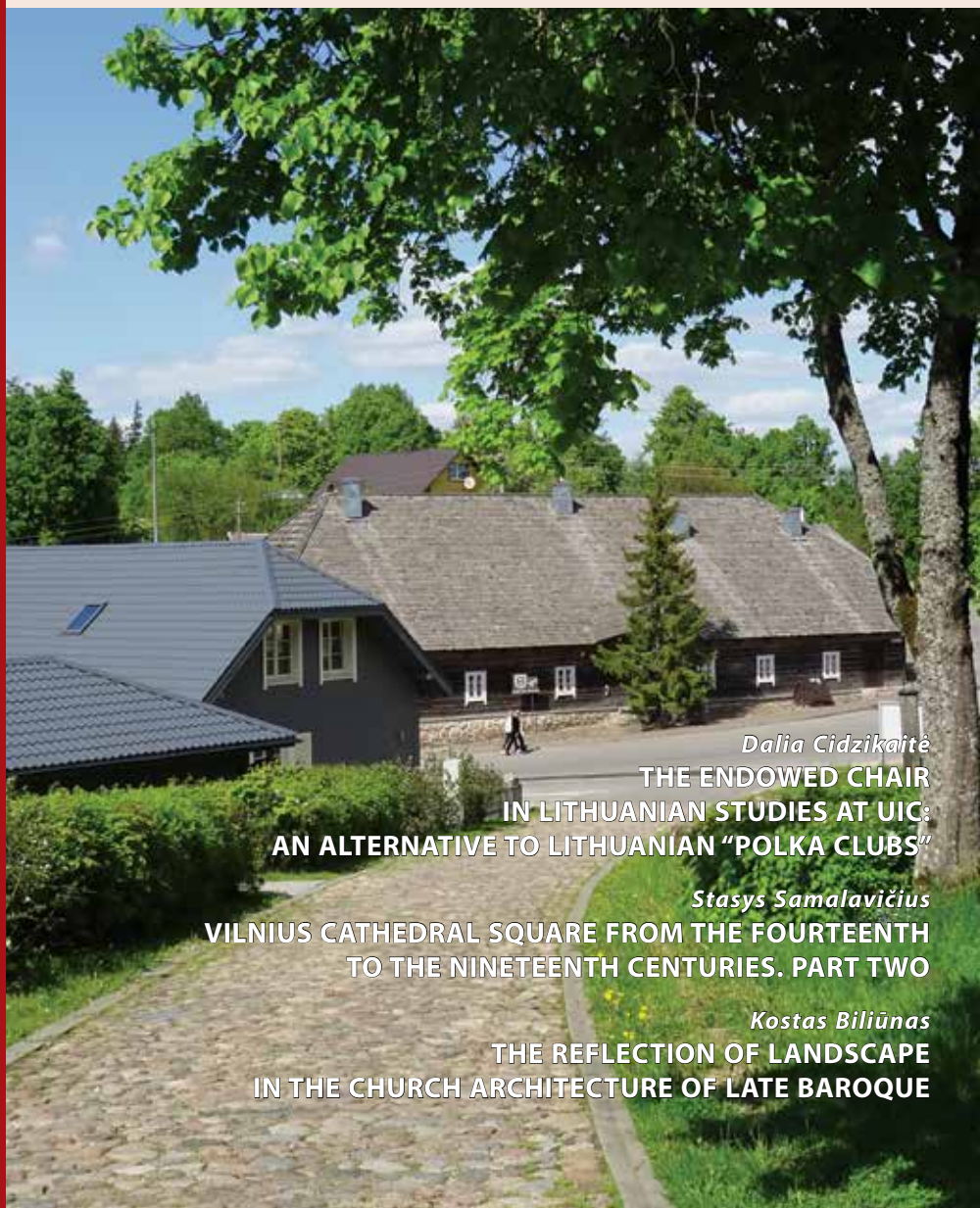


LITUANUS

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Dalia Cidzikaitė
THE ENDOWED CHAIR
IN LITHUANIAN STUDIES AT UIC:
AN ALTERNATIVE TO LITHUANIAN "POLKA CLUBS"

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The Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies at UIC: An Alternative to Lithuanian “Polka Clubs”

DALIA CIDZIKAITĖ

The Beginning

Prof. Rimvydas Šilbajoris was one of the first Lithuanian-Americans who articulated the idea of establishing the Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies in North America. This idea was first presented at the Fifth General Congress of the World Lithuanian Community (hereinafter WLC) held in Toronto in 1978. “Only the *Universitas*, in its best traditional conception, could provide the ideas and inspiration needed to avoid the threatening degeneration of cultural activities to the level of mere ‘polka clubs’ and to offer the best educated members of the community the challenge and vision of Lithuania as an enduring spiritual entity, transcending its origins in exile to cast its light upon the future generations both at home and abroad,”¹ prof. Šilbajoris argued. The Congress approved the professor’s proposal and called on the newly elected WLC Executive Board “to create conditions for the establishment of the Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies at a university in North America.”² At the same Congress, the first donation of \$1,000 to the future chair was received from a young Lithuanian-American couple, Romas and Emilija Sakadols-

¹ Šilbajoris, “Toward a Chair...”

² Cidzikaitė, “Pokalbis su Violeta Kelertiene.”

Dr. DALIA CIDZIKAITĖ is a chief researcher at the National Library of Lithuania. She received her Ph.D. from the University of Illinois at Chicago. From 2007 to 2013, she was the editor-in-chief of the Lithuanian-American daily, *Draugas*. Her research interests include the cultural history of the Lithuanian diaspora.

kis. As the new Board began to look for a suitable fully accredited American university, a steering group was formed. Leonas Raslavičius, specially invited to the group, visited major American universities and gathered information about them.

The steering group could choose from many universities located on the East and the West coasts, not bypassing the Midwest with the region's city of Chicago, the largest and most densely populated by Lithuanians, also home of one of its most famous universities, the University of Chicago. A number of Lithuanian-American academics wanted the chair to be established at their home institution. Prof. Šilbajoris especially recalled his trip to Los Angeles and his visit to the University of California in LA where a Lithuanian-American professor Marija Gimbutienė worked. She fought with great energy for the Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies to be established at UCLA. "We did not succeed," the professor regretted, "but even today I seem to see her pleasantly smiling eyes and elegant and friendly attitude in the presence of her 'enemy' — the dean of Humanities."³

The WLC fundraising documents related to the establishment of the Chair stated that "the Endowed Chair would be established to ensure that a fully accredited academic institution would provide a permanent place for Lithuanian studies, courses and research, led by a prominent professor and which would bring scientific and social benefits to Lithuanians and Lithuania. The Endowed Chair would also foster those areas of Lithuanian studies that cannot be studied freely in Lithuania today. The Endowed Chair also ensures that Lithuanian studies would be taught professionally in the academic world, regardless of the number of students which would be crucial for a professorship without the endowment fund."⁴ Many individuals and Lithuanian-American organizations donated to the establishment of the Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies in North America. The list of donations kept in the archives of the Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies at the University of Illinois at Chicago testifies to the desire of

³ Šilbajoris, "Jos maloni, žmogiška šiluma," 290.

⁴ "Mūsų buityje," 408.



April 20, 1972. The initial signing of the agreement of intention to endow the Lithuanian Chair by representatives of the World Lithuanian Community and UIC. From the left, sitting: Jonas Kavaliūnas, LAS Dean D. B. Doner, and Jonas Valaitis; from left, standing: Leonas Raslavičius, Assistant Dean R. L. Hess, Kazys Ambrozaitis, and the Reverend Juozas Prunskis. All photos are taken from the archive of the Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies at UIC

thousands of Lithuanians living abroad to have an academic center of Lithuanian studies in North America. Donations came from the United States, Canada, England, Argentina, Australia, Brazil, Colombia, France, Saudi Arabia, Sweden, Switzerland, Uruguay, West Germany, and other countries.

After considering the information collected by the steering group, at the meeting held on March 1, 1981 in Chicago, the WLC Executive Board decided to establish the Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies at the University of Illinois at Chicago (at that time the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle), “a relatively young and dynamic institution, located in the city where the largest numbers of Lithuanians live,”⁵ with undergraduate programs already taking place in Lithuanian language and lit-

⁵ Šilbajoris, “Toward a Chair...”

erature. The Lithuanian American Community, Inc. and the Lithuanian Foundation were invited to be the founders of the Chair and figure as the parties in the agreement with the University. On November 20, 1981, the Lithuanian World Community Foundation, Inc. signed an agreement with the University of Illinois Foundation stating the establishment of the Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies with the amount of \$75,000 as capital for investment income to support the appropriate academic activities of the Chair.

The signing ceremony was attended by the University management, the WLC Executive Board, the Chairman of the Lithuanian American Community, Inc. Vytautas Kutkus, Lithuanian General Consul Juzė Daužvardienė, Bishop Vincentas Brizgys, and representatives of Lithuanian-American organizations. The agreement was signed by R. Reid on behalf of the University of Illinois Foundation and Vytautas Kamantas and Antanas Razma, MD on behalf of the WLC Foundation. "The University of Illinois Foundation will contribute \$150,000, and the Lithuanians will provide \$600,000 [in endowment funds]—\$100,000 each year. After raising \$200,000, the University will look for a prominent professor; the Chair will become operational when half of the amount has been raised, in the 1984–1985 academic year,"⁶ the magazine *Aidai* explained in more detail the financial status of the Chair and its planned funding. It also noted that it was the first chair of any ethnic community at UIC, the first in the humanities, and in Lithuanian studies in the free world.

The advocates of the Endowed Chair thought that given the success of the present and future fundraising campaigns, the Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies at UIC should be able to sustain intensive academic research, including special stipends for visiting scholars, the buildup of library holdings and financial assistance to graduate students seeking advanced degrees in Lithuanian studies. "At the beginning, the main emphasis is to be placed on Lithuanian language and literature, but as soon as the resources of the Chair should permit it, both research and

⁶ "Mūsų buityje," 408.

teaching activities would expand to other fields within the broad general concept of 'Lituanistics,' including history, social sciences, and so on,"⁷ prof. Šilbajoris wrote in 1983.

In a private letter, Vytautas Kamantas, a long-term chairman of the WLC Foundation, admitted that "although the period of 1978–1987 had witnessed many intrigues, accusations, obstacles and political drafts <...> there was mostly a positive enthusiasm shown by some academics (such as prof. Šilbajoris and others), youthful idealism (like Romas and Emilija Sakadolskis), dedication and generosity (like hundreds of volunteers working on the fundraising committees in the US, Canada, Australia, Europe and South America), and determination to reach the end goal."⁸

At the time of the establishment of the Chair, out of 21,000 students, approx. 350 students of Lithuanian origin studied at UIC. The founders of the Chair were also hopeful that a dense network of Lithuanian educational institutions of various levels active in Chicago and its surroundings would provide the future students for the Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies at UIC. The new Chair opened in the fall of 1984. Since 1972, undergraduate programs in Lithuanian language and literature led by Dr. Janina Rėklaitienė, later taken over by Dr. Marija Stankus-Saulaitė, were offered to the University students. At one time, as many as 125 students studied Lithuanian at UIC. With the establishment of the Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies, the UIC also introduced master's and doctoral programs in Lithuanian studies. On March 30, 1990 the agreement of the establishment of the Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies was supplemented with a statement that the Chair will operate in perpetuity regardless of the number of its postgraduate students, i.e. students pursuing MA and Ph.D. degrees.

In 1984 Lithuania was not yet independent, so the founders of the Chair believed that the new academic center of Lithuanian studies in North America would primarily serve their children, grandchildren and young people of Lithuanian origin living in

⁷ Šilbajoris, "Toward a Chair..."

⁸ Cidzikaitė, "Pokalbis su Violeta Kelertiene."



1984. The opening celebration of the Lithuanian Studies Program, from the left: Alicija Rūgytė, Nijolė Balzarienė, Juozas Masilionis, Violeta Kelertienė, Matilda Marcinkienė, Bronius Vaškelis, Pranė Masilionienė, Izabelė Stončienė, and Jonas Kavaliūnas

the free world. However, the mission of the Chair went beyond the teaching of Lithuanian language. It was entrusted with the role of spreading the message about Lithuania, its culture and Lithuanian studies and promoting them in the academic world. The Chair was founded in the hope that it would help to establish Lithuanian studies in North America as an academic discipline equivalent to such fields of humanities as Germanic, Scandinavian, French and Slavic studies. In 1984 the Chair was the only academic center of Lithuanian studies in North America outside Soviet Lithuania. In an interview conducted in 2014, a long-term chair of the Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies at UIC, prof. Violeta Kelertienė, observed that not having such a center in North America would have been a misunderstanding, to say the least.⁹

Lithuania's independence declared in 1990 adjusted the mission of the Chair and offered new exploits. Then the head of the

⁹ Ibid.

Chair, prof. Bronius Vaškeľis, and junior prof. Violeta Kelertienė seized the opportunity that opened to them, namely, to help Lithuanian scholars, especially those in Lithuanian studies, if not to catch up with, then at least to get closer to the Western academic world. This is how the Chair's long-lasting cooperation with Lithuanian universities began. Under the United States immigration laws and certain funding requirements, the Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies at UIC could invite graduate students, Ph.D. students, visiting scholars, researchers, and lecturers from abroad. The first such student arrived at UIC around 1990.

Information about the courses taught at the Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies was regularly published in the Lithuanian-American press. For example, the September issue of 1988 *Draugas* informed readers that in the 1988–1989 academic year the following Lithuanian courses will be taught at UIC: Lithuanian 101—basic Lithuanian language course (taught by assistant Danutė Rukšytė), Lithuanian 104—advanced Lithuanian language course (taught by prof. Violeta Kelertienė), Lithuanian 130—Introduction to Baltic and Scandinavian Literature (taught by prof. Violeta Kelertienė), Lithuanian 227—Lithuanian Culture (taught by prof. Violeta Kelertienė), Lithuanian 450—Studies in Lithuanian Realism (taught by prof. Bronius Vaškeľis), and Lithuanian 299 and Lithuanian 399—Independent Studies (taught by prof. Bronius Vaškeľis and prof. Violeta Kelertienė).¹⁰

In 1992, prof. Vaškeľis left UIC for Vytautas Magnus University in Kaunas, and all the administrative load of inviting and arranging students' stays in Chicago fell on prof. Kelertienė's shoulders. "My time at the Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies was very interesting, because Lithuania was already free," the professor recalled in one of the interviews. "Prof. Bronius Vaškeľis had laid the foundations for the activities of the Chair, started inviting young people from Lithuania to study or do their fellowship programs with us."¹¹ According to her, after Lithuania declared its independence, the mission of the Chair had broad-

¹⁰ "1988–1989 m. rudens..." 2.

¹¹ Ibid.

ened. She and prof. Vaškeelis wanted to expose future university teachers and cultural figures to the Western academic style of teaching and the relationship between a professor and a student, to provide them with knowledge of the diaspora literature, and to expand their theoretical knowledge after almost fifty years of influence of Marxism at home.¹²

After prof. Vaškeelis' departure, the University started looking for his replacement. In 1992, Tomas Venclova was invited to head the Chair. However, Yale University offered Venclova a permanent teaching position, and he decided to remain in New Haven, CT. Very soon prof. Kelertienė was appointed the head of the Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies at UIC. In the fall of 1994, a graduate from Vilnius University, assoc. prof. Giedrius Subačius, a linguist, joined the Chair as the junior professor. Prof. Kelertienė worked with the students in master's and doctoral programs, and Subačius taught bachelor's, master's and doctoral level courses.

The Flourishing Stage

The academic exchange between Lithuania and the Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies at UIC began with the help of an active Lithuanian-American community member, Vytautas Kamantas. It was mostly funded by the Lithuanian Foundation (US). The number of students from Lithuania ranged from two to five. They were often joined by several visiting scholars. At one time, the Chair had more MA degree students than the Department of Lithuanian Literature at the Soviet Vilnius University. According to prof. Kelertienė, her idea was "at the same time to have Lithuanian literature students and occasionally linguists or historians from different Lithuanian universities, in order to assemble, together with local students, a small but mixed community."¹³ In Western universities, such practice based on the circulation of ideas, students, and scholars was normal. In

¹² From correspondence with Violeta Kelertienė, September 2017.

¹³ Kelertienė, "Gerbiamas Rektoriau...", 2.

the late 1980s, unlike scholars of other disciplines, researchers in Lithuanian studies and humanities had almost no opportunities to go abroad, to use foreign libraries and archives, to get acquainted with the latest theories, and to experience different academic life. "We in Chicago, the 'capital' of Lithuanians in the world, wanted to be a center that everyone could turn to or rely on,"¹⁴ prof. Kelertienė said.

The professor's opinion of what is, and in the Lithuanian case, what could be contemporary Lithuanian studies differed significantly from the perception that prevailed in Lithuanian universities at that time. She was convinced that "one has to view the history [of literature] diachronically instead of molding it synchronically, somehow hoping that diachrony will miraculously come out of it nonetheless."¹⁵ With very few exceptions in post-Soviet literary criticism, prof. Kelertienė saw only a refined manner of speech, packed with unsubstantiated statements, subjective impressions, and charming metaphors. In defending her opinion, she emphasized that all theories in the world are valuable not because they are fashionable, but because they respond to the fundamental concerns of both scholars and the society of the time. In Lithuania, prof. Kelertienė saw a reverse trend. According to her, Lithuanian literary critics often even took pride in being able to analyze a literary work using no theory at all. She was also surprised and saddened by the fact that the works of neighboring scholars highly valued in the West and long available to Lithuanians, such as Yuri Lotman in Russia and Estonia, Roman Ingarden in Poland or Mikhail Bakhtin in Russia, had left only a small trace in Lithuanian literature, merely appearing as an insignificant footnote.¹⁶

From 1990 to 2008, over fifty (50) scholars from Lithuania visited the Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies at UIC. Nine (9) of them were lecturers: theater director Povilas Gaidys (Klaipėda University), prof. Egidijus Aleksandravičius and prof. Albertas

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Kelertienė, "Lengvai pučia," 70.

