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FROM POPULISM TO POP-ARCHEOLOGY: PERFORMING POPULAR CULTURE ON THE STAGE OF LITHUANIAN THEATRE

Summary. There has been a proliferation of studies on popular culture (or vacillating terms such as *mass culture, culture for the masses, culture industry, media culture*) that interpret/investigate the popular as cultural construction – something 'staged' rather than 'natural' or 'given'. According to Nestor Garcia Canclini, three currents play the major role in this 'theatricalization' of the popular: folklore (as invented traditions), the culture industry, and political populism. Performance can play an important part in all three spheres; however, the main question is how it deals with the popular – by reconstructing and multiplying its images, narratives and identities, by appropriating or by challenging and deconstructing them. If we understand various forms of popular culture as "imaginary stagings of the social," theatre which forms a tense, interrogative relationship with the popular can become the platform for investigation of the means by which our perception of reality is constructed and new models of identification are produced. Furthermore, there are quite a number of examples in contemporary Lithuanian theatre where combining and contrasting the elements of popular culture / dramatic discourse / personal narratives produce a multiple network of representations that accurately reveal the hidden power struggles of contemporary society as well as various mechanisms of manipulation. On the other hand, contemporary theatre can very easily become part of the popular culture by choosing to mirror its language and to comply with the rules of popularity.

In this paper, the author examines the ways in which the popular culture has been represented (re-contextualization, ironic interpretation, critical deconstruction, or mimetic mirroring) on the stage of post-Soviet Lithuanian theatre, at the same time addressing the larger issues about the political and social implications of these particular stagings of the popular.

Keywords: popular culture, mass culture, theatre, Lithuanian theatre.

There has been a proliferation of studies on popular culture (or vacillating terms such as *mass culture, culture for the masses, culture industry, media culture*) that interpret/investigate the 'popular' as cultural construction – something 'staged' rather than 'natural' or 'given'. According to Nestor Garcia Canclini, three currents play the major role in this 'theatricalization' of the popular: folklore (as invented traditions), the culture industry, and political populism.[1] Performance can play an important part in all three spheres; however, the main question is how it deals with the popular – by reconstructing and multiplying its images, narratives and identities, by appropriating or by challenging and deconstructing them. If we understand various forms of popular culture as "imaginary stagings of the social,"[2] theatre which forms a tense, interrogative relationship with the popular can become the platform for investigation of the means by which our perception of reality is constructed and new models of identification are produced. Furthermore, there are quite a number of examples in contemporary Lithuanian theatre where combining and contrasting the elements of popular culture / dramatic discourse / personal narratives produce a multiple network of representations that accurately reveal the hidden power struggles of contemporary society as well as various mechanisms of manipulation. On the other hand, contemporary theatre can very easily become a part of the popular culture by choosing to mirror its language and to comply with the rules of popularity.

In this paper, I examine the ways in which the popular culture has been represented (re-contextualization, ironic interpretation, critical deconstruction,

or mimetic mirroring) on the stage of post-Soviet Lithuanian theatre, at the same time addressing the larger issues about the political and social implications of these particular stagings of the popular.

To begin with, one has to define the term 'popular' which according to many researchers, "has no univocal meaning as a scientific concept"[3] but rather the ambiguous value of a theatrical notion that is "historically variable and always in part constructed by the very act of theoretical engagement."[4] Even though one might say that this is almost the question of good academic taste to start an article, paper or talk by complaining about the complexities of the term one is about to define or analyse, in case of popular culture, the problems of definition are notorious and expressed in many influential works on the phenomenon. For example, Stuart Hall starts his seminal article "Notes on Deconstructing 'the Popular'" by stating the following: "I have almost as many problems with the term 'popular' as I have with 'culture'. You put the two terms together and the difficulties can be pretty horrendous."[5] Indeed, there are many different ways of understanding the popular and they all can be situated along the spectrum of two opposing notions – critical and positive. Simon Frith straightforwardly sums up the historical development of debates about the popular in the following way: on one side of the spectrum, with the slogan "if it's popular, it must be bad!" he locates the researchers from the Frankfurt School and their critical analysis of mass production and consumption, on the other – the motto "if it's popular, it must be good!" is exemplified by the works of John Fiske, where every act of popular consumption is celebrated as an act of individual resistance and creativity, as Fiske defines 'popular' as that which audience make of and do with the commodities of culture industries.[6]

Undoubtedly, it is possible to define these positions in a more articulate manner, however, these binary oppositions delineate the spectrum of understanding of the popular – on one hand, 'popular culture' is described as culture of, by, and for the people in which they produce and participate in cultural practices that articulate their observations and desires, on the other – popular media culture, as described

by Douglas Kellner, is "a largely commercial form of culture, produced for profit, and disseminated in the form of commodities."[7]

For decades, the links between theatre and popular culture have formed a field of interactions and conflicts, at the same time mirroring the broader debates on mass culture and its social influence. Theatre performances not only reveal a particular understanding of popular culture but construct a certain notion of 'popular' themselves. We might even argue that many theoretical descriptions of popular culture[8] are exhibited in theatre performances: from the critique of it as a culture for the masses or contemporary folk culture to the understanding of popular culture as a place of power struggles or a form of subversive resistance to dominant forms of culture.

In Lithuanian theatre of the last decade, the reflection of mass or popular culture comes up in many productions. This research however is not aimed at registering every particular performance but rather at pointing out what approaches and strategies do contemporary Lithuanian stage directors use in dealing with the popular culture. First of all, one can state that the proliferation of mass culture in postmodern sociocultural field compels theatre to re-examine its own imagery and means of expression. Furthermore, there is a number of reasons why contemporary Lithuanian theatre is using the language and signs of mass (popular) culture, including the wish to mimic or analyse contemporary reality and to draw closer to the spectator as well as an ambition to uncover, deconstruct and possibly even subvert the functioning mechanisms beneath the production of mass culture.

The tactics that the stage directors use in confronting the signs of mass culture differ depending on the director's personal relationship towards the phenomena of popular culture. Two opposing approaches toward the popular mass culture can be read from the examples of Eimuntas Nekrošius and Oskaras Koršunovas. Nekrošius is a prototype of the cultured modernist artist whose works can be interpreted as examples of pure modernist aesthetics not only because of demands his formal

experimentation imposes upon the spectator, the implicit knowledge that lends density to his stage poetics and aesthetics but also because in his interpretations of texts, culture and history, he is mainly interested in universal ideas and very easily ignores any signs of mass (media) culture or social contexts whatsoever – the references to socioeconomic structure are usually just decorative signs that he immediately slights in order to move on to what really concerns him: universal ontology of individual life. Koršuvovas, on the other hand, is a great example of pop-archaeologist who is concerned with what pop-culture tells us about contemporary society, in decoding it as a language of today that allow us to grasp better the defining characteristics, conflicts and concerns of contemporary era – the realities of the present.

There are at least three strategies of performing the popular in contemporary Lithuanian theatre and they can be defined as illustration, re-contextualisation, and irony. Illustration can be understood as the attempt to give the signs of mass culture a decorative function. In these cases, costumes, posters, fashion items, music, quotes and gestures from the territory of popular culture function as elements of ornamentation and décor, testifying that the particular performance and the issues it is dealing with are 'contemporary' and up-to-date. Thus, through the fragments of mass culture, the director is seemingly trying to draw closer to contemporary reality without however getting into analysis of the popular phenomena or demonstrating his/her own point of view. That kind of attitude is neither research nor criticism, nor is it a manipulation of visual pleasure. The term 'illustration' would probably be the best way to describe it as the popular culture is seen here as a mere decoration for the theatrical dramas of today.

Re-contextualisation can be defined as a bold interpretation of texts and images of mass culture, when the framework of the director's concept alters the very nature of the sign of popular culture. For example, in the production of Dea Loher's play "Innocent" by Gintaras Varnas in 2006 (Kaunas State Drama Theatre), the director changes the nature of the sign of mass culture by re-contextualizing it. In

the production, the features of the objects of popular culture, such as seduction, pleasure, dazzle and lightness, are represented as attributes of death. It is death – suicides, corpses, urns – that turns out to be attractive while the mass culture is represented in the performance as depressing, repulsive, sterile and impotent. In the production, even the space is structured in such a way that the strip club and the morgue occupy the same stage locus and the latter is much more visually attractive than the former. Consequently, the mass culture is re-contextualised as the director moves it to a different semantic territory and by doing so produces new structures of meaning.

Re-contextualization of the images and texts of popular culture can also go hand in hand with irony. In contemporary theatre, irony is often used as a weapon, a response of the marginalized art form (theatre itself) to the dominant and expansive power of mass culture. According to Linda Hutcheon, an ironic attitude, similar to Bertolt Brecht's *estrangement effect* in acting, does not only allow to construct and maintain the distance but also to take a critical look at the patterns of thought and imagery that mass culture supports.[9] There is a number of performances in Lithuanian theatre that treat mass culture with irony and playful demeanour however without critical evaluation or analysis of the nature of its signs. A good example of such attitude towards popular culture could be the production of Nikolai Erdman's "The Suicide" staged by Agnius Jankevičius in 2006 (Kaunas State Drama Theatre).

In contemporary interpretation of seminal Stalinist era play "The Suicide" the characters are present with equal emphasis together with figures from Soviet cartoons as well as the stars of the post-Soviet popular culture: Algirdas Brazauskas, Rytis Cicinas or Edmundas Kučinskas. The director offers the spectators to take an alienated attitude of superiority towards this burlesque gallery. This point of view can be related to the attitude of Michel de Certeau's *strategist* as a bearer of safe and indifferent position.[10] The position of a strategist is a metaposition as here one is always dissociating himself/herself from the environment that he/she is examining as if, in other words, residing or being located above

the realities that one is reflecting on or speaking about. The same position is offered for the spectators of "The Suicide" as well – for a short time, the audience is also expected to consciously dissociate themselves from the pop environment and make fun of it together with the artists. The spectators take pleasure in recognizing the already familiar signs and seeing them in a somewhat different context namely theatrical space while the director plays with this "joy of recognition" and eventually the *pleasure of the spectacle* obscures all other messages of the text.

In both theatrical examples, the popular is presented as an inferior culture seen neither as an empowering tool nor a repertoire for subversive reading but rather the manipulative operations by which tastes and opinions are imposed on large groups of consumers. Indeed, as many researchers have observed, "the cultural industries do have the power by repetition and selection to impose and implant such definitions of ourselves that fit more easily the descriptions of dominant or preferred culture."[11] However, in order to grasp the complexity of cultural relations embedded in the production of popular cultures, one has not only to re-contextualise or use irony but to be able to critically analyse the popular by the means of theatrical inquiry. Within this context, the proponents of critical deconstruction of the mass culture think of it as the "knowledge of today", therefore they see the vital importance to understand the role of popular culture in a wide range of current social struggles and developments as a brick stones from which we construct our identities, articulate the conflicts, fears, hopes and dreams of individuals and groups confronting a turbulent contemporary reality. If popular culture shape our view of the reality, public opinion, values and behavior, it is important not to ignore, demonize or mock it but to understand and analyze it as a forum of social power and struggle.

The best examples of such critical analysis of the popular mass culture can be found it works of director Oskaras Koršunovas. He began to examine the popular culture in his 1998 production of "Roberto Zucco" (by Bernard Marie-Coltes) and is one of the few stage directors in Lithuania who

have actually mastered the codes of pop-language. While other directors tend to demonize it or overestimate it, Koršunovas is a master in employing it (and unmasking at the same time). One of the best examples of his masterful investigation of popular mass culture can be found in performance "Playing the Victim" (by brother Presniakovs, 2005, Oskaras Koršunovas Theatre)

The *prototext* of "Playing the Victim" is the story of Hamlet, while its theatrical and visual code is mass culture. After all, the popular culture can be interpreted as theatre or acting *par excellence* as it can take on different shapes and embody the seduction of the surfaces. The postmodern pastiche of the Hamlet story in the performance by Koršunovas is extended through music inserts, forms of mass culture, quotes and in that way the production gets enriched with a number of levels of information flow. The simplified kernel of the classical play rendered in the performance is turned into a formal excess: extreme mannerism, musical pathos, particular theatrical density which at times discords with the narrative of the play and at times noisily agrees with it. By using forms of popular culture in the performance, the director is trying to represent the perfect simulacrum – the absence of reality masked by the excess of the signs of reality.

The structural construction of "Plying the Victim" reminds of horizontal landscape that can be extended to any direction except vertically. Cynical attitude towards the reality as an empty, twinkling and intangible spider web that extends towards horizon is presented in a performance as both the feature of popular culture as well as contemporary culture and society in general. Hereby, in the production of "Playing the Victim," the characteristics of popular culture signs is turned into a particular theatrical density and this excessive form symbolically reflects the artist's attitude towards contemporary reality.

In the production of "Playing the Victim," the objects of mass culture are represented in mimetic manner and obtain different meanings only through the change of place in the symbolical order of performance. The director's imagination constructs the signs that seem to be empty and then juggles with

them in a much easier manner than the virtual popular network does it. For example, the director picks up a seemingly unimportant fragment of the play, namely the recurrent hints about main protagonist's Valia baseball cap with the characters from the "South Park" cartoon and integrates it into the performance through the figure of Kenny in the way this object itself appears at once completely empty (a sign of mass culture) and full of symbolical meanings (Kenney is a perennial cartoon victim killed in every episode of "South Park" and revived in the other – i. e. he is indeed "playing the victim" as the main protagonist of the performance does). Hereby, the meaning in the performance is extended through different references to popular mass culture thus forming a web of intertexts and opening it up to the spectators' interpretation.

One might conclude that of all strategies dealing with popular culture on contemporary Lithuanian theatre stage – re-contextualization, ironic interpretation, or mimetic mirroring – Koršunovas production of "Playing the Victim" comes closest to the notion of critical investigation. In this performance, popular culture is understood as a site where, according to Stuart Hall, "collective social understandings are created": a territory on which "the politics of signification is played out in attempts to win people to particular ways of seeing the world."[12]

Therefore, popular mass culture can be interpreted as a repertoire of social meanings and theatre can become the place where one is taught not only to enjoy or interpret it but to deconstruct it as well.

Notes

[1] Canclini, Garcia. *Hybrid Cultures: Strategies for Entering and Leaving Modernity*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997, p. 146.
[2] Ibid, p. 187.
[3] *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: a Reader*. London/New York: Routledge, 2015.
[4] Ibid, p. 14.
[5] Hall, Stuart. Notes on Deconstructing ‚the Popular‘. In: *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: a Reader*. 2015, p. 442.
[6] Frith, Simon. The Good, the Bad, and the Indifferent: Defending Popular Culture from Populists. In: *Populism: A Reader*, New York: Lukas and Sternberg, 2005, p. 162-163.
[7] Kellner, Douglas. *Media Culture*. London/New York: Routledge, 1995, p. 16; Kellner, Douglas. *Media Spectacle*. London/New York: Routledge, 2003.
[8] For summary of definitions of popular culture, see: *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: a Reader*. London/New York: Routledge, 2015.
[9] Hutcheon, Linda. *The Politics of Postmodernism*. London/New York: Routledge, 2002.
[10] de Certeau, Michel. *The Practice of Everydaylife*. Berkeley: University of California Pres, 1988.
[11] Hall, Stuart, Ibid, p. 447.
[12] *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: a Reader*, p. 4.

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TARP POPULIZMO IR POPARCHEOLOGIJOS: POPULIARIOJI KULTŪRA ŠIUOLAIKINIO LIETUVOS TEATRO SCENOJE

Santrauka

Populiariąją kultūrą analizuojantys mokslininkai kalba apie įvairias jos apraiškas – kultūros industriją, masinę kultūrą, pramogų ar liaudies kultūrą, tačiau sutaria dėl vieno jai būdingo bruožo: populiarioji kultūra turi būti suvokiama kaip formuojamas, kuriamas ir interpretuojamas fenomenas, t. y. kaip procesas, spektaklis, teatras, o ne stabiliai egzistuojanti duotybė. Pasak kultūrologo Nestoro Garcia Canclinio, trys faktoriai „teatralizuoja" populiariąją kultūrą: folkloras, kultūros industrijos ir politinis populizmas. Plačiai suvokiamas „spektaklis" dalyvauja visose trijose srityse, todėl mokslininkams svarbu atskleisti, kaip konkretus vaidinimas ar teatro spektaklis interpretuoja populiariąją

kultūrą: ar palaiko ir daugina jos vaizdinius, pasakojimus, siūlomas tapatybės formas, o gal kaip tik kritikuoja ar dekonstruoja populiariosios kultūros vaizdiniją ir jos veikimo mechanizmus.

Populiariąją kultūrą galima interpretuoti kaip įsivaizduojamą socialinės elgsenos repeticiją, tam tikrų socialinių reikšmių repertuarą, kurį teatras gali perteikti subversyviai, atverdamas ar net perkeisdamas jo prasmes, o gali tiesiog mėgdžioti, taip priartėdamas prie populiariųjų tikrovės vaizdavimo ir suvokimo formų. Šiuolaikinio Lietuvos teatro spektakliai taip pat atskleidžia savitą požiūrį į populiariąją kultūrą ir formuoja jos sampratas. Galima teigti, kad teatro spektakliai savaip išreiškia įvairias teorines populiariosios kultūros apibrėžtis: nuo komercializuotos kultūros kritikos iki šiuolaikinės visuomenės veidrodžio. Režisūrinės taktikos, kurias renkasi kūrėjai, susidūrę su masinės kultūros ženklais, yra skirtingos ir priklauso nuo paties režisieriaus santykio su populiariąja kultūra.

Šiame darbe, pasitelkiant konkrečius atvejus, nagrinėjamos Lietuvos teatro scenoje vyraujančios populiariosios kultūros interpretavimo strategijos: iliustracija, rekontekstualizacija, ironija ir kritinis tyrimas. Straipsnyje analizuojami režisierių Oskaro Koršunovo, Gintaro Varno ir Agniaus Jankevičiaus darbai.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: populiarioji kultūra, masinė kultūra, teatras, šiuolaikinis Lietuvos teatras.

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RIVERS AS A PART OF THE MODERNIZATION PROCESS IN KAUNAS (LITHUANIA) BETWEEN WWI AND WWII

Summary. Recreation*,* leisure and entertainment have become important elements of the European urban culture long time ago. Places where nature and urban environment meet together have always been identified as comfortable. Thus, it is not surprising that the city parks, or even more, the beaches become a desirable part of the city's image. Kaunas city is not an exception, here the initiatives of the revitalization of the riverbanks have become a recent center of attention of urban activists as well as architecture historians. Interest in the history of Kaunas riverside relates to the fact that the areas of the modern leisure in Lithuania have a long tradition, as its starting point can be associated with the interwar period (1918-1940). The article provides a brief summary of the study of "the resort network" being built near the river throughout the Kaunas region during the WWI and WWII as well as of its leisure culture that was flourishing and the related architectural marks and shapes of urbanization: newly built summer houses adapted to provide treatment (rehabilitation) and a place for living, villas, Kurhaus, restaurants, sanatoria, health resorts, commercial places, and public infrastructure.

Keywords: rivers, modernization, Kaunas city, Lithuanian resort architecture between WWI and WWII.

INTRODUCTION

The interwar period (between WWI and WWII) brought crucial changes to the history of Lithuanian architectural environment. After the independence of Lithuania was proclaimed in 1918, the politicians of Lithuania aimed to build society based on national ideology and historical legacy. In regard to architecture, these ideas were expressed in the so called "national style". However, general European tendencies of modernization brought in another dimension. In consequence, a relation between tradition and progress was the burning issue among the important architectural problems of the time. Modernity came with changes in social lifestyle influenced by scientific, cultural, and commercial achievements. Such modernist ideas as hygiene, light and openness were spreading from the newborn capital Kaunas (Vilnius, the historical capital, was replaced by Kaunas, the temporary capital, for political reasons) to the countryside all over Lithuania.

It is important to note that the ideas of modernism in Kaunas are inseparable from natural environment. Kaunas is among those European cities that are built on the confluence of the two largest rivers of the country (the Nemunas River and the Neris River). Thus, riverbanks and slopes became an important part of urban structure. The modern capital with more than 6000 new public, commercial, and dwelling houses formed a unique townscape in which architecture and environment intertwined into an inseparable entity (Fig. 1).

The dialog between tradition, modernity and natural environment first of all occurred in urban reconstruction projects based on the ideas of "Garden City". Moreover, this natural situation visibly influenced leisure sphere as well. Recreational river zones were among the most important areas where leisure, modernity, and nature met together (Fig. 2).

Here it should be noted that in general Lithuanian interwar resorts and its separate areas, for example, rivers, as a complex (social, cultural and architectural) phenomenon have not been investigated until now. While in the global theoretical practice resorts and spas are seen as a separate phenomenon of modern life (e.g. Bryan F. Tolles[1], Fred Gray[2], Cindy S. Aaron[3], Małgorzata Omilanowska[4], etc.). The

Fig. 1. Kaunas city and Nemunas River during the interwar period. From personal collection of Antanas Burkus

Fig. 2. Nemunas River and Kaunas old town with the beach area in the background. VMU Lithuanian Emigration Institute, f. 1, ap. 1-9, b. 6647

touch upon this theme by the country's architecture historians (Nijolė Lukšionytė, Jurgis Bučas, Zita Genienė, Morta Baužienė, Maja Ptašek, Kęstutis Demereckas and others[5]) and ethnic study researchers (Vytautas Kuzmickas, Daiva Nevardauskienė, Emilija Ediklienė and others[6]) was very fragmentary and approached mostly from a historical and/or stylistic point of view, describing/referring to one or more (often best known) objects of resorts, or to personalities associated with them or their memories in single papers, publications of popular science, or short texts in books and other studies, what is more, rarely related with Kaunas area. Therefore, the research on this thematic subject is based on the historical sources.

The research is relevant because between the WWI and WWII, the biggest concentration of wellness "hotspots" in Lithuania were situated around the capital. The development of the riverbanks for local and international transportation and shipping as well as for cultural and recreational needs was determined by two factors. The first of these was the implementation of the town's overall policy of cleanness;[7] the second was cultural hygiene as a forming basis for a modern, Western lifestyle and foreign examples. It is right to remark that one of the main tools to implement the propaganda of modern ideas was the interwar press.

The press rhetoric was becoming important for housing modernization processes not only in

Fig. 3. The beach in the confluence of the two rivers in Kaunas, fourth decade of the twentieth century. From personal collection of V. Migonytė-Petrulienė

Kaunas and other smaller Lithuanian cities but also in resort areas that were gradually acquiring more and more features of urbanization. Social media used keywords of hygienic nature such as "light" and "cultured" which in the mentality of the modernizing country were closely associated with another keyword "future". Such statements, that were aplenty in the Lithuanian press in the forties, very clearly demonstrated aspirations of the architectural environment that were associated with modernism and advantages of the urban life. Moreover, the characteristics of improvement in living conditions were particularly close to the spa environment:

> "Human life must be also provided with some positive factors, which by their significance are classified as follows: clean air and good indoor ventilation, sunlight, gymnastics, walks, physical education, sports, rest, silence, various activities in the open air (in the garden, the kitchen-garden), child and adult intellectual culture, healthy, organic food and others."[8]

This aspect of the modernity discourse was of particular relevance not only at the end of the thirties but through the entire inter-war period as modernism ideas were expanding.

