations between Modernism and Ukrainian theater, where Constructivism played an extremely important role in the beginning of the twentieth century. Several essays are focused on individual artists: Olga Lagutenko assesses the legacy of the Constructivist visual artist Vasil Jermilov who used various media: wood, copper, and paint to produce innovative artistic objects – he became interested in collage and photography in his later artistic activities. An article by Vita Susak analyses the artistic legacy of Ukraine's leading modern sculptor, Alexander Archipenko, through the lenses of his Swiss exhibitions. Her essay, "The Swiss Secrets" of Alexander Archipenko, adds significantly to the general knowledge of Archipenko's legacy, providing additional knowledge about his exhibitions in Zurich and Geneva that significantly contributed to establishing his role in the history of modern art. Though the majority of essays are focused on visual arts, at least one of them considers poetry as its main target: George G. Grabowitz concludes this collection of topical essays with a focus on the poetry of Pavlo Tychyna, who like most writers who happened to live in the Soviet domain, had to struggle (internally and externally) between modernist aspirations and loyalty to a regime that remained suspicious of any "digressions" from the official Soviet agenda that was quite suspicious of (if not openly hostile to) Modernism and Vanguard art, except for a brief period after the October revolution of 1917.

Anyone interested in the complete (and inevitably complex) history of modern art that includes both its centers as well as its fringes and margins will most likely find this issue of Harvard Ukrainian Studies hardly lacking in insight and information.

ALMANTAS SAMALAVIČIUS

## ABSTRACTS

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TOMAS BACYS

### **Portrayal of the Conflict Between Russia and Ukraine in the Lithuanian Media**

The article deals with the conflict between Russia and Ukraine and its development. It explains the metaphor “little green men” and their role in this conflict. The peculiarities of the Russian-Ukrainian conflict highlighted in the Lithuanian media are presented, explanations and statistics are given. The portrayal of the conflict in the Lithuanian media is analyzed. The article analyzes the most characteristic articles published in Lithuania’s most popular media that reflect the events of the conflict and the approach to this historical event.

STASYS SAMALAVIČIUS

### **Urban Life in Lithuania during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries**

Two essays from the legacy of historian Dr. Stasys Samalavičius (1930–1992). In the article “The Great Plague in Vilnius”, the author discusses how the plague hit Vilnius, the capital of the Grand Lithuanian Duchy, in the mid-seventeenth century, immediately after the war with tsarist Russia. The functions of the city’s administration during the plague is analyzed as well as the behavior of urban dwellers who deserted the city during the pandemic and returned after it was over. The author provides insights into the consequences of plague for Vilnius urban life during the period. The article,

“The Merchant Fleet in Lithuania in the Seventeenth-Eighteenth Century,” (same decision as above) provides an account about what vessels were used for transportation of goods in Lithuanian rivers, what were the functions and responsibilities of their crew, and what problems were encountered by those who transported their merchandise to Lithuanian cities by river.

MINDAUGAS KLOVAS

**Revenue of Vilnius from the Production  
and Sale of Alcoholic Beverages from  
the Fifteenth to the Eighteenth Century**

The article deals with the analysis of the background of the revenue of Vilnius from alcohol production and sales, its legal regulation, specifics of tax collection, the size of the tax, and its importance to the city's treasury from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century. It is highly likely the revenue of this type might have amounted to a considerable share of total revenue in the fifteenth century, but over time the city authorities made attempts to secure ever new sources of revenue as the share of returns from alcohol was shrinking. Analysis of the city's books of revenue and expenditure show that returns from alcohol production and sales were most profitable to the city in the first half of the eighteenth century, after the hardships of the Northern War, when the city's revenue from other sources was at its lowest.

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Linas LIANDZBERGIS. *Farewell to Homeland*, 2015, 110 x 170

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FRONT COVER: Klaipėda's Theatre Square

Photo by Almantas Samalavičius