¹⁶ Kelertienė, *Kita vertus...*

Zalatorius (both came as Fulbright scholars), Dr. Almantas Samalavičius (visited UIC twice as a lecturer and as a visiting scholar), prof. Dalia Čiočytė, prof. Vladas Sirutavičius, prof. Rūta Marcinkevičienė, Giedrius Židonis and prof. Violeta Kalėdaitė.¹⁷ Twenty one (21) scholars came to UIC as visiting scholars: Dr. Giedrius Viliūnas, Rima Pociūtė,¹⁸ Rūta Mėlinskaitė, Regimantas Tamošaitis, Sigitas Daukša (Fulbright scholar), Dalia Satkauskytė, Loreta Mačianskaitė, Ramūnas Korsakas, Ingrida Matusevičiūtė, Dalia Kuizinienė, Dr. Reda Pabarčienė, Saulė Buzaitė (later graduated from a Ph.D. program in California), Linas Saldukas, Dr. Rūta Skendelienė, Jurgita Staniškytė, Nomedas Šatkauskienė, Karolis Klimka, Rūta Mėlinskaitė (visited twice), Rimas Žilinskas (later defended his Ph.D. at the University of Washington Seattle), Daiva Dapkutė, and Dr. Vita Stravinskienė. After completing their fellowship program in Chicago, nine (9) Lithuanian scholars defended their Ph.D. thesis back home in Lithuania.

A substantial number of Lithuanian MA and Ph.D. students studied at the Chair. Under the leadership of prof. Vaškėlis, four economists from Lithuania received their Master of Business Administration degrees (MBA). Under the leadership of prof. Kelertienė the following students studied at the Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies at UIC: Julius Keleras (MA), Jolanta Macevičiūtė (MA at UIC; Ph.D. at the University of Southern California), Artūras Tereškinas (Ph.D. at Harvard University), Rasa Kalinauskaitė (MA), Eglė Ivinskienė (MA), Danas Lapkus (Ph.D.), Karilė Vaitkutė (MA), Neringa Klumbytė (MA at UIC, Ph.D. at the University of Pittsburgh), Aušra Veličkaitė (MA), Kęstutis Šatkauskas (incomplete MA), Jurgita Baltrušaitytė (MA, later transferred to UIC MBA program where she defended her Ph.D. in business), Rūta Birštonaitė (MA), Žydrūnas Drungilas (MA; incomplete Ph.D.), Dalia Cidzikaitė (MA and Ph.D.), Audronė Savickaitė (MA), Kristina Sakalavičiūtė (MA), Vladas Krivickas

¹⁷ Data taken from prof. Kelertienė's list of people who visited and studied at the Chair compiled in 2007.

¹⁸ The asterisk indicates that after their fellowships at the Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies at UIC, the scholars wrote their Ph.D. thesis.

(MA), Daiva Litvinskaitė (MA and Ph.D.) and Aurelija Tamošiūnaitė (MA and Ph.D.). Until 2014, five (5) Ph.D. and nineteen (19) MA thesis in Lithuanian studies were defended at the Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies at UIC.¹⁹

A number of students of Lithuanian origin from the Americas also studied Lithuanian language and literature at the Chair: Luis Rozales from Venezuela, Vita Storey from Canada and Sofia Žutautas from Brazil, and from the US: Dalia Kučėnienė (Ph.D.), Dana Račiūnas (Ph.D.), Gregory Grazevich (Graževičius), Alma Jakimavičius (MA), Vilius Rudra Dundzila (MA), Jūra Avižienis (MA), Elizabeth Novickas (MA), Audra Adomėnas (MA), Daiva Markelis (BA), and Lina Ramona Vitkauskas (BA). Pietro Dini, professor of linguistics from Italy, and Viktorija Heiskanen, a Ph.D. student from Stockholm University, did their fellowship program at the Chair.

Today many BA or MA students who have taken Lithuanian language courses and/or attended Lithuanian culture and literature courses at UIC work in a Lithuanian-related field in Chicago or other US cities. For example, Audra Adomėnas is the head of the Lithuanian Archives Project, writer Dr. Daiva Markelytė teaches English at the University of Eastern Illinois, Lina Ramona Vitkauskas is a poet, and translator Elizabeth Novickas is the laureate of St. Jerome Prize (2011) established by the Lithuanian Association of Literary Translators, and the founder and director of the publishing house Pica Pica Press which publishes English translations of Lithuanian literature.

Prof. Subačius, who has been the head of the Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies at UIC since 2010, said in an interview

¹⁹ In addition to fifty (50) scholars mentioned in the article, many more people from Lithuania visited the Endowed Chair at UIC. "Those 50 or more people are those people who stayed at the Chair for at least a month or some of them for five years. Those who visited only for a few days did not make it into my 'report,' especially those who came in the years of the Sąjūdis and presented a lecture or two. I don't have their names on hand, but there have been a lot of them from a wide variety of fields. It would be impossible to count the Lithuanian writers alone," prof. Kelertienė wrote. From the correspondence with Kelertienė, September 2017.

that the first decade of the Chair, the time of prof. Bronius Vaške-
lis and prof. Violeta Kelertienė, is the real history of the Endowed
Chair. The professors were the trailblazers who “set the aca-
demic path: formed master’s and doctoral programs, prepared
many other courses, started teaching them, and selected and
recruited students.”²⁰

Memories and Testimonies

Prof. Dalia Kuizinienė during her fellowship at the Endowed
Chair in Lithuanian Studies at UIC in 1996 was working on her
Ph.D. thesis. She recalled that she had twofold expectations from
her visit at UIC: to find more diverse theoretical approaches
that were lacking in Lithuania at that time, and to collect archi-
val material for her dissertation at the Lithuanian Studies and
Research Center in Chicago.

My expectations have paid off. The time spent at the Endowed
Chair was useful; first of all, because prof. Violeta Kelertienė and
prof. Rimvydas Šilbajoris were teaching that academic semester.
Their lectures and the methodology they used were useful in
every sense, as well as the discussions that took place outside
the lectures. The Chair provided visiting scholars with access
not only to the books accumulated at the Endowed Chair but
also to the university library. Thus, students from the post-Sovi-
et country had great opportunities to read and copy entire sec-
tions of books [to use in their future work]. And to purchase
books at the second-hand bookstores at a relatively low price.²¹

Dr. Dalia Satkauskytė, who visited the Endowed Chair in
1993–1994, described her fellowship program in Chicago as a
time of an intellectual atmosphere and libraries and the process
of getting cultured. Although she belonged to the generation that
had already started to get acquainted with Western literary
thought at home, the fellowship at UIC had a great impact on

²⁰ “Lietuviškasis dėmuo,” 36.

²¹ From the correspondence with Dalia Kuizinienė, September 14, 2017.



September 24, 2009. The President of the Republic of Lithuania Valdas Adamkus visited UIC, where he delivered his speech in the Student Center East, met with the UIC officials and students, and took a walking tour around the East Campus with the members of the Lithuanian Student Association. Photo Giedrius Šulnius

her further career. “We were a bit cocky, we thought that we wouldn’t be surprised [by anything] here,” Satkauskytė said in an interview. “We hoped that something would blow our minds <...> we were a generation that had already imagined that it had destroyed all that Soviet legacy, [that] now all the West had opened to them in Lithuania, and we wouldn’t be surprised by anything here. But that wasn’t the case.”²² Regimantas Tamošaitis, another Ph.D. student from Vilnius University, who did a fellowship at the Endowed Chair at UIC in the same year as Satkauskytė, admitted that he went to America to get to know academic

²² From an interview with Dalia Satkauskytė, September 15, 2017.

and everyday culture better, “which at the time was still completely unknown [to me] and in my imagination, heavily idealized and inaccurate.”²³ Assoc. prof. Tamošaitis says that his expectations have been fulfilled. All idealization of America had evaporated as soon as he saw the real strength of that country.

According to prof. Kelertienė, visiting scholars contributed greatly to the activities of the Chair. For her part, she tried to give them a chance to share their ideas and, if they seemed mature and ready, to deliver a presentation or two to the local audience.²⁴ This way almost all scholars who visited the Endowed Chair for a longer or shorter period of time had the opportunity to do a presentation at the Santara-Šviesa Federation annual meeting traditionally held in the early fall, on the Labor Day weekend.

Time spent at the Endowed Chair at UIC was a time of transformation, change and broadening of horizons for many visiting Lithuanian scholars and even lecturers. Prof. Kelertienė observed that since a theoretical approach, and in particular its ignorance and inability to apply it to Lithuanian literature, was the weak side of their Lithuanian experience, many scholars who visited the Chair had strengthened their theoretical base. Therefore, the professor tried, as far as the format of the Chair allowed, to expose the graduate students and visiting scholars to the unrestricted academic style as much as possible. She noted that her own scholarly interests in feminism, narratology, translation theory and post-colonialism contributed to this goal. A number of MA and Ph.D. students chose to explore one of these theories in their MA or Ph.D. thesis. Although, there were also those who arrived at UIC with already formed theoretical approaches. In such cases, they researched other approaches or simply studied various topics of the Lithuanian diaspora in the US. According to Tamošaitis, although the concept of his Ph.D. thesis with all its implications and consequences was formed completely and independently before his arrival in the US, the fellowship provided theoretical tools and most importantly self-con-

²³ From the correspondence with Regimantas Tamošaitis, March 28, 2019.

²⁴ From the correspondence with Kelertienė.

fidence.²⁵ The current head of the Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies at UIC prof. Subačius, who had come to Chicago as a scholar of Daukantas, today is also known as a sociolinguist and an expert on Upton Sinclair's novel *The Jungle* (1906).

In the case of younger scholars, perhaps they did not so much "change" the direction of their research as they strengthened or supplemented it with new insights. As such examples, prof. Kelertienė points out prof. Almantas Samalavičius, Dr. Artūras Tereškinas and Dr. Daiva Litvinskaitė. Another case would be Dr. Loreta Mačianskaitė, who after a fellowship and researching material in Chicago, wrote a book about the Lithuanian-American writer Antanas Škėma. According to the professor, there have been many such examples in the history of the Endowed Chair. Satkauskytė's testimony is yet another example. The Vilnius University student came to UIC, having already written a couple of sections of her Ph.D. thesis.

I had written such a strange chapter about Venclova, of which nothing was left <...> I did a completely unsatisfactory presentation about Venclova at Santara-Šviesa. Now when I think about it, I can't imagine how those people endured it. I rewrote everything, absolutely everything. I think that the books and the interactions I was exposed to [during my fellowship] had an impact because nothing was left [of that presentation], well, maybe a sentence <...>²⁶

Prof. Kelertienė did not impose her theoretical approaches and insights on students. She simply shared them, leaving everything to take its own course. Satkauskytė remembers,

We argued with her, we had discussions, but she did not impose anything of her own. There were a few attempts to introduce us to feminism. We didn't [fully] understand it then, we were young, greenhorns <...> [but] now when I think about it, she was absolutely right. <...> That feminism is not only a theoretical thing, but also being present in that social medium with those attitudes.

²⁵ From the correspondence with Tamošaitis.

²⁶ From an interview with Satkauskytė.

It seems to me that this had an indirect impact, but not immediately, very gradually; it was the first stimulus that went somewhere underground and then returned.²⁷

Prof. Kelertienė noted that the academic environment itself contributed a lot to broadening the horizons of students and visiting scholars. “The fellowship program was important and significant for me also because it not only gave me the opportunity to get acquainted with the city’s museums, architecture and UIC, but also gave me the opportunity to get to know and interact with many writers and people of the post-war DP generation,” prof. Kuizinienė said.

I ‘knew’ those people only from their works, articles. I corresponded with them. During my fellowship, I participated in Lithuanian literary events: I was able to talk to Kazys Bradūnas, Julija Švabaitė-Gylienė, Jurgis Jankus, Paulius Jurkus, Birutė Pūkelevičiūtė, and Zinaida Katiliškienė-Liūnė Sutema. Those acquaintances and interactions opened a wonderful picture of Lithuanian cultural life, they drew me in. I still remember certain lessons and experiences.²⁸

Prof. Samalavičius visited the Endowed Chair twice – as a visiting lecturer in the spring semester of 1999, at the invitation of the head of the Chair prof. Kelertienė, and in 2002, as a visiting scholar in order to carry out a research project on postcolonial studies and Lithuanian literature. He recalled that the semester spent in Chicago, next to lectures, seminars and work in the library, was very intense culturally.

I regularly visited more interesting blues and jazz clubs (especially in the western part of the city), while those southern clubs once visited by Ričardas Gavelis (his visits had already become a kind of legend, because the taxi drivers didn’t dare to drive the Lithuanian writer there, so he had to walk on foot) unfortunately, I was unable to visit.²⁹

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ From the correspondence with Kuizinienė.

²⁹ From the correspondence with Almantas Samalavičius, September 15, 2017.

In Chicago prof. Samalavičius also met several prominent cultural figures of the Lithuanian diaspora. He made the acquaintance of the editor of the newspaper *Akiračiai*, Liūtas Mockūnas. The visits at Mockūnas's home eventually turned into a sincere friendship. Prof. Samalavičius attended parties organized by the photographer Algimantas Kezys, got acquainted with a very interesting poet Rimas Vėžys, and other exceptional personalities.

I had visited and even celebrated my birthday in a fun company at the home of architect Vytautas and artist Henrietta Vepštas. There, by the way, I had an interesting conversation with Horstas Žibas, a well-known, now deceased Lithuanian diaspora economist, who was the vice-president of Procter and Gamble, and the philosopher Algis Mickūnas. And one time, in one of the Marquette Park bars that was still operating at that time I had a chance to meet the legendary director of La Mama Theater in New York, Giedraitis <...>³⁰

The stay at UIC was the most rewarding to those students and scholars who worked with a purpose. Samalavičius said that while working as a visiting lecturer at UIC, he outlined the structure of his future book, *Universiteto idėja ir akademinė industrija* (Idea of a University and the Academic Industry), and gathered most of the material necessary for writing it. "It is unlikely that it would have come to life or even taken on such a form if I had not had the opportunity to work in the rich library of the University of Illinois. In addition, I brought back home sketches for several more academic articles and studies."³¹ Among other works, he translated Violeta Kelertienė's article into Lithuanian which was later published in Lithuania, and attended several seminars at Northwestern University and the prestigious University of Chicago. While in Chicago, Samalavičius finished collecting material for his monograph *Idėjos ir struktūros architektūros istorijoje* which was published in Lithuania in 2004. The book was later translated into English, and the translation was edited

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Ibid.

by then MA student in Lithuanian Studies at UIC, Elizabeth Novickas. The book eventually reached an international academic audience, and one of its chapters later was translated into Chinese. In 2011, the book was renamed *Ideas and Structures: Essays in Architectural History* and published by the publishing house Wipf and Stock based in Oregon. According to prof. Samalavičius, all this is the fruit of his academic visits to the Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies at UIC.

The Endowed Chair's *Spiritus Movens*

"In my memory, the Endowed Chair has remained associated with the name of professor Violeta Kelertienė;" "the *spiritus movens* of my academic visits [at UIC] was Violeta Kelertienė with whom I had a lot of discussions on academic and non-academic topics in Chicago,"³² Samalavičius said. "The most pleasant memory is of prof. Violeta Kelertienė,"³³ Tamošaitis recalled of his time spent in Chicago.

Violeta Kelertienė belongs to the generation of Lithuanian diaspora academics who graduated from Anglo-Saxon universities and had the opportunity to teach at North American universities. Academics such as Algirdas J. Greimas, Vytautas Kavolis, Rimvydas Šilbajoris, Viktorija Skrupskelytė, Bronius Vaškelis, Alina Staknienė, Birutė Cipliauskaitė, Živilė Bilaišytė, Ilona Gražytė-Maziliauskienė, Delija Valiukėnaitė, Audronė Barūnaitė-Willeke and others belong to this generation. Being of different age, these literary scholars influenced each other. In her speech on the occasion of accepting an Honorary Doctorate at Vytautas Magnus University, prof. Kelertienė thanked her mentors in the West: Kostas Ostrauskas, Rimvydas Šilbajoris, Algirdas Greimas, Vytautas Kavolis, Birutė Cipliauskaitė, and Bronius Vaškelis.

³² Ibid.

³³ From correspondence with Tamošaitis.



September 9, 2005. Prof. Violeta Kelertienė. Photo by Daiva Litvinskaitė

Not only did they teach and educate me and I seek wisdom from their lectures. They also encouraged me, at the time a fresh graduate student, in every way, invited me to join with their company, praised and criticized me when it was necessary, wrote recommendations, encouraged me to publish and gravitate toward the Lithuanian intellectual environment. Without their example and support, I, like many of my contemporaries, would have drifted into the American melting pot. Lithuania would not have benefited from me.³⁴

After receiving her Ph.D. in comparative literature from the University of Wisconsin-Madison, in 1984 Kelertienė started working at the Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies at UIC. In 1993, she became the head of the Chair and worked in this position until 2008. She has participated in a number of US-Lithuanian academic exchanges (IREX, Fulbright, and VU), conferences, Association of World Scholars in Lithuanian Studies events, of which she is one of the founders, and Santara-Šviesa meetings.

³⁴ Kelertienė, "Gerbiamas Rektoriau...", 2.

She also taught at Vilnius Pedagogical University and Vytautas Magnus University. From 1999 to 2011, prof. Kelertienė was the editor of the English-language academic journal *Lituanus*, and after the death of Vytautas Kavolis, she edited several issues of the Lithuanian diaspora journal *Metmenys*. She was or still is a member of many foreign and Lithuanian academic and cultural editorial boards, such as *Acta litteraria comparativa*, *Lituanus*, *Oikos*, *Žmogus ir žodis*, *Colloquia*, *Pergalė/Metai*, *Rampike*, *Literatūra*, to name just a few.

According to Saulius Žukas, Kelertienė introduced to Lithuanian literary studies discussions about the criteria for evaluating literature, bold analysis of popular works, updated the methodological foundations of literary scholarship, and, perhaps most importantly, offered an approach to Lithuanian literature from outside. She surveys Lithuanian literature from a different literary context, makes extensive use of the twentieth century Western literary context and lessons of New Criticism and Structuralism, is well versed in Russian formalism and narrative techniques, and has a well-developed literary critic's intuition and the desire to understand the peripeteias of literary life in Lithuania. In Žukas' opinion, all this has resulted in non-traditional evaluations of literary works and broad and intriguing generalizations of literary phenomena.³⁵ Kelertienė has mastered several Western literary theories. She has been "one of the most active advocates of the feminist approach to Lithuanian literature."³⁶ According to Žukas, such attempts have been very important to the renewal of Lithuanian literary criticism.