Discourse on modernism had a huge impact on various aspects of everyday life. For example, at that time Kaunas had around twelve properly equipped beach areas[9] (Fig. 3). They were highly popular among the citizens of the temporary capital. For the inhabitants of the major part of the town, the riverbanks were probably the only source of water entertainment because other resorts were too far from Kaunas and thus too expensive to afford, e.g. Birštonas (a balneological type of resort), Palanga (a seaside resort).

Every year the commission formed by Kaunas Municipality would visit the riverbanks of Kaunas and decide which areas could be operated as public beaches and be opened for the entire season. The commission considered that all districts of the town should have a separate beach on the riverbanks. It was on the basis of this consideration that they would set appropriate locations to beach areas.

In the period of every warm season, the biggest port of the country was full of aquatic sport events, e.g. Yacht Club of Lithuania organized navigation for entertainment, a parade of illuminated ships and a powerboats race. Also, in the backwater of the river, lido was established which was a popular skating-rink in the wintertime. However, buildings close to the riverbanks were mostly built as temporary, e.g. changing cabins and beverage kiosks. The best infrastructure was set up in the zones where the most visited beaches were exclusively dedicated to recreational needs. One of those was in the Upper Panemunė district, which became a city resort area in 1932 after the Law of Resorts was adopted.[10]

At this point, it is right to note that the year of 1932 appeared to be a turning point in the history of leisure in Lithuania. The Ministry of Internal Affairs initiated a specific law which established the typological diversity of resorts. At the same time, it became to be a common factor of cleanliness and health policy in the country. The document defined a resort area as a place characterized by appropriate natural features and to which guidelines of infrastructure development, administrative obligations (an administrator has been elected to lead the resort) and legal principles of activities (conditions of possible charges) were applied. In other words, a resort is the place 1) with healing mud, proper premises, and necessary equipment for taking treatments and 2) providing facilities for recreation and improvement of health.[11] In fact, the document formulated two possible directions for resort development, i.e. wellness and leisure – entertainment.

RIVER RESORTS IN KAUNAS: UPPER PANEMUNĖ, KAČERGINĖ, KULAUTUVA, AND LAMPĖDŽIAI

Both of the directions, legible in the Law of Resorts, could be seen in Panemunė resort where surroundings of pine woods and two beaches were substantial natural factors in the development of a new born resort. Consequently, at the beginning of the fourth decade of the twentieth century, changing cabins, a

yacht club, two springboards (towers to jump from into the water), a kayaking[12], an enclosed nude sun bathing area, restaurants and kiosks for selling soft drinks were built close to the riverside as the most important area of the resort.[13] Deeper into the pinewood there was one of the main resort buildings, the Kurhaus, with a restaurant and a dancing hall[14] as well as premises for mineral baths – building run by doctor Jurgis Veckūnas[15], sanatoriums as a medical facility of the Red Cross Society to treat tuberculosis, the Society for the Fight against Tuberculosis was guided by doctor Vanda Tumienė[16] and etc. (Fig. 4, 5). Also there were built plenty of villas, summer cottages, and dwelling houses around and nearby[17] (Fig. 6). The national style and modern ideas, influenced by the trends of the capital, were merged in the architecture of these buildings.

In a little less than a decade, the Panemunė resort has developed from a small district into an overpopulated recreational area of the capital ("Garden in the City"):[18]

> „Even if since the last year [1933] there was plenty of fresh air, the peace was hard to find in the areas of drier pinewood. Unoccupied seats of vacationers were settled down by squads of newcomers from urban and suburban areas, so the forest in Panemunė, more appropriate for the recreation, was more of the garden for entertainment full of fun and noise than a resort."[19]

Fig. 4. The sanatorium of The Red Cross Society, 1934. From personal collection of Antanas Burkus

Fig. 5. Children's Sanatorium of the Society for the Fight against Tuberculosis, 1928 (arch. Vladimiras Dubeneckis, Klaudijus Dušauskas). LCVA, f. 1622, ap. 4, b. 1306, l. 8
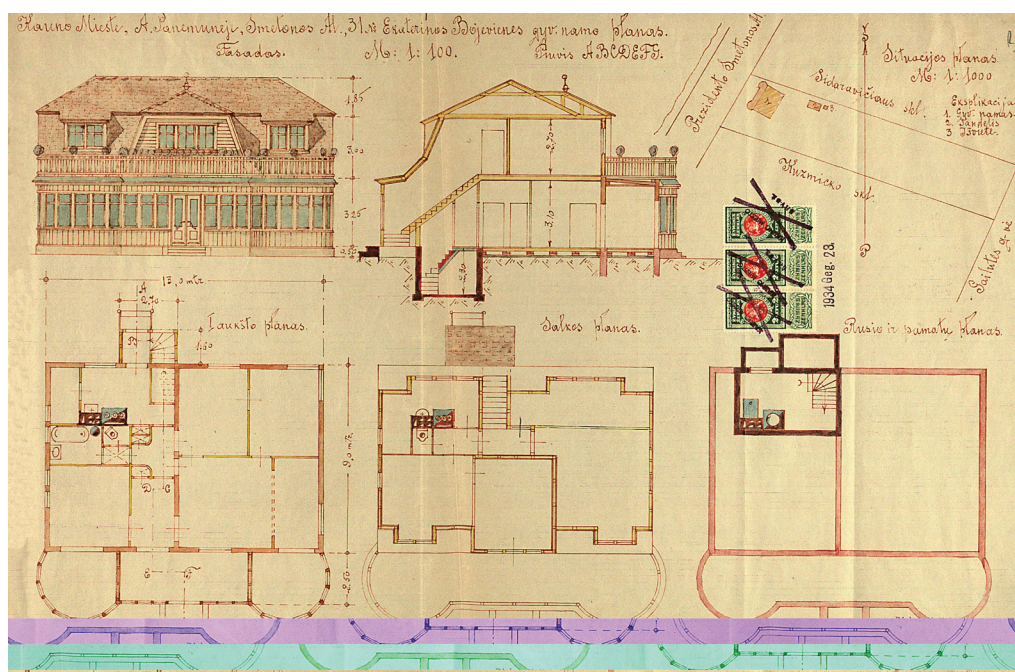
Fig. 6. The project of summer cotage of Ekaterina Bajovienė in Panemunė resort, 1934 (eng. Juozas Tyško). LCVA, f. 1622, ap. 4, b. 450, l. 3

Therefore, the resort was as a place for entertaining activities that were likely to prove immensely popular with all Kaunas residents who needed recreation and escape from their everyday life in the dust of town.

In the late interwar period, many pieces of land in Panemunė were sold out to the permanent residencies. By the way, the popularity of the resort could be illustrated by the fact that compared to 1932, the land prices in 1939 have increased as much as four hundred percent.[20] Due to this, leisure activities came to be marketable and expensive.

Leisure culture as a phenomenon being institutionalized, traditions of recreation started to intensively emerge around the temporary capital in other smaller places such as Kačerginė, Kulautuva, and Lampėdžiai. The resort status demanded that buildings should be constructed and transport including waterways should be improved with greater intensity. New resort areas became a good alternative places in Kaunas for the working class residents who needed cheaper and quieter holidays than in Panemunė resort.

The construction and the development of resort activities in Kačerginė, Kaulautuva and Lampėdžiai were based on the same socio-cultural model as in the Panemunė resort. In the summer resorts, until 1940s, the main focus was given to the construction of new villas, mostly with "national style" elements[21]

(Fig. 7). Cityscapes of the resorts were enhanced with a few new buildings of a therapeutic-rehabilitation function: Children's summer colony of Kaunas City Patient fund[22] as well as villa-dispensary of engineer Reklaitis were established in Kačerginė; Baths built by Rosa Gerberienė,[23] and holiday home for students and seminarians from "Jerešun" association (Fig. 8) were set up in Kulautuva; Baths built by Boris Fleišmanas[24] and Children's summer colony were opened in Lampėdžiai.[25] Complexes for recreational needs (restaurants, cafes, pavilions, kiosks) were built as well[26] (Fig. 9).

However, the unifying feature of these zones was the fact that the epicenter of the resort life was moved to riverbank instead of a park as it was used in other bigger resorts in Lithuania. Beaches and steamboat wharfs were the most important elements of urban environment in recreational areas. The riverside
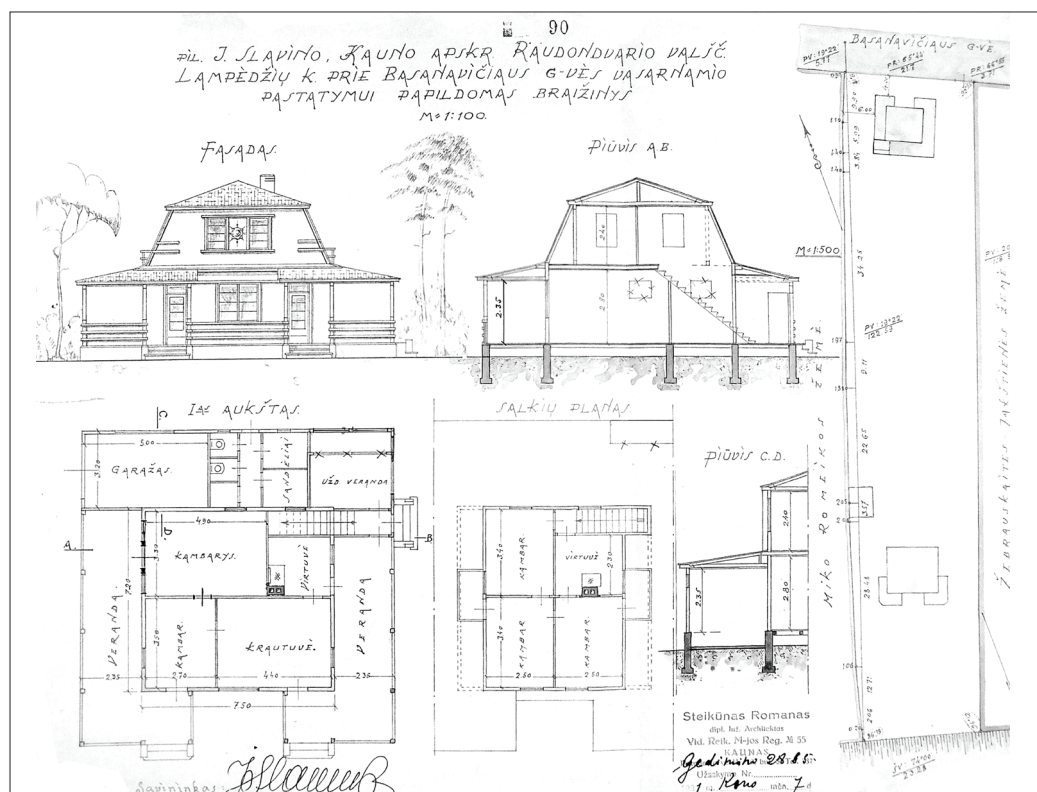
Fig. 7. The project of summer house of I. Slavinas in Lampėdžiai resort, 1937 (arch. Romanas Steikūnas). LCVA, f. 1622, ap. 4, b. 719
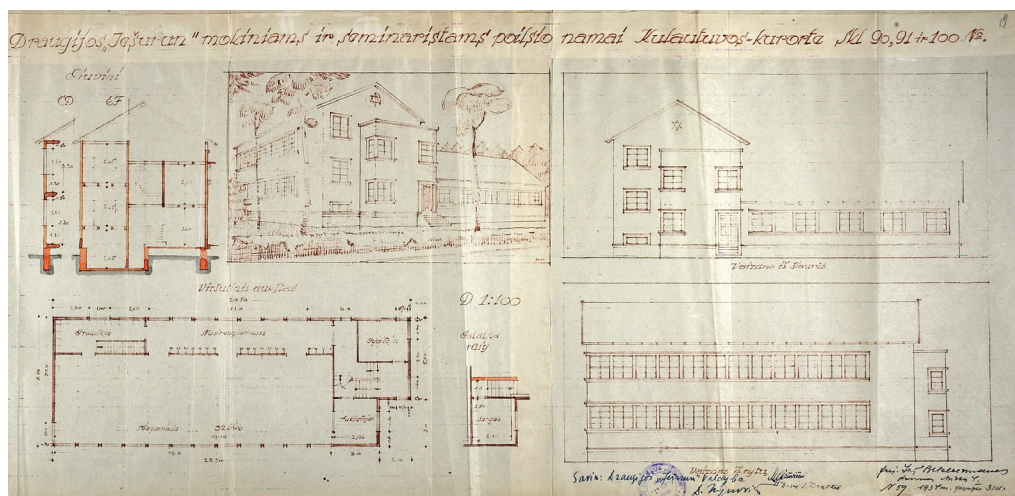
Fig. 8. The project of holiday home for students and seminarians from "Jerešun" association in Kulautuva resort, 1934 (eng. Borisas Helcermanas). KAA, f. 17, ap. 1, b. 78, l. 13
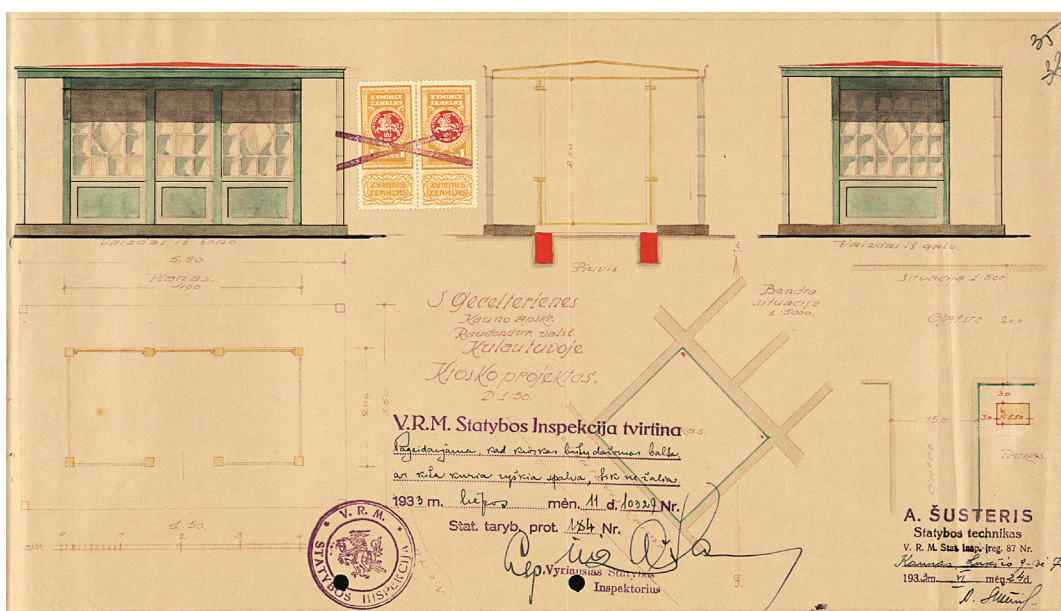
Fig. 9. The project of kiosk by S. Gecelterienė in Kačerginė resort, 1933. KAA, f. 17, ap. 1, b. 74
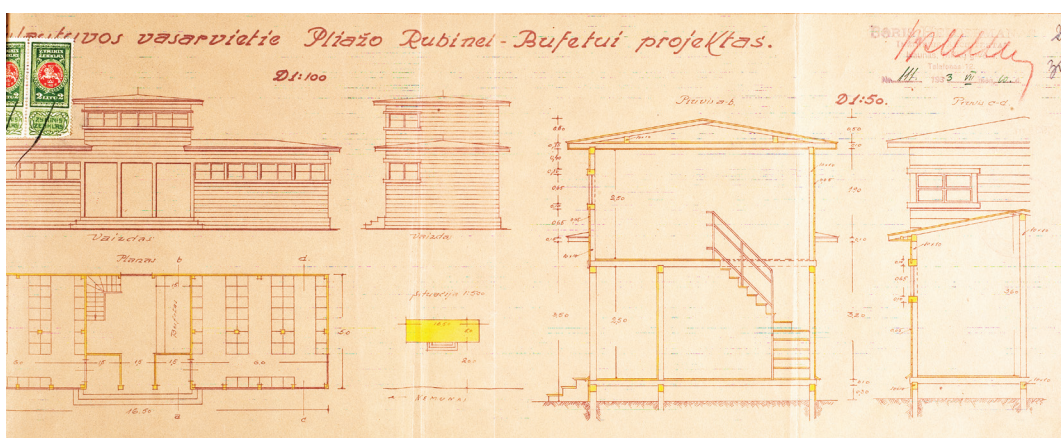
Fig. 10. The project of Buffer – Cloakroom in Kulautuva beach, 1933. KAA, f. 17, ap. 1, b. 78, l. 3

became a symbolic gate of summer holidays and a landmark of leisure activities that was the main direction for the development of those resorts.[27] For this reason, the banks of the river became an important artery to settle the infrastructure for main leisure activities, mostly, sunbathing and spending leisure time in the open air or on the beach (Fig. 10). Therefore, the Nemunas River connected all the recreational zones of Kaunas region.

CONCLUSIONS

Wellness and leisure-entertainment activities were influenced by natural settings (like riverbed) and affected new habits developed by the modern society. Amongst the most important changes was an increased accessibility of recreation to the public seen as a popular form of public behavior. All leisure activities related with the river were the relevant factor at this point. It is also important to admit that the river was a path of modernization processes. Urban life forms as well as the artefacts of the construction activities migrated through the rivers of Lithuania. Therefore, the environment of the resorts met the higher standards of recreation. The Law of Resorts and the good example of Kaunas came to be an inspiration for constructing recreation network all over Lithuania in the late 1930s.

Unfortunately, during the period of the soviet occupation, the relation with the river had decreased gradually because of the wo crucial factors. One of

them was a hydro power plant built in 1956 and the other – a wide street paved to make the flow of the traffic throughout the town easier, which, however, had separated the central part of the town from the river. Despite the above mentioned, a positive point has to be noted here, which is, the last decade of the twentieth century witnessed the growth of various forms of urban activism aiming to reconnect the town of Kaunas with the Nemunas River.

Notes

1   *New Hampshire Architecture: An Illustrated Guide* (1979), *The Grand Resort Hotels of the White Mountains: A Vanishing Architectural Legacy* (1998), *Summer Cottages in the White Mountains: The Architecture of Leisure and Recreation, 1870 to 1930* (2000), *Resort Hotels of the Adirondacks: The Architecture of a Summer Paradise, 1850-1950* (2003), *Summer by the Seaside: The Architecture Of New England Coastal Resort Hotels, 1820-1950* (2008).

2   *Designing the Seaside: Architecture, Society and Nature,* 2009.

3   *Working At Play: A History of Vacations in the United States,* 1999.

4   *Pabaltijo Zakopanė. Palanga Tyszkiewiczių laikais [Zakopane of the Baltics. Palanga in the time of Tszkiewicz],* 2014.

5   *Lietuvos architektūros istorija (nuo XIX a. II-ojo deš. iki 1918 m.) [History of Lithuanian architecture (since the second half of the 19ᵗʰ century to 1918)]. T. 3 /* ed. N. Lukšionytė-Tolvaišienė. Vilnius: Savastis, 2000; Bučas, Jurgis. Senoji Lietuvos kurortų architektūra [Ancient architecture of Lithuanian resorts]. *Urbanistika ir rajoninis planavimas,* 1990, 16, p. 107; Ptašek, Maja. *Medinė kurortų architektūra. Medinė architektūra Lietuvoje [Wooden architecture of resorts. Wooden architecture in Lithuania].* Vilnius: Vaga, 2002, p. 111-122; Baužienė, Morta. Rekreacinio miesto savitumas (Birštono medinės architektūros pavyzdžiu) [Singularity of recreational city (By the example of wooden architecture of Birštonas)]. *Archiforma,* 2012, 1-2 (50), p. 34-41; Genienė, Zita. *Palangos miesto ir kurorto raida XIX-XX amžiais. Palangos istorija [Development of Palanda as a city and a resort in 19ᵗʰ-20ᵗʰ centuries. History of Palanga] /* ed. Vladas Žulkus. Klaipėda: Libra Memelensis, 1999; ir kt.

6   Nevardauskienė, Daiva. *Aukštosios Panemunės istorija. Istorinė apžvalga nuo seniausių laikų iki šių dienų [History if the Upper Panemunė. Historical review since the oldest times to nowadays].* Kaunas: Prix Fixe, 2010; Ediklienė, E. *Palangos kraštotyriniai tyrimai.* Rankraštis. [*Ethnographical research on Palanga.* Manuscript]. Palanga public library, Department of Ethnography, 8 right; Kuzmickas, Vytautas. *Birštono krašto istorijos lobiai ir paslaptys (III). Ieškokime senųjų Federavičių namų pėdsakų... [Historical treasures and secrets of Birštonas (III). Seeking for traces of the old house of Fedaravičiai…]* Internet access: http://kvitrina.lt/birstono-krasto-istorijos-lobiai-ir-paslaptys-iii-ieskokime-senuju-federaviciu-namu-pedsaku/, [see. October 2, 2015].

7   Kauno kronika [Chronicle of Kaunas]. *Lietuva.* January 9, 1921, p. 2.

8   Miestų gyventojų laisvalaikis ir sveikata [Leisure and health of city residents]. *Savivaldybė.* July, 1939, p. 193.

9   **1.** The beach in the confluence of the two rivers; **2.** Karmelitai beach; **3.** Old town beach at Jonava street; **4.** Beach in the district of Vilijampolė at the street of A. Kriščiukaitis; **5.** Beach in the district of Vilijampolė at the shelter of "Child Jesus"; **6.** Beach in the district of Lower Šančiai at the Mažeikiai street; **7.** Beach in the district of Lower Šančiai in front of e hill of Napoleon; **8.** Beach in the district of Lower Šančiai beside the "Drobė" factory; **9.** Beach at Aleksotas district; **10.** Beach in the district of Žaliakalnis at the Kapsų street; **11.** The first beach in the Upper Panemunė district; **12.** The second beach in the Upper Panemunė district.

10   A. Panemunė tvarkoma kurortiškai [Recreational control of U. Panemunė]. *Lietuvos aidas.* June 27, 1933, p. 5.

11   Kurortų įstatymas [The Law of Resorts]. *Vyriausybės žinios.* December 22, 1932, p. 1.

12   A. Panemunės jachtklubas [Yacht club in U. Panemunė]. *Lietuvos žinios.* April 16, 1935, p. 7.

13   A. Panemunėje bus plaukiojimo mokykla [Shipping school is about to open in U. Panemunė]. *Lietuvos aidas.* April 18, 1934, p. 5.