Kelertienė has been one of the first to apply the theoretical approach of postcolonialism to Lithuanian literature. In 2006, she compiled and published a collection of articles *Baltic Postcolonialism. On the Boundary of Two Worlds: Identity, Freedom and Moral Imagination in the Baltics* (Rodopi). In the same year, the publishing house Baltos lankos published the professor's collection of articles on Lithuanian literature, *Kita vertus... Straipsniai*

³⁵ Žukas, "Intriguojanti literatūros kritikos knyga," 7.

³⁶ Ibid.

apie lietuvių literatūrą (Then Again... Articles on Lithuanian Literature). In the introduction, Žukas noted that “today, when reading reviews such as those published in the introduction to the Lithuanian prose anthology, *Come into My Time*, it seems that perhaps no one has so diligently recorded thematic renewals and other changes in our prose in the last decades of the Soviet era and the first years of independence.”³⁷

In addition to literary and pedagogical work, prof. Kelertienė headed the Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies at UIC for sixteen years. Today she admits that the workload was not light as Ph.D. students in particular stayed at the University for a few years, so she had to prepare more and more new courses every semester, at least until the students changed. Linguistic subjects were taught by prof. Subačius, and all literature courses were taught by her.

Prof. Kelertienė still participates in Lithuanian literary and cultural life. We see her name in many English-language articles or books written by Lithuanian literary scholars and published by such well-known academic publishers as Routledge. At the end of 2019, she together with Maryte Racys published a collection of translations of Žemaitė’s texts, *Marriage for Love. A 19th-Century Woman Fights for Justice in English* (Birchwood Press). Currently living in Seattle and collaborating with the local University of Washington, she still hosts Fulbright scholars or fellows from Lithuania and even Latvia, especially those who have a special interest in postcolonialism.

The Third Stage

In 2007, for internal political reasons, the new dean of UIC, Dwight McBride, closed the MA and Ph.D. programs at the Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies at UIC. A year later, prof. Kelertienė retired. When UIC failed to employ a second professor, only one professorship at the Chair remained. Thus, after

³⁷ Ibid.



Professors Tomas Venclova, Violeta Kelertienė, Dalia Cidzikaitė, professors Rimvydas Šilbajoris and Giedrius Subačius after Dalia Cidzikaitė defended her doctoral dissertation at UIC

more than twenty years of active existence, the Lithuanian program at UIC has shrunk to a single BA level course, Lithuanian Culture. After the closure of the MA and Ph.D. programs, the fight for their renewal had begun. Unfortunately, with no tangible results. Except for the BA Lithuanian culture course and a course on Lithuanian literature introduced in 2009, the Chair has stagnated for several years.

In 2012, the Lithuanian language courses had been revived. They were taught by a graduate of the Chair Dr. Daiva Litvinskaitė. In 2015, a consortium of Vilnius University, Lithuanian University of Educational Sciences and Vytautas Magnus University represented by Vilnius University, signed an agreement with UIC regarding the project "Strengthening of Collaboration between Baltic Studies Centers Abroad and Lithuanian Institutions of Higher Education and Research" which enabled the teaching of Lithuanian language and Lithuanian literature at UIC. The project started on January 1, 2016 and should continue until August 15, 2021. Up until last year, the Lithuanian language course was taught by Dr. Litvinskaitė. Currently, Karilė Vaitkutė, another Chair alumnus, teaches it.

Today, about twenty (20) students take the Lithuanian Culture course taught by prof. Subačius each semester. The professor also teaches a course on the history of European languages in English for MA and BA students, which, according to Subačius, also includes material on the history of the Lithuanian language. In 2008, the Lithuanian Student Association was established at UIC. The same year, it organized a huge event to commemorate the Lithuanian millennium. The Association had been inactive for some time. It was revived in 2020 (chairman Daniel Misiou-ra, a student of Lithuanian origin).

The Role and Contribution of the Endowed Chair

At the conference of the Association of World Scholars in Lithuanian Studies held on July 4–6, 1996, prof. Kelertienė noted that “if we have been or are lagging behind, we still have to start from the beginning and move, albeit at an accelerated pace, through all the stages.”³⁸ In her opinion, the thought expressed by the writer Sofija Čiurlionienė at the start of the twentieth century also applies to literary studies today: “Just as a while ago it was fashionable in US psychology to force adults, who had not crawled as children to crawl, so it can happen to the development of a literary critic—we will have to ‘crawl’ before we start walking and running.”³⁹

Prof. Satkauskytė when asked to evaluate the contribution of the Chair to the development of Lithuanian studies, quoted Algirdas J. Greimas who in 1988–1989, ironically commenting on the academic world, specifically the scholars’ constantly flying to conferences and internships, said that it is a necessary part of academic life and that it is what Lithuanians should do first. For her personally, a visit to the Endowed Chair at UIC became a face-to-face encounter with the West: “It didn’t mean automatic takeover, but it was what I call a fruitful confrontation: you reject

³⁸ Kelertienė, “Lengvai pučia,” 74.

³⁹ Ibid.

something, take something, and something comes out of it.”⁴⁰ The literary critic is convinced that no sciences have made such progress as the humanities during the period when they became normal sciences—departing from one imposed method, one model.

Prof. Kelertienė is convinced that the Chair has made a significant impact on young researchers, broadening their horizons with new theories and less restricted teaching style, and helping them access better libraries. It prepared a lot of people for Lithuania.

When I go to Kaunas or Vilnius, I see many talented young people who have visited UIC. I keep in touch with many of them today. And now that I look around the conference halls and even the Lithuanian press, I see that we have succeeded in part: I notice a lot of our graduates working in the field of culture.⁴¹

She is pleased that the academic ties with most of the visitors to the Chair have lasted to this day, and that she participates in joint projects, conferences, book exchanges and other activities.

According to prof. Subačius, the greatest educational achievements of the Endowed Chair at UIC are five doctors and nineteen masters of Lithuanian studies and the Lithuanian culture course, which until recently has attracted the most students. He also noted that young scholars who received their degrees in Chicago had become the leading scholars in Lithuanian studies. “We were a window that enabled one to look at Lithuanian studies differently,”⁴² he said. According to a politician Dr. Mantas Adomėnas, the Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies at UIC is more than a beacon for disseminating knowledge about Lithuanian culture, language and literature: “If all Lithuanian studies are researched only in Lithuania, we will not have different schools and methods, and all scholars in Lithuanian studies will be of the same mind. This would be detrimental to science, as its level needs to be constantly updated.”⁴³

⁴⁰ From an interview with Satkauskytė.

⁴¹ Cidzikaitė, “Pokalbis su Violeta Kelertiene.”

⁴² Širvinskas, “Lietuvybės bastioną...”

⁴³ Ibid.

Summary

Using the testimonies and interviews with the long-term head of the Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies at UIC, prof. Violeta Kelertienė, and visiting scholars, the article examines the role of the Chair which was established in the fall of 1984 at the University of Illinois in Chicago (USA). In addition to the main goal of serving the Lithuanians living in diaspora, the founders of the Chair entrusted it with another task—to spread the message about Lithuanian studies and to promote them in the Western academic world. The regained freedom in Lithuania adjusted the mission and tasks of the Chair. From 1990 to 2018, over 50 scholars from Lithuania visited the Chair. This academic center of Lithuanian studies in North America significantly contributed to the faster development of Lithuanian literature and its theoretical thought in Lithuania. According to prof. Dalia Satkauskytė, no other Lithuanian science has made as great progress as the humanities. This is largely due to the Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies at UIC.

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Vilnius Cathedral Square from the Fourteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries. Part Two¹

STASYS SAMALAVIČIUS

The territory of Cathedral Square is one of the oldest and most important sites in the city of Vilnius. It is closely related to the history of the statehood of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and to this major Christian religious institution. Part Two of this study deals with the peculiarities of the buildings that used to stand within the territory of Vilnius Cathedral and their architectural framework, as well as thoroughly analyzing the nature of the elements of their interior. The article also discusses the sources, based on which the descriptions of the buildings are presented. As an investigation of the history of this territory's development, architectural objects such as the House of the Pod-

¹ Continued from issue No 67:2, 2021.

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kustos (assistant of canon) of the Cathedral, the House of the Vicars, the School of the Cathedral, the House of the Episcopal College (in the sources also known as the Palace of Bishop Eustachy Kotowicz) as well as the Royal Mill are described in detail. Relying on archival sources, the author indicates as to since when knowledge of the buildings that used to stand within the territory has been available to us, and, to the extent that the sources reveal, presents the history of their origin, development, and when they were pulled down.

The House of the Podkustos of the Cathedral

It was a building of a trapezoidal plan which stood between the eastern end of the House of the Bishops and the Bell Tower of the Cathedral.

The available archival sources bear no information as to when exactly this building was put up. The earliest information about the House of the Podkustos (assistant of canon) of the Cathedral is from the second half of the seventeenth century. It is a reply of the Dean of the Episcopal College, Żuchorski to the accusations brought against him by the Bishop of Vilnius on January 19, 1691. In his reply, Żuchorski indicated that after the capitulation of the Russian army in 1669, the Cathedral was partly destroyed and flooded with water. The Dean of the Episcopal College, referring to the works carried out after the Russian army retreated, indicates the cleaning of the Cathedral and its rebuilding, the masoning of two schools and 'a house for the Podkustos', as well as other construction and repair works carried out.² However, the site of the House of the Podkustos is not indicated. We can only assume that this is a reference to the house in question. If this assumption is correct, the house was built between 1661 and 1691. The use of the word 'masoning' does not, however, necessarily show that

² Kurczewski, *Katedra Wileńska*, 262.

the building was completely rebuilt from the foundations. This could equally be said about the rebuilding of a partly destroyed building because this is what Žuchorski said about the two schools, too, in his reply. One masonry school of the Cathedral is also known to have stood not far from the Cathedral's northern wall before the Muscovy army's invasion. Hence, after the war, it was most probably rebuilt. On the other hand, we should also remember that, in the after-war years, rebuilding and repair of buildings was primarily undertaken.

The available seventeenth-century sources do not contain any data about this building. It is, however, mentioned and described more than once in the archival sources from the nineteenth century.

For example, the Act of Visitation of the disabled priests' property from 1820, which gives a description of the House of the Bishop or the so-called Jogaila's House, also describes the House of the Podkustosz of the Cathedral.³ The Act indicates that its first floor housed a small shop with a one-piece wood paneling door and one window with double-leaf shutters. The premises had a joiner-made floor and a ceiling of thick boards. In the further description, this premises is called '*sklepik*' (basement). However, the text does not make it clear whether this premises was a basement or the word was used in the sense of a small shop. It is said therein that the neighboring premises, which had previously been a tavern, in 1820 was again reorganized into residential premises. There was a small passage with two windows in front. There is mention of a wood paneling door in the premises that was under reorganization from a tavern into a room on the market side.

There is mention of one more residential premises on the second floor of the building. It had new joists and a new wooden ceiling. It is, however, indicated therein that the former old ceiling had not been removed yet ('*drugia stołowania ieszczozy niezwyete*'). There were two barred windows but still no door in the

³ CVIA (Lithuanian State Historical Archives), f. 694, apr. 1, b. 3769, l. 335.

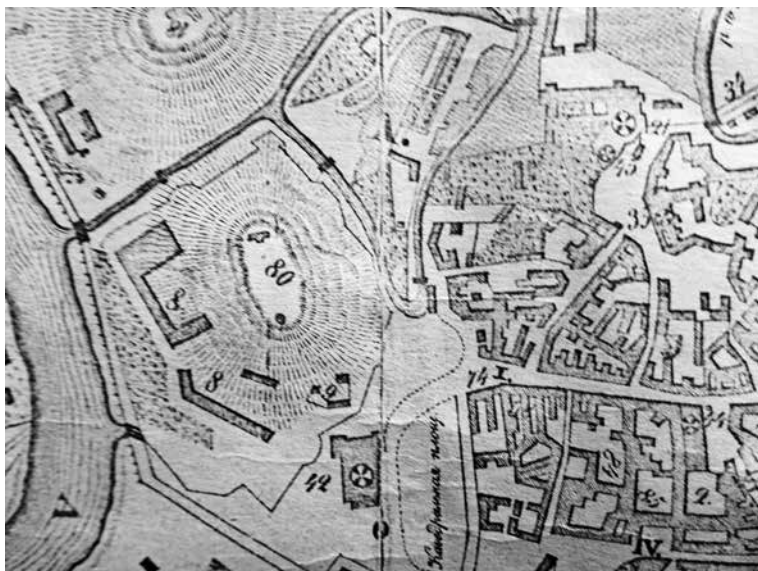
room, and also a white-glaze tile furnace with a little fireplace beside. A description of this house is also contained in the Act of Visitation of the disabled priests' property from 1830.⁴ It says that this house, which, in the source, is referred to as annex, was 'wedge' shaped; it had a tile roof with a chimney rising above it. This house housed a small shop by the corner of Jogaila's House, with a planked door leading to it. The shop had one window with a shutter, a floor and a ceiling of thick boards. There was no furnace in this shop.

Near the shop, there was a tavern equipped in the previously residential premises. On the side of Cathedral Square, a wood paneling door led into the tavern; two iron barred windows, a thick-board ceiling and floor, and a kitchen oven are mentioned. Access to the tavern was through a small passage which had two windows with shutters. The tavern had two doors, one of them leading into the courtyard, the other one to the Square. A set of wood stairs in the courtyard led to the second floor of the building. The stairs were under a plank roof which was painted in red. From the stairs, through a door, one would primarily access a passage with two windows overlooking the Square. The floor and the ceiling in this premises were made of thick boards. From the passage, a door led to a premises (*"pokoï"*) of three rooms with shutters and a Swedish furnace. These premises had a plastered ceiling and a thick-board floor. There was a door from the premises into a pantry in which there stood a kitchen oven, there were two windows with shutters, and a thick-board ceiling and floor. Entrance to the garret above these premises was by the above-named stairs leading to the second floor.

Additional information about the Podkustosz of the Cathedral's House is available in one more description of its inventory from 1830.⁵ It says that it was a masonry two-floor building with the façade overlooking the Castle Gate and its back wall 'to

⁴ CVIA, f. 694, apr. 1, b. 7788, l. 276.

⁵ CVIA, f. 694, apr. 1, b. 3788, l. 167–168.



Cathedral Square and adjoining territories. Plan of Vilnius city, 1840

a newly equipped plot for the exercising of militaries'. One end of the house was by the Cathedral's Bell Tower and the other reached the House of Priests Emeritus. It was 10 cubits long and 12 cubits wide. At that time, staff of the Cathedral resided there and some church belongings were also held there.

A masonry wall surrounded the yard on the front side of the house (*'z frontu oprowadzony walem murowanym'*). One side of it abutted the Bell Tower of the Cathedral, the other – the House of Priests Emeritus. The wall was covered with a tile roof. There was a passage in the wall to enter the courtyard. It had a planked and properly bound door-gate.

There was an anteroom, a small kitchen and rooms, one of which had two windows, on the first floor. They were vaulted. The floor in the rooms was made of boards. On the second floor, there were two rooms as well. They were not vaulted and had a planked ceiling and a fine floor of thick boards. The rooms apparently were different-sized as one of them had three

windows and the other just one. Similar to the first floor, there was an anteroom and a small kitchen upstairs. The difference in the layout of the second floor was that there, a small corridor led from the kitchen into a small masonry tower which contained an outhouse. The Act of Visitation says that 'the rooms were on the rear end from the Bell Tower'. On the other side of the house, near the House of Priests Emeritus, there was a vegetable storeroom – vaulted premises with small windows and a furnace.

This premises was on the first floor. On the second floor, there was also a premises with two windows. However, there was no furnace in it and it was not vaulted; yet it had a fine ceiling of thick boards and a floor of the same material.

The house was covered with tiles. However, the part of the roof near the House of Priests Emeritus, or Jogaila's House, was tinplated.

The courtyard was stone paved and there was a draw well in it. From the courtyard, one could access a large vaulted cellar which was under the House of the Bishops.⁶

This building was pulled down together with the House of the Bishops. This happened in 1832.⁷

The examined materials provide for drawing the following conclusions: apparently the house was built between 1661 and 1691, although an opinion that it may have been totally rebuilt after the demolitions that took place in the castle territory during the war of 1655–1661 should not be rejected.

It was a small trapezium shaped two-floor brickwork building that stood between the end of the House of the Bishops and the Bell Tower of the Cathedral. In the nineteenth century, there is mention of vaults on the first floor and of a wooden ceiling on the second one.

After pulling the Cathedral School building down in 1783, it housed a school for some time. In the first decades of the nine-

⁶ CVIA, f. 694, apr. 1, b. 3786, l. 276.

⁷ Sliesoriūnas, *Gedimino aikštė Vilniuje*, 28.

teenth century, in addition to residential premises, there had been a shop and a tavern on the first floor of the house.

The house stood with the façade towards the Castle Gate. There was a stone paved courtyard with a drawn well there. On the front side, the courtyard was surrounded with a masonry fence which adjoined the Bell Tower of the Cathedral on one end, and the House of the Bishops on the other.

When pulling the House of the Bishops down in 1832, the House of the Podkustosz of the Cathedral was pulled down as well.

The House of the Vicars

We have no exact knowledge of when the first masonry construction was built on this site. One thing clear is that the entire building referred to as the House of the Vicars was not built at one time.

The register of documents pertaining to this house, which is attached to the Act of Visitation of the house from 1820, mentions a sovereign's privilege granted to vicars on May 26, 1596.⁸ It entitled them to build residential houses in the territory of Vilnius castles near the vicarage (*'na plac w zamku wilenskim wedle domu Wikaryuskiego dla pobudowania mieczaszkan'*). This suggests that the vicarage had already stood on this site. Construction of residential houses for vicars near the building already standing there started that year. The above-named source says that the Cathedral's vicars had built for them a spacious brickwork house for eighteen persons.⁹ Hence, after building a new residential house, the building must have become much longer.

On October 7, 1626, the steward of Vilnius Castle complained to the Episcopal College about the harm done by the Cathedral School's students. The steward reported that the students would

⁸ CVIA, f. 694, apr. 1, b. 3769, l. 347.

⁹ CVIA, f. 694, apr. 1, b. 3769, l. 340.

break into the Castle through the vicarage door, inflicting harm to it.¹⁰ It seems, the Ducal Palace of the Lower Castle is meant here. It is not clear whether at that time the Cathedral School was in the House of the Vicars or it adjoined this building, and the students would find themselves in the Ducal Palace from the School through the neighboring 'vicarage'.

The House of the Vicars, as well as the other buildings that stood within the Lower Castle's territory, must have suffered during the war of 1655–1661; yet it was rebuilt again. The Cathedral School, which stood by the rear of the House of the Vicars, was rebuilt as well in 1680.¹¹ It was built in 1632.¹² With its rear adjoining the south-west end of the House of the Vicars, the School and the House seemed to be the same building. When rebuilding the Cathedral and tending to the territory, part of the House of the Vicars (its south-western end) and the School were pulled down in 1783.¹³ Napoleonas Kitkauskas indicates that pulling down of a part of this building and of the School began in 1784.¹⁴ The Act of Visitation of the House of the Vicars from 1820 says that, to provide a better vista of the newly reconstructed Cathedral (*'dla prospektu kościoła katedralnego'*), in 1770 Bishop Masalskis ordered that a bigger part of the then House of the Vicars be pulled down. As a compensation, the Bishop promised another house to be built for the vicars on a different location; however, he did not keep his promise.¹⁵ Nor did the subsequent bishops erect a new building for the bishops of the Cathedral.

The above-named Act of Visitation from that year reveals the way this building looked like in 1820.¹⁶ It reads that the house

¹⁰ The reference to this is: '...Chłopcy ze szkolki katedralnej przez drzwi wikarjatu wrywają się do zamku.' In Kurczewski, *Katedra Wileńska*, 110.

¹¹ Kurczewski, *Katedra Wileńska*, 249.

¹² MAB RS (The Library of the Academy of Sciences, Department of Manuscripts), F. 43-19840, l. 2–6v.

¹³ Kurczewski, *Katedra Wileńska*, 300–381.

¹⁴ Kitkauskas, *Vilniaus pilys*, 37.

¹⁵ CVIA, f. 694, apr. 1, b. 3769, l. 340–356.

¹⁶ CVIA, f. 694, apr. 1, b. 3769, l. 340–356v.

was 50 cubits long and 20 cubits wide. This two-floor brickwork building with a tiled roof stood with its front overlooking the Cathedral (*'dom morowany o dwóch pietrze na sklepach stoi frontem do kościoła katedralnego'*). Behind the house, there was a small courtyard surrounded with a brickwork fence.

The fence was said to be about 90 cubits long and 42 cubits wide.

There were twelve rooms on the two floors of the building. They each had an alcove which was not singled out separately as a room. When entering, on the side of the Cathedral, there was a small gate with an old yet still good door. Not far away from the gate, on the left, there was an entry into the cellars of the house. They had a double-leafed door from the house corridor, closed by iron hooks. Downstairs, there was a total of seven cellars. Two of them were large and five smaller. The door into the cellars was wooden and, at the time of drawing up the Act of Visitation, quite rotten. Each of the large cellars had a small window to the courtyard. Both cellar stairways had iron bars.

Then follows a description of the first floor of the house. It says that, going from the small gate further down the corridor, there was a room with a recess (*stancyja z alerszem*) on the right. It had a planked door (*drzwi futrowana*) with a lock. The room had two windows which, from the outside, had 'carpenter-made' shutters. There was a three-shelf closet with a 'panel door' in the room and, on the right, an old furnace of green and white tiles whose mouth was in the corridor. There was also a 'panel door' from the room into the recess. The recess had one window with bars from the outside and a double-leaf shutter from the inside. The recess was heated by a small fireplace next to which, in the wall, there was a niche with three shelves. The floor in the room was of thick boards and the recess was of bricks. Both premises were vaulted.

Upon going out of these premises into the corridor, a carpenter-made door on the right at the very end of the corridor led to an anteroom. From the anteroom, through three doors, one could access three different premises. Once in the anteroom, a door on

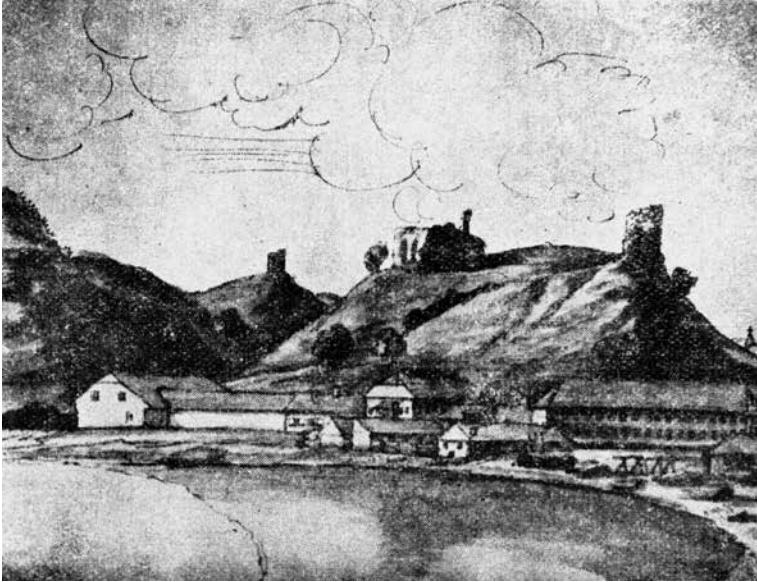
the right led into a room. Further down the anteroom there was a door to a storeroom. On the other side of this door, another old door led to a kitchen. The aforementioned room, too, had an old panel door with a lock. There was a closet with a panel door in it and two windows with carpenter-made shutters from the outside. A panel door with a lock led from the room into the recess. In this premises, there was one small window barred from the outside. The recess was a three-shelf niche in the wall. A three-shelf niche in the wall was both in the room and recess, both of which had a wooden floor and were vaulted. Upon getting into the corridor, there was a window on the right overlooking the courtyard and, further on the same side, three closets with doors lockable with locks. Further on the left, there was a planked door into a room which contained a closet with a double-leaf door, a green tile furnace, and two windows. Through the plank door one would get into a recess with one iron barred window. The recess and room windows were closable with planked shutters from the outside. There was a cabinet with a door in the recess, and the recess itself was lit up/heated by a small fireplace. The two premises were vaulted and had a thick-board floor.

Upon leaving this premises, on the right opposite the door, there was a window and, still further on, a door opening into the courtyard. There was also a fine set of twenty-six steps opposite this door, with two handrails fastened to the masonry. Below the stairs, there was a storeroom for holding firewood, with a simple door closable with hooks and a lock, and a small window above the stairs.

Upon getting up on the second floor, there was another window opposite the stairs. Not far from the stairs, on the right, a simple double-leaf door led to the loft (*'na luft'*). The stairs to the loft were wooden too. After passing through this door, there hung a thirty-eight-pound bell clad in wood. It hung on iron hooks masoned in the wall. Walking further down on the same side, there were two panel doors into a room, one of them one-leaf and the other one double-leafed. The room was heated

by a lettuce-color tile furnace with the mouth in the corridor. A two-shelf wooden cupboard stood on the left of the room door. The upper shelf of the cupboard closed with a one-piece door and the lower shelf with the same double-leaf door. There is mention of one more cupboard to have stood by the window, while these were two in the premises. A double-leaf panel door led from the room into the recess. The recess had a beautiful wooden floor (*'Cely tel olkierz wypierzony deskami w lansoft roboty stolarskiej'*), one window and two closets in the wall. This premises had a partition-wall. Through a door in the wall, one accessed a kitchen. There was a small fireplace in the kitchen and a one-shelf recess in the wall. The floor was of thick boards and the ceiling in the two premises was cloth covered (*'sufit plotnam powleczoney'*). Upon going out of the room into the corridor, there was a closet with a carpenter-made double-leaf door opposite the door. Going down the corridor, one could see a simple door into a storeroom, on the right. One more storeroom door is mentioned which, in the document, is referred to as inner. It was iron tin-bound (*'blechą żelazną futrowane'*). There were two windows in the storeroom, but no existence of shutters was recorded.

Upon leaving the storeroom into the corridor, there was a window opposite the door and one more window in the same wall of the corridor a little further on. Walking down the corridor away from the storeroom still further on, there was a wooden plank door into a room (*'do stancyi'*), which was heated by a green tile furnace with the mouth in the corridor. There were two cupboards in the room. The description suggests them to have been set into the wall. The smaller one was below the larger one, both with panel doors. The room had two windows. Two boards to put flower pots on were bricked into the wall somewhat below the windows. The floor was of thick boards yet old, and the recess by this room had no floor. A wood paneling door led from the room into the recess. The recess had one window and a small fireplace. There was a cupboard-type niche without a door opposite the fireplace. The recess had a ceiling of thick



A View of Upper Palace and the Arsenal in the nineteenth c.

boards. It seems, there was the same ceiling in the room too. Upon coming out of the room into the corridor, there was a closet opposite the room door. Further down the corridor, a panel door led into a room which, in the Act of Visitation drawn up in Polish, is no more referred to as '*stancyja*' but '*pokoj*'. The room had double-leaf windows and a white-tile Swedish furnace. It stood 'on wooden legs' and was closed with a brass door. A panel door close to the furnace led into a one-windowed recess. Both premises were without vaults; their ceiling and floor were covered with thick boards. Opposite the room door, in the ante-room, there was a window. Further on the same side, a simple carpenter-made door led into a storeroom. After passing through it, one would go down a little by thick-board stairs. Apparently, the floor in the storeroom was lower than that in the other premises. The storeroom had two small windows and a thick-board floor laid 'in a simple way'. Opposite the storeroom there was a door into a kitchen with a two-shelf niche in the wall.

The Act of Visitation further describes the courtyard. It says that the driveway into it (*'brama'*) was in front of the Bell Tower. The *'brama'* had a large double-leaf planked door. As it turns out from the description, the courtyard was fenced with a masonry wall. Upon passing through the gate, on the left of the building, there stood a wooden two-compartment (*'o dwoch komporkach'*) outhouse, from which there ran a canal into the city's grand canal. In the courtyard, by the fence, there stood two small wooden stables covered with tiles.

The house was renovated in 1812.¹⁷

The description of the House of the Vicars and of the other buildings in the Act of Visitation from 1830 is very brief: the house is reported to have been 50 cubits long and 20 cubits wide. Behind the house – a 50 cubits long courtyard fenced in with a masonry wall. The house is brickwork, two-floor, covered with tiles, and is standing with the façade towards the Cathedral. There is a total of thirteen rooms with alcoves and two kitchens on the two floors.¹⁸

As indicated by Feliksas Sliesoriūnas, in June-July 1831, 'the two-floor brickwork House of the Vicars belonging to the Episcopal College, the two-floor brickwork gallery next to it and other buildings, as well as the masonry fence surrounding them were pulled down.'¹⁹

The examined materials allow for stating that a school of the Cathedral was erected near the south-eastern end of the House of the Vicars in 1632, and that it and the house made one building.

By instruction from Bishop Ignas Masalskis in 1783–1784, the School and the south-eastern end of the House of the Vicars were knocked down in order to have a better view of the Cathedral. The remaining part of the House of the Vicars was ultimately knocked down in 1831 while building a fortress in the territory of the Lower Castle.

¹⁷ Sliesoriūnas, *Gedimino aikštė Vilniuje*, 114.

¹⁸ CVIA, f. 694, apr. 1, b. 3788, l. 155–155v.

¹⁹ Sliesoriūnas, *Gedimino aikštė Vilniuje*, 27.

The School of the Cathedral

The School of the Cathedral is first mentioned in the letter of Bishop Andrius of Vilnius of May 9, 1397 referring to the Altarista House he was founding. The description of the domain designated for it in the Lower Castle's territory says that, within the boundaries of the churchyard and the cemetery, near the Altarista House, there is a school building which, in the letter written in Latin, is referred to as 'stubella'.²⁰

The exact date of founding the school is, however, not specified either in this or the other known sources. It has not been ascertained either if it operated in one of the four buildings gifted to the Bishop of Vilnius by Jogaila on November 17, 1387 or a new building for it was erected. Most probably, the school was founded shortly after rebuilding the Cathedral. Founding a cathedral school was a significant event in Lithuania's cultural life at that time.

In 1400, great celebrations took place in Kraków on the occasion of opening an academy in this city. Lithuanian students marched together with other participants down St. Ann's Street. They wore gilded caps and ribbons fluttered on their shoulders. The Lithuanians allegedly had captured the Kraków Polish girls' attention; they had thronged to the sides of the street together with the crowd or had even climbed on top the roofs. These students, assumingly, must had included alumni of the Cathedral School since entering the Kraków Academy required preparation which, at that time, young people would get in schools. They were supposed to complete the so called quadrivium.

Prior to the founding of parish schools in Kaunas, Trakai and Varniai, in the early fifteenth century, it was the only educational institution in Lithuania, while the second school in Vilnius was only founded at the beginning of the next century. Establishing a new school required agreement from the Episcopal College. In 1513, an agreement was given to establish a school

²⁰ Raulinaitis, "Apie pirmą katedrinę mokyklą," 112.

under Saint John's Church in Vilnius, in which twenty-two students could study; six of them were supposed to be church cantors. This suggests that the cantor students of the then school apparently were relieved from duties which were performed by non-choristers.²¹

In addition to chanting, the Cathedral School's students had to serve during church service as well as ring the big bell of the Cathedral. Actually, they rang it substituting for the Cathedral's servants who lived at a distance from Vilnius, whose duty it was, for which they would get thirty-six *auksinas* per year. The bell was only rung during major ceremonies. For example, in the seventeenth century, during a funeral, this could only be done if eminent or influential people were buried. In some cases, just students of higher classes served or chanted. This obviously suggests that there were no less than three school classes at that time. Teaching was the school's major function, of Latin in particular, as it was necessary even for the performance of church duties.

The Cathedral School accepted children of not only well-off parents but of poor as well, for whom hiring private teachers was a pipe dream.

This school functioned under the Cathedral, yet it was not a parish school in the strict meaning of the word as the Cathedral had no parish of its own.

The request of Albertas Vaitiekus Goštautas to Vilnius' Episcopal College from 1523 for permission to expand a chapel in the Cathedral makes us aware that the school stood in a rather close proximity to the Cathedral's northern wall. It may well be that this was the usual location of the school. In the second half of the sixteenth century it is mentioned a few times; it had been repaired but, in 1605, it was already caving in. A little earlier, in 1596, a masonry two-floor House of the Vicars was built not far from it. The school suffered from the fire which devastated Lithuania's capital city in 1610 including the Ducal Palace, the Cathedral, and the surrounding buildings. Building of the school

²¹ Kurczewski, *Katedra Wileńska*, 8.

commenced in 1632. The school was built in place of the building which had previously stood there, as the builders first broke 'the stonework and foundations, where previously a cellar had been.' Whether it was the old school or the remains of some other construction, the register does not specify. It does not say a word about the project and the architect either.

Carpenter Jonas was paid for all kinds of woodwork and masoner Povilas for bricklaying; they labored there with their assistants. From early spring, lime, bricks, joists and boards were purchased; gravel and clay were carried; payments for nails, iron and various construction accessories produced from iron were made. In September 1632, the carpenters already set doors and windows into the building and the glasscutters glazed them. Furnaces were built and other equipment works were carried out. The register reveals that it was a masonry two-floor building to erect which, 679 kapos, 47 groats and 2 *pinigėliai* had been spent.²²

The school, as well as many other buildings within the Lower Castle's territory, were badly damaged if not completely knocked down during the war of 1655–1661. It is not clear if teaching was undertaken soon after the war and where lessons were held. On May 13, 1669 the Episcopal College applied to the Bishop of Vilnius in a letter which, among other things, asked to allocate a site for a school of the Cathedral.²³ The data provided by Jan Kurczewski show that in the 1770s it had already fallen into ruin.²⁴ However, in 1680, the school and related equipment, which cost 5,500 auksinas, were already 'built' and commenced operation.²⁵

Note that the Dean of the Episcopal College, Žuchorski, in reply to the Bishop's accusations of January 13, 1691, points out what had been done in the second half of the seventeenth century after the capitulation of the Russian troops in Vilnius. According to Žuchorski, who did not specify the dates, the Epis-

²² MAB RS, F. 43-1980, I. 6v.

²³ Kurczewski, *Katedra Wileńska*, 194.

²⁴ Op. cit., 2015, 220, 236.

²⁵ Op. cit., 249.

copal College had cleaned and repaired the Cathedral, as well as 'had lain bricks for two schools and a house for Pakustosz'.²⁶ Regretfully, the document did not specify the sites of the schools. We find no additional information about the second Cathedral school in the available materials from later periods either.

The storm raging in Vilnius on September 2, 1769 knocked down the Cathedral's southern tower, which, falling down, broke through the vaults of the Chapel of the Consolation of Mary, killing six people who were inside. Within a short time, reconstruction of the Cathedral started. In 1777, architect Giuseppe de Sacco set to work. He was replaced with Laurynas Gucevičius according to whose project the Cathedral was reconstructed. The author of the project led the works until 1790. In the reconstruction of the Cathedral and dealing with the surroundings, a part of the the House of the Vicars and the school were pulled down.