14   Panemunės miške projektuoja Kurhauzą statyti [Kurhaus is designed to be built in the forest of Panemunė]. *Lietuvos žinios.* April 12, 1935, p. 7.

15   *Dr. Jurgio Venckūno mineralinių vonių gydyklos A. Panemunėje projektas [The plan of mineral baths of Dr. Jurgis Venckūnas in U. Panemunė], 1930.* LCVA, f. 1622, ap. 4, b. 64, l. 5.

16   *Prof. Vandos Tumėnienės mūr. priestato prie vaikų sanatorijos projektas [The plan of masonry wing of prof. Vanda Tumėnienė near the Chidren's sanatorium]. 1939. (eng. K. Sienkevičius).* LCVA, f. 1622, ap. 3, b. 219, l. 4.

17   *Viktoro Tamulevičiaus medinės vilos A. Panemunėje projektas [The plan of the wooden villa of Viktoras Tamulevičius in U. Panemunė], 1925. (eng. A. Jokimas).* KAA, f. 17, ap. 1, b. 26, l. 174; *Liudo Šimonėlio medinės vilos projektas A. Panemunėje [The plan of the wooden villa of Liudas Šimonėlis in U. Panemunė], 1925.* KAA, f. 17, ap. 1, b. 26, l. 122; *Kap. Jeronimo Matulionio vilos projektas A. Panemunėje [(The plan or the villa of the chaplain Jeronimas Matulionis in U. Panemunė], 3ʳᵈ decade of the 20ᵗʰ century (eng. Valiukėnas).* KAA, f. 17, ap. 1., b. 25, l. 91; *Povilo Vaidylos medinio namo projektas A. Panemunėje [The plan of the wooden house of Povilas Vaidyla in U. Panemunė], 1925.* KAA, f. 17, ap. 1, b. 26, l. 212; *Pil. J. Zalcbergo pastatymui medinės vilos A. Pamenunėj planas [The plan of the wooden villa of J. Zalcbergas], 1930. (arch. S. Rezeris).* KAA, f. 17, ap. 1, b. 26, l. 297 and etc.

18   Kauno vasarvietėse [In the resorts of Kaunas]. *XX amžius.* June 22, 1939, p. 3.

19   Kauno Palanga [(Palanga of Kaunas]. *Lietuvos aidas.* April 25, 1933, p. 6.

20   Kodėl keičiamas kurortų įstatymas. Kodėl nuosavybei įsigyti kurorte norima įvesti leidimų sistemą [Why the Law of Resorts is being changed. Where from comes the idea to introduce permission system in order to purchase a land in the resort]. *Lietuvos aidas.* January 2, 1939, p. 6.

21   *P. J. Ambrazevičiaus medinio vasarnamio pastatymui Lampėdžiuose projektas [The plan of the wooden summer house of P. J. Ambrazevičius in Lampėdžiai], 1933. (techn. Mykolas Želvys).* KAA, f. 17, ap. 1, b. 80, l. 2; *B. Fleišmano vasarnamio projektas Lampėdžių kurorte [The plan of the summer house of B. Fleišmanas in Lampėdžiai resort],*

1932. (eng. S. Mako ir A. Netykso). KAA, f. 17, ap. 1, b. 80, l. 50; Pil. J. ir B. L. Kacų medinio vasarnamio pastatymui Kulautuvoje projektas [The plan of the summer house of J. and B. L. Kacai in Kulautuva], 1936. (techn. Ignas Gastila). KAA, f. 17, ap. 1, b. 75, l. 69; Pil. A. Kadišo medinio vasarnamio pastatymui Kulautuvoje braižinys [Drawing of the wooden summer house of A. Kadišas in Kulautuva], 1933. (eng. L. Soloveičikas). LCVA, f. 1622, ap. 4, b. 333, l. 12; Pil. M. Bruveloitės medinio vasarnamio pastatymui Kulautuvoje braižinys [The drawing of the wooden summer house of M. Bruvelovaitė in Kulautuva], 1934. (techn. Ignas Gastila). LCVA, f. 1622, ap. 4, b. 448, l. 12; Kapitono V. Demidavičiaus medinės vasarinės statomos Kačerginėje projektas [The plan of the wooden summer villa of captain V. Demidavičius in Kačerginė], 1939. (arch. Viktoras Malejinas). KAA, f. 17, ap. 1, b. 99, l. 8 etc.

22 *Kauno miesto ligonių kasos mūrinės sanatorijos Kačerginėje projektas [The plan of the masonry sanatorium of the Kaunas city National Health insurance Fund in Kačerginė]. LCVA, f. 1622, ap. 4, b. 736, l. 11.*

23 *Gerberienės Rozos Kulautuvoje tynės pastatymui projektas [The plan of the summer house of Roza Gerberienė in Kulautuva], 1928. KAA, f. 17, ap. 1, b. 74, l. 200.*

24 *B. Fleišmano vasarnamio projektas Lampėdžių kurorte [The plan of the summer house of B. Fleišmanas in Lampėdžiai resort], 1932. (eng. S. Mako ir A. Netykso). KAA, f. 17, ap. 1, b. 80, l. 50.*

25 *Vaikų vasaros kolonija Lampėdžių kurorte [Children's summer colony in Lampėdžiai resort], 1934. KAA, f. 17, ap. 1, b. 81.*

26 *Restoranto brėžinys Kačerginėje [The drawing of the restaurant in Kačerginė], 1934. LCVA, f. 1622, ap. 4, b. 446; G. Barenblato kiosko projektas Kulautuvoje [The plan of the kiosk of G. Barenblatas in Kulautuva], 1933. (arch. A. Šusteris). KAA, f. 17, ap. 1, b. 74; Jokūbo Jermalovskio kioskų projektai Kačerginėje [Plans of the kiosks of Jokūbas Jermalovskis in Kačerginė], 1936. KAA, f. 17, ap. 1, b. 75 etc.*

27 Vabalas, A. Lietuvos vasarvietės [Resorts of Lithuania]. *Lietuvos aidas*. February 19, 1938, p. 8.

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UPĖS KAIP MODERNIZACIJOS PROCESO DALIS TARPUKARIO KAUNE

Santrauka

Poilsis, laisvalaikis ir pramogos nuo seno laikomi svarbiais Europos urbanistinės kultūros elementais. Gamtos ir miesto sandūros vietos pasižymi ypatingu komfortu, todėl nenuostabu, kad miesto parkai, ar juo labiau – paplūdimiai, yra geidžiama miesto įvaizdžio dalis. Ne išimtis ir Kaunas, kurio upės krantinių atgaivinimo iniciatyvos pastaruoju metu atsiduria ne tik urbanistinio aktyvizmo, bet ir istorikų dėmesio centre. Kitas ne mažiau svarbus aspektas, aktualizuojantis šią temą, – tarpukario laikotarpis, kai mieste ir jo regione formavosi modernios laisvalaikio kultūros tradicijos. Straipsnyje pateikiamas glaustas tyrimo apibendrinimas apie visame tarpukario Kauno regione prie upės susiformavusį „kurortų tinklą" ir klestėjusią poilsio kultūrą. Taip pat aptariami su ja susiję architektūriniai „miestietiškėjimo" ženklai: kurortiniam laisvalaikiui, gydymui (reabilitacijai) ir gyvenimui pritaikyti ar naujai pastatyti vasarnamiai, vilos, kurhauzai, restoranai, sanatorijos, gydyklos, prekybinės paskirties objektai, viešoji infrastruktūra.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: upės, modernizacija, Kaunas, Lietuvos tarpukario kurortų architektūra

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CONFLICTS OF THE HERITAGE: MAPPING VALUES OF IMMOVABLE CULTURAL HERITAGE IN KAUNAS DOWNTOWN AREA

Summary. The article focuses on the process of defining the value of the immovable heritage of Kaunas downtown (*Naujamiestis*) area. This urban landscape is protected by the national law of Lithuania. However, the official value of the site also includes 45 buildings marked with European heritage label (EHL). Besides, there are aspirations to inscript modern architecture of Kaunas on the UNESCO World heritage list. The main objective of the article is to discuss how these official layers of values correspond with expectations of the heritage community. Academic and doctrinal texts on cultural heritage widely acknowledged the importance of the community in the process of value definition. This aspect is especially important when speaking about the heritage of the 20th century. Majority of these buildings that were announced as a cultural heritage directly affect daily activities of the heritage community. After comparing some instruments official institutions and heritage community use for the value definition, it can be declared that in such complex territories as Kaunas downtown, all actions on the value definition have to be based on research. One of the tasks of such research should be a comprehensive map of values combining expectations of official institutions and the heritage community.

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Keywords: Kaunas downtown area, dissonant heritage, conflicts of the heritage, values.

INTRODUCTION

Heritage protection is one of the most controversial aspects of the contemporary cultural life. Official preserving practices, which are based on the humanitarian values (historical, artistic, memorial and etc.), have a significant impact on everyday urban development and cause a wide range of dissonances between the political, economic, cultural and other objectives of various social groups. These gaps of expectations between different heritage communities[1] and the official heritage policy are traditionally denoted as a dissonant nature of the heritage. The concept of *dissonant heritage* has been popularized in 1990s by John Tunbridge and Gregory Ashworth as they stated that heritage is "a product of the present, purposefully developed in response to current needs or demands for it, and shaped by those requirements."[2]

Selective use of the past for the different purposes determines the relativity of the inheritance process and creates a platform for the different interpretations that could potentially conflict with each other. As a consequence, the recognition of the heritage values during recent decades has undergone shifts in the content: "from elite to vernacular, from distant to recent past, from tangible to intangible heritage."[3] One of the most important consequences of such constantly broadening understanding of value is "the abundance of heritage in our late modern world."[4] This aspect is especially important when we speak about the heritage of the 20th century. An overwhelming number of these buildings affect many aspects of daily life. Therefore, the fundamental questions – "Who decides what the heritage is?" and "Why and for whom is the heritage created?"[5] – become very important when discussing the inheritance of more recent architectural legacy.

On the political level, the acknowledgement of the 20th-century-Europe "serves as a constant reminder" of the common European identity back in 1989.[6] After two decades, professionals much less doubt "obligation to conserve the heritage of the twentieth century is as important as our duty to conserve the significant heritage of previous eras."[7] However, since the beginning of the process, aspirations to save most prominent architectural examples of the 20th century are not supported enough by the society: "average citizen … develops an individual and often rejecting opinion regarding modern architecture with which he confronted daily."[8] For example, until now, such architectural style of the 20th century as brutalism in a popular discourse is "most likely to be described as 'ugly', 'unloved', or even 'hated'."[9] Case of the Sports palace in Vilnius, value of which is highly debated, apparently approves this tendency. Therefore, one of the most evident conflicts in the protection processes of the contemporary cultural heritage is the lack of social agreement on values. This leads to the "conflict-ridden relationship between cultural meanings and the places and landscapes that embody, reflect and shape those meanings."[1] More often though, in today's discourse of heritage, the keywords "heritage" and "conflict" find themselves side by side when speaking about the heritage after conflicts,[1] legacies of occupations or regimes,[1] heritage as tool to express political conflict[13] and many other situations where interpretation of the monuments is problematic. Various forms of difficult legacy became an important topic in Lithuanian discourse as well. Although the process of rethinking different traumatic pasts in Lithuanian context is essential, this article aims to disclose conflicts in definition of the value in such cases where objects do not have clearly expressed dissonant past: for example, architectural legacy of the interwar period in Kaunas. Article suggests that in order to indicate bottlenecks of the protection of the contemporary cultural heritage, discussing different interpretations on values is necessity even when places are not controversial for their political connotations.

Therefore, the scope of the article is the conflicts of the heritage, not the heritage of conflicts. The study tackles most problematic and conflict issues of setting the value using an example of downtown (*Naujamiestis*) urban area in Kaunas, where the heritage of the 19th-20th centuries dominates over the traditional monuments. The conflicts revealed in the research suggest the idea that complex territories including different cultural heritage sites need a different methodology of the value definition if to compare with single monuments. One of the main principles of this methodology is the diversification of values.

OFFICIAL DEFINITIONS OF VALUES OF THE IMMOVABLE HERITAGE IN KAUNAS DOWNTOWN AREA

In the urban area of downtown in Kaunas, we can indicate three levels of official interpretations on cultural value: Register of Cultural Property of Lithuania (*Kultūros vertybių registras*), European Heritage Label (EHL) and aspirations to be inscripted to the UNESCO World Heritage list. Looking from the everyday perspective, the most important document on the value is the official Register where all values of immovable cultural heritage are indicated. Each inscription in the Register, according to the principles of Lithuanian legislation, requires the Act of Valuable Features (*Vertingųjų savybių nustatymo aktas*) where all valuable elements of the site are indicated. In 2013, Cultural Heritage Assessment Board of Kaunas recognized this historical part of Kaunas as a site (in terms of the contemporary heritage discourse, it is an example of the Historic Urban Landscape) valuable for architectural, urban, historical, engineering, and landscape reasons.[1]

As it is seen from the graphical representation of the urban area of downtown in Kaunas, it is a territory with dense concentration of cultural heritage objects. Almost all of the valuable buildings in this territory can be categorized as recent heritage: 41,6% of the buildings date the interwar period (Fig. 1), 20,8% were built before the WWI, and 37,6% –after the WWII.[1] Consequently, the list of immovable cultural heritage includes not only traditional monuments, such as Church of the Holy Cross (Carmelitian) or the complex of Vytautas the Great War Museum and M. K. Čiurlionis National
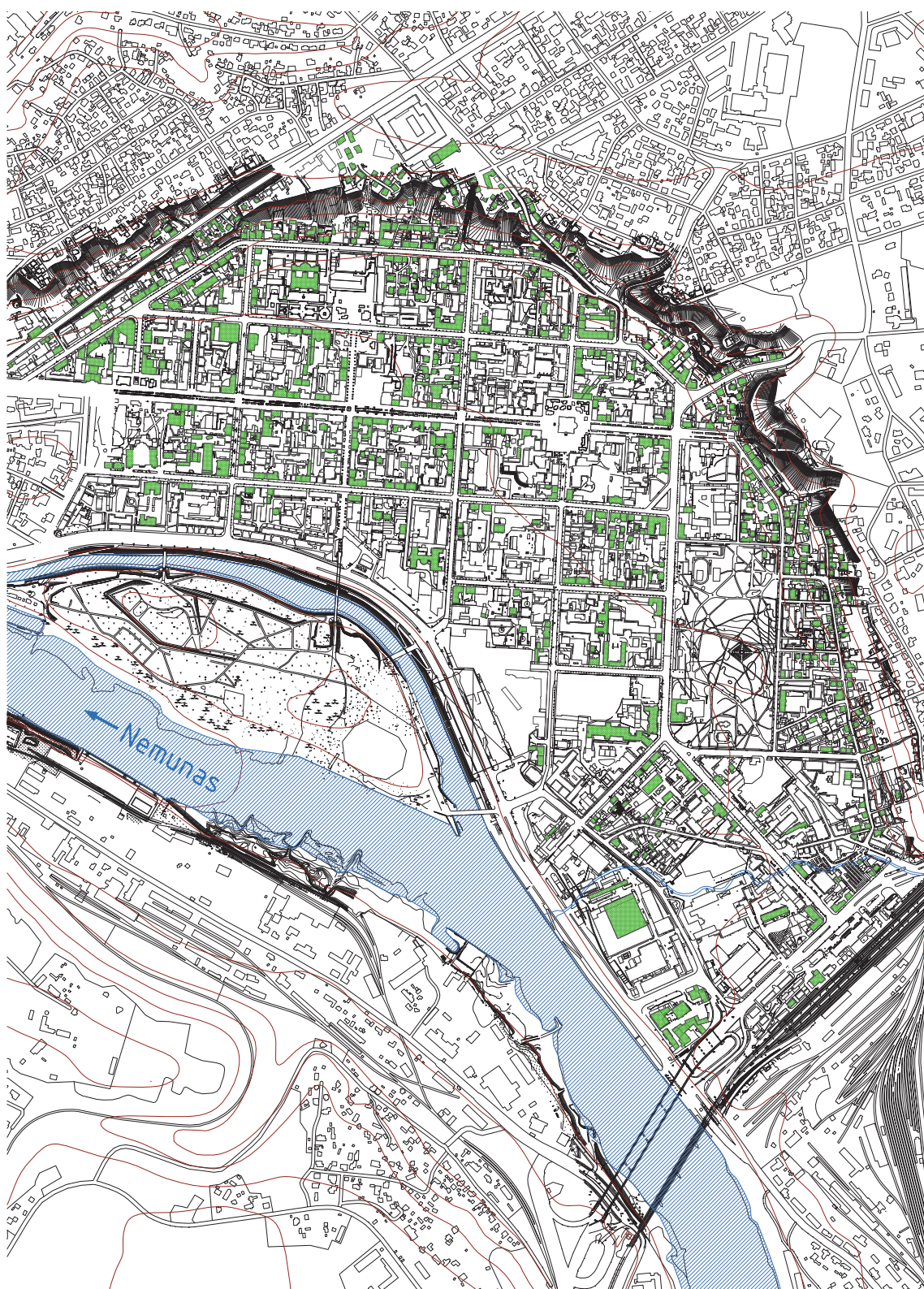
Fig. 1. Green colour indicates buildings from the interwar period in Kaunas downtown area. Map by Giedrius Bugenis. From the archive of Cultural Heritage Department of Kaunas city municipality

Museum of Art (Fig. 2) but also few hundred residential buildings (Fig. 3) and other sites of everyday infrastructure (buildings to serve as school, library, hospital, university, post office and etc.). Naturally the questions about valuing become a major concern not only for professionals but also for the heritage community, and first of all, for the owners of the cultural heritage.

Fig. 2. Cultural heritage as a monument: Vytautas the Great War Museum and M. K. Čiurlionis National Art Museum. Architects Vladimiras Dubeneckis, Karolis Reisonas and Kazimieras Kriščiukaitis, built in 1936. From the personal collection of Antanas Burkus

The Act of Valuable Features indicates particularly valuable physical elements based on the criteria indicated in the official document of description of evaluation and selection of Immovable cultural property.[1] The purpose of the document is to objectivize the procedure of defining the value bringing such criteria as representativeness, importance, rarity or uniqueness of cultural heritage property. However, such methodology of the value definition cannot be comprehensive when considered as a tool for the value definition in an urban area. First of all, the "valuable elements are interpreted only in physical level." The whole set of cultural and mythological connotations are being ignored.[1] One the other hand, numbering the separate buildings as valuable elements of the urban territory does not give an overall strategy on, let's say, how many representative sites of the interwar period are necessary to sustain the "spirit and feeling" or distinctiveness of the place. In other words, does all the housing of the interwar period have to be part of the list, or just a part of them?

Another important document – Special Plan (*Specialusis planas*) – is intended to give a more complex view on values. This document declares the architecture of the interwar period is among the top

Fig. 3. Residential houses listed as objects containing valuable features in Kaunas downtown area. Photo by V. Petrulis

priorities: "the priority is given for preservation of prevailing urban structure and valuable architecture, first of all, from interwar period."[1] Such definition of the value rests on the ideals of the Venice Charter and aims to protect and preserve monuments and sites as unchanged as possible. In the areas where interwar architecture is dominant, "all the authentic buildings of the interwar period should be preserved: their volumes, architectural expression of the façades, materials, authentic elements of interior; because if we change even the smallest detail, all the authentic character of the territory will change."[1] Therefore, the arguments for the value are more the perspective of a thorough identification of all possible valuable elements bringing into the fore such arguments as "territories of biggest concentration" and the method of preserving the authentic state.

Another important layer of value is the European Heritage Label which was awarded for "Kaunas of 1919–1940" on 15 April 2015. The main argument for this decision is that "Kaunas created an urban landscape exuberantly reflecting European interwar modernism and constituting today the outstanding heritage of a flourishing golden period."[2] EHL is an initiative by European Union designed to acknowledge historical and cultural significance of locations and events for the creation of Europe and the European Union. From the political side – or from the point of the heritage diplomacy – this is closely connected to the official position of the former President of the European Commission José Manuel Barroso who has claimed that culture is "the cement that binds Europe together."[2] Thus, the key goal of the label is related to the communication, active creation of the content, and effort to draw focus on the forms of expression of the European identity. Or, if to be critical, to place heritage which is "affective and therefore effective strategy of using power."[2]Unlike the UNESCO World Heritage sites, instead of the tangible authenticity, the label emphasises the ideological importance of certain phenomena and artefacts of Europe and its shaping. However, in case of Kaunas, despite the intangible intentions, the definition of European heritage label is related not only to historical event, such as the Constitution of 3 May 1791, but also with a tangible layer. 45 buildings have been selected to represent architectural legacy of the interwar period (Fig. 4). This is a wide range
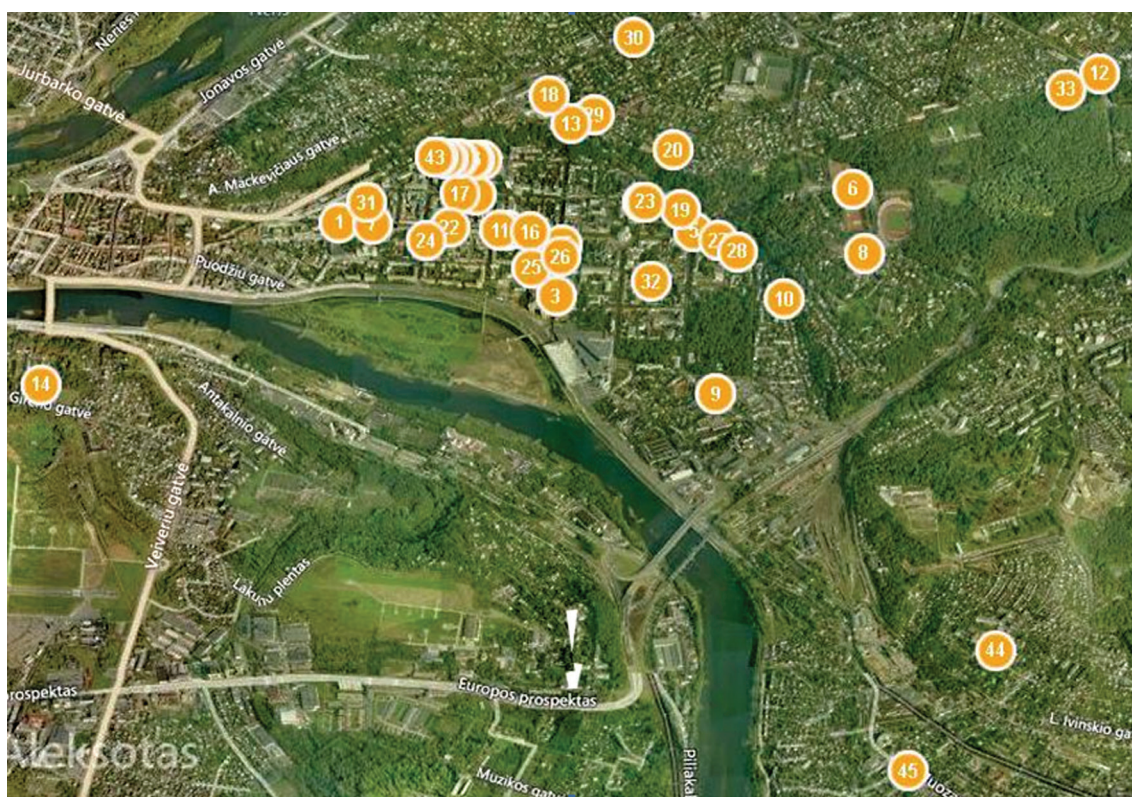

Fig. 4. Map of European Heritage label buildings in Kaunas. From the archive of Cultural Heritage Department of Kaunas city municipality

Fig. 5. Cinema "Romuva" as a European heritage label building. Architect Nikolajus Mačiulskis, built in 1940. Photo by V. Petrulis

Fig. 6. Residential housing as a European heritage label building. Architect Jonas Kriščiukaitis, built in 1932. Photo by V. Petrulis

of public (Fig. 5) and residential (Fig. 6) structures which illustrates all functional aspects of temporary capital as a phenomenon. It is interesting that 5 of 45 buildings listed in EHL are not on the national list of cultural properties yet. Not going into the discussion whether EHL plays a positive role in making an impact on expansion of national heritage list, it is evident that giving exact list of the buildings which carry this meaning of temporary capital implies the idea that these structures have to be protected on a physical level as well. In other words, they have to be a part of national list of immovable properties.