Napoleonas Kitkauskas and Liudvikas Dzikas, based on the research data from the prewar period and 1964 and 1985, describe the remains of the buildings discovered near the very eastern end of the Cathedral. They write:

The building was oriented in a south-north direction, widening in the direction of the south. Examination of the cellar masonry shows that the cellar could have been built in the second half of the fifteenth century or the very end of that century. By the way, the northern end of the cellar by the Cathedral's sacristy abuts the remains of one more, somewhat earlier, Gothic building, of which two buildings standing parallel next to each other in an east-south direction have remained. The western end of these cellars is cut along the height of the foundations of the Cathedral's sacristy; the eastern end extended towards the courtyard of the Renaissance palace; however, apparently, it had been torn down while constructing the western wing of the Renaissance palace. The northern wall of the old Gothic building which stood in a east-north direction was close to two meters thick; hence, north-east of the Cathedral there used to be a building though not wide but at least two-floor. Its northern wall was a shell construction,

²⁶ Op. cit., 263.

the outer layer – just bricks built in the Gothic pattern. Probably, this building was a former part of the fifteenth-century Gothic residential palace? Of course, an assumption that it could be the premises for the school which operated under the Cathedral from the late fifteenth century should not be rejected either.²⁷

Hence, the authors assume that the first Cathedral school could be located near the eastern end of the Cathedral.

And what fate befell the School when the the above-named building was knocked down in 1783?

The earliest information about the Cathedral School shifted to other premises is provided by Jan Kurczewski. His published information shows that, in 1787, the school was based in the premises occupied by the Pakustosz.²⁸ Considering that this clergyman lived in the building that stood between the eastern end of Jogaila's House and the Bell Tower of the Cathedral, the school must have been there too. However, it is indicated therein that it was there because 'no more adequate place' for it had been found.

Apparently, later it was shifted to the House of Priests Emeritus. It was a masonry building gifted by Jogaila to the Bishop of Vilnius on November 17, 1387, which stood south-east of the Bell Tower of the Cathedral. According to the description of this building's inventory from 1820, the school occupied two premises on the third floor. There was one window in each of them. The premises were heated by white-tile furnaces. Fourteen students studied in the school that year.²⁹ The report of Aloizias Dainakas to the Episcopal College written on March 22, 1830 shows that these premises were considered unfit for school. It was feared that, with the school on the third floor, students, jostling against each other, could fall down the stairs and hurt themselves. The inventory of the House of Priests Emeritus from that same year reads that the school was on the ground floor.³⁰

²⁷ Kitkauskas and Dzikas, "Žemutinės pilies karalių rūmai," 53–54.

²⁸ Kurczewski, *Katedra Wileńska*, 383.

²⁹ CVIA, f. 694, apr. 1, b. 3769, l. 334.

³⁰ CVIA, f. 694, apr. 1, b. 3788, l. 276v.

As the uprising of 1831 erupted and the tsarist authorities began constructing a fortress within the Vilnius castles' territory, in 1832 the House of Priests Emeritus was pulled down. The Cathedral school relocated to the house of assessor Narbutas on Šv. Jurgio bystreet, where the conditions for school were even worse, as the school was housed in just one premises.³¹ The letter of Jonas Rudamina, honorary school supervisor of Vilnius Powiat, of March 3, 1833 reads that the school was in the house of canon Herbut, but the premises were also too cramped and not suitable, and there was not enough light in them; also, the teacher did not have enough firewood to heat the 'hall' in which lessons were given; allegedly, the school did not have visual means for hyphenation, a world map, and a guest logbook for visitors of the school.³²

It looks like in 1834 the school or at least its belongings were housed in a new building put up for the Cathedral's musicians. Commissioner of the Episcopal College, Aloisas Pilcekis, searched for suitable premises for the school to rent out. Unfortunately, that was not easy to do. In his report to the Episcopal College, he pointed out that people avoided renting premises for the school 'in fear of that rabble (of students) for a variety of reasons'. Eventually, he found and leased premises in a state-owned house which had previously belonged to the Šulskis family, and still earlier probably to the Vasilevskis family.³³ That house was located in a small street not far away from the Royal Mill and, at that time, was marked as possession No 166.

The school occupied three rooms and an anteroom. Prior to the school moving in, the premises were cleaned and whitened anew; the school benches and apparently other things were brought over from the Cathedral musicians' house, as well as other tools necessary for teaching were acquired. This way, studies commenced in the new premises on January 2, 1835. It is not quite clear for how long the school operated in these premises though.

³¹ MAB RS, F. 336, MA9848, l. 1.

³² MAB RS, F. 43-19854, l. 1.

³³ MAB RS, F. 43-19854, l. 1.

In the early nineteenth century, the Cathedral School and the parish schools were taken over by the Russian tsarist authorities. It is true though that the Cathedral School had already lost the significance it had in the early ages. At the beginning of its existence, it was probably the sole educational institution not only in Vilnius but all of Lithuania. To its example, other similar schools were set up in Kaunas, Trakai, Varniai and other locations.

Even though the Cathedral School had not become a famous educational institution, its importance in Lithuania's education and cultural history raises no doubts.

The examined materials testify to the Cathedral School's establishment at the end of the fourteenth century. It was the first school in Lithuania.

No information about its location in the early ages is available to us. In the fourteenth century, it was not far from the northern wall of the Cathedral, yet its precise location has not been ascertained.

A new, two-story masonry school building was erected in 1632. It was partly ruined during the war against Muscovy (1655–1661) and was rebuilt in 1680.

Available information allows us to claim that it was built so that its end abutted the south-western end of the House of the Vicars, as if forming one construction with it. In 1783, the building was knocked down along with a part of the House of the Vicars.

The House of the Episcopal College

This building was erected in 1684–1685. Bishop Eustachy Kotowicz was the builder of the house. The building was ornate; in the sources from later times, it was referred to as palace.³⁴

As the Northern War progressed, the building was knocked down by Swedish troops in 1704. In 1709, it was taken over by canon L. Oginski. Napoleonas Kitkauskas writes:

³⁴ MAB RS, F. 43-22455, l. 1–4.

In the Furstenhoff plan of 1740 this house is depicted fenced in, it is about 35 meters long and 10 meters wide; on the north-western side (from the Vilnia River) it has an avant-corps; an oblong construction in the courtyard adjoins the fencing. Given everything, the wall of Kotowicz' house on the side of the Vilnia River must have coincided to the castle, although in the Furstenhoff plan, that wall on both sides of the building in the fenced-in courtyard is no longer shown... Jan Peszka has depicted in his watercolor a corner of this house: the wall plane is divided by vertical and horizontal lines into rectangles reminiscent of a fachtwerk construction; on the side of the castle's territory, the house is surrounded by a wall ornamented with decorative rectangles.³⁵

Prelate Jonas Bychovecas lived in this house in the 1740s. An inventory of the house and its other buildings was compiled in 1744.³⁶

The inventory makes us aware that the house which, in this document, is referred to as palace, was surrounded by a masonry wall (*'ten palac circum circa muren oprawadzony'*). At the top, the wall was covered with a shingle roof, which was old, holey, and needed repair. There were three gates in the wall. The main ones were on the side of the Cathedral, opposite the front of the palace, and in the wall on the back of the palace; the latter led to the grange which belonged to the palace, behind the castle's fossa.

There was an entrance near the central part of the house. Upon entering, the door led into a vestibule with three windows. On the left, there was a room with a carpenter-made thick-board door. It had windows, a stove of green tiles with white stripes and white corners, and a little fireplace (*'kaminkiem gonczym'*). A carpenter-made pine door led from this room into a smaller room. It was heated by the same furnace as in the larger room, and it had one window. From this room there was a door into the third room, which, in the inventory compiled in Polish, was referred to as 'transe' and which, too, was one-windowed. The inventory reads that from the room in the middle, there was one more

³⁵ Kitkauskas, *Vilniaus pilys*, 51–52.

³⁶ MAB RS, F. 43-22455, l. 1–4.

door into the residential premises of 'Her Grace Komiaczyna; yet it is closed and no one walks through them.'

The inventory also reads that, upon returning to the vestibule, the carpenter-made pine door on the right led into a hut ('*izba*') in which there was a stove of green tiles with white stripes and white corners; two windows gave it light. From the *izba*, through a carpenter-made door, one accessed a room with two windows and a green tile stove. The door in this room led into a premises which, in Polish, is defined as '*sklep*'. Regretfully, nothing more about it is said in the inventory.

It looks like there was also an exit from the above-named vestibule into the grange. There were wooden stairs by the house on the outside (from the fossa).

From the hallway, one could enter narrow premises ('*do czyj palacowey*') from which wooden stairs led into a two-compartment basement whose both compartments had a separate door each.

An iron door from the above-named narrow premises led to the premises referred to as 'pantry'. It seems this room was a treasury. There is mention of two iron-barred windows in it. The description of this premises also mentions a basement with a small barred window. It is, however, not clear if it refers to the basement already mentioned above or that which was under the treasury. When describing the premises on the first floor, it is further said that, upon returning from the 'pantry' and walking down the 'neck' of the palace outdoors, on the left, there was a poor quality thick-board door into a hut. There were two windows with shutters and a green-tile stove with a small fireplace in the *izba* (hut). To conclude with the description of this floor, a kitchen with a thick-board door from the courtyard is also to be mentioned. In addition, it is said that the floor in all the rooms on the first floor was a brick one.

The inventory document further proceeds to the description of the second floor. It says that stairs led to this floor. While the source does not specify whether they were inside the building or were built from the outside, it looks like it is about the stairs inside. Upon climbing them, there was a larger premises, which,

in the inventory, is referred to as pantry (*'sklepik na zlozenia'*). Facing it, there was a staircase door and a window further on, which, as stated, was 'opposite a hall'. Entrance to the hall was through a carpenter-made oak double-leaf door whose frames were ornamented with wood engravings. There were six windows in the hall. It looks like, at that time, gilded framed paintings had still survived on the hall's ceiling.³⁷ The truth is that, at that time, the ceiling was already in bad condition, as holes are sometimes mentioned. A 'carpenter-made' oak door with a black color frame, decorated with wood engravings, led from the hall into a room.³⁸

Concerning the furnace in this room, it was of white 'china tiles', and a small fireplace stood near it (*'piec z kafel farfurowych bialych z kaminkiem gonczym'*). There were four windows in the wall. An oak double-leaf door led to a neighboring room in which there were two windows with double-leaf shutters and 'the same china furnace with a little fireplace' (*'s kaminkiem gonczym'*). From this room, through a carpenter-made oak door, one accessed a one-windowed premises; it led to a small room referred to as 'tranest'.

The document specified that, when returning back to the hall, one had to go across another room. There was a carpenter-made oak door from it to the hall, and its black frame was embellished with wood engravings.

Opposite this door, on the other side of the hall, there was an oak door leading into another premises. This premises, too, had a black framing with wood carvings as a decoration. The engravings were only gilded above the door.³⁹ There was one window in the room, with a double-leafed shutter; it was heated by a white tile furnace and a small fireplace.

A simple, plain carpenter-made door led from this room into another room. This room had one window with a bar on the outside. On the outside below this window, there was also a

³⁷ MAB RS, F. 43-22455.

³⁸ MAB RS, F. 43-22455, I. 1-2.

³⁹ The inventory states: "Przeciwko tych drzwi porzar zal do drugiej pierzei y pokoioiw uszcki takoz stolarskiej roboty czarno malowane..."

pigeon cage ('*golembnik*'). There stood a closet with a double door in the room, by the window. One more door from this room led into a room referred to as 'transept', in which there were three windows and a furnace of plain white tiles with stripes of green tiles, as well as a small fireplace. <...>

Further, there was a wooden staircase leading up to the garret of the palace. There were two doors and one window in the staircase.

The inventory has it that all of the rooms on the second story had a board floor. The palace itself was newly covered with shingles.

In the courtyard opposite the palace, there was a drawn well covered with a shingle roof. Beyond the well there was a masonry kitchen, also covered with shingles. A brick oven and, separately, a dough trough stood in it. Two shuttered windows gave light to the premises. At the end of the kitchen there was a food storeroom in the description of which, a door and a board floor are mentioned. Another, newer kitchen had been built at the end of the palace. It was made of boards and, as well as the other buildings, was covered with shingles. Its floor was covered with boards; a brickwork oven stood in it.

As mentioned at the beginning of the description of the palace, the masonry wall surrounding the buildings and the plot had gates; one gate led into the grange behind the fossa. Kotowicz acquired the empty plot at this site in 1692, substantially enlarging his domain. This plot 'with one side, extended along a small street stretching from the River Neris to Pilies Street', with the other side, along 'the dug-out Vilnia stream; with one end – to tailor Jagielowicz', and with the other end – to Horodniczy (castellan) citizen Jonas Pipiras' plot and house.'⁴⁰ The inventory of buildings from 1744 has it that the the masonry wall that surrounded the buildings and the plot had three gates, one of which was into the grange behind the fossa. The description of the latter says that 'when walking from the palace to the grange,

⁴⁰ Kitkauskas, *Vilniaus pilys*, 51.



A view of the Hill of Crosses and river. The author of engraving unknown. From the archives of Stasys Samalavičius

there was a newly built bridge across the fossa, and also an Italian-type gate covered with shingles is mentioned.⁴¹ According to the inventory, the grange with all the buildings, the pond and the fruit-tree orchard which were there was fenced in as well. There was a four-compartment storehouse in the grange courtyard.⁴² Mention is made of a house with a back and front entrance in the grange and a stable for a couple of horses by it.⁴³ A stable is also indicated in another part of the grange.⁴⁴ <...>

According to the Act of Visitation of the House of the Episcopal College from 1820, the building (the former palace of Eustachy Kotowicz) was partially ruined during the French invasion in 1812. Bishop Dederka, who was the owner of the house at that time, renounced it in 1816. The house was taken over by prelate

⁴¹ MAB RS, F. 43-22455, l. 3v.

⁴² MAB RS, F. 43-22455, l. 4.

⁴³ MAB RS, F. 43-22455, l. 3v.

⁴⁴ MAB RS, F. 43-2245, l. 4.

Civinskis.⁴⁵ He undertook to reconstruct the house that same year, and the reconstruction was completed in the fall of the next year.⁴⁶

Architect Giuseppe Poussier of the Governorate of Vilnius was invited to review and assess the rebuilt house in 1819. While performing this task, he produced a related report on December 14 that year.⁴⁷

The report said that ‘the interior transverse walls of the house should have been masoned up anew from the very foundations’, and all the other interior and exterior walls strengthened and plastered. A new floor was laid in the seventeen rooms on the first and second story, and frame doors were installed in six rooms. In addition, a new ceiling was made and furnaces were installed in all of the premises. The report points to the binding of twenty-seven new double-leaf doors and locks fit into them, thirteen one-piece doors bound with metal and with locks produced, as well as thirty-four boxes for double windows and eight single-glass windows. A part of the old roof rafters and laths was removed, replacing them with new ones, while the whole roof of the house was covered with new tiles.

Poussier’s letter testifies that two tile-covered brickwork kitchens with ‘English and Polish’ ovens were placed in the courtyard. The foundations of the cellars were strengthened, the ice-house was masoned up anew, a stable for sixteen horses, a cart house, and a storehouse were built. All these constructions were tile-covered.

The plot was fenced with a 126 cubit long and 6 cubit high brickwork wall in which there were two planked and painted gates. In addition to other works, a new underground canal was built, which diverted the water flow from the courtyard to the city canal coursing on the external side of the defensive wall. The city canal was 40 cubits away from the residential house. The new canal was approximately the same length.

⁴⁵ In the nineteenth-century sources this building is often referred to as Civinskis’ house.

⁴⁶ CVIA, f. 694, apr. 1, b. 3679, l. 166.

⁴⁷ CVIA, f. 378, B.S. 1831 m., n. 2556, d. 3, l. 79–80.

All the works mentioned above including the painting of the premises and other minor works were estimated by architect Giuseppe Poussier at 8,000 silver rubles.⁴⁸

The inventories of October 26, 1820 and of June 27, 1831 testify to the look of the Palace of Kotowicz after its rebuilding by Civinskis.⁴⁹

According to the first inventory, the two-floor house was 45 cubits long and 17 cubits wide; its walls were 10 cubits high.⁵⁰ It stood with the façade overlooking the Cathedral and the former Palace of the Grand Dukes. The main entrance through a black oak door was in the façade. <...> Along with the anteroom and the lobby, seven more rooms on the first floor are mentioned, one of which, in the inventory from 1831, is referred to as cabinet. This document has it that the walls in the premises carried a sky-blue, pink, green and yellow-color optical landscape and ornate bands with painting on them. The ceilings were plastered; they were decorated with painted rosettes, enframing bands and other ornaments.⁵¹ Mention is made of wooden floors and five white glaze-tile furnaces, as well as ten doors and eleven windows in the rooms. Both the windows and the doors were painted in white. <...> The inventory from 1820 shows that, not to mention an anteroom, there were ten rooms, a lobby, and a cabinet on the second floor. In the inventory from 1831, mention is made of nine rooms, a cabinet, a hall, and a 'side corridor' with access to the garret.⁵²

The premises were heated by six white tile stoves and one colorless-tile and painted stove. The floor in the hall, the cabinet and two more rooms on the second floor was ornate oak and alder parquette with a figurative pattern, that in the other rooms – a fine board floor. On this floor, there was a board ceil-

⁴⁸ CVIA, f. 378, BS, 1831 m., d. 3, l. 79v.

⁴⁹ MAB RS, F. 43-22536, l. 1–3, P43-22627, l. 1–6.

⁵⁰ MAB RS, F. 43-22627, l. 2.

⁵¹ The inventory of the building from 1831 mentions the decorative ornamentation of the interior: '*Sieni, przedpokoy i pokoe seiany naloszna w kolorach iasnnych...*'

⁵² MAB RS, F. 43-22627, l. 3.

ing in just the anteroom, whereas in the other premises, the ceiling was plastered. Both the ceilings and walls of the premises were decorated with multicolor paintings. Mention is made of twenty-two two-piece and two-panel windows on this floor. On both floors, the windows were painted in white.

The courtyard of the building was fenced with a high brickwork wall with two gates. One gate was from the side of the boulevard, and the main drive-in gate – from the side of the Cathedral. The latter was high, double-leaf, with a door for walking in and out. Upon entering through this gate, on the left, there stood a small brickwork servants' quarters (*'officynka murowana'*) with a tile stove and a window on the side of the courtyard inside. <...>

North of Civinskis' house, or the former Palace of Kotowicz, there stretched a 700 square meter fruit-tree orchard. It had previously been larger. A part of the orchard had been cut down in 1821 while reconstructing the Arsenal and the streets of the arms depot (*'ceikhauzas'*), using the cut-off areas for their reconstruction. In 1821–1822, a wooden pavilion was built in this orchard according to the project of Giuseppe Poussier. It was fenced with a low wooden painted wall from the side of the boulevard.⁵³

The masonry two-floor house of Civinskis' with all the out-buildings, as well as this pavilion were pulled down in June and July 1831.