Nevertheless, the discussions can be further developed whether exact choices are the best, but in this article, it is important to indicate the arguments for the value definition. As it was mentioned, the status of EHL does not highlight the aspect of material authenticity. In other words, the intangible meaning of the "temporary capital" as a whole is more important. However, it must be admitted that arguments for selection of 45 buildings out of the very rich layer of the interwar period were not discussed from this perspective. The list rather represents traditional arguments of architectural value and authenticity than intangible aspects of Kaunas temporary capital.

Therefore, the status of EHL, which fosters a lot of positive shifts in the protection of Kaunas heritage, still has to be further discussed from the perspective of values. Not only on split between the tangible and intangible values but also on the importance of narrative in the process of denominating the value.

While analysing international perspectives on values in Kaunas downtown, the process of preparation for nominating Kaunas modernism as the UNESCO World Heritage site should be also mentioned. In 1994, the World Heritage Committee adopted Global Strategy for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention aiming "to broaden the definition of World Heritage to better reflect the full spectrum of our world's cultural and natural treasures."[2] Lithuania being one of the European countries does not share the destiny of underrepresented world. Four sites in Lithuania have been listed already. Therefore, the ambition to develop further seems rather questionable at first glance. However, the lack of the 20th-century buildings can be a chance for Kaunas to be a place which fills the gap of underrepresented heritage from recent times. Especially, if the application of Kaunas will be able to express its own specific definition of value and authenticity.

The initial purpose of this proposal is to highlight the fact that Modern architecture of Kaunas is a unique example of the tangible heritage, driven by the intangible aspirations of a young capital city. In contrast to radical schools of Modernism, Kaunas developed in a consistent and continuous way, gaining a form of aesthetic expression that was close to international Functionalism but still based on its unique local character. In contrast to international definitions, modernism of Kaunas can be characterised by its small scale and disparateness rather than clear functional zones; by the consistent development of the townscape rather than dramatic restructuring; by a local character rather than a clearly recognisable Bauhaus architectural look (Functionalism). As a result, the influences of national traditions, the human scale and close relations with the existing environment gradually formed the local school of Modernism, and made the city one of the earliest examples of regionalism in Modernism.

It should be known that universal langue of UNESCO brings some new aspects to definition of value. First of all the concepts of outstanding universal value, authenticity and integrity becomes an important factor. As it is indicated in operational guidelines the "judgments about value attributed to cultural heritage, as well as the credibility of related information sources, may differ from culture to culture, and even within the same culture"[24]. It is very important to notice that this statement opens a possibility for a different discussion on valuating modern structures even within official language of UNESCO. Nevertheless "Operational Guidelines" warns that "such attributes as spirit and feeling do not lend themselves easily to practical applications"[25] – spirit ant feeling of Kaunas downtown could also became a strategic point for further discussions on value of Kaunas interwar architecture. Therefore again we come to a conclusion that more precise discussions on relation of tangible and intangible values have to be performed.

CONFLICTS IN THE PROCESS OF VALUE DEFINITION

While discussing the official notions on values of immovable heritage, one of the most usual confrontations are the differences between "top-down" and "bottom-up" approaches. This dimension can be explained not only as a traditional conflict of heritage community and the state but also from the perspective of globalization: "the issue of preservation and heritage has called into question restoration practices in terms of what these practices do to maintain certain narratives, primarily those surrounding nation-building practices, economic development and universalizing notions of Euro-American values, as can be understood form within such concepts ad institutions as UNESCO World Heritage sites."[26] Giving up with spiritual practices in Angkor War, in the name of the international tourism industry, is considered as a characteristic example of the process. Globalization in this context means a "conflict over the very meaning of heritage between the local community and the local or national authorities who wished to promote tourism, often at the expense of the former."[27]

The concept of "outstanding universal value" used by UNESCO can also become the target of criticism. Pressure on searching for the universal values promotes the idea about heritage as a universal language which can be legitimized, perceived and discussed regardless of the incredible complexity of the heritage itself and regardless of the diversity of perceivers, i.e. ignoring "differences in socioeconomic status, geographical origin or cultural frame of reference."[2] Recent movements in European Union towards the search of European cultural heritage which "constitute a shared source of remembrance, understanding, identity, dialogue, cohesion and creativity for Europe"[29] might also generate this kind of conflict on value definition. Looking from this perspective, it is evident that the "European idea of cultural heritage and monuments was developed as an instrument in the context of Western nation building, and it does not necessarily work in the same way outside the context in which it was developed."[3] The political task of the nomination is more about "European place-identity to complement, if not replace, national identities."[31] National constructions of the past can obviously differ from European objectives.

Among the most genuine sources of conflicts in the heritage field, the conflict between the state as institution and everyday needs of society can also be

accentuated. As early as in 1931, these issues were tackled in Athens conference recognizing the "difficulty of reconciling public law with the rights of individuals." Although it was recommended "that the public authorities in each country be empowered to take conservatory measures in cases of emergency", the importance of debates was stressed. "They should be in keeping with local circumstances and with the trend of public opinion, so that the least possible opposition may be encountered, due allowance being made for the sacrifices which the owners of property may be called upon to make in the general interest"[32] – it was stated in the Charter of Athens.

Problems of the economic nature seem to be the most important issue where the owners get different approaches compared to the state. This is widely discussed topic in the cultural heritage theory. However, in the context of this paper, it is more important to pay attention to the conflict between the public and private sector as it can also appear on the level of value interpretation. As it was noticed by Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper, "the driving force behind the actions of the *dramatis personae* is the wish to be the sole owner of inherited property and not to share with siblings or others."[3] Such position contradicts the ultimate statement that cultural heritage belongs to the society. Lithuanian law for the protection of an immovable cultural heritage also indicates accessibility as a decisive factor. However, accessibility also means openness for interpretation of value which causes a conflict between the owner's "wish to dominate the interpretation and to determine the meaning of cultural heritage"[34] and official descriptions of the value.

Such a gap between the official and private treatment of value in case of Kaunas appears as one of the major concerns. There are many cases when owners are hostile to any requirements for preservation of the heritage. Although such hostility is also visible in public debates, different approaches to value gain a particular importance at the operational level. Assessment Boards of Immovable Cultural Heritage often receives questions why one or another property has a value and rejects any official explanations if they interfere with practical needs of the owner. The fundamental danger is that owners are intended to reject any value in favour of freedom of their decisions.

However, this article develops a premise that such conflict has to be explained as more complex than just economic pragmatism (mechanisms of financial compensation exist after all). As it was already mentioned, the process of valuing is very relativistic and "different generations and highly diverse social groups repeatedly appropriate heritage to define their own identity."[3] Such dynamism of value attribution suggests that the relation between official and private spheres can be managed.

The purpose of cultural heritage, as it is indicated in Lithuanian law of immovable heritage, is to maintain "cultural value and social importance."[3] Therefore, the main task is community engagement in the process of identifying and, most important, maintaining the values based on sociocultural aspirations. In other words, the aim is to evoke the "desire by local people to gather around a joint project to do some meaningful work together. In this context, the local understanding of cultural heritage becomes a social process rather than a physical object to be preserved."[37] Contemporary theory on integration of values and social needs suggests the concept of culture based development. As it was proposed by Annie Tubadji, culture based development can be described as the "existence of a mechanism through which: the total stock of material and immaterial cultural goods at a locality in a particular point of time has the potential to exercise a significant impact on local socio-economic development."[3] One of the preconditions to foster this process is to ensure a vibrant relation between local cultural milieu and social potential of the place. "In the course of history, places have developed different immaterial and material local culture and unique forms of cultural heritage and living culture."[3] Therefore, the social environment is among the decisive instruments to create distinctive character of the place.

Abrupt changes leave the physical surface of the place without any social rationale to continue this process. Kaunas is a convincing example of such situation. All the social preconditions of interwar period have been changed during the soviet period. Therefore, the main obstacle to achieve a positive effect is not only simple lack of investment. Social and cultural ties of community and its living environment are equally important. According to some

researches, these circumstances even caused "revolutionary changes of the genotype of the investigated area despite the fact that the street network and urban morphotype did not change much."[4]Therefore, the main task is to perform deeper research of possibilities of culture based development taking into account that "predominant living culture and cultural openness are associated with positive effects on local development."[4] Although community involvement is one of the most widely discussed topics in today's heritage protection, in case of Kaunas downtown, there is no thorough, systematic analysis of heritage community involvement in defining values in downtown of Kaunas. At least the documents indicating values (Special plan or Act of valuable features) do not indicate such. Even if the community involvement process is very complicated, the paper suggests that in Kaunas, mapping of those different values and concerns could be the first step in this process.

The starting point in considering granting tactics for the potential heritage could be the concept of the future of heritage protection in Europe proposed by Prof. Maria Gravari-Barbas: "there are two possible scenarios for Europe: to become a theme park (not wanted) or a heritage laboratory (for which global expertise is needed)."[42] By accepting such condition, we could formulate a task to create an individual – maybe even experimental – strategy encompassing the unique features of the Kaunas architecture as well as expectations for a modern city. The tactics of preservation and integration of this heritage into the developing city should be based not on standard procedures of identification of valuable elements and their mechanical transplantation into the conservation system but on a holistic model connected to the development of a specific city aiming to implement heritage as "opportunities for socio-economic development, such as the development of tourism, recreation, leisure and other kinds of cultural activities in the post-industrial city and/or region."[4]

CONCLUSIONS

Research on the urban area of downtown in Kaunas suggests that the dissonant nature of the heritage can be understood not only as ideological conflicts between the different heritage communities or economic conflicts between owner and state. An incompatibility between different official approaches towards value definition can also appear as an important indicator of the dissonant nature of the heritage. For example, Lithuanian National cultural heritage list is based on physical elements while European Heritage Label concerns more about intangible aspects of the place. Such dissonances indicate the necessity to rethink strategies of value definition. For example, official value definition in Lithuanian legislation system, besides the existing criteria of representativeness, importance, rarity and uniqueness, could include additional criteria of *distinctiveness* which would be implemented as a tool to represent such immaterial (intangible) aspects of the heritage site as spirit and feeling.

It is also important to indicate that complex urban territories with dominant layer of an immovable heritage from 19th and 20th centuries bring dissonances in understanding the value of the heritage not only from the perspective of definition (i.e. emphasis on tangible or intangible). It opens up a discussion on different expectations by different stakeholders (state, owners and etc.). Therefore, identification of valuable elements has to demonstrate holistic approach not only aiming to grasp architectural or historic richness of the site but also to correspond with contemporary sociocultural needs.

Notes

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PAVELDO KONFLIKTAI: NEKILNOJAMOJO KULTŪROS PAVELDO VERČIŲ IDENTIFIKAVIMAS KAUNO NAUJAMIESTYJE

Santrauka

Straipsnyje aptariamos Kauno naujamiesčio nekilnojamojo paveldo verčių nustatymo aktualijos. Šiame urbanistiniame kraštovaizdyje susiduria keli oficialiųjų verčių lygmenys. Urbanistinė teritorija ir jos vertingosios savybės yra Lietuvos respublikos nekilnojamojo kultūros paveldo sąrašo dalimi. Tačiau teritorijoje taip pat yra 45 pastatai pažymėti Europos paveldo ženklu. Taip pat esama aspiracijų Kauno moderniąją architektūrą įrašyti į UNESCO Pasaulio paveldo sąrašą. Pagrindinis straipsnio tikslas pristatyti kaip šie oficialieji verčių lygmenys siejasi su vietos paveldo bendruomenės lūkesčiais. Akademiniuose ir doktrininiuose paveldosaugos tekstuose yra plačiai pripažinta, kad optimalus vertės nustatymo procesas turėtų įraukti ir paveldo bendruomenę. Tai tampa ypač svarbu kuomet dėmesio centre atsiduria naujasis, XX a. paveldas. Didelė šių kultūros vertybėmis paskelbtų pastatų dalis yra betarpiškai susijusi su kasdienėmis paveldo bendruomenių veiklomis. Tekste palyginus kai kuriuos paveldo vertės apibrėžimo mechanizmus konstatuojama, kad tokiose kompleksinėse vietovėse kaip Kauno Naujamiestis bet kokie verčių nustatymo procesai turi remtis tyrimais. Sudėtinė tokių tyrimų dalis turi būti išsamus verčių žemėlapis apjungiantis oficialiuosius ir paveldo bendruomenių lūkesčius.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: Kauno naujamiestis, disonuojantis paveldas, paveldo konfliktai, vertės

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FACETS OF PROTO MODERN PHOTOGRAPHY: HISTORY OF AVANT-GARDE IN RUSSIA, EUROPE AND CENTRAL ASIA

Summary. The wide array of artistic and technological innovations in early modern photography at the beginning of the twentieth century combined historical mediums and approaches with new media and technologies in the mainstream of modern art. A diverse generation of multidisciplinary artists began to combine photographic practices with other art disciplines and skills, setting the stage to the new century for contemporary art practices around the world at the end of the past century.

As the dawn of the modern era emerged across the United States, Europe and Asia in the early twentieth century, the Russian and European Avant-garde established a broad range of individual forms and styles. The first decades witnessed innovations by artists, photographers, filmmakers, painters, architects, musicians, writers, and poets seeking new directions. Modernists moved beyond tradition in expressing increasing changes found throughout everyday life. Artists combined photography, its scientific process and craft with emerging technologies and media to create modern subjects, approaches, and styles with unprecedented vision.

While the early modern history of photography globally remains to be written, a wide range of artists established a much broader scope of contributions to Russia than Western or Eastern counterparts. From Moscow to Eastern Europe and Central Asia, the Russian Avant-garde created prototypes of modern photography in multiple forms and through a variety of means that spread internationally. Over the lifetimes of artists and their oeuvres, modern styles and approaches were invented with independent vision. Photographers worked with a wide variety of materials and means of media printed on paper photomechanically using ink and related cinematic as well as other emerging technologies. Photographs were made, remade and reprinted, used and reused, with an array of diverse and meaningful perspectives. Proto modern photographers broke from conventional models and traditional genre by creating their own subjects with those experienced in the everyday world.

The history of proto modern photography in Russia resides more in enduring ideas than the initial prints crafted in conventional darkroom practices. The darkroom often became a means to other ends. Artists worked beyond the limitations of the medium into experimental paths. Innovations from the studio and printing press with ink on paper moved from the historical limitations of photography as a medium to repetitive processes intrinsic to the medium.

The twenty-first century offers unlimited opportunities for study in the modern art history of photography. Research not only lays a critical foundation for better understanding the contributions in the former USSR but the global evolution of modern and postmodern art. The true and extraordinary complexities in the early history modern photography formed by the Avant-garde through a wide array of styles and methods help inform transdisciplinary approaches today offering knowledge and understanding in a new world of seemingly unlimited artistic potentials.

Keywords: proto modern photography, modern history of photography, avant-garde, early modern era, technologies, photolithography, photomechanical, modern printing press, innovations, modern form and color, abstraction, mixed genre, multidisciplinary, photographic arts.

For more than two decades in the early twentieth century, the Russian Avant-garde developed a wide diversity of forms of modern photographic expression in depth and breadth. Individual contributions expanded new vision with the application of emerging technologies and multimedia. Inventions such as the small hand-held 35mm camera to faster papers and darkroom equipment moved forward with related cinematic advances. The emergence of the modern printing press and mass-printing

processes such as photomechanical and photolithographic prints applying ink on paper offered further potentials outside the darkroom. The Russian Avant-garde established a newfound freedom of expression with photographic contributions of global significance beyond borders and cultural isolation.

While exhibitions, catalogs and avant-garde publications were produced along with official political and social themes during the era, today research concerning the contributions of early modern photography in Russia is a rich field of study in art history. Innovations throughout the first half of the century remain to be fully researched and comparatively analyzed for future histories supported by contemporary scholarly publications and exhibitions. Government archives, museum collections, and centers of photography are more accessible to the public. Scholars, historians, teachers, and students in art history are increasing with demands for more sources for study and permanent curricula. Curators are encouraged to develop exhibition concepts from individual research and collaborations.[1] Courses in modern art history at universities, photography academies, schools, and contemporary master workshops continue to be developed for the first time.

A more comprehensive modern art history of photography remains at formative stages in universities and schools. Master classes, symposia, lectures, and exhibitions continually dedicate more time and resources with growing popularity across the country. Global historical perspectives and educational forums provide scholarly exchanges with original research and knowledge. Contemporary writings especially found in quality photography catalogs, journals and various Internet sources are establishing an essential foundation as comparative analysis is critical for future publications of scientific rather than ideological art histories.

Lecturing and researching on early modern photography in the USSR and its emerging democracies of Russia, Ukraine, Lithuania, Latvia and Belarus as a Fulbright Scholar in 1991, led to curating, writing and further lecturing for subsequent exhibitions and journals. The wide diversity of early forms of modern photography came from many practices by artists internationally during the first decades of the twentieth century in the mainstream of modern art. Subsequent conversations with preeminent photography historian Beaumont Newhall led to one of the first exhibitions raising the question "where did modern photography begin?" Encouraging further research about a new chapter of history with his term "proto modern" photography, Beaumont asked me to research, curate, and write the essay for *Proto Modern Photography* in 1992. The exhibition traveled from the Museum of New Mexico in Santa Fe to the International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House in New York. A wide array of loans from major private and institutional collections including Thomas Walther, Houk Friedman Gallery, Howard Greenberg, Joy Weber, San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, J. Paul Getty Museum, New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art and George Eastman House, University of New Mexico, Princeton University, Houston Museum of Fine Arts, Center for Creative Photography, and others were included. Today, further contributions, such as the Walther Collection – now part of the collection at The Museum of Modern Art in New York, continue to add further to the history of modern photography.[2]

The twenty-first century offers unlimited opportunities for study in the art history of photography internationally. Research in the early modern history of art lays the essential foundation for better understanding of contributions from the former USSR. The true and extraordinary complexities of modern photography formed by the Avant-garde in a wide array of photographic forms are diverse from the darkroom to studio and printing press. In numerous ways, the Russian Avant-garde set the stage for multiplicity found in contemporary photographic arts around the world today, including the historic return of digital art forms to ink on paper outside the darkroom. Experiments by the Avant-garde in the use of photography with the modern printing press and approaches to multimedia set precedents

for contemporary art in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Advances in digital technologies return to ink on paper, video and other emerging tools virtually eliminating photographs made in the chemical darkroom historically.

PROTO MODERN PHOTOGRAPHY

As the dawn of the modern era emerged across the United States, Europe and Asia in the early twentieth century, the Russian and European Avant-garde established a broad range of individual forms and styles in modern photography. The first decades witnessed innovative art forms by painters, architects, musicians, writers, and poets seeking new directions around the world. Modernists moved beyond tradition in expressing increasing changes found throughout everyday life. Artists combined photography, its scientific process and craft with emerging technologies and media to create modern subjects, approaches, and styles with unprecedented vision.

The wide diversity of early forms of modern photography shifted beyond the limitations of literal description or factual rendering made by the camera. Artistic intention defined modern photographic expression for the first time in countless forms. What was selected as subjects made with the camera became as important as the ideas of artists influencing the final form of expression. The shift from conventional genre and approaches into modern style and meaning were historic. Unique subjects were created with inventive purpose. Innumerable photographic forms from the darkroom to the studio and printing press expressed change in design from modern life.

The modern history of photography in Russia remains to be written. A wide range of artists established a much broader scope of approaches than Western or Eastern counterparts. From Moscow to Eastern Europe and Central Asia, the Russian Avant-garde created prototypes of modern photography in multiple forms and a variety of means that spread throughout Europe.

The complexity of innovations went far beyond the first prints made inside the chemical darkroom. Over the lifetimes of artists and their oeuvre, modern styles and approaches were invented with independent vision. Photographers worked through a wide variety of materials and means of media printed on paper photomechanically using ink and related cinematic as well as other emerging technologies. Photographs were made, remade and reprinted, used and reused, with an array of new meaningful perspectives.

Proto modern photographers broke from conventional models and traditional genre by creating their own subjects from those discovered in the everyday world innovating a wide assortment of themes with such inventions of modern photomontage,[3] avant-garde publications, photographs and photolithographic prints on larger-than-life sizes, and even fabricated photographs to be photographed inside the studio. Artists appropriated, borrowed and used photographs by others. There was no limit to any single theme, style or method. Applications of photography combined original perspectives to reach the masses in multiple forms. The meaning of the *original* was often created and redefined in large numbers. Expanded to include a wide variety of printing techniques. Often originals from the same negative were made and remade with different directions in practice.

The history of proto modern photography in Russia resides more in enduring ideas than initial prints crafted from conventional darkroom practices. The darkroom often became a means to other ends. Artists worked beyond the limitations of the medium into experimental paths. Innovations from the studio and printing press applying ink on paper moved from limitations in photography to the repetitive process intrinsic to the medium.

In contrast, photographers Paul Strand and his friend Alfred Stieglitz, who edited and produced the modern art and photography journal *Camera Work* in New York, defined their own style of modern photography in the final issue of 1917. "Photography," they wrote, "finds its *raison d'être*, like all

media, in a complete uniqueness of means … The full potential power of every medium is dependent upon the purity of its use."[4] The *purity* and *uniqueness of means* of the medium also became key pillars to such autonomous aesthetics in early modern photography as the new century unfolded.

In Russia, such approaches became one of many alternatives. While pure forms of modern photography were being established by artistic intent, they stood alongside innovative alternatives with many other modern art forms, media and styles in photographic expression. The wide range of approaches found throughout early modern photography in Russia include but are not limited to what Strand and Stieglitz emphasized in their individual style of work. Terms of *purity* and *uniqueness of means* inside the limitations of the medium were one of many explanations in the wider array of global innovations invented in proto modern forms of photography.