The Royal Mill

The time of building a mill on the left branch of the Vilnia River – the canal – has not been ascertained. There is no doubt, however, that a sovereign court's mill stood there as early as the first half of the sixteenth century.

The letter of Horodniczy Peter Nonhart of August 21, 1622 just mentions the Royal Mill without describing it in greater

⁵³ Sliesoriūnas, *Gedimino aikštė Vilniuje*, 25.

detail. The letter makes it clear that the shores of the canal stretching to the Mill were not properly fortified with poles and not duly dealt with.⁵⁴ In addition to the Royal Mill, which was brickwork, Nonhart's letter of August 21, 1622 mentions a 'small wooden mill'. This characterization undoubtedly speaks of a mill much smaller than the Royal Mill. The description of the location suggests that it stood by the same canal as the Royal Mill.⁵⁵

The Mill was partly destroyed during the war of 1661–1665. However, after the war, dealing with this important economic agent became a concern. The State's Parliament (*Sejm*) discussed this issue in 1667. That same year, 'by resolution of the *Sejm*, Horodniczy and clerk of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Alexander Kotowicz, was permitted to rebuild the royal mills situated on the River Vilnelė south of the Castle's defensive wall at his own expense'.⁵⁶

Note that the Mill's water facilities were quite sophisticated. The way the Mill looked like in the nineteenth century can be learnt from the letter of the Commission, who surveyed the facilities, dated December 15, 1822.⁵⁷ The facilities were surveyed and their condition was ascertained by Vilnius University professor Michał Oczapowski (Lithuanian: Mykolas Oščapovskis), architect Karol Podczaszyński (Lithuanian: Karolis Podčasinskis), and Valerijonas Gurskis. On December 15 of that year, they produced a report to the University's Economics Committee, defining the Mill's condition, and suggested what could be attended to. This document describes the canal, too, section by section. The description begins with the section between the bridge across the canal by the Mill and the small bridge across the canal leading to the botanical garden. The report says that, previously, on the left shore of the canal, there was a belt not built on, which was of the same width as the distance between the shore and the house stan-

⁵⁴ CVIA, f. 1282, apr. 1, b. 10489.

⁵⁵ Op. cit.

⁵⁶ Kitkauskas, *Vilniaus pilys*, 46.

⁵⁷ VUB RS (Vilnius University Library, Department of Manuscripts) KC 441, l. 34–36v.

ding opposite the Mill. At the time of drawing up the report, the brickwork house stood by a small bridge leading to the botanical garden. The foundation and one wall of the house partly formed the left shore of the canal, performing the same function as the poles driven in other places of the canal. A wooden annex of the brickwork house (its wooden construction) protruded above half of the canal. The formerly wooden house stood more than a fathom away from the bridge leading to the botanical garden.

A Royal Mill sluice was equipped on this section of the canal. The sides and the bottom (*'pokład'*) of the sluice, which was planked, were reported to have been completely rotten, and the base of stone and soil (on which the sluice's wooden construction leaned on) as not solid. The *'zastawki i stupy'*, which, in part, had been replaced with new ones during the last repairs of the sluice, allegedly were strong enough. Another section of the canal extended between the bridge to the botanical garden and the second sluice 'beyond the small manor/homestead of Plater'. The shores of this section up until the small manor had been reinforced with poles hammered deep into the ground, at that time already rotten. Both shores of the canal by the manor had been planted with willow-trees (*'wiszrbami'*) and thus well-preserved. This part of the canal was in good condition, hence the suggestion was 'unless to clean it from the mud'.

The second sluice, according to the report, was very weak. It could only serve for one season, and only in case there was no great flood. Beyond the sluice – a rather large pit knocked out by the water falling down quite weakened the sluice. Since the bridge and the whole of the sluice had been rotten, no repair would be helpful. According to the Commission, repairing it would require the following: first, to stop the Mill; second, to build a temporary barrage; yet doing this at this place allegedly would be difficult; third, to dig out both sides of it for the insertion of reinforcement; fourth, to remove single old sluice and to take out the old poles.

This having been set forth, the Commission expressed the opinion that the only way out was to build a new sluice.

Then follows the description of the canal's section from this sluice to its branching off from the River Vilnia flowing between the Castle Hill and the Bald Hill. It is also said therein that, at this point, by the house standing at the foot of the hill, the river makes a turn. The flow of the river, breaking against the house, weakens the shore; hence, it has been reinforced similarly to the second sluice. However, the water knocks out the soil underneath it, thus debilitating the foundations of the house: the proof to it are the split walls of the house.

Finally, the description of 'the state of the shores of the River Vilnelė from the reinforced barrage to the second sluice' is presented. The riverbed at this point turns sharply, making it flow in an unnatural direction. The reinforcement of the riverbed consists of two rows of densely hammered in and tied up poles, the gaps in between which are filled 'with clay rather than brickwork'. To reinforce the shore, a stone paved shoal was made. Allegedly, it could only protect until a certain time, as the flow is so strong that 'the river rolls stones along the bottom and the waves destroy the pavement'.

The Commission members suggested detailed measures to deal with the shores and sluices pertaining to the Royal Mill. The suggestion was to move the second sluice to the Békés Hill and to replace both sluices with new ones. The Commission suggested to take care that a project for this reconstruction be ordered (*'zrobie plan stosowny do tego'*).

While erecting the fortress in 1831, the Royal Mill, as well as many other buildings, were taken over by the Ministry of War and were to be knocked down. However, the residents of Vilnius needed it badly. The City Duma and the University made efforts that it not be knocked down. Vilnius Governor General M. Chrapowicki applied to the Tsar asking to allow the Mill to remain. The request was satisfied and the Royal Mill had not been knocked down.⁵⁸ Meanwhile, the mill of the widow of Vil-

⁵⁸ Sliesoriūnas, *Gedimino aikštė Vilniuje*, 27.

nus University professor Spienagel by the Vilnia branch-canal, which stood south-east of the Royal Mill, was pulled down.⁵⁹

On March 1, 1857 the Royal Mill was evaluated and briefly described. The evaluation pointed out that it had nine running millstones. Mention was made of a room for servants with four windows.⁶⁰ With regard to the Mill, the letter from 1856 also had it that there were windows, yet they were small.⁶¹ The same number of running millstones was indicated. This document mentions in addition that the Mill was 'by the Royal Mill bystreet'. The Mill by the street allegedly was 17 and 2/3 arshins (unit of measurement – 0.71 meter) and 62 fathoms (unit of measure – 2.1 meters) long. It is hard to tell why the length of this construction was specified in two different units of measure; however, the correctness of the indicated length of the Mill in the above-named source raises no doubt. Now, approximately the same length of it is also indicated in the above-named Mill evaluation letter, claiming that, by the bystreet, it was 18 fathoms long.⁶² At that time, the Mill was assessed at 38,461 rubles and 54 kopeks.⁶³

Letter No 11145 of July 15, 1846 released the Mill from the obligation to provide accommodation and from the payment of corresponding taxes.⁶⁴ In the nineteenth century, the former Royal Mill belonged to the Vilnius Roman Catholic Religious Consistory (Lith. Dvasiškoji Konsistorija). It leased the Mill to different lessees, who were mainly Jews. On January 3, 1856 a lease agreement was concluded with Kasriel Ebiau and Shliama Shapiro for a period of twelve years.⁶⁵ The lessees could make reorganizations and reconstructions in order to improve the work of the Mill, yet that required agreement from the Consistory, and, during such works, the Consistory would dispatch its represen-

⁵⁹ Op. cit., 26.

⁶⁰ CVIA, f. 489, apr. b. 191, l. 451.

⁶¹ CVIA, f. 389, apr. 3, b. 191, l. 455.

⁶² CVIA, f. 389, apr. 3, b. 191, l. 451.

⁶³ CVIA, f. 389, apr. 3, b. 191, l. 451v.

⁶⁴ CVIA, f. 389, apr. b. 191, l. 455.

⁶⁵ CVIA, f. 389, apr. 3, b. 191, l. 457–460.

tative. Moreover, the lessees were obligated to pave a site near the Mill, whose size was fixed by the police. This agreement put the lessees under the obligation to not only carry out the current repair of the Mill but also to take care and repair the sluice which was part of it.⁶⁶

Elias Meyerovich had leased the Mill before. He had entered into an agreement for twenty-four years but did not lease it for the whole term, refusing to continue the lease it and thus terminating the agreement.⁶⁷

The Royal Mill still operated for some decades and was pulled down in 1870.⁶⁸

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*Translated by KERRY SHAWN KEYS
and DALIA ŠATIENĖ*

⁶⁶ CVIA, f. 389, apr. 3, b. 191, l. 459.

⁶⁷ CVIA, f. 389, apr. 3, b. 191, l. 452.

⁶⁸ Sliesoriūnas, *Gedimino aikštė Vilniuje*, 27.

Lin Stanionis

Lin Stanionis was born and raised in the metropolitan New York area. She is descended from Lithuanian grandparents; Elena Kazlauskite of Kaunas and Jonas Stanionis of Vilnius. Her forebears, although proud to be American citizens, spoke Lithuanian at home, and supported the cultural heritage of Lithuania. They were devout Catholics, and it is the expression of their deep and profound faith that has had the most influence on Stanionis' creative practice.

She earned her M.F.A. from Indiana University and her B.A. from Iowa State University. In 1994 she was offered a teaching position at the University of Kansas where she taught for 25 years. In 2017 she returned to full time studio work producing one of a kind jewelry pieces.

Over the last decade Stanionis's work has been shown in more than 150 national and international exhibitions including: Gallery 2052, Chicago, IL; 108 Contemporary, Tulsa, OK; Metal Museum, Memphis, TN; Houston Center for Contemporary Craft, Houston, TX; SIERRAD, Amsterdam, Netherlands; Museum of Arts and Design, NYC, NY; and Shipley Art Gallery, Gateshead, England. Stanionis's work is included in the permanent collections of the Nerman MoCA, Kansas City, MO and Racine Art Museum, Racine, WI, as well as numerous private collections. Her work can be found on her website, LinStanionis.com.

Stanionis has received a MAA-NEA Individual Artist Fellowship; a Kansas Individual Artist Fellowship; two University of Kansas Creative Work Fellowships. She frequently lectures about her work, and conducts workshops at universities and arts institutions across the country.



Lin STANIONIS. *Ostara*

Brooch

Sterling, 18K yellow & green gold, enamel, pearls

2.5" × 2" × .5"

All Photos by Jon Blumb

Stanionis has international experience as a visiting scholar at Lahti University, Lahti, Finland and Silpakorn University, Bangkok, Thailand. She has also worked extensively in China, as a visiting scholar and research advisor at Shenzhen Polytechnic University in Shenzhen, China. She has been active in the metalsmithing profession, serving on the board of the Society of North American Goldsmiths and as a member of the adjudicating panel for the Kansas Arts Commission.



Lin STANIONIS. *Apocrypha*

22K & 18K yellow gold, 18K white gold,
sterling 22K bimetal, diamonds, enamel
4.5" × 2.5" × 1"



Lin STANIONIS. *Vernalis*

Brooch

Sterling, glass, vermeil, pearls, cast resin

3" x 2.5" x .65"



Lin STANIONIS. *Seed of Temptation*

Brooch

18K yellow gold

2.5" × 2" × .5"



Lin STANIONIS. *Awakening*

Brooch

Sterling, 18K yellow gold, spessartite garnets, enamel, snake skeleton

3.5" × 4.5" × .75"



Lin STANIONIS. *In Illo Tempore*

Pendant/brooch

18K white & yellow gold, 24K yellow gold,
tanzanites, pearls, dinosaur bones

4" × 3.25" × .75"



Lin STANIONIS. *Limbo*

Brooch

Sterling, 18K gold

3.5" × 3.5" × .5"



Lin STANIONIS. *Rapture*

Brooch

Cast resins, 18K gold findings

4" × 2.75" × .5"

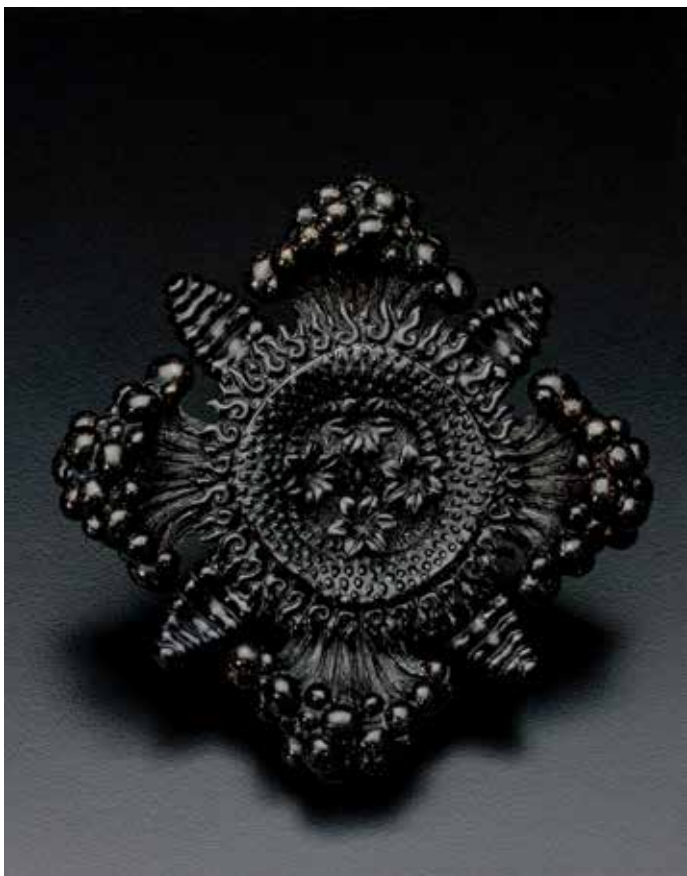


Lin STANIONIS. *Rose Pool*

Brooch

Cast resins, 18K gold findings

3.5" × 2.5" × .5"



Lin STANIONIS. *Penitence*
Brooch
Cast resins, 18K gold findings
3" × 3" × 1"

The Reflection of Landscape in the Church Architecture of Late Baroque

KOSTAS BILIŪNAS

Ninety two-towered masonry churches were built in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (hereafter GDL) during the Late Baroque period. The new buildings rose mainly in smaller cities, towns and rural areas against the background of the prevailing natural landscape. The church architecture of the mid- and second half of the eighteenth-century is a topic which has been analyzed extensively; however, historical and architectural research mostly looks at sacred buildings in isolation from their natural surroundings. The aim of this article is, by invoking the phenomenological research approach which has still been rarely used in architectural research, to reveal the connection between the different types of natural landscape and the architecture of late baroque churches across GDL areas. A building standing in a specific environment is the basis of the phenomenological approach to architecture, and it can be analyzed in different aspects. The object of investigation in this article – the masonry two-towered church buildings from the last phase of the Baroque period – is analyzed in the context of the prevailing shapes of relief that form the basis of the landscape in a specific area.

One of the most outstanding developers of the phenomenological research approach who mainly relied on the philosophy of Martin Heidegger, architectural historian and theoretician

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Christian Norberg-Schulz, claims that phenomenology comes close to the manifestation of the essence of things, and so to the manifestation of the essence of architecture, which can only be perceived in relation to other things, other ways of existence.¹ Phenomenology perceives architecture as a physical reflection of the surrounding world or spatiality; in other words, architecture is *imago mundi*.² To be more specific, the world image in architecture is revealed through architecture being in between heaven and earth or, to be more simple, through its connection with the whole of the surrounding environment. Phenomenology offers a holistic perception of the world and of architecture in it, and does not oppose scientific research but can supplement it with significant interpretations. This approach enables one to reveal the underlying meanings of architectural objects, which usually remain concealed or just implicit.

Late Baroque Architecture

The Late Baroque era is characterized by emancipation from the systems that dominated the previous century. Jean Starobinski refers to the eighteenth century as the age of invention of the idea of liberty, the idea which, prior to establishing itself in the political and social life, had blossomed in artistic creative work.³ It is namely the last of the three phases of Late Baroque in the GDL that is characterized by a more liberal treatment of the order structure, abstracted silhouettes, and focus on the major shapes, planes and lines through the renouncement of small details. According to Piotr Bohdziewicz, the last phase covers the third quarter of the eighteenth century, continuing up until approximately 1790, slowly losing certain features yet for a long time preserving the baroque principle of the integ-

¹ Norberg-Schulz, *Architecture*, 20–21.

² Ibid., 10.

³ Starobinski, *Invention of Liberty*, 13.

urity and uniformity of components which distinguishes the whole of baroque creative work in general.⁴ In this phase's architecture, the aim to add to the structures already in place and to integrate them in baroque *gesamtkunstwerk* also comes to light.⁵ Culturologist and cultural historian Alexander Mikhailov makes a generalization:

Baroque work of art is intended towards integrity, involving into itself all of the location's meaningful entities. In its utmost form, it tries to become the whole, compressing into itself all the encyclopedia of knowledge, all the diversity of the "historical" items.⁶

In the natural environment of the provinces where most of the last phase churches were erected, the meaningful entities already in place are primarily elements of the natural environment forming the basis of the landscape surrounding a building and creating the spirit of a specific location, the so called *genius loci*.⁷ Writing about the natural environment surrounding a man, Norberg-Schulz claims, "When the environment is meaningful, man feels at home."⁸ In the provinces of the GDL, late Baroque shrines were often built in place of old wooden churches, i.e. on sites that had long been perceived as meaningful and, in some cases, probably had been important even in the pagan epoch (for example, in Gaina).⁹ In a study on the connection of the sacred architecture of ancient Greeks with landscape, art historian Vincent Scully writes: "Each, as read with its landscape, expresses a special set of experiences and embodies its own special mean-

⁴ Bohdziewicz, *O istocie i genezie baroku*, 184; Wölfflin, *Pamatinės meno istorijos sąvokos*, 194.