A great part of the history of the Russian Avant-garde began in the provinces and bordering countries. As artists began to move in the historic transition to larger metropolitan centers, many trained in art schools, and in some cases, worked in photography studios as well as in early modern cinema developing skills from a variety of traditional art mediums with modern technologies, media and newfound resources, expanding the definition of traditional photography collectively by intent through modern approaches, exhibitions and the printed page.

Key figures and collaborators such as Aleksandr Rodchenko and Varvara Stepanova received their education and practice in the Art School east in Kazan before the end of World War I when they moved to Moscow. Teacher and painter Nikolai Fechin encouraged their experiments and discovery with a variety of hand-made mediums (Fig. 1). Fechin's mastery of the human figure with expressive use of color provided a model of classic discipline with exploration into new paths of modern expression.[5]

Rodchenko and Stepanova experimented with the mixture of traditional mediums including collage and influences from Asia. However, they did not begin to combine photographs and develop modern, and consequently use the camera and darkroom until working in Moscow. The growing

Fig. 1. Kazan Art School recently reopened after serving as an aircraft factory during Soviet era, postcard photograph, c.1912; and Kodacolor photograph, 2007. School exhibition in 1912 and Nicolai Fechin painting class, Kazan Art School, c.1910

metropolitan city provided new opportunities with greater demands for modern potentials including co-establishing the modern Constructivist movement with other artists.

Early modernists in Russia began to transform and mix traditional genre such as portraiture, landscape and still life with other approaches through a wide array of materials. Proto modern forms of photography evolved independently in the currents of progressive art movements such as Constructivism and Suprematism as well as outgrowths of Futurism and Cubism. Attention to iconographic traditions rooted in Byzantine culture and applications of Asian aesthetics further expanded modernist practice[6] embracing new facets of style and content in form, color, abstraction and language, which added to the growing complexity of modernism.

Photographers expanded subjects into broader themes including urbanscapes and topography. Inventive nontraditional viewpoints, often aided by the increasing mobility and cinematic-based innovations of technology, such as smaller cinematic and 35mm still cameras, greatly supported the transformation into modernism.[7] The wide range of experimental practices provides a multidirectional overview established in early modern art with photography in Russia.

Proto modern photography of the Russian Avant-garde falls within several collective areas of artistic practice. The activities are directly interrelated. They provide a shared view about the diversity of modern photographic forms of expression through a wide range of styles and approaches. Thematic areas include: *modern photographic exhibitions, installations, cinema and theatre; modern color; abstraction and modern language; modern form; modern figure; and modern landscape.*

MODERN PHOTOGRAPHIC EXHIBITIONS, INSTALLATIONS, CINEMA AND THEATRE

Architectural-scale installations and the use of larger-than-life photographs, especially in exhibitions and staged outdoor productions, were one of the unique and little known contributions of the

Russian Avant-garde in public spaces. Exhibitions were expanded into installations with large-scale photographs from exposition halls to cinema and theatre. The Russian modernists began to apply photography to architectural spaces in unprecedented ways in design and function.

Artists used photography and modern to create architectural-scale works and oversized presentations in two and three-dimensional forms with technology from the early 1920s to 1930s. Such work was interrelated with sculpture, architecture and painting. Photography created for open public display offered multidimensional purposes that established precedents in scale and subjects that moved outside the limitations of conventional darkroom methods.

Modern exhibitions and installations as well as cinema integrated oversized photographic elements including modern photomontages and filmmaking montages from the darkroom in large displays, sets, and exhibition designs in two and three dimensions. Photographic subjects staged in the studio, fabricated to be photographed, were combined with other hand-made media. Architectural sites and outdoor displays became commonplace in the 1920s. Limitations of the medium were advanced as photography became a common universal language for the masses serving artistic, educational, promotional and political purposes throughout Russia and Europe (Fig. 2).

Fig. 2. Untitled, Moscow, Revolution Square, Stalin and Voroshilov with army parade on the building in the Red Square, c.1935-1936, gelatin silver photograph (HB211), Collection in the State Museum of V.V. Mayakovsky, Moscow, Russia
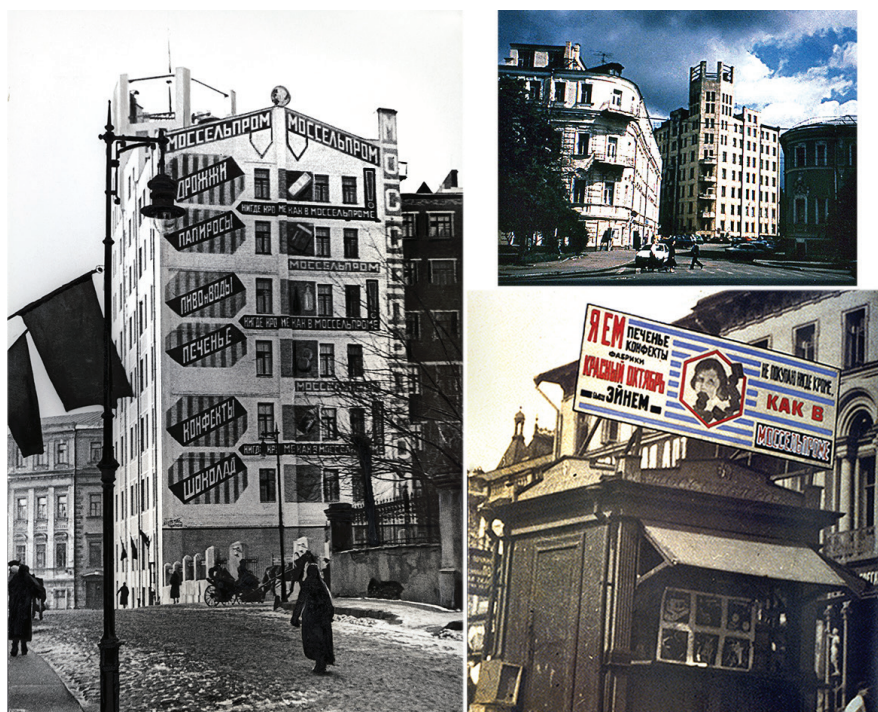
Fig. 3. Aleksandr Rodchenko and Varvara Stepanova, Untitled [Mosselprom Building with typographical design], gelatin silver photograph, 1925; and advertisement "Einem biscuits" on the top of kiosk, Moscow, painted modern photomontage, 1923-1924, Collection of the State Museum of V.V. Mayakovsky, Moscow, Russia. Mosselprom Building, Moscow, Kodacolor photograph, 2006

Aleksandr Rodchenko and Varvara Stepanova, in collaboration with the modern poet Vladimir Mayakovsky, created extensive works with photography, film, language and other mediums from the printed page to large scale applications outside buildings in Moscow exploring ideas from the studio into the everyday world, and applying modern forms of photography and print typography including modern photomontage into various three-dimensional contexts (Fig.s 3).

El Lissitzky combined cinema, photography and modern photomontage with inventive three-dimensional forms and spaces throughout exhibition designs in central Europe. From museums to exposition
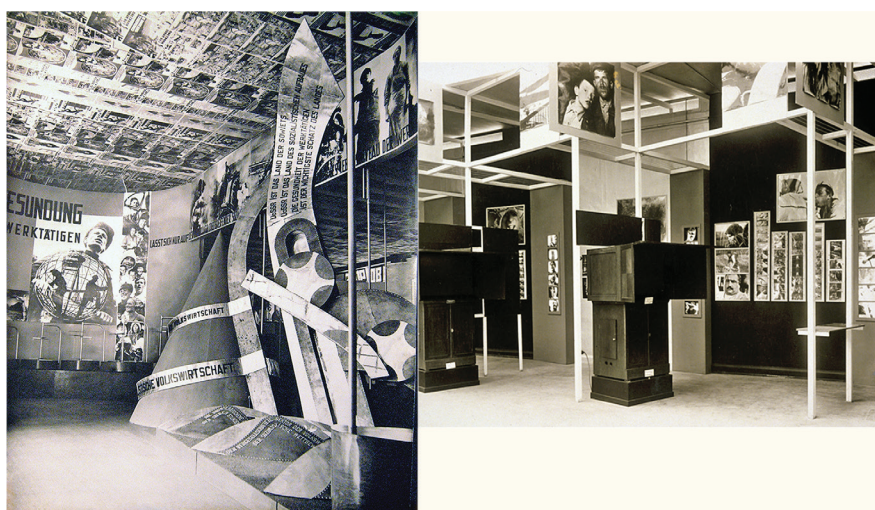
Fig. 4. El Lissitzky, "Pressa" [International Press Exhibition, photomontage room installation], Cologne, 1928, Collection of the State Museum of V.V. Mayakovsky, Moscow. El Lissitzky, Russian Film Room with cinematic viewers and modern photomontage installation, Film and Photo Exhibition, Stuttgart, gelatin silver photograph, 1929

halls, his innovations helped set new standards for productions and staging that included unprecedented forms and scale with modern photography (Fig. 4). Filmmakers such as Dziga Vertov and Sergei Eisenstein devised related cinematic techniques in montage to staged sets to show further interactions with the machinery of modern life. Their collaborations with film crews and experiments combined modern film and photography which created hybrids of both mediums in a variety of forms (Fig. 5-6). Modern cinema and theatre helped set precedents for contemporary installation works, modern photographic practices and video technologies in the late 20th century.

The young generation of proto modernists such as Rodchenko, Stepanova and Gustavs Klucis from Latvia, and other students from the faculty in the newly formed state school of Vkhutemas (acronym for Vysshiye Khudozhestvenno-Tekhnicheskiye Masterskiye, Higher Art and Technical Studios) in Moscow experimented with various photographic forms in exhibitions. Klucis further developed architectural installations with modern photography in unprecedented, large-scale multidimensional applications for public spaces (Fig. 7-8).[8]

Fig. 5. Dziga Vertov, "Man with a Movie Camera" [detail from cinematic montage], 1929

Fig. 6. Sergei Eisenstein, "Battleship Potemkin", modern film [soldiers advancing down steps, detail from cinematic montage sequence, Odessa Port on the Black Sea, Ukraine, Black Sea]; and untitled [cinema set on Odessa steps with cameramen Tisse and Alexandrov], photograph, 1925

Fig. 7. Vkhutemas Faculty and students' exhibition on discipline and courses of color, space and architecture (HB225), c.1923-1926. Collection of the State Museum of V.V. Mayakovsky, Moscow, Russia
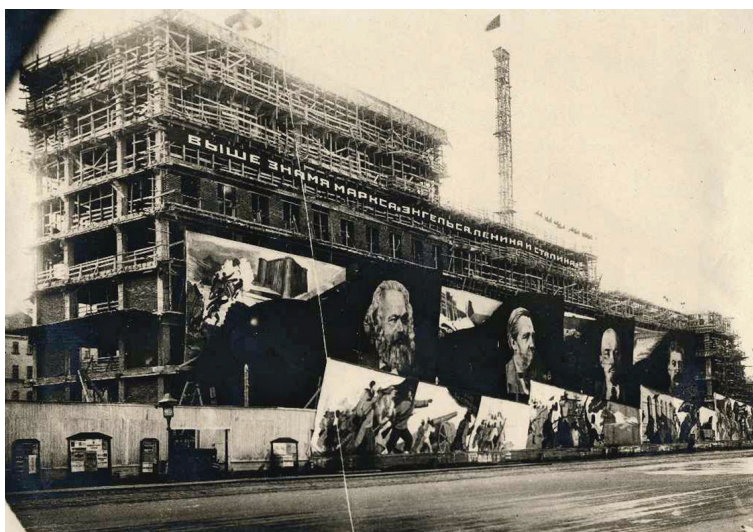
Fig. 8. Gustavs Klucis, from the Red Album catalog of the artist's work with photographs. Page 17, photomontage panel on the façade of the Mossovet Hotel for May Day, 1933. Collection of Latvian National Museum of Art, Riga, Latvia

MODERN COLOR

With the advent of modern industrial printing presses and ink on paper processes, and virtually unlimited regenerations of photography on the printed page, came further extraordinary artistic possibilities. Photographic multiples created applying ink on paper rather than limited chemical prints made in the darkroom developed prolific potentials for modern photography. The intrinsic character of repetition found in the historic photographic process was multiplied by technologies in press media. The printed page advanced many groundbreaking innovations by the Russian Avant-garde into emerging technologies of mass media through progressive journals, including color lithography and letterpress, larger-than-life printed posters and other forms of photomechanical printing.

Print technologies provided new alternatives in color. The Russian Avant-garde, many schooled in painting, drawing and printmaking explored the far-reaching potentials of color with photography beyond the black and white chemical darkroom. Photographs provided a literal model of reality with observable references to the visual world. Modern color added in the studio as well as through the printing press applying ink on paper became an art in its own right with innumerable expressive possibilities.

Fig. 9. Gustavs Klucis, "Attack. Latvian Riflemen" ("Attack. A Strike at the Counter-revolution"), first modern photomontage with pencil and charcoal on paper, spring 1918. Gustavs Klucis, Red Album, page 1 of early Cubo-Futurist drawings and prints, 1918-1919. Gustavs Klucis, "Socialist Reconstruction", Design for the photolithographic poster, modern photomontage with Indian ink, gouaches, collage and varnish on paper, 1927. Collection of Latvian National Museum of Art, Riga, Latvia. Valentina Kulagina and Gustavs Klucis, untitled [Klucis and Kulagina in their studio], gelatin silver photograph, c.1926, Collection of the State Museum of V.V. Mayakovsky

Photographers who received training in painting or related disciplines in the arts contributed with others producing color by other means. Through individual innovations, artists created new facets before color film and chemical processes were available decades later. Color coexisted with various degrees of independence within the structure of photography's lens-based depictions of the visual world.

Artists went further than the rendering or vivifying reality with varied applications of color. From oil paint to watercolor and gouache in the studio to color pigmented inks from the printing press, color became a self-sufficient quality of expression in its own right. Independent applications of color provided new and often abstract dimensions to modern photography in a wide array of inventive forms.

Collaborations by artists, writers and poets, from Aleksandr Rodchenko and Varvara Stepanova to Gustav Klucis and Valentina Kulagina, Vladimir Mayakovsky, Osip and Lily Brik, and others, added new sensibilities in combinations of color with modern photography and modern photomontage.

Color was self-referencing aesthetic element with semi-autonomy. The idea that color coexisted with various photographic forms and variety of media was a challenging proposition directly associated with historical icon painting as well as the advent of abstract art.

Collaborative modernists and Vkhutemas teachers in modern color Gustavs Klucis and Valentina Kulagina created one of the largest oeuvres in color applying ink on paper using photolithography and photomechanical technologies in the modern printing press, especially combining various mediums and art disciplines into variations of modern photomontage. As the first inventor of modern photomontage, Klucis applied various methods with found and self-made photographs, cutting and pasting, drawing and adding color including various painting methods, and inks in printing processes. The artist merged color with photography, language, drawing, and design as well as painterly abstract forms from his early Cubist-Futurist works (Fig. 9).[9] Modern photomontage became an unprecedented fine art form in its own right subsequently with

Fig. 10. Elena Semionova, "Aviation Mainstay of Peaceful Labor", modern photomontage with photolithographic poster, 1926, Collection of the State Museum of V. V. Mayakovsky, , Moscow, Russia

other inventors such as the Dadaists and Surrealists. Found photographs cut and pasted alongside individual photographs, often set up and made in the studio, amplified themes and subjects with expressive constructions of color and form.

Pioneering modernists developed a myriad of ways in how to add color by integrating it with black and white photography. The Avant-garde established historical precedents combining the unrealized potentials of color with various forms of printed photography, especially printing methods applying ink on paper in photomechanical produced journals and posters which helped lay the groundwork for digital photographic technologies in the next century (Fig. 10).

ABSTRACTION AND MODERN LANGUAGE

From the independent and non-referential applications of color to the language of geometric forms in modern art, the Russian Avant-garde pursued other forms of visual vocabulary without the perceived limitations of the chemically based photographic medium. Artists helped introduce elements of abstraction into the realistic lexicon of black and white photography, especially from advances in modern painting, drawing, sculpture, and

architecture. Photographs also became an added means to help transform the emergence of modern written and visual language. A mixture of disciplines merged abstraction and modern language with photography, art and design.

The proto modern photographer in Russia contributed more than what painting or sculpture alone provided with the visual lexicon of camera imagery. Innovative ways of seeing became a critical part of modern prototypes. Abstraction and geometric form articulated with imagery from the camera's lens amplified unparalleled dimensions of modern art.

Geometric forms, lines, gradients of values, including color from light to dark, diagonals, curves and elements of light, traditionally conceived in other art forms, were combined with images made by the camera and real world. Experiments widened the diversification from the conventional chemical darkroom process to new mediums such as modern photomontage and other art disciplines.

Growing alliances between modern literature, art and photography opened more doors between photography and modernization of the Cyrillic Russian language. Language served more than as a verbal illustration to photographs as artists used visual
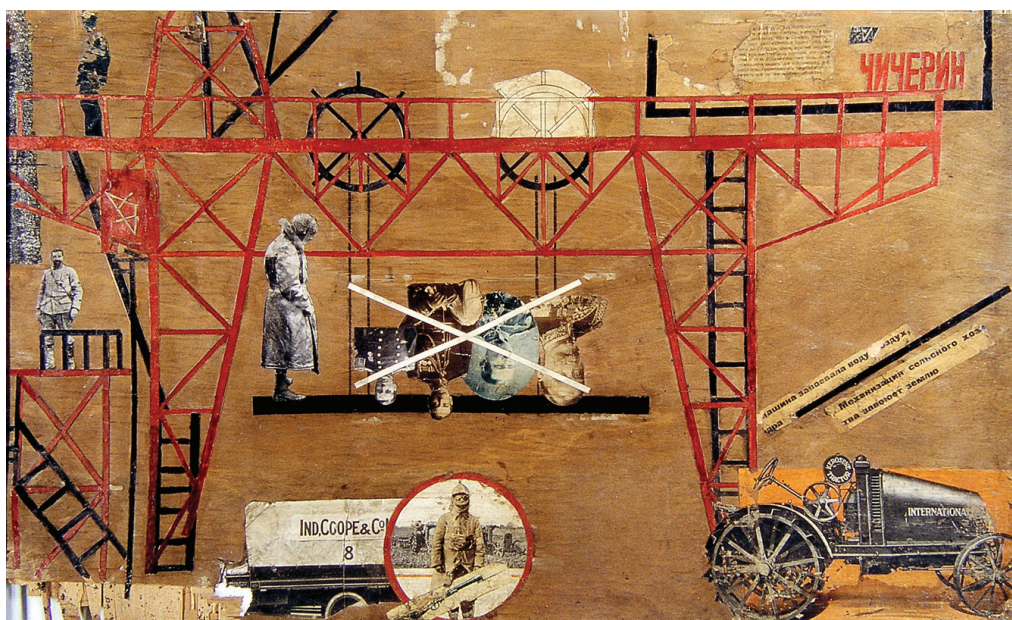
Fig. 11. Liubov Popova, Part of the Design for the stage set for "Zemlia Dybom" ("Earth in Turmoil"), an adaption by Sergei Tretiakov of Martinet's verse drama "La Nuit", modern photomontage, gouache, newspaper and photographic paper collage on plywood, 1923, Greek State Museum of Contemporary Art – Costakis Collection, Thessaloniki, Greece

Fig. 12. Gustavs Klucis, Constructions, experiments with large glass plate negatives, painted liquid emulsions, ink, painting and drawing, and chemical development with photographs from original sculptures and modern photomontage, 1919-1921, Greek State Museum of Contemporary Art – Costakis Collection, Thessaloniki, Greece

Fig.13. Aleksandr Rodchenko and Vladimir Mayakovsky, advertisement for GUM, photomontage, 1923; and Syphilis, cover for book of poetry, negative modern photomontage, 1926, Collection of the State Museum of V. V. Mayakovsky, Moscow, Russia

forms from the literal to the abstract. The geometric character of printed Cyrillic letters and words created visual elements and narratives in a variety of media. At times, counterpointing in parity with modern photographs, photomontage, cinema and photomechanical prints applying ink on paper (Fig. 11-13).

From advertising to books of poetry, avant-garde journals, books and lithographic prints, from posters to other printed matter, language and the unique character of the Cyrillic vocabulary served as independent and fundamental visual elements in the final form of modern expression. The use and mixtures of modern linguistics as another optical component with modern photographs, modern photomontage and multimedia helped broaden styles and approaches with unmatched experiments and innovations with a variety of materials.

MODERN FORM

Manufactured objects from factories and other products from industrial production, mechanized architecture and their ever-increasing role in everyday life were increasingly fresh subjects for early modern photographers. Engineered materials and structures became a subject in their own right. Original perspectives created from more mobile viewpoints thanks to the first, smaller hand-held 35mm cameras that added to the vocabulary of the new proliferation of mass-produced objects, modern architecture and everyday change in surroundings

and symbols. The proto modern photographer concentrated upon the distillation of forms in many ways, from the subjects created by the camera to the darkroom, studio and advancing forms of expression with the photomechanical press. Manufactured
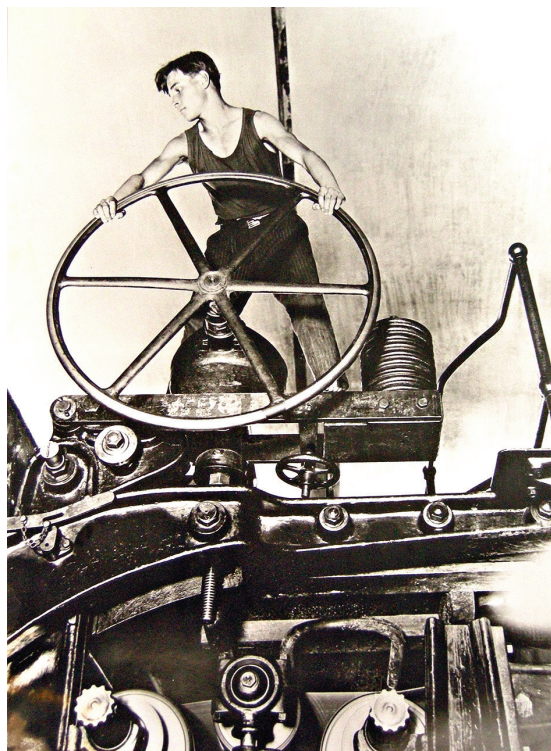
Fig. 15. Anatoly Shaikhet, Komsomol Youth, gelatin silver photograph, 1929, Collection of Sergei Burasovsky

Fig. 14. Aleksandr Rodchenko and Ilya Ehrenburg, Materialization of Science Fiction, negative and positive modern photomontage with offset printing, 1927, Collection of the State Museum of V.V. Mayakovsky, Moscow, Russia

Fig. 16. Mark Markov-Grinberg, Symbols Changing in Moscow Kremlin, gelatin silver photograph, 1935, Collection of Sergei Burasovsky

Fig. 17. Boris Ignatovich, Untitled [Airplane], gelatin silver photograph, c.1935, Private Collection

Modernists as László Moholy-Nagy working in thirteen mediums, while living, traveling and meeting in Germany with Russian Avant-garde as Lissitzky, Kandinsky, Mayakovsky along with other leaders of modern movements, provided an even broader framework. After Moholy-Nagy began to teach and design publications with photography at the Bauhaus 1923, the artist expanded his experiments in media cross-influenced by a prolific number of photographic inventions and innovations. Like Rodchenko later turning to photography with the camera, some of his earliest photographs include architectural subjects in Paris and Berlin. He photographed the technological Funkturm Berlin, the Radio Tower under construction by architect Heinrich Straumer. The positive version was part of the design of Bauhaus Book Number 9, *Kandinsky: Punkt und Linie zu Fläche (Point and line to plane)* published in 1926 including Kandinsky's seminal essay about non-objective painting. Moholy-Nagy sent a negative version of the photograph to Vladimir Mayakovsky in Moscow after meeting him at a train station in Berlin (Fig. 18).

objects and their mechanized shapes, factory production in daily urban scenes from mass culture provided a wide array of newfound themes and original points of view for the artist (Fig. 14-17).