⁵ Doukhan, *Baroque City*, 263.

⁶ Михайлов, *Поэтика барокко*; Doukhan, *Baroque City*, 265.

⁷ For the concept of *genius loci*, or local spirit, developed by Norberg-Schulz, see: Samalavičius, *Vietos dvasia*, 121.

⁸ Norberg-Schulz, *Genius Loci*, 23.

⁹ Kiaupa, *Lietuvos istorija*, 170–171. Among the first seven parish churches funded by Jogaila in 1387, Jan Długosz mentions Aina Church, which, assumingly, could have been erected in place of a former pagan shrine.

ings.”¹⁰ In other words, in the pre-Christian emotional attitude, natural environment was perceived as a natural continuation of sacred architecture and an integral part of its semantic field. In the Baroque era, architecture’s connection with nature, again, becomes essential, while Late Baroque turns towards a natural, non-cultured landscape, and is characterized by a true love of nature that the architectural historian Eberhard Hempel calls “a quality which always belongs to the last phases of epochs.”¹¹

Natural Landscape in the Late Eighteenth Century

The relationship between the architecture of the second half of the eighteenth century and landscape, in addition to the emotional connection to nature characteristic of Baroque, is already affected by the wish to know and understand, encouraged by the Enlightenment. Researcher of landscape architecture Joseph Disponzio, in his article on landscape park architect Jean-Marie Morel, summarizes the change in the relationship between man and nature, claiming that in the eighteenth century, landscape is no more perceived as just a set of natural phenomena but a complex system:

Beneath the infinite accidents topographiques lay the internal mechanisms that created them, all governed by natural processes. The apparent chaos of landscape is the result of the orderly process of natural law.¹²

A close look at the surrounding natural environment is also characteristic of architecture creators of the last phase of Late Baroque. Close observance, sensitivity to nature is one of the most distinctive and at the same time the least discussed features of the architecture of this period. Landscapist Morel’s approach to nature, who was guided by the cognition of the Enlightenment,

¹⁰ Scully, *The Earth*, 65.

¹¹ Hempel, *Baroque Art*, 2.

¹² Disponzio, *From Garden to Landscape*, 11–12.

also paradoxically reflects the architectural expression of the Late Baroque of the time:

Instead of designing gardens with the elements of geometry and architectural proportion, he called on the elements of nature. Instead of culturally biased rules, he followed nature's rules.¹³

Liberation from rules (the strict system of orders, laws of proportion) and, as often as not, free modeling of natural forms are the properties typical of Late Baroque. The architecture reflecting a close observant look and nature's spontaneity appeared in specific locations of a peculiar character, with the surface relief – the component that underwent the least change over time – as the basis of their landscape.

The entire territory of the GDL State in the eighteenth century was part of the wide East European Plain. However, the State's relatively even relief was noted for a great diversity of landscape types, which influenced the perception of residential space and the peculiar identity of different locations. The most prominent forms of GDL relief – flatlands and hill ranges – have for the most part been shaped by the one before the last and the last ice age. The part of the State north-west of the approximate line between the Białowieża Forest and Vilnius and Polotsk was shaped by the last glacier. The hilly heights stretching along the edge of the glacier which has stopped at this boundary, alternating with deep hollows, are the territories of the most complex and picturesque forms of relief.¹⁴ Further south-east until Slanim and Minsk, there stretches a hilly yet smoother landscape of more slanting hills and wider valleys, which is of a different character and has a less sharp contrast between hills and hollows. These are territories with a gently curving relief. The central part of the country, with intervening river valleys creating an even greater diversity of hill ranges, is framed by flatland: wide territories of the Polesian Lowland and of the lowland around Polesie, flooded meadows and marshes in the south-east, and

¹³ Ibid., 18.

¹⁴ Basalykas, *Lietuvos TSR fizinė geografiija*, 20–21.

the Baltic Lowlands in the north-west. This, much simplified picture of the GDL, should be supplemented with the expressive Samogitia Highlands and Paazere, stretching over the north-east, where lakelands add to the diversity of the hilly and valleyed landscape. Even if you look at this schematically, you can see that the GDL territory's relief is characterized by different, peculiar areas rather than being monolithic. GDL geographer Hilarijon Karpinski gives a rather close look at the State's territory through the eyes of a figure of the Enlightenment. His Glossary of Geography issued in 1766 in Vilnius describes different cities, locations, and rivers of the State.¹⁵ His encyclopedically concise descriptions contain landscape features that reveal the importance of relief for the perception of a specific location. For example, Karpinski defines the cities located in the central, hilly part of the State as follows: Vilnius "in a location of average fertility among hills", Novogrudok – "on a hill", Zhyrovichy – "on a sandy soil, in a valley between hills", while Samogitia "has hills and forests." When defining other locations, he confines himself to indicating a confluence of rivers or a lake a certain city is by. The Lavryshev settlement, the geographer goes on writing, is located "in a beautiful flatland," and Mazyr in the south of Polesie "in a very fertile location, by the Pripiat River."¹⁶ Geographical circumstances is an important factor; it also forms local identity, which, in the second half of the eighteenth century, was taken into consideration in order to know, to comprehend the endless natural world. Grasping a connection between the perception of environment and the cultural activities in it, landscape researcher, archaeologist Vykintas Vaitkevičius, inviting one to see a landscape as a book marked all over, writes that "dividing Lithuania into physical-geographical areas is closely associated with the geography of cultural phenomena, and di-

¹⁵ Karpinski, *Lexykon geograficzny*, 350–620.

¹⁶ "W okolicy miernie żyzney między gòrami [...] na gòrze [...] na gruncie piaszczystym w dolinie między pagòrkami [...] ma gòry i lasy [...] na piękney równinie [...] w okolicy bardzo żyzney, nad rzeką Prypec," Karpinski, *Lexykon geograficzny*, 350–620.

rectly affects it". To give an example, he mentions the types of barn folk-architecture related to prevailing soils, or springs, considered as sacred, dominating the territories of mineral springs.¹⁷ The connections between the uniqueness of a location formed by different types of the GDL landscape and its framework of relief, which is basically also related to the location's *genius loci*, and the environment-conscious sacred architecture of Late Baroque may not be obvious, yet the in-depth features of architectural expression which interpret and reflect the surrounding nature are revealed while closely observing the landscape and its architecture.

"Historic" Architecture

Many authors, when dealing with the Late Baroque church architecture of the GDL, oppose the planned structure of the churches to the virtuosic tradition of Central Europe:

In the 'Vilnius school', we meet with almost no north Italian or Austrian interweaving of an ellipsis in the plan, no bent walls, wavy balconies. The plans are simple, mostly Latin cross-shaped, in small churches – a single-space hall.¹⁸

This opposition highlights the traditionality and ossification of Lithuanian plans: "The Late Baroque era saw a spread of the modernized traditional plan and volume types of sacred buildings, inherited from the Gothic and Renaissance."¹⁹ The alleged simplicity of plans and volumes is a peculiar expression of Late Baroque architecture, integrating in itself the heritage of past centuries – which is one of the factors that determines the distinct regional features of this era. Norberg-Schulz defines this as "the break-up

¹⁷ Vaitkevičius, *Kraštovaizdžio skaitymas*, 50–51.

¹⁸ "W 'szkole wileńskiej' nigdy prawie nie mamy do czynienia z północnowłoskim czy austriackim przenikaniem się elipsy w planie, giętych ścian, falujących balkonów. Plany są proste, zwykle krzyża łacińskiego, w małych kościółkach – jednoprzestrzennej Sali," Karpowicz, *Sztuka polska*, 92.

¹⁹ *Lietuvos architektūros istorija*, 55.

of the archetype forms of classical tradition and [favoring] of the introduction of the motifs and forms of other styles, Gothic in particular.”²⁰ Norberg-Schulz refers to this movement or just a feature of Late Baroque as “historic” architecture, which selectively comprises the most topical, prominent features of different traditions into one baroque synthesis. With reference to the Late Baroque architecture of the GDL (we can speak more unanimously with reference to the Vilnius school), “historic” features are for the most part used as certain elements selected from the rich arsenal of baroque creations that submit to the unity of details-building-ensemble-surroundings. A “simple” plan of a church taken over from the traditional glossary of sacred architecture loses its independent conservatism and submits to the intention of a baroque creation aimed at the synthesis of architecture and landscape. This mechanism of submittal of parts to the entirety reveals itself in the analysis of the architecture of specific churches.

Naumiestis

The city of Naumiestis, situated in the southern part of the Baltic Lowlands, Užnemunė flatland, is surrounded by a very clear landscape.²¹ Intensive economic activities have left a territory of a very low forest cover which, at the end of the eighteenth century, “had already been fully cleared – farmland and meadows prevailed.”²² The naturally level, monotonic landscape of the surroundings, due to its intensive cultivation, became very open, free of trees and bushes, thereby highlighting even more its plane-like character. Only the mild curves of the rivers Šešupė and Širvinta created an attractive location for a city. Bursting their banks in spring, draining off in summer, the rivers do not

²⁰ “dissoluzione dei caratteri archetipici della tradizione classica, e favori l’introduzione di motivi e di forme provenienti da altri stili, spcialmente dal gotico,” Norberg-Schulz, *Il significativo*, 158.

²¹ The current name of the city – Kudirkos Naumiestis.

²² Kavoliūtė, *Socialiniai ir gamtiniai veiksniai*, 37.

have steep banks; on the contrary, they gently submit to the dominating flatland. In 1781–1783, the construction of the Church of the Discovery and Exaltation of St. Cross started near the Carmelite convent of the Old Regulation on the periphery of the city in place of a former wooden church. It was completed as late as 1830, and was subsequently dealt with and reconstructed many times, maintaining, however, its basic view as late baroque architecture.²³ High massive towers look over the main facade, which is turned to the city, from Market Square and the main streets crossing the city. Let us, however, pay attention to the side facades of the Carmelite Church. Along with the north-east oriented apse, they occur in the marginal area between the city and the Šešupė River drawing its border and, if the main facade comes into contact with the city, the whole of the remaining building is mainly oriented to the river and the flatland stretching beyond it. It seems, there was also no bridge across the Šešupė River during the construction of the church, and the link took place by a ford the road to which went down right from the church – it was namely the site of the Carmelite ensemble that, from the seventeenth century, was at the closest proximity to the river, the only plot of an irregular plan in the city, with its northern margin splayed by a curve of the Šešupė River.²⁴ This testifies to the always-perceived uniqueness of this location, which is defined by its connection with nature. This late baroque architectural creation's expression reveals itself through its integrity, with all the essential meaningful entities of the environment integrated in it. Could the most prominent of such entities, the flatland, remain neglected by the all-embracing structure? We find the answer if we look closely at the exterior of the church.²⁵ Unlike the main facade and the towers, the side facades have no décor; there are even no modest pilas-

²³ Miškinis, *Užnemunės miestai*, 114.

²⁴ Ibid., 112.

²⁵ The lindens currently growing in the churchyard and limiting facade visibility were planted in 1910–1914, *Sakralinės dailės katalogas*, 457.



Il. 1. *North-western facade of the Naumiestis Church* (source: vilkaviskiovyakupija.lt)

ters – the side facades, as well as the entire character of the volume is formed by the low horizontal planes of the side naves and the uninterrupted cornice of the main volume replicating this line (Il. 1). The rear of the building is as if anchored by lines parallel to the ground, which dominate not just the sides of the rear: the horizontality, reflecting the landscape, extends throughout the main facade too, which is divided the most distinctly by four planes of the entablature. The features already formally attributable to Classic Revival – a gently-sloping roof, a full plane of the entablature, as well as the traditional “Renaissance” volume of a basilica, are subjected to the program of baroque unity, which is first and foremost oriented to the meaningful properties of a location. Naumiestis Church looks as if it has grown from the monotonic Užnemunė Plain, especially with the emphasized horizontality of its side facades, and it is integral to the surroundings.

Krinčinas

In the opposite part of the Baltic Lowlands, its north, a parish of St. Peter and St. Paul's Church was built in the small town of Krinčinas at a similar time (1777–1781).²⁶ The location's surroundings are attributed to Krinčinas-Daujėnai geographic micro-region, as “the region's lowest part”, and this character of the landscape was enhanced even more by economic activities in the late eighteenth century due to which no trees had remained “even for firewood”.²⁷ The curve of a stream coursing through the monotonous landscape and, in addition, the springs gushing out became the meaningful entities that encouraged the settlement and building of a church in this location characterized by uniformity. Similar to Naumiestis, the horizontality of the surrounding plain is reflected in the basilican volume of Krinčinas Church (Il. 2). The external cornice of the side naves evenly transforms into an uninterrupted pent roof surrounding the entire building – a horizontal plane which is also replicated at the top of the second plane as the again-uninterrupted plane of the whole entablature encircling the building's volume. The area of gardens, a few ponds and meadows with springs behind the Church, which is almost free of buildings until the present, is full of experiences of the chthonic world, which are reflected in folk narratives about the fields, pits, and puddles in the vicinity in which the low shapes of the landscape are the space for the manifestation of the underworld. The architecture of the church, through its highlighted horizontality, is adapted to the spirit of this dominant site, yet it does not remain in the chthonic horizontality of the lowland but points to the attraction by heaven through the active verticality of its towers.²⁸ This way, the church architecture, as

²⁶ For more information about the relationship between Krinčinas Church and the landscape, see: Biliūnas, *Krinčino bažnyčia*, 208–215.

²⁷ Basalykas, *Lietuvos TSR fizinė geografiija*, 204; *Istorinės erdvės beiėškant*, 81.

²⁸ The horizontal planes of the towers reveal a heaven-oriented program which announces about the experiences of the church interior; for more information, see: Biliūnas, *Krinčino bažnyčia*, 214.



II. 2. *Krinčinas Church from the north-western side* (photo by Gintaras Uogelė)

the reflection of the dominant landscape, at the same time supplements it with a new meaningful direction.

Volna

In the central part of the GDL, a totally different relief of undulating terrains of smooth hills and hollows, untouched by the last glacier, forms the basis of the landscape. In the south-east of the Belarusian Ridge, where low and medium-hill landscapes and hilly morainic eroded landscapes prevail, an ensemble of a Volna settlement, a church and a manor was situated by the Zmeika stream as early as the mid-sixteenth century; a Basilian monastery was also founded there somewhat later.²⁹ A new masonry two-towered church was erected in lieu of the old wooden one between 1767 and 1781.³⁰ In Krinčinas and Naumiestis, the apses of their churches are oriented to the most meaningful

²⁹ *Landshafty Belorussii*, 116.

³⁰ Maroz, *Biblijateka*, 396.



Il. 3. *Volna Church from the north-western side* (photo by Ruslan Raviaka, 2009)

sites in the surroundings, marked by a spring, stream, river. In Volna, the church facade overlooks the Zmeika stream, while its apse is more oriented to a much more expressive entity in this location – the mountain (Il. 3). “The highly extraordinary relief” consists of a single hill reminiscent of a hill-fort, the lower terrace and flooded meadows with a meandering stream; upon damming it, manor ponds are mentioned from the sixteenth century: Slizien Manor, situated in this background, is characterized by “compactness and an exotic relief”.³¹ In other words, the Volna location is a micro-world between the stream and the rather low, but very clear mountain, and this world is reflected in the late baroque architecture of the church. The side facades, instead of the horizontal planes of the naves, carry a winding composition of low and high volumes, in the middle of which there are arching pediments of the ends of the transept.

³¹ “На весьма необычном рельефе,” Fedoruk, *Starinnyye usadby*, 373; “Усадьба Слизиной выделяется компактностью, экзотичностью рельефа,” Fedoruk, *Starinnyye usadby*, 377.



Il. 4. *Volna Church from the south-western side* (photo by Dzimistry Karachun, 2015)

It would be no exaggeration to say that the entire composition of the side facades is reminiscent of the silhouette of a hill. The church itself, exotic in its expression, with its large and wide socle “as if grows from the ground”, and its stable trapezium-plan silhouette is the poetic reflection of the mountainside which forms the location’s identity (Il. 4).³² The fact that the buttresses shaping the church’s silhouette, and even their composition, as Tamara Gabrus notes, have been lent from the gothic Ishkaldz Church (1471) standing 10 kilometers away from Volna, obviously confirms both the “historic” late baroque movement’s creative potential to integrate Gothic elements and the “wish” to comprise the most meaningful, conspicuous and dominant properties of local surroundings.³³

³² “Как бы вырастает из земли,” Kulagin, *Arkitektura*, 137; Norberg-Schulz, based on Heidegger, claims that reflecting the world in architecture is only possible *in the poetic way*, that is in the artistic way, rather than the logical way; see Norberg-Schulz, *Architecture*, 45.

³³ Gabrus, *Arkitektura*, 360–361; *Vadovas*, 263.

Dunilavichy

The landscape of Paazere in the north-east of the GDL, with hills, forest and lake districts interchanging with one another, cannot be defined as monotonic. In Švenčionys hill ridge, the Pastavy-Hlybokaye landscape area, which is characterized by hilly morainic-lacustrine landscapes, the town of Dunilavichy is situated.³⁴ The landscape of the surrounding area varies in shape, the relief consists of kames, morainic hills and eskers, and hill ridges with lakes and hollows.³⁵ After settling down in Dunilavichy, which is situated between two small lakes, Svidno and Bladno, in the late seventeenth century, Dominicans built a wooden church; when the wooden church burnt down in the Late Baroque epoch, a new masonry two-towered Holy Trinity Church was erected in 1769–1773. In the late eighteenth century, the complex landscape of Dunilavichy was also comprised of woodlands that intervened in cultivated fields: the description of the parish has it that there are “more forests than open fields.”³⁶ A total of over twenty lakes, also ponds and marshes is counted within the parish territory. In conclusion, this type of landscape could be defined as “picturesque”: it is a mosaic of kame hills, hollows, small lakes, woods and high moors. The Dominican Church rising in the background of this multifaceted landscape is characterized by a basilica structure with a transept whose intersection with the great nave in the upper part is Latin cross-shaped.³⁷ However, the traditional structure, which may appear closed and autonomous, at an unexpected point, faces a change: the ends of the transept which open up to the side facades do not submit to the facades’ horizontality and tranquility, but arch; as Gabrus puts it, “they have been provided

³⁴ *Landshafty Belorussii*, 116; the other version of the name for the small town is Dunilov.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 87.

³⁶ “Lasu jest więcej w parafii duniłowskiej,” Gawrylczyk, *Dekanat połocki*, 44.

³⁷ Gabrus, *Architektura*, 295–296.



Il. 5. *Dunilavichy Church from the western side* (photo by Ivan Bai, 2013)

with a plastic curved contour and artistic freedom” (Il. 5).³⁸ This freedom is not an aim in itself; it manifests itself specifically at those points where the main space of the church interior – a Latin-cross silhouette, abuts the building’s exterior. Through these transept “membranes” the building’s interior enters into contact with the surrounding environment: this contact is also highlighted by large windows framing the transept altars. As the point of connection of the interior and exterior, the arch of the transept is at the same time the connection of the exterior with the surroundings. The side facades of the Dominican Church – not bound by the program which generates the main facade – freely yield to the impact of the meaningful surroundings, and mirror them, which reflects in a poetic way the winding landscape characteristic of this location where dynamics, instead of horizontality or verticality, prevails.

³⁸ “Нададзены пластычны лучковы абрыс,” Gabrus, *Sviatyni*, 5.

Gaina

In the Minsk Highlands in the very center of the GDL, which are characterized by morainic eroded landscapes of medium and high hilliness, the country's highest places are located.³⁹ In the north-east of the Highlands, by the Gaina stream valley, Gaina settlement is situated. A wooden church had stood here probably since the fourteenth century, while the two-towered brick Church of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary (1781–1788) was erected towards the end of Late Baroque.⁴⁰ The site of the church is elevated at approximately 250 meters above the sea level; it sits at the crest of a hill from which the stream valley goes down in the direction of the south-east and south, whereas on the other side of the valley, the hills rise even more – to an absolute height of 300–330 meters.⁴¹ Local lore researcher Vladzimir Skrabatun describes Gaina vicinities as “‘Belarus’ Switzerland’: hollows and hills”.⁴² Art historian Simon Schama, who investigates the meanings of landscape in culture and art, writes that, since the beginning of Christianity, mountains and hill crests had been associated with the victory of good over evil, and with the site where one seeks inner purification.⁴³ The first Gaina Church, mentioned among the first seven parishes funded by Jogaila, was built as the token of consolidation of belief, and may also be associated with a pre-Christian cult site. So how did late baroque architecture manage to be in line with the landscape that, for centuries, was considered as sacred and how did it reflect it in a new way? The structure of the church is a ‘simple’ basilica without a transept, with two towers in the main facade and a high pediment between them. The first to stand out is the particularly high lower plane of the facade – practically along the whole of the

³⁹ *Landshafty Belorussii*, 117.

⁴⁰ Jaromienka, *Katalickija sviatyni*, 157.

⁴¹ The absolute height values are indicated according to *Mapa wysokości* [interactive].

⁴² “‘Беларуская Швейцарыя’: яры і пагоркі,” Skrabatun, *Gaina* [interactive].

⁴³ Schama, *Landscape*, 414.



Il. 6. *Gaina Church reconstruction* (visualization by Aliaksandr Nevar, 2017)

building's volume, as if extended and artificially heightened; it gives the church a look of prevailing verticality (Il. 6). Architecture theoretician Bruno Zevi writes: "Vertical line is a symbol of infinity, ecstasy, excitement. In order to follow it, a man stops, raises his eyes to the sky, dissociating himself from the usual direction."⁴⁴ The feature of Late Baroque to subject all significant, meaningful elements, in Gaina, is also applicable to the basilica's side facades, which do not convey a picture of commonly low side naves which are characteristic of the structure of a basilica. To reflect the "rising up" dominating the environment, a vertical connection between earth and heaven, the side naves no longer have independence: all three naves are "covered with a common roof"; this way, the three-nave basilica structure is as if "hidden",

⁴⁴ "La linea verticale. È simbolo dell'infinito, dell'estasi, dell'emozione. L'uomo, per seguirla, si ferma, alza gli occhi fino al cielo staccandosi dalla sua normale direttrice," Zevi, *Saper vedere l'architettura*, 117.

thus preventing any highlighting of horizontality.⁴⁵ Instead of the horizontality of the side facades typical of a basilica, in Aina Church, “Gothic” elements, claiming verticality, become apparent: a high gable roof, elongated windows of the side facades, a steep high pediment competing with the towers, which are just one more vertical element. The verticality of the hills in the surroundings is as if extended by way of architecture, taking over the dominant character, the human-perceived meaningful identity of the location, and manifesting it in the church, subjecting the *genius loci* of the surroundings to the Christian mystery of conversion written down in the “Assumption” title of the Church – rising from earth to heaven.

Conclusion

In architectural creative work, the emancipation and the breakthrough of freedom characteristic of the Late Baroque era are first of all marked by a great variety of expression and distinct regional peculiarities typical of different countries. Also, the sacred architecture of the GDL is distinguished by a peculiar expression in which the historic component is important; however, it is important that this “historicity” of architecture be understood as a feature of an overarching and all-including baroque creation submitting to architectural uniformity. Comparing eighteenth-century Late Baroque with the previous epoch, Norberg-Schulz writes:

Instead of a dogmatic synthesis by exclusion, the new synthesis became one of inclusion – that is, a result of experience and empirical research. This is the background for the new historical approach that distinguishes Late Baroque architecture.⁴⁶

In the GDL architecture of masonry two-towered churches, integration of Gothic and Renaissance models of the plan and volume became the basis of a new synthesis of inclusion. “His-

⁴⁵ “Накрыты агульным дахам,” Gabrus, *Architektura*, 327.

⁴⁶ Norberg-Schulz, *Late Baroque and Rococo Architecture*, 291.

toric" nave structures, being a part of the qualitatively new system and of the synthesis of inclusion, lose independence and adaptively submit to the integrity of a creation.

In specific examples of the reflection of a landscape, the diversity of the landscape itself is revealed first of all, while the architecture in that landscape becomes apparent as being, in phenomenological terms, "on the earth and under the sky" – its connections with the environment are revealed through a horizontal rhythm and vertical tension.⁴⁷ In the GDL sacred architecture of Late Baroque, the fundamental relationships with earth and heaven are very distinct. The main facades of two-towered churches are characterized by a more or less expressed attraction to heaven – dominant verticality. These ties are revealed in a different way in the side facades: on the one hand, they are directly related to the structure of the plan/volume of a building, on the other – they are characterized by a great diversity of expression, which reveals itself irrespective of the "traditional" model of the foundations' structure. The diversity of facade expression, as a fruit of free architectural creative work, is also a reflection of the perceived meaningful landscape. Reflecting nature is not a law, yet this intention is a part of the positive unity of the world, architecture and man in Late Baroque architecture. Heidegger puts it that "It is buildings which first bring the earth as inhabited landscape into the nearness of man"; in other words, through architecture, we experience the landscape where it is.⁴⁸ Through the Naumištis and Krinčinas churches – the plain that surrounds them, through the Gaina Church – the rising highlands, through the Volna and Dunilavichy churches – the undulating hills of the vicinities. The co-existence of rhythm and tension in the Late Baroque architecture of the GDL reflects and highlights dominant meaningful features of landscape, and the architecture becomes "missionary" – not invasively contrasting but adapting itself to locality.

⁴⁷ "All the things that configure the environment, are found both on the earth and under the sky," Norberg-Schulz, *Architecture*, 133.

⁴⁸ Heidegger, *Contemporary German Philosophy*, 93.

The international tradition of Late Baroque architecture, in its last phase, manifested itself in the buildings of GDL churches through distinctive regional features. Since the first investigations of the Late Baroque of the GDL, the aim has been to trace the tracks of the origins of certain repetitive architectural and decorative elements (e.g., volute pilasters) and thus, looking for connections with other countries' traditions, explaining the regional features of GDL Baroque. The phenomenological research approach, without opposing traditional research, calls on taking a wider view of architecture, without it being dissociated from the natural environment. It is namely natural landscape that the most peculiar regional features exist in, and they are poetically reflected in the Late Baroque architecture that tends to integrate meaningful entities in the location. This epoch's opening up to the landscape and following of "nature's rules" constitutes one of the basic features the knowledge of which enables one to also know the peculiar regional features of the Late Baroque architecture of the GDL.

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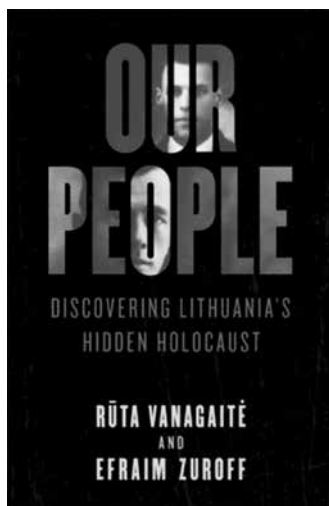
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Translated by KERRY SHAWN KEYS
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BOOK REVIEWS



Vanagaitė Rūta and Efraim Zuroff
*Our People: Discovering
Lithuania's Hidden Holocaust*
Rowman & Littlefield:
New York, 2020, 240 p.
ISBN: 978-5381-3303-3
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Our People is ostensibly an English translation of the original Lithuanian book *Mūsų šaliai* by Rūta Vanagaitė, which immediately became a best seller in 2016. These two books are the fundamentally the same. But Efraim Zuroff, the chief Nazi-hunter of the Simon Wiesenthal Center, is now a coauthor of *Our People*. Zuroff has edited and added to a preface, introduction, sections on "Journey with the Enemy," and "The Hell of Vilnius." He also has included an explanation of his connection to Lithuania and its Holocaust.

In the first part of *Our People* Vanagaitė confesses that she knew very little about the Holocaust before Lithuania regained its independence in 1990. She knew that criminal Lithuanians rose up against the Bolshevik occupation in 1941 and killed some Russians, among them a few Jews. "I am a typical product of the lies of the Soviet regime and the silence of free Lithuania. *Homo sovieticus lituanus*."(25)

Vanagaitė explored various myths about Jews but knew very little about the scholarly works of historians. Eventually she started to interview historians like Saulius Sužiedėlis and others who had already done extensive archival research. She eventually found out that her uncle was a perpetrator in the Holocaust. She even laments how the Jews disappeared from the city of Panevėžys, where she lived.

The original *Mūsiškiai* became so controversial that it fractured the Lithuanian reading audience into two camps. The first camp did not know about Lithuanian complicity in the Holocaust and refused to read the book, not wanting to tarnish Lithuania's history. The second camp realized that many of their parents' generation had been witnesses, bystanders, or killers of the 220,000 Jews living in Lithuania. To be sure, the Holocaust would not have happened without the Nazi invasion in 1941, but the argument that the "Germans made us do it" seems rather spurious. After the first occupation by the Soviet Union in 1940, many Lithuanians accepted the term Judeo-Bolshevism as the absolute truth. The "Lithuanian Genocide and Resistance Center Research Center," a government financed think tank of historians, asserted that at least 2,055 Lithuanians annihilated Jews. The Center, however, is more concerned with extoling the heroism of those who fought Communists. Therefore, it has most likely underreported the number of "jewshooters" ["žydšaužiai" a term exceptionally offensive to Lithuanians]. In addition, most of the witnesses, victims, and perpetrators are dead or old. A few perpetrators were indicted, but most died before anyone could be brought to justice. Today history is being litigated by judges who have little knowledge of or interest in the events that happened over seventy year ago. Are ignorance, forgetting, and indifference forms of antisemitism?

Vanagaitė trods over much of the same ground as contentious historians before her. The leaders of the Lithuanian Activist Front (LAF) incited many murders of the Jews. Virtually every historian knows the major killing sites and famous murderers. The Ninth and Seventh Forts, Paneriai, the Garage; the names the LAF leaders such as: Škirpa, Ambrozevičius, Bobelis and many more.

The real value of *Our People* is in the section called "Journey with the Enemy." In the dialogue between Vanagaitė and Zuroff, Vanagaitė often plays the devil's advocate by asking simple questions that underlie the truth. Together they visited forty execution sites in Lithuania—about a fifth of the total number. They put a human face to Lithuania's greatest tragedy. For example, the authors include vignettes of Lithuanian atrocities, such as a Lithuanian college student Vladas Kliukas and his friends who became "jewshooters." They were not psychopathic criminals before the Holocaust. We now only know about this rather insignificant student because a Polish journalist kept a diary of what he witnessed. (169–173) Another example is when the Soviets arrested a Lithuanian mailman Vincas Sausaitis for transporting Jews to Paneriai. In 1955 the Soviets amnestied him, after which he started a family, but later he was arrested again for killing Jews. In 1978 the Soviets executed him. *Our People* reveals the many of the previously unknown details about the smaller killing sites.

In 1992 Christopher Browning published *Ordinary Men*. He wrote about a police battalion of Germans who shot Jews. The ordinary men were not criminals, nor were they forced to kill. Seeing what they had done – blowing out the brains of some woman or child they vomited and got drunk. Many asked to be relieved of duty without any punishment for refusing to do their job. The Lithuanian "jewshooters" were no different.

The personalities of Vanagaitė and Zuroff cannot be divorced from the content of *Our People*. Of course, the two enemies became kindred spirits. A theater critic, writer, and journalist, Vanagaitė has had a flair for the sensational, having previously written about aging women and sex. In the December 15, 2017 issue of *The New Yorker* Masha Gessen interviewed Vanagaitė about *Our People*:

'My objective was to shock,' she told me. Vanagaitė got a call from a journalist asking for her reaction to her publisher's announcement that it was withdrawing all of her titles from all bookstores. Thousands of copies would be pulped.

If *The New Yorker* did not purposely publish “fake news” then the reporter Masha Gessen jumped to a hasty conclusion. Vanagaitė’s book was not taken off the shelves because she authored it, but because in a subsequent television interview she accused a leader of the Lithuanian anti-Communist partisans Adolfas Ramanauskas-Vanagas of being a “jewshooter” for which she later apologized. Even the Israeli ambassador to Lithuania apologized to the Ramanauskas family. For all the furor Vanagaitė did not lose her livelihood. She continues to write books. In 2020 Vanagaitė launched *Kaip tai įvyko* (How Did It Happen?), where the most noted German historian of the Holocaust in Lithuania, a Yad Vashem laureate, Christoph Dieckmann answered Vanagaitė’s questions objectively.

If World War II had changed everything, then so did reestablishing Lithuania’s independence in 1990. In 1991 the Nazi hunter Efraim Zuroff visited Lithuania. He immediately became a known and controversial figure. He called a group of Lithuanian female teachers visiting Jerusalem “žydšaudėmis” [The feminine form of žydšaudis]. Even Lithuanian Holocaust specialists have called Zuroff an agent of Putin. The Nazi hunter is not asking for daily mea culpas, as some Lithuanians believe. He wants acknowledgment, commemoration, and education about the annihilation of his people. (3) The Lithuanian government, often with money from private Jewish donors or the European Union, has acknowledged the Holocaust in Lithuania by building memorial sites, and commemorating the Holocaust.

English language readers should not find anything particularly offensive about *Our People*. All of this information can be found in other scholarly works copiously cited documents that perhaps seem too arcane for a reading audience that is not deep into scholarship or interested in minute historical mistakes.

Much of the controversy surrounding this book came from television interviews with Vanagaitė, where she implicated Lithuanian partisans who fought the Soviets World War II ended. Some of the partisans called the “Forest Brothers” had been members of the LAF who were directly involved with the mass

killing of Jews, but many were not. Nothing during the Holocaust was simple. One day a German or Lithuanian would kill a Jew, and the next day hide a Jew. Does one act of kindness expiate the crime of the previous day?

In an age of social media and multiple news outlets the lines between the truth and beliefs have become so blurred that even historians can choose what to believe. The truth remains that Lithuanian perpetrators killed most of the 220,000 Jews in World War II. This is what Vanagaitė wanted to expose.

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ABSTRACTS

DALIA CIDZIKAITĖ

The Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies at UIC: An Alternative to Lithuanian “Polka Clubs”

Using the testimonies and interviews with the long-term head of the Endowed Chair in Lithuanian Studies at UIC, prof. Violeta Kelertienė, and visiting scholars, the article examines the role of the Chair which was established in the fall of 1984 at the University of Illinois in Chicago (USA). In addition to the main goal of serving the Lithuanians living in diaspora, the founders of the Chair entrusted it with another task—to spread the message about Lithuanian studies and to promote them in the Western academic world.

STASYS SAMALAVIČIUS

Vilnius Cathedral Square from the Fourteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries. Part Two

Vilnius Cathedral Square occupies a large portion of the territory of Vilnius Lower Castle. The author of the article who supervised the historical research of the palace of the Grand Dukes before and after Lithuania's independence, discusses the historical development of this area from the earliest times until the nineteenth century. The location of buildings in this area and the erection of the Lower Castle are brought into focus. Research is

focused on a number of architectural buildings that have existed in the present territory of the square: the House of Bishops, the House of Episcopal College, Cathedral School, the Royal Mill and other edifices.

KOSTAS BILIŪNAS

The Reflection of Landscape in the Church Architecture of Late Baroque

Using the phenomenological research approach offered by Christian Norberg-Schulz, the article discusses the impact of landscape on the architecture of Late Baroque churches in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The late eighteenth century brings changes to the understanding of landscape as natural environment – the ideas of Enlightenment encourage observing and explaining the natural surroundings and at the same time the Late Baroque expresses its profound love of nature. In architecture, instead of culturally biased rules, new nature's rules are being introduced.

Late Baroque two-towered masonry churches are erected in various locations characterized by a different topography. The article focuses on the churches of Naumiestis, Krinčinas, Volna, Dunilavichy and Gaina, reflecting the specific landscapes of respectively, flatlands, undulating hills, and higher elevations. Through the reflection of these different landscapes in the buildings of the churches, the baroque idea of the unity of the world, architecture, and mankind reveals itself. The article draws attention to the side elevations of the church buildings in which the 'traditional' spatial structures taken over from the historical styles and submitting to the baroque unity become a reflection of landscape.

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