Aleksandr Rodchenko and Varvara Stepanova made unique examples comprising two and three-dimensional photographic forms to be printed in thousands of copies and multiples by the modern printing press. The second issue of *USSR in Construction*

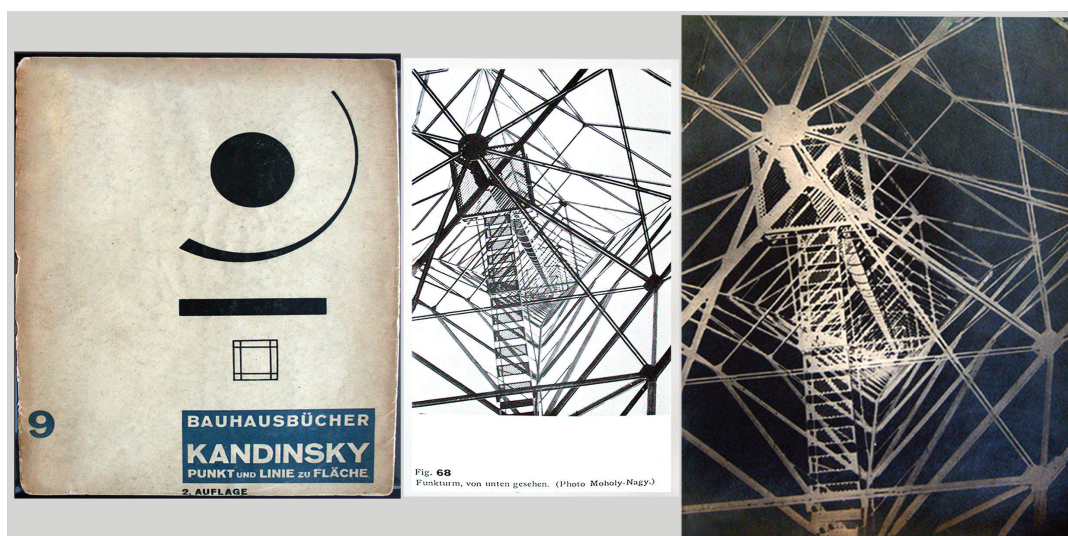*Fig. 18. László Moholy-Nagy, Bauhaus Book Number 9, Kandinsky: "Punkt und Linie zu Fläche" ("Point and line to plane"), 1926, cover and page with "Funkturm von unten gesehen" ("Berlin Radio Tower from below"). László Moholy-Nagy, untitled [Funkturm Berlin from below], negative gelatin silver photograph, c.1925-1926, Collection of the State Museum of V.V. Mayakovsky, Moscow, Russia. Hattula Moholy-Nagy, Ann Arbor, Michigan*

Fig. 19. Aleksandr Rodchenko and Varvara Stepanova, "USSR in Construction", Parachute Issue, photomechanical print with ink on paper attached to page, Number 2, February, 1937, Collection of Paul and Teresa Harbaugh

in February 1937 was dedicated to military parachutists. The Russian edition included a three-dimensional foldout paper parachute, printed in color and attached to the page (Fig. 19). The sculptural shape extended the printed journal beyond the two-dimensional reading page into the implicit reality of the viewer. Form and function intermixed with modern photography in ways that redefined the role of the reader, viewer and artist.

Rodchenko further engaged three-dimensional constructions with photography in the studio. *Mena Vsekh* is a "three-dimensional photomontage for book cover of Constructivist poets" (Fig. 20) that began as a staged still life. Cut photographs were assembled with small rectangular plates of glass and geometric typographical elements and that were recreated photographically. Real objects including a drawing compass and architectural drawing triangles, ink, pen and pocket watch complete the

complex multi-dimensional work. In many ways, the sculptural aspects of the modern photomontage construction speak to Rodchenko's development as an artist. Modern tools added to the construction reference from work in modern painting, printmaking, architecture, film and geometric drawing and sculpture. After Rodchenko started using his first camera late in December 1923, the "three-dimensional photomontage" was as much a self-portrait as a study for the book cover of Constructivist poets. The construction and expansion of portraiture ofwith the subject to be photographed in the studio, references modern advances and innovations existing in Rodchenko's other artworks in a variety of mediums and experiments at the time.

Another quintessential modern multimedia work created with the photographic process the same year is "Self-Portrait, The Constructor" by El Lissitzky (Fig. 21) made with two separate negatives from the

Fig. 20. Aleksandr Rodchenko, "Mena Vsekh" ("Change of Everybody"), three-dimensional [modern] photomontage for book cover of Constructivist poets, gelatin silver photograph of still life with cut photographs, glass, typographical elements, compass, drawing triangles, ink, pen and pocket watch, 1924, Private Collection
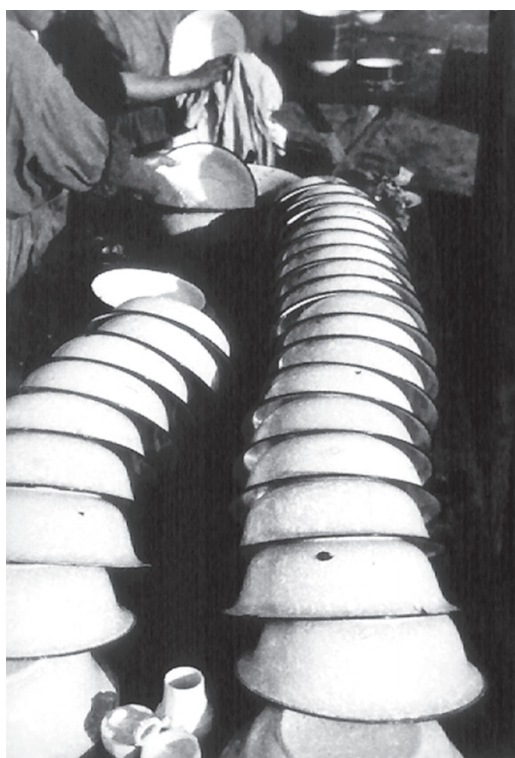
Fig. 22. Boris Ignatovich, Dining Room, 1937, gelatin silver photograph, Collection of Paul and Teresa Harbaugh

Fig. 21. El Lissitzky, Self-Portrait, The Constructor, modern photograph from two negatives, collage, photomontage, photogram, ink drawing and painting in gouache. Collection of State Tretiakov Gallery, Moscow, Russia

camera: the face and eye, and the artist's hand with drawing compass. Lissitzky added further dimensions of media as collage, photograms and photomontage to the unconventional portrait that he rephotographed. A typographical fragment printed

in reverse from his stationary letterhead design is combined with semi-transparent English letters "XYZ". Added to the surface of the combination photograph and other media is gouache painting and drawing in black ink of a partial circle made by the compass. The artist made various positive and negative photograph versions of the self-portrait to explore further variations and potentials through the photographic process.[10]

The photographic process, with its intrinsic reproducibility and countless recreations starting in the chemical darkroom, offered fewer limitations compared to other traditional art mediums thanks to the modern use with emerging technologies. The lens-made optical character of photography images, and multiplication of prints in various forms introduced new aspects of modernity through multiplicity, meaning and content. The Russian Avant-garde expanded the idea of proto modern photography beyond the boundaries and historical definition of the medium.

Fig. 23. Aleksandr Rodchenko, *The Horse Race, gelatin silver photograph, 1939, Private Collection*

Fig. 24. Georgi Zelma, *Accordion Band, gelatin silver photograph, 1937, Collection of Paul and Teresa Harbaugh*

Fig. 25. Georgi Zelma, *Sportsman's Parade, Red Square, gelatin silver photograph, 1937, Collection of Paul and Teresa Harbaugh*
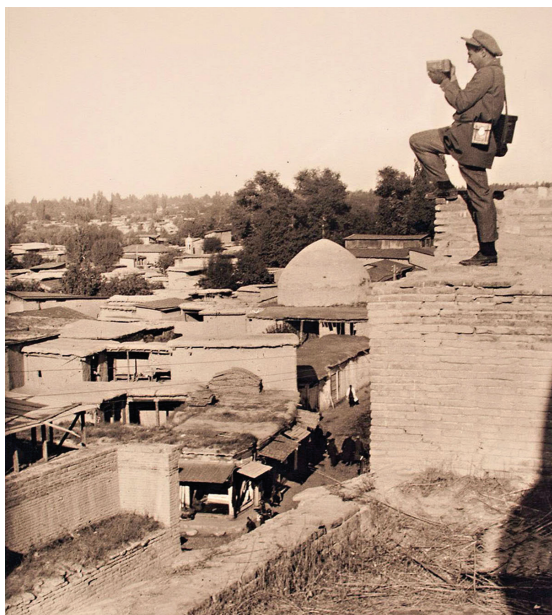
Fig. 26. Georgi Zelma, Self-portrait, Tashkent, 1924, Collection of Paul and Teresa Harbaugh

Photographic themes of repetition, represented by factory manufactured commodities, everyday mass-produced goods, and living subjects, became a common focus in recurrent themes of modern expression in photography. Continuous production and mechanized industry represented change within emerging modern cultures that offered an unprecedented milieu of potentials (Fig. 22-25).

Boris Ignatovich turned his camera to commonplace realities as an eyewitness with keen understanding. From street views to manufactured objects from the factory, he found uncommon perspectives in the commonplace. To heighten reality by revealing the extraordinary from the ordinary. Georgi Zelma (Fig. 26) worked with newfound subjects spreading throughout Moscow as well as in his family homeland in Uzbekistan where he grew up in Central Asia. Documenting the introduction of the first sewing machines, radios, farm tractors, and other mass producedfor products as well as electricity and cinema production that moved other historic cultures into the modern era.[11] Rodchenko, influenced to a degree by the art of Japan when schooling in Kazan under painter Nicolai Fechin who encouraged experimentation in various media, turned towards high and low angled views with prototypes of cinematic 35mm film cameras offering new mobility with subjects emerging in the everyday modern world.[12]

These and other proto modern photographers took advantage of the industrial and uncompromising optical nature of photography to create innovative forms of meaning, subjects and processes in their expansion of the lexicon of art contributing in ways that other art media alone could not convey. As an ideal modern medium, photography opened the world of ideas with change, where living realities resonated on a day-to-day basis. Establishing modern forms of photography went hand in hand with new artistic vision into the future.

MODERN FIGURE

Like portraiture, the Russian Avant-garde broadened the human figure as a subject universally. Individual physique and visual characteristics of individuals as well as groups of people played a central role in multifaceted themes and unconventional viewpoints. As independent visual elements, human forms offered multiplicity in meaning. From the simplicity and reduction of people made with the camera to the staged use of assemblies of individuals, groups and narrative sequences, the photographer directed a wide array of modern imagery to expand figurative genre.

Early modern photographers moved beyond traditions in portraiture and descriptions of individuals. Human shapes, forms and collective structures from people to the masses played a more active role. From modern photographs to modern photomontage, avant-garde journals, and photolithographic posters to photomechanical prints with ink on paper, personal approaches in style and vision created new themes with distinctive points of view. Even documentary based subject matter that depicted everyday scenes was seen and composed in very different terms with human forms (Fig. 27-29).

Narratives became an ever-increasing new genre with staged scenes and theatrical settings in all photographic mediums. In 1923, Vladimir Mayakovsky wrote the book of poetry *Pro Eto*. His personal poems centered on the daily separation from lover Lily Brik. Rodchenko illustrated passages with eight modern photomontages as visual metaphors. He created ten works, two were not published.[13] He also created other narrative series with modern
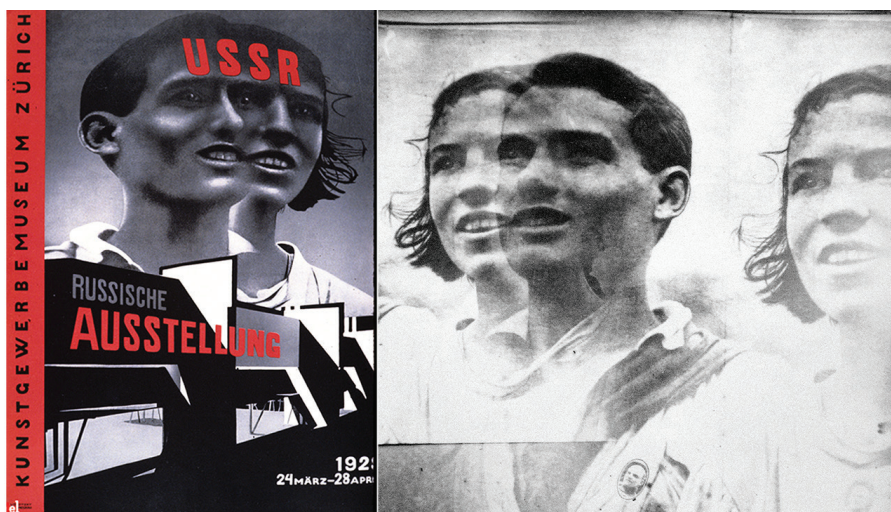
Fig. 27. El Lissitzky, Pioneers, used for 1929 Zurich exhibition poster, modern photomontage, 1929, Collection of the State Museum of V.V. Mayakovsky, Moscow, Russia; and poster for Russian Exhibition in Zurich with Pioneers, modern photomontage, photomechanical print with ink on paper, 1929

Fig. 28. Gustavs Klucis, Untitled [Klucis and hand, HB231], gelatin silver photograph, c.1926, Collection of the State Museum of V.V. Mayakovsky, Moscow, Russia. Gustavs Klucis, We will fulfill the plan of great works (modernization), verso cover of "Artists Brigade", Number 1, photo-offset with ink on paper, 1931, Library of the Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, Madrid, Spain

Fig. 29. Boris Ignatovich, The Hermitage, gelatin silver photograph, 1932, Collection of Sergei Burasovsky

Fig. 30. Aleksandr Rodchenko, "Pro Eto" cover, pasted photograph of Lily Brik by Abram Shterenberg with gouache and ink, 1923. Aleksandr Rodchenko, untitled, unpublished modern photomontage of Lily Brik and zoo, modern photomontage with drawing, ink and gouache, 1923. Mikhail Kaufman, Rodchenko in Working Suit by Stepanova from drawing by Rodchenko, gelatin silver photograph, 1922 (note: Kaufman was the brother of modern filmmaker Dziga Vertov). Aleksandr Rodchenko, Lily Brik from the Chauffeur series, gelatin silver photograph, 1928. Collection of the State Museum of V. V. Mayakovsky, Moscow, Russia

photographs such as Brik and her chauffeur (Fig. 30).

The cover of *Pro Eto* by Rodchenko incorporated the photograph of Brik made by Abram Shterenberg cut and merged with black ink and typographical hand-made coloring. The eight modern photomontages throughout the pages of the book exemplify the diverse nature of modern photography created in the studio. The persona of Brik, Mayakovsky and other individuals in various fragments assembled with the poetic prose serve as powerful visual counterparts to the free verse together revealing true passions, dimensions, and realities of everyday life during the 1920s. Human elements created

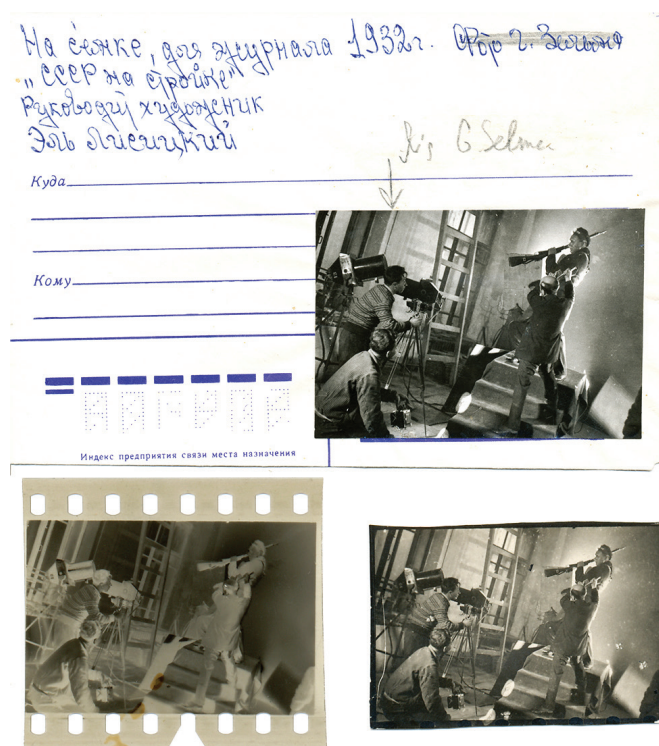*Fig. 31. Georgi Zelma and El Lissitzky on set of USSR iIn Construction, envelope with negative and gelatin silver photographs, contact prints with writing in ink and pencil, 1932. Collection of Paul and Teresa Harbaugh*

throughout Rodchenko's wide range of figurative images are a visual centerpiece that is interconnected with the language. The stark realism and documentary style of the book combine modern verse with modern photomontages, which represents the complexity of rapid change by kaleidoscopic fragments of life, expressing multiplicity in a complex, counter balancing metaphor of words and pictures.

Further collaborations underline the importance of the human figure in the diverse contributions by other proto modern photographers. Georgi Zelma, El Lissitzky and Semion Fridland worked together to photograph and design the special Red Army issue of the *USSR in Construction*. The journal, which was published in Russian, German, Spanish, French and English languages from 1930-1941 and briefly in 1949, became a temporary sanctuary for modern photomontage and photography. By the late 1930s, Soviet purges increased at home and the freedom of expression was reduced to propaganda and ideology. By the Second World War, the era of early modern photography in Russia ended.

The Design for Red Army issue included military characters fashioned and dressed in lighted sets by the photographers with inventive dedication and imagination (Fig. 31). The individuals in military dress with weapons provided role modeling to create a social model for the masses. Staged lighting, angled points of view and chosen gestures with each person strengthened the fortitude of military spirit. Such narratives became an important part of the Russian Avant-garde's treatment and subsequent development of the modern figure.

MODERN LANDSCAPE

For the early modernists, the landscape as subject and traditional genre shifted primarily from natural forms in the 19th century into the industrialized and urban topographies built in the first decades of the 20th century. The impact and influence of human-made elements, from architecture and industry to war, became an inextricable part of the modern landscape in character and essence. Culturally constructed geography increasingly replaced exacting descriptive renditions of nature.

How the landscape was seen and constructed with the camera became important decisions in meaning

and content. The selection of subject matter and points of view shaped the final forms of expression. Human presence and influence in the modern landscape became paramount.

The turn by the Russian Avant-garde towards cultural geography marked a decisive shift from traditional landscapes. Modern photography was not only informed by intention but the human condition. "It is only now that we are acquiring sufficient perspective on the nineteenth century in terms of a metaphor of growth and decay and evolution,"

writes contemporary, late twentieth century cultural geographer J.B. Jackson. "We can best rely on the insights of the geographer and the photographer and the philosopher. They are the most trustworthy custodians of the human tradition. For they seek to discover order within randomness, beauty within chaos and the enduring aspirations of mankind behind blunders and failures."[14]

From city-erected scenes of architecture and emerging urbanscapes combined with the daily movements of the masses to birds-eye views by air and
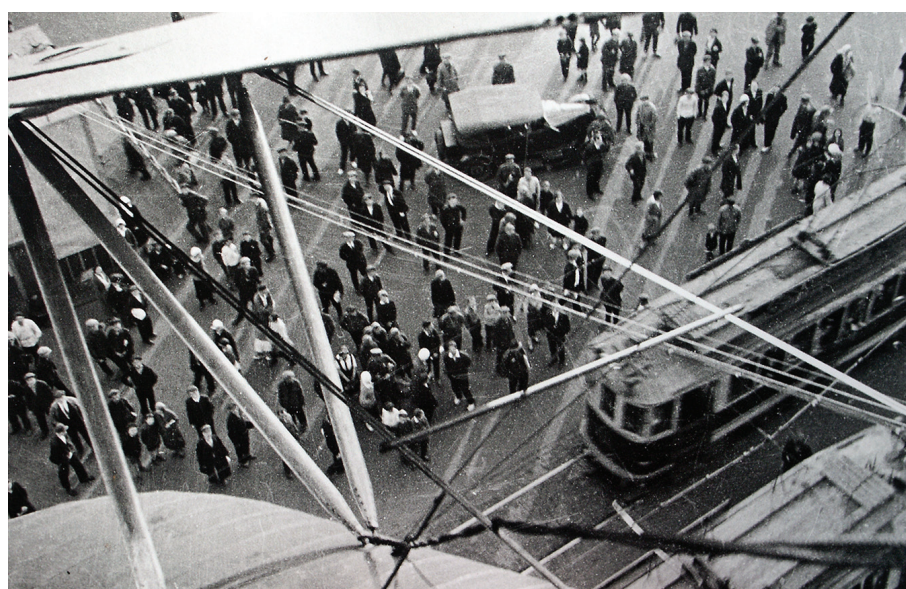
Fig. 32. Georgi Zelma, Tramways, Moscow, gelatin silver photograph, 1929, Collection of Paul Harbaugh and Michael Mattis
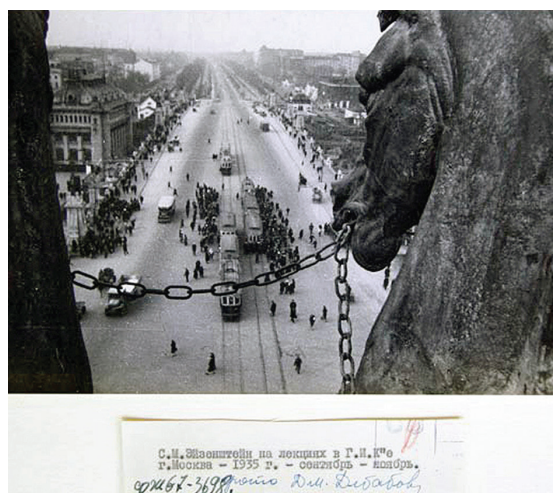

Fig. 33. Dmitry Debabov, Belorussian Train Station, Leningrad Highway, 1935, Collection of Paul and Teresa Harbaugh

Fig. 34. Boris Ignatovich, St. Isaacs [Leningrad], gelatin silver photograph, 1930, Private Collection

the ceaseless motion of trams and industrial modes of transportation, a new immediacy permeated the landscape. Early modern photographers perceived life no longer as a timeless or eternal setting. Rather commonplace reality became a faster paced phenomenon to be garnered or lost in shifting transitions of the industrial terrain and modern machinery (Fig. 32-34).

The Russian Avant-garde developed modern tendencies to establish their own photographic terms through technology and inevitable advances towards the future. In vision and meaning, some of the consequences were not always satisfying artistically. By the advent of World War II, past options in the freedom of expression were reduced fundamentally to controlled existence. The innovative precedents and advances that flourished in the 1920s were redirected and replaced by the designated purposes of the state.

El Lissitzky's last modern photomontage printed in 1941 as a color photolithograph right before his death dedicated industry and war machinery with the entry of the Soviet Union into World War II. Portraying the campaign effort with messages to the masses and symbolically ending the avant-garde era and proto modern photography (Fig. 35). Modern photomontage was turned towards the military efforts as it began with the *USSR in Construction*. During the following years, Dmitry Baltermans along with Georgi Zelma and other war correspondents documented some of the most painful scenes of war from Kerch to Stalingrad. Many images were not published in many cases for the first time until decades after the War. At the end of December 1941, the Soviet Army briefly recaptured the historic city of Kerch in the Crimea. Baltermants photographed families in the field searching for their loved ones. On January 1, 1942, he photographed several images of a woman who found her husband. Later printing the photographs of the scene combined with another image of a tumultuous sky. The powerful modern document, created with an unparalleled sense of universal anguish about war, was titled "Grief". It combines some of the advances of modern photography with the human destruction of war (Fig. 36).[15] From Lissitzky's final contribution rooted in his personal innovations in modern art, photography and photomontage to Baltermant's profound and timeless view of all wars made with

Fig. 35. El Lissitzky, All for the victory, all for the front, modern photomontage, photolithography, 1941, Russian Stale Library, St. Petersburg

Fig. 36. Dmitri Baltermants, Grief, Kerch [Crimea with and without clouds], two gelatin silver photographs, January 1, 1942, Collection of Paul and Teresa Harbaugh

the camera, a major shift signaled the end of decades of innovative artistic contributions by the avant-garde.

From the darkroom to the artist's studio, the Russian Avant-garde laid the foundation for new tenets in a wide array of advances and approaches with proto modern photography. Artists echoed the diversity and emergence of the modern era in their art with profound historical change. Ultimately required to create mandated ideological and social agendas, the formative years of modern art and photography established by the world-class innovations of artists of the Russian Avant-garde vanished. Modern photography, emerging and recognized in the 1920s was replaced, reassigned and redirected into ideological photojournalism and official sanctioned styles of social realism. Yet the formative stages of modern photography and its related prototypes did envisage the future that was so sacrosanct to the modernists. Contemporary photographic art in many forms today continues to change the world with endless emerging technologies, including digital prints returning to ink on paper, which reflect the spirit of the early historic innovations and many precedents without limitations once again.

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Notes

[1]   Yates, Steve. Curator-to-Curator: The Critical Role of Concept, Research and Collaborations (László Moholy-Nagy). *Museum Journal*, Moscow, February 2010, p. 70-76. [куратор куратору: роль идей, исследований и сотрудничества, *музей*, 02, 2010, к теме номера, 70-76].

[2]   Yates, Steve. Proto Modern Photography. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico, 1992. For Internet access to continued research in early modern photography from a private collection see: www.moma.org/interactives/objectphoto/

[3]   The author in a lecture introduced the term "modern photomontage" for the International Symposium and wrote two essays for the National Museum of Art in Riga, Latvia in October 7-9, 2014. To qualify the new uses of photomontage during the modern era in distinction from past general use and history of general term. See: Yates, Steve. Gustavs Klucis and the Avant-garde: Proto Modernism to Photographic Ideas for the 21st Century, ed. Irina Derkusova. In *Klucis, Gustavs. Anatomy of an Experimen*t. Riga: The Latvian National Museum of Art, 2014.

[4]   Photography, *Camera Work*, Numbers 49-50, June 1917, 3. For the inaugural exhibition of early modern photography see: Yates, Steve. *Proto Modern Photography*. Santa Fe: Museum of New Mexico, 1992, co-curated with late preeminent historian Beaumont Newhall, beginning the investigation into the broad spectrum of early modern photography.

[5]   For a comprehensive art history see: Tuluzokova, Galina. *Nikolai Fechin*. St. Petersburg, 2007 in Russian; and *Nicolai Fechin. The Art and the Life*. Fechin Art Reproductions, 2012. Fechin left Kazan for the United States in the early 1920s and eventually established his studio in Taos, New Mexico.

[6]   Yates, Steve. Gustavs Klucis un Avangards – no Protomodernisma līdz 21. gadsimta fotogrāfijas idejām [(Gustavs Klucis and the Avant-garde: Proto modernism to photographic ideas for the 21st century]), ed. Iveta Derkusova. In:: Gustavs, Klucis. *Kāda Eksperimenta Anatomija, Gustavs Klucis (Anatomy of an Experiment)*. Riga: Latvian National Museum of Art, 2014, p. 74-75.

[7]   In Paris in spring 1925, Rodchenko acquired the new Sept hand-held film camera, and the Ika, the precursor to the 35mm Leica camera. He began to use the cameras to develop his modern style from high and low points of view. See: Rodchenko's Diverse Photographic Modernism. iIn: Rodchenko, Aleksandr, *Abangoardiako argazkigintzea, fotomontaketea eta zinemagintzea (Modern photography, photomontage and film)*. Bilbao: Fundación Bilbao Bizkaia Kutxa Fundazioa Rodchenko, 2003, trilingual publication in Basque, English and Spanish accompanying the international traveling exhibition curated and edited by Steve Yates, assembled by Curatorial Assistance and the Art Museum at the University of New Mexico, United States.

[8]   Special thanks to Iveta Derkusova, Deputy Director of the Latvian National Museum of Art for our research collaborations and correspondence for identifications.

[9]   Yates, Steve. Gustavs Klucis un Avangards – no Protomodernisma līdz 21. gadsimta fotogrāfijas idejām (Gustavs Klucis and the Avant-garde: Proto modernism to photographic ideas for the 21st century), ed. Iveta Derkusova;. In Klucis, Gustavs,. *Kāda Eksperimenta Anatomija, Gustavs Klucis (Anatomy of an Experiment)*, Riga: Latvian National Museum of Art, 2014, p. 55-81.

[10]   The original self-portrait in various media was discovered during research in the Library Archive of the Tretiakov Gallery, Moscow in 1992 and subsequently used as the cover for *Poetics of Space: A Critical Photographic Anthology*. University of New Mexico Press, 1995, ed. S. Yates, which included essays by Lissitzky, Moholy-Nagy and others.

[11]   Yates, Steve. *The early modern documentary photography of Georgi Zelma*, 1924-1944, unpublished manuscript from Family archive research.

[12]   Ibid. "Rodchenko's Diverse Photographic Modernism," Rodchenko, Aleksandr. *Abangoardiako argazkigintzea, fotomontaketea eta zinemagintzea (Modern photography, photomontage and film)*. Bilbao: Fundación Bilbao Bizkaia Kutxa Fundazioa Rodchenko, 2003, p. 219-220,

[13]   For an insightful historical account of the poem, publication, collaborations and individuals during the period including the ten modern photomontages, see: Lavrentiev,

Aleksandr. *Vladimir Mayakovsky, It (Pro Eto)*. Berlin: Ars Nicolai, 1994, trilingual in Russian, English, German.

[14] Yates, Steve, Editor. *The Essential Landscape with essays by J. B. Jackson*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1985, p. 84. Also see: J. B. Jackson. *The Necessity for Ruins and Other Topics*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1980.

[15] For one of the most recent comprehensive accounts concerning the history of Baltermant's photograph "Grief", and the various journals where it was published as well as its cultural significance in Jewish history in the USSR, see: Shneer, David. Picturing Greif: Soviet Holocaust Photography at the Intersection of History and Memory, *American Historical Review*, February 2010.

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PROTO MODERNIOS FOTOGRAFIJOS ASPEKTAI: AVANGARDO ISTORIJA RUSIJOJE, EUROPOJE IR CENTRINĖJE AZIJOJE

Santrauka

Dvidešimtojo amžiaus pradžioje vyraujanti modernaus meno kryptis apėmė platų meninių ir techninių inovacijų lauką, kuriame buvo derinamos istorinės medijos ir požiūriai su naujosiomis medijomis ir technologijomis. Įvairių tarpdisciplininio meno atstovų karta pradėjo derinti fotografijos praktiką su kitomis disciplinomis ir įgūdžiais, sukurdami globalią sceną šiuolaikinio meno praktikoms praėjusio šimtmečio pabaigoje ir naujojo pradžioje.

Jungtinėse Amerikos Valstijose, Europoje ir Azijoje auštant moderniai erai, Rusijos ir Europos avangardas įtvirtino platų meno formų ir stilių spektrą. Pirmieji dešimtmečiai matė naujų krypčių ieškančių menininkų, fotografų, kino kūrėjų, tapytojų, architektų muzikų, rašytojų ir poetų kuriamas naujoves. Išreikšdami kasdienio gyvenimo pokyčius modernistai peržengė tradicijų ribas. Menininkai derino fotografiją, jos mokslinius procesus ir amatą su pasirodžiusiomis naujomis technologijomis ir medijomis, siekdami kurti modernias temas, požiūrius ir stilius, kuriems buvo būdingas precedento neturintis matymas.

Nors ankstyvosios modernios fotografijos istorija globaliu požiūriu dar turės būti parašyta, bet Rusijoje plataus menininkų rato indėlis į ją buvo platesnio spektro, nei kolegų Vakaruose ar Rytuose. Nuo Maskvos iki Rytų Europos ir Centrinės Azijos, rusų avangardas sukūrė modernios fotografijos prototipus, naudodamas įvairias priemones ir formas, kurios paplito tarptautiniu mastu. Menininkų gyvenimo ir kūrybos laikotarpiu, buvo išrasti modernūs stiliai ir požiūriai, pagrįsti nepriklausomu matymu. Fotografai dirbo su plačia medžiagų ir priemonių įvairove, naudodami fotomechaninio spausdinimo rašalu ant popieriaus mediją ir susijusias kino bei kitas tuomet atsiradusias technologijas. Fotografijos buvo kuriamos, perkuriamos ir iš naujo spausdinamos, naudojamos ir pakartotinai panaudojamos daugybe skirtingų ir prasmingų būdų. Pirmieji modernūs fotografai išsilaisvino iš konvencinių modelių ir tradicijų, sukurdami savo pačių temas, susijusias su kasdienio gyvenimo patirtimi.

Rusijoje proto-modernios fotografijos istorija labiau susijusi su ilgai išlikusiomis idėjomis, nei su pirmaisiais atspaudais, įprastais būdais sukurtais fotolaboratorijose. Fotolaboratorija dažnai pasitarnaudavo kitiems tikslams. Menininkai dirbdavo nepaisydami medijos galimybių ribų ir linko į eksperimentus. Fotolaboratorijos ir rašalo spaudos ant popieriaus naujovės vedė nuo istorinių fotografijos kaip medijos ribotumų prie pakartojimu pagrįstų procesų būdingų pačiai medijai.

Dvidešimt pirmasis amžius suteikia neribotų galimybių studijuoti su fotografija susijusio modernaus meno istoriją. Tyrinėjimai ne tik padeda svarbius pamatus geresniam ankstesnių Sovietų sąjungos šalių indėlio, bet ir globaliam modernaus ir postmodernaus meno vertinimui. Naudojant platų stilių ir metodų spektrą avangardo sukurta tikra

ir nepaprasta ankstyvosios modernios fotografijos istorijos įvairovė padeda suprasti šiandienos tarpdisciplininius požiūrius. Visai tai siūlo žinias ir supratimą naujame, atrodytų, neribotų meninių galimybių pasaulyje.

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ART IN EXILE: THE EMIGRATION EXPERIENCES AND MOBILITY OF ARTISTS IN XIX–XX CENTURY: THE CASE OF LITHUANIA

Summary. The point of this article is to distinguish and characterize the waves of migration and departures by Lithuanian and Litvak artists that periodically took place in Lithuania since the middle of the nineteenth century, and to discuss artists' experiences after they had left Lithuania. Artist migrations, moving to art centers is a part of European artists' life. The artist profession throughout the ages has been considered to be inseparable from moving and networking. Studying abroad, travels, search for commissions, founding of artist colonies, working in residencies was, and still is, an element of a fully-fledged creative lifestyle. However, in this article, a different type of artist migration is being analyzed. A specific phenomenon of long term or complete retreat of artists from their homelands, determined not only by artistic goals but also by complex social, political or economic circumstances, is being analyzed. Artists started emigrating from Lithuania (and its surrounding territories) to the West in the middle of the nineteenth century and continues to this day. In this article, Lithuanian artists' migration waves, from the end of the nineteenth century to the current day, are chronologically distinguished and systematically presented, intrinsic causes of emigration (and phenomena related to it – migration and re-emigration) are described and the problems of integration in new locations for artists, the effects of these problems on the artists' identities are discussed. It is deduced that the causes of Lithuanian and Litvak emigration were often similar but the degree of adjusting differed. Many emigrated Lithuanians changed professions, unable or unwilling to adapt to intense international art lifestyle. Lithuanian emigrant artists even under politically hostile circumstances looked for a connection with their home country. Artists in exile managed to form connections and influence their countrymen who created in Soviet Lithuania. This difficult topic requires more detailed research in the future. When researching twenty first century artist cases, one has to talk not about emigrants but about migrants, artists of a fragmented identity, operating exclusively in the international art field. The problem of an artist's identity is a lot more relevant than the artist's nationality.

Keywords: Exile, emigration, migration, exile culture, Lithuanian art, Litvak art.

INTRODUCTION

Leaving one's *Home* means destroying the entire structure, demolishing the former structure of life and replacing its foundation whether you want to or not. Exile results in major changes in the lifestyle of a society, national group or separate individual, including changes in values. Artworks created by exiled artists therefore often dwell on the subject of art and politics, emigration and expulsion from homeland, assimilation and integration, cultural and national identity, assimilation and integration in foreign countries, and other difficult problems of art and social and political European history. Due to the complex nature of the problem and the fact that artwork created by exiles is often scattered all over

the world, it receives relatively little attention from researchers and collectors. In our region, in Baltic States (Soviet republics in 1940-1990), the Cold War and the Soviet ideology have contributed greatly to the marginalisation and partial oblivion of the art made by exiles. Even here cultural memory had to be revived and recovered. This process of cultural memory and the recovery is taking place now. Bright manifestations of that process are growth of exile art collections and its turning to foreigners, especially Litvak culture traces in Lithuania. The necessary preconditions for that emerged when reforms started around 1988 and after Lithuania regained independence in 1990. This period witnessed a Jewish art exhibition in Kaunas and the first exhibition

of art created by exiles in Vilnius.[1] The perception that Lithuanian culture and history of art are, in fact, multinational, that its creation is not limited to the period when Vilnius or Kaunas were the capital cities of Lithuania, nor is it restricted to the geographical territory of Lithuania alone, is slowly coming back.

The fate of the artists who emigrated from Lithuania varies, but at the same time, they have a lot in common. We would probably not be able to find two identical stories of how they set down their roots in a new environment, and that is what makes their fate different. Yet all of them were forced to leave their home and had a strong longing for it. This is what they all have in common. Some of them had their works exhibited in world-known museums and were greatly admired by the public there. Others experienced an unenviable life journey. This text provides an opportunity to see history and experiences by artists of various nationalities who are in one way or another related to Lithuania. This exposure to Lithuanian and Litvak art created in exile will contribute to the formation of a new discourse based on the notion of cooperation and becoming closer to each other.

The aim of this article – to describe the migration waves that periodically arose in Lithuanian territory since the nineteenth century, and discuss the emigrant experience, which exile artists faced after they left Lithuania.

The subject of this article is the way the text documents the role of two diasporas – Lithuanians and Litvaks – in the history of Lithuanian art. The majority of the painters presented in the text come from Lithuania or have cultural connections with it. Some of them are descendants of historic Lithuania[2] and others are citizens of the Second Independent Republic.[3] Both were taught art by those who studied at art academies in St. Petersburg, Munich, Krakow, Rome and Florence as early as the beginning of the 20th century. The art traditions, teachers, and vision of perfect art that they all sought were the invisible threads that tightly connected them all.

So what are these attitudes that are applied to exile art in Lithuania? Art historians Ingrida Korsakaitė,

Viktoras Liutkus, the literary critics Vytautas Kubilius and Dalia Kuizinienė, and many others support the view that Lithuanian art and the art of Lithuanian émigrés are two artificially separated branches of the same tree. There exist different opinions on emigration: however, Tomas Venclova once said that a deep tectonic rift separates these two parts of the Lithuanian nations, so there is hardly any point in searching for connections.[4] The art historian and journalist Stasys Goštautas was even harsher: in his view, the exile is, by definition, not creative and incapable of creating outstanding works.[5] The works on the themes of émigrés that have appeared in the recent decade in literary and musical history, theatre history and history in general[6] not only reveal the meaning, novelty, and vitality of the phenomena in exile culture, they also take account into the fact that throughout the years of political stagnation (1945-1990) and political thaw (1958-1968) contact did exist sporadically between artists creating mutual intellectual gain. The question is how this happened and in what ways. However, this is already the subject of a separate study. Considering the characterization of the research on the iconography of exile in Lithuania, it is worth mentioning that national discourse prevails in the historiography. This is a narrow view.

Unfortunately, the ethnolinguistic imagination of the Lithuanian nation is often too narrow to include their co-citizens who used to live on the same Lithuanian land[7] and walked the same paths as other artists in Paris, Rome or New York. As historians would put it, they were children who shared the same homeland and representatives of the same political nation. Certainly, it takes more than a day to stir the deeply rooted images and to change the grand narrative of the Lithuanian nation. This collection is a compilation of artworks reflecting the Lithuanian nature in the broadest sense of the word. By being so, it encourages us to model and complement the grand narrative of the Lithuanian nation. Only recently, at the end of the 20th century, did the narrative of spreading all around the world, leaving, running away, wandering, emigrating, and returning home start gaining a more obvious place in the collective memory of Lithuanians. The grand

narrative of the Lithuanian nation, about it being deeply rooted in the land of the Nemunas, has been supplemented with a relatively new and vivid image of a troubled wanderer who has left or is leaving his homeland. This image has already been confirmed by the newest works of history and art research as well as real life.

However, in Lithuanian art history, still little scientific texts are written from a multinational perspective. The monograph of Laima Laučkaitė[8] about Vilnius artists at the beginning of the twentieth century is an important turning point. Laučkaitė studied Lithuanian, Russian and Jewish segments of Vilnius art as an integral part of Europe. The art historians Giedrė Jankevičiūtė[9] and Vilma Gradinskaitė[10] explore Jewish art as a specific phenomenon. Nevertheless, there is still a lack of work on the links between Lithuanian and Litvak. Perhaps they have not always been resilient. However, they should be examined. According to cultural anthropologist Leonidas Donskis,

> "Litvaks still consider themselves Lithuanians based on the old formula of Jewish identity, which allows you to be a Jew of the Torah and remembrance no matter where you are and at the same time sends a message to the whole of Galut, that is, the diaspora, of you being a representative of one strong and significant identity, especially if that identity is related to Jewish history in that particular country or culture."[11]

METHODOLOGICAL ACCESS: EXPANDING THE LIMITS, CHANGING ATTITUDES

The above-quoted thought is related to another important insight an issue that remains rather sensitive in Lithuania. Every ethnic group in Lithuania still has its own individual historic narrative. Memories and recollections almost involuntarily serve as dividing lines between them. The time has come to expand the limits. However, we still cannot say that the binary contraposition of nations, which misbecomes the very essence of art, has disappeared.

Research into émigré art is in general a specific area of art criticism. It embraces the issues of art and

politics, emigration or expulsion from one's homeland, cultural and national identity, assimilation and integration in foreign countries, and other difficult problems of art, and social and political European history. Both this branch of art history and émigré cultural research are closely linked with the discourse of the discipline of history; while the meaning and place of an artefact is more often social than artistic when it is considered within the context of the exile experience. For this reason émigré art should not be analysed separately from political, social and ethnic history. The cultural phenomenon has not been the subject of much discussion in Western art criticism. There have been few exhibitions in Europe which have attempted to deal with the field of issues that are related to the strange, lost and recovered remembered yet unrecognisable world of émigré art. One of the most important exhibitions of this type so far was the exhibition "Exiles+Emigres"[12], held in Berlin in 1997, and Latvian art in Exile[13], held in Riga in 2013, which attempted to follow the paths of the life and work of European artist, and to define the impact emigration had had on their work. To Western European artists, the period from 1933 to 1945 was the most painful. When the Second World War ended, they could re-emigrate thus the period of exile for these artists was neither as long nor as hard as for the artists from Eastern and Central Europe. Most of them never returned to their homeland.

Therefore, according to historian Egidijus Aleksandravičius, Lithuanians are a nation of diaspora.[14] Their diasporic nature lies in the fact that the most active part of the nation not only stayed deeply rooted to the delta of the River Nemunas but also made attempts to look for a way out of their troubled situation in other parts of the world.[15] Here it would be right to add that both Lithuanians and Jews are nations of diaspora, and their most active parts managed to establish themselves in new community and often showed themselves to be creative personalities, for example, artists and philosophers. The realisation of Aleksandravičius's idea significantly expands the limits of the Lithuanian world. At the same time, the history of Lithuanian culture and art becomes richer because of the contribution

made by the exiles from historical Lithuania. As a result, it gains some new bright and shining colours, including long forgotten Lithuanian, Litvak, Polish and Russian names.

ALLURE OF THE WEST

In the history of Lithuania, there were several major waves of emigration to the West. It is quite impossible to tell the exact number of artists who emigrated back then, because some of them melted into the crowd of economic refugees and others found their place in the world of art, but often lost their connections with their compatriots. Artists as a professional group have always been on the move. Travelling, studying, going to work on a commissioned assignment, looking for like-minded people, establishing art colonies, and working on residencies have always been strong features of the full-fledged life of an artist. Professional mobility is an important feature of the social life of modern artists. It is a precondition for intercultural influence and transformation.[16]

Since the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, practicing and aspiring artists from the edge of Europe often chose to go to Warsaw, Krakow, Wien, Munich and Paris. Even earlier than that, at the end of the 19th century, Lithuanians, Litvaks, Byelorussians and Russians tended to go to Riga, St. Petersburg, Moscow and Odessa to study art there. The periods of political unrest in the 20th century also resulted in reverse trends, that is, immigration into Lithuania. There were cases when Lithuania became the shelter for artists from post-revolutionary Russia (such as Mstislav Dobuzhinsky and Vladimir Dubenecky). In the 1930s, Litvaks and several Lithuanian artists had to leave Vilnius, which was then under the Polish rule. At that time, they settled down in Kaunas, the then temporary capital of the Republic of Lithuania, and later moved further West together with the migrating young generation of Lithuanian artists. The concept of mobility encompasses the state of an immigrant, a migrant, a refugee, and an emigrant. None of them has anything to do with a laid-back life. On the contrary, the concept defines a rather insecure

state, deprivation, and danger of melting into a multicultural environment but may also encompass situations in which an artist ends up in a cultural centre and experiences positive artistic influences, a sense of belonging, and skyrocketing artistic career opportunities. Exile is often the result of a complex mix of economic, political, social and cultural reasons, which determined the movement of people from the East to the West, often with a one-way ticket in one's pocket leading to emigration.

The first major wave of expatriation hit Lithuania in 1868–1914. The inhabitants of the north-western part of the Russian Empire, mostly Lithuanians and Litvaks, left mainly due to economic and political reasons. Among the hordes of peasants and craftsmen, there were also artists who dreamt of reaching the art centres of Europe. As a result of discriminatory policies aimed at the Jews, already as early as the end of the 19th century, the Litvaks who lived in the towns and settlements of Vilnius Governorate tended to study at the drawing school of Vilnius or Vitebsk for a while and then leave for Munich or Paris. For some years, artists from Eastern Europe lived alongside French artists in the art colony called *La Ruche* in Montparnasse, located in the south-western outskirts of Paris. Many were Litvaks or Poles, but there were also a couple of Lithuanians. For example, sculptor Antanas Jucaitis rented a studio in the art colony from 1897 until his death (1943). Before World War I, such Litvak artists as Jacques Lipchitz (1909), Benzion Zukerman and Leon Indenbaum (1911), Pinchus Krémègne (Kremeń, 1912), Issai Kulviansky (1913), Chaïm Soutine (1913) and Michel Kikoïne (1913) came to Paris too. The majority of them attended the studio of Carmon at the National School of Fine Arts (École des Beaux-Arts), lived at *La Ruche*, and were one big friendly company together with Marc Chagall, Amedeo Modigliani, Constantin Brancusi, and Leopold Zborowski, a gallerist. The artists were very active in their creative endeavours and as of 1919, with the help of active gallerists, held numerous personal exhibitions thus making their way to the epicentre of the multinational artistic community of Paris. The integration of Litvaks into the international community of artists, that later received

the name of *l'École de Paris*, was very successful. In the 1930s, with the approach of World War II, some decided to stay in France, and some other emigrated to Palestine, Israel or the USA and gained their recognition as artists there.

Information about the very first Lithuanian artists who left for the West is rather scarce. It is only known for sure that at the end of the 19th century, several of them already lived in the USA. The artists visited the colonies of Lithuanian coal miners and offered to paint or to draw portraits of the better-off compatriots.[17] Coal mines in Pennsylvania were certainly not a suitable environment for an artistic career, and the commissions that the artists received could barely ease their situation. The emigrant press wrote about the very first Lithuanian artists in America, and for that reason their names are known to us (among them were Adomas Ulmonas and Petras Stankevičius). It is highly probable that the works of art created by them did not survive. We therefore cannot say much about the achievements of the very first wave of Lithuanian artists who decided to emigrate.

The second wave of emigration (1918–1940) was also of an economic nature and coincided with the first period of Lithuania's independence. There are only a couple of artists who left for the USA at that period in time and whose names we know. Among them was Viliamas J. Vitkus, a painter, engineer, and active member of the artistic community. He held joint exhibitions together with the artists who reached the shores of America after World War II. The painters Mikas Justinas Šileikis (Michael Justin Shileikis) and Antanas Skupas (Anthony Skūpas, Antanas Cooper) were graduates of the Art Institute of Chicago. They both left Lithuania before World War I. In 1956, in addition to painting and making numerous other important contributions, Mikas Justinas Šileikis established the Association of Lithuanian–American Artists (which operated until 1980) and even two galleries named after *"Čiurlionis",* which opened in Chicago (in 1957 and 1975 respectively).

During the pre-war period, the majority of emigrants from Lithuania chose to go to South rather than North America. Lithuanian workers swamped Brazil, Uruguay and Argentine. The latter deserves to be mentioned in the history of Lithuanian art solely because of Jonas Rimša (Juan Rimsa), a painter who became famous in that faraway land. In addition, there were several other Lithuanian artists who left Lithuania for Argentine during the interwar period. Among them were Ona Draugelytė-Kučinskienė, Robertas Feiferis (Pfeiffer), Jonas Pogoreckis and Matas Menčinskas.[18]

Exiles from Lithuania went as far as South Africa, where a large Jewish diaspora had existed for ages.[19] This explains why painter Pranas Domšaitis[20] emmigrated to South Africa despite the fact that he was born in Eastern Prussia and cherished close connections with the modernists in Germany and, just like them, lost some of his works during Nazi rule.

After the second wave of emigration, rare cases of emigrants returning followed. In the 1930s, when Lithuania's economy became stronger, sculptor Matas Menčinskas returned from Buenos Aires and painter Jonas Šileika came back from Chicago. Šolomas Zelmanavičius (Saliamonas Zelmonovičius), Akimas Josimas (Jossimas) and Issai Kulviansky moved to Kaunas as a result of encountering stronger efforts to assimilate Jews in Vilnius, where they had lived earlier.[21]

During the interwar period when Lithuania was independent, young artists actively moved between Kaunas and Paris. The Ministry of Education offered grants to graduates of the Art School of Kaunas, which enabled them to travel around Western Europe and spend several years studying at the National School of Fine Arts (École des Beaux-Arts) and private schools such as the *Académie de la Grande Chaumiere* and the *Juliano, Colarossi* and *Vitti* academies. Sometimes Lithuanians and Litvaks studied at the same art schools, held joint exhibitions upon their return home, belonged to the same societies, and together did their best to brighten and modernise artistic life in Kaunas. Some of them, for example, Antanas Gudaitis and Neemiya Arbit Blatas, became close friends. Their studies at the Art School of Kaunas served as a basis for their friendship. During the interwar period, 60 students of

Jewish origin graduated from that art school,[22] with Neemiya Arbit Blatas, Zale Beker (Zalė Bekeris, Zala, Zemanas Bekeras, Bekertas), Chaim Meier Feinstein (Chaim Chona Feinstein, Faynsteyn), and Max Leiba Ginsburg (Motelis Gincburgas) being the most famous graduates. According to Vilma Gradinskaitė, researcher of Jewish culture in Lithuania, the Art School of Kaunas allowed both Lithuanians and Jews to plumb the depths of their own traditions and topics.[23] Jews were an inseparable part of artistic life in interwar Lithuania. They were loved by art critics and praised for being modern creators of art. When in the West, Jewish artists were quicker to grasp artistic novelties and were more productive. Compared to their Jewish colleagues, Lithuanian artists were less capable of smooth integration.[24]

GONE WITH WORLD WAR II

The third wave of Lithuanian emigration. Towards the end of World War II, in summer 1944, almost 8 million inhabitants of Central and Eastern Europe, Russia, and Ukraine retreated to the West. In fact, it was the third wave of Lithuanian emigration which lasted for almost 50 years (1944–1990) and ended in political emigration. Approximately 200,000 citizens of the former Baltic republics gave up their homeland in order to escape peril.[25] In the camps for displaced persons that were set up in Germany, a new type of political refugees appeared. Post-war historians named them 'the problematic final million'[26]. These were Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians and Jews who were against the world order of the time. They absolutely refused to go back to the occupied Baltic republics. It was only around 1951 that these people were finally dispersed as immigrants among a number of countries, that is, Australia, Argentine, the USA and Canada.

Before the camps for the displaced persons appeared, the artists who left Lithuania in 1944–1946 tried to earn their living by creating various propaganda posters and drawing portraits of the German farmers and later soldiers or their relatives who gave shelter to them. During the period when the German camps for displaced persons existed (1946–1951), refugees from the Baltic countries were actively engaged in various cultural activities.

For citizens of Lithuania, fostering national traditions and their own culture seemed to be the true basis of their existence. By actively engaging in cultural activities (exhibitions, concerts, book publishing), they tried to prove that they belonged to Western European rather than Slavic culture as was believed by a number of French, American or British politicians. The intelligentsia's deliberations about the redemption of their 'guilt' stemming from their emigration from Lithuania developed into a fight for Lithuania's freedom. It was generally believed that the road to freedom was paved with cultural values. This is why emigrants actively promoted the spirit of Lithuanian national art traditions.

Freiburg im Breisgau was one of the most important centres of Lithuanian culture in post-war Germany. Lithuanians had their Art and Crafts School (École des Arts and Metiérs, 1946–1950) in this southwestern German town. The creator of the idea was Vytautas Kazimieras Jonynas, who was close friend with some employees of the French occupation zone administration and therefore managed to realise his idea of establishing this kind of school.[27] Teaching at the art school in Freiburg was based on the academic curriculum of the Art School of Kaunas. Young people were taught the basics of academic art and practical crafts (weaving, knitting, pottery), so that upon their return to the Homeland, they could help to restore the country's economy. The Art and Crafts School in Freiburg was a good start for post-war youth who wanted to continue their art studies in America and France. Quite a number of young Lithuanians graduated from the art school in Freiburg and later continued their studies at American and European academies. Among them were Juozas Bakis, Albinas Elskus, Elena Gaputytė, Vytautas Ignas, Julius Kaupas, Elena Urbaitytė, Antanas Mončys, Romualdas Viesulas.

In Western Europe, displaced persons – Lithuanians – published artfully illustrated books and portfolios of their work.[28] During 1946-1950, Lithuanian graphic artists took part in European book publishing. Graphic artists remained loyal to their former artistic tradition and the usual Lithuanian iconography. Full of longing for their homeland, they often engraved cheerful Lithuanian landscapes with

chapels, wooden churches, ornamented crosses and wayside shrines. Traditional Lithuanian folk sculptures depicting the saints and sacred landscape signs became the main symbols of Lithuanian imagery.

During their stay in Germany, the Lithuanian intelligentsia actively promoted their national culture and concerned themselves with issues of adaptation and integration. Algirdas Julius Greimas claimed that when in Europe the exiles should put more effort into demonstrating the positive contribution of the Lithuanian nation to civilisation in general.[29] He tried to change the focus of his compatriots by directing them to Western culture which was opening up in front of their eyes. In fact, Lithuanian culture of the time was very much like a rather modern Western culture. However, having lost their homeland, Lithuanian artists tended to create art and organise vernissages embellished with national ideology, which was not welcome in the broader context of post-war European art.

Some artists truly searched for ways to break free from the tight frame of national art and join international artistic life by holding personal and group exhibitions in art galleries in Germany, Italy and France. Such artists as Petras Kiaulėnas (1943, 1946, 1950, Chardin's Gallery), Adomas Galdikas (1948, Durand-Ruel Gallery), Vytautas Kazimieras Jonynas (1949, Ariel Gallery), and Vytautas Kasiulis (1950, Christian Gilbert Stiébel's Gallery) held personal exhibitions in Paris. Adomas Galdikas, Vytautas Kazimieras Jonynas, Vytautas Kasiulis had personal exhibitions in Freiburg (Augustiner Museum). Viktoras Petravičius, Vytautas Kazimieras Jonynas and Estonian graphic artist Eduard Wiiralt showed their works in a group exhibition in Rome. All the exhibitions and positive reviews by art critics were clear proof of the recognition the Lithuanian artists received as true professionals and a sign of a viable national school of art. However, active efforts to exhibit their artwork and stay in Europe for good did not bear fruit as expected. The Russians, who won the war, were trying to force the refugees from the Baltic countries to return to their former home (very few refugees freely agreed to do so). At the same time, the allies (British, French and Americans) were putting pressure on them not to stay in Europe and

go further to Argentine, Australia, Canada and the USA. The politicians of the old European continent were extremely strict regarding war refugees. As a result, the symbolic artistic capital built by immigrant artists in Europe meant almost nothing when they reached their new destinations. On the American continent, the emigrants faced a rather different political and cultural climate, which they had to get to know, tame, or even create anew.

CREATION AS ADAPTATION, RESISTANCE AND FREEDOM

During the wave of post-war emigration in the mid-20th century, the inhabitants of the Baltic countries spread throughout North and South America and Australia. Only a tiny number of them managed to stay in Western Europe. Adomas Galdikas stayed in France for a while, Magdalena Birutė Stankūnienė spent several years studying in England, but they later had to leave for the USA. Antanas Mončys and Pranas Gailius, who were recipients of study grants, stayed in France permanently. Vytautas Kasiulis also settled down in Paris, where he managed to become a gallerist and a successful artist. The popularity of Vytautas Kasiulis's paintings and lithographs might have been because the Europeans who became better off during the post-war period wanted to see a simple plot, aesthetic forms, and nice colours. They found this reflection of hedonistic life in the artwork created by Vytautas Kasiulis. This might have been the reason why the artist was so popular in the galleries in France and Sweden in the 1950s–1960s.

In the 1950s, quite a number of Lithuanian artists lived in South America. According to Stasys Goštautas, there they had rather favourable conditions to work and were active in organising exhibitions of Lithuanian art. Nonetheless, South America was a temporary shelter for them. After almost a decade in Brazil, Columbia or Argentine, the majority of Lithuanian artists (Vlada Stančikaitė-Abraitienė, Eugenijus Kulvietis, Juozas Bagdonas, Juozas Penčyla, Mikalojus Ivanauskas, and others) moved to the USA.

Lithuanians had a strong tradition of graphic art, which found a niche in Australia. Graphic artists

were invited to take part in representative exhibitions of Australian modern art. In Australia, Lithuanian artists created portraits, exotic views of Australia, and abstractions. Museums and hotels eagerly bought works by Vaclovas Ratas, Henrikas Šalkauskas, Eva Kubbos and Vladas Meškėnas.

The famous Lithuanian artist, filmmaker Jonas Mekas wrote about the feeling he experienced when he came to America from the German DP camps:

> "Suddenly the whole world was ours. The war was over and we were in the West, where we were suddenly overwhelmed by the world. The things we had heard about from a distance suddenly opened up in front of our eyes. All of it was ours."[30]

At the end of the 1940s, the biggest Lithuanian community existed in the USA. The Litvaks who left Lithuania right before the beginning of Wold War II settled down in the USA too. Among them were Jacques Lipchitz, William Zorach, Max Band and Emmanuel Mané-Katz. At that time, Benjamin Ben Shahn, who was born in Ukmergė, was already famous in America as an American painter, graphic artist, and photographer who emphasised his Lithuanian origin. Neemiya Arbit Blatas constantly migrated between New York, Paris and Venice. Close connections between the Litvaks and the Lithuanians in the USA no longer existed, but they all had one thing in common. At exhibitions, both Litvak and Lithuanian artists always emphasised their Lithuanian origin despite the fact that their cultural life had spun off into separate orbits.

It was not easy for the Lithuanian newcomers to find their place in the pushy and commercialised artistic life in the USA. According to Stasys Goštautas, researcher of the art of exiles, the main reason for that was that the Lithuanian exiles never accepted the loss of Lithuania. Psychologically, they never left their homeland and continued to live with the burden of exile, which weighed them down like an undeserved punishment. That the members of the Lithuanian diaspora took the position of waiting and protecting themselves from the foreign world around them preventing the artists from being productive. The desire of the senior generation of artists to remain purely Lithuanian meant that they identified with only the Lithuanian exile community, which often rejected even the slightest attempts to be a bit more *American*. [31]

The first post-war wave of Lithuanian exiles faced major problems with their self-identity in another culture. Sociologist Vytautas Kavolis wrote an article titled 'Indistinct Man and Historical Ambiguity', in which he said the following: "exiles identify themselves with an open, painful and dubious commitment to the country that they no longer have, to the traditions they do not have any more, and to the faith that they have lost."[32] The younger generation of Lithuanian exiles had a different argument, however: "is not wise to resist the culture that surrounds us."[33] But according to sociologist Vytautas Kavolis, the process of self-determination, and later adaptation to other cultures, was excessively long. [34] This national withdrawal of the exiles might have determined the fact that in the second half of the 20th century, most Lithuanian artists still 'disliked modernism', as Jonas Aistis put it.

After World War II, the centre of modern art moved from Paris to New York City. Post-war art was in general full of a cosmopolitan, competitive and avant-garde spirit. In the times of late modernism in the USA, the Lithuanian national school remained important only to its classics, that is, to the old generation of Adomas Galdikas, Viktoras Vizgirda and Adolfas Valeška. These artists tried to continue the Lithuanian art tradition that was formed before the war. On the contrary, the late modernism of the 1950s–1960s in the United States was focussed on breaking free from the European tradition. For the Lithuanian artists in exile who settled down in the USA, the European tradition remained very important. Even though quite a number of American artists were also exiles, they felt free from any commitments to European culture; free from any memories, associations, nostalgia, legends or myths; and free from all kinds of European theories about painting. On the one hand, we can be proud that the Lithuanian artists understood the value of tradition and continuity, which also means that the role of the art schools of Kaunas, Paris and Freiburg was

extremely important in the process of the formation of their artistic identity. On the other hand, it can be concluded that the Lithuanian artists did not make creative use of the European art tradition and were unwilling to get rid of the imported rhetoric. The majority of the Lithuanian artists viewed avant-garde artistic expression, including other artistic phenomena that did not exist in pre-war Lithuania, with great caution.

Only a small number of younger Lithuanian artists who in the 1950s–1960s had a chance to study for some time at world-famous art schools perceived the contact with Western trends as a natural development. They were able to express themselves as artistic individuals in the environment of ruthless competition that prevailed in the USA. Elena Urbaitytė, Kęstutis Zapkus, Aleksandra Kašubienė, Kazimieras Varnelis and Kazimieras Žoromskis created impressive abstract paintings and objects. In the 1960s–1980s, they were constantly invited to hold exhibitions at numerous international galleries in the USA and Western Europe, took part in a number of prestigious exhibitions, and enjoyed recognition in the artistic environment. They are the generation of artists who after the war matured in the West. They were the strongest artists in exile who had an authentic touch with the principles of late modernism. They were the pilgrims of the avant-garde trends and the apologists of abstract expressionism, optic art and minimalism because they had a natural interest in all the changes related to these trends. Although Lithuanians were not among the Western artists who pioneered late modernism, they were not mere observers either and contributed to the artistic development process to the extent they could.[35]

The artworks of Lithuanian artists in public spaces are worth mentioning too. Architectural developments in the USA brought about the need to decorate the exterior and interior of buildings. At that time, the Lithuanian painters Adolfas Valeška, Kazys Varnelis, Vytautas Kazimieras Jonynas, and Albinas Elskus began organising studies of church art. Their works in stained glass and the sculptures they created adorned numerous churches, monasteries and community halls. Applied artwork brought

the Lithuanian artists recognition in American society. Aleksandra Kašubienė's contribution to the history of modern art and architecture in the USA remains especially vivid in the form of textile-like architectural works created for public spaces.

The works of artists who created in exile were full of longing for their lost homeland. Could this be a feature characteristic of the East European mentality, since the same phenomenon is found in the works of artists and writers alike? Scenes of the lost homeland prevailed and the signs of the new reality were much scarcer in the works of both painters and writers. Only the younger artists who had had the opportunity to study at foreign art schools embraced Western artistic trends. Jurgis Mačiūnas (George Maciunas), Kęstutis Zapkus, Romas Viesulas, Kazys Varnelis, Pranas Gailius, Elena Urbaitytė and Elena Gaputytė participated in important artistic movements and processes in USA, France and Great Britain. The majority of Lithuanian artists in émigré, though, were cautious in their attitude to avant-garde manifestations in art, especially to phenomena that were absent in pre-war Lithuania.

In 1995, young artists started leaving Lithuania. The freedom to create is in general inseparable from the freedom of the individual. The latter goes hand in hand with cultural migration which flourishes in the free world. Cultural migrants tend to be on the move, always heading towards the hottest art destinations. This is not a new trend at all. For centuries, the history of art has been full of stories about the artists travelling from outlying regions to centres of art. The artist Žibuntas Mikšys is a good example of a young, post-war artist who refused to carry the burden of emigration that was forced upon him to the USA. This is what he said about the experience of his youth: "when I reached this land, a lot of things died out and became absolutely superfluous (the most beautiful flowers of the Old World were not worth a dog's ass any more). It is hard to be in a desperate situation and live with the feeling that it will be the end of you if you do not manage to escape it."[36] As a result of enormous efforts, Žibuntas Mikšys received US citizenship and in 1962 settled down in Paris for good.

Quite a number of artists from independent Lithuania have been making use of the available cultural migration opportunities. Travelling and migrating from one centre of art to another is almost a necessity in the international career of every artist. The focus of artistic existence in the modern world has shifted. Belonging to a nation or a state, which was important for centuries, has nowadays been pushed to the periphery of reason. Still, it would not be just to claim that it has totally disappeared from the arena. Those who have settled down in megalopolises and become world famous often say that their fading connections with Lithuania are the price they paid for their freedom. Today foreign artists often shrug off the label of emigrant.

Could it be that time spent abroad does not have the power to erase memories of Lithuania? The connection that forms between curators of exhibitions, art critics, clients, and the international community of artists often forces one to make up one's mind regarding one's national and cultural identity or the identity of the artist. In the modern world of art, identity is not considered to be local. In principle, it cannot be related to a place but rather to an artistic community. Thus we should speak about a kind of active migrant, about a migrant as a person having a fragmented identity (with one identity for the world and yet another for Lithuania), about a migrant as a *global citizen* who in general avoids speaking about his nationality or about the place he left or the destination he has reached.

NOTCHED ART HISTORY

It must be admitted that for quite a while the heritage of Lithuanian artists who had spread all around the world long time, about 55 years, was little known to anybody. The names of many artists were deliberately pushed into oblivion and efforts were made to delete them from the history of Lithuanian culture of the 20th century. This artistic heritage was created by several generations of artists in Europe, America and Australia. Researchers of Lithuanian culture often did not even dare to dream of it ever ending up in Lithuania and finding its place in museums or private collections in Lithuania. According to Stasys

Goštautas, who researches art created by exiles, artists in exile truly and sincerely dreamt of coming home one day and leaving their art to Lithuania.

This heritage was created by artists whose names were elided or uttered with great reluctance during the times of Soviet Lithuania, because once they were uttered, a number of inconvenient questions had to be answered, such as what a war refugee, an exile or a deportee was, how they came into being, and what their artwork says to those who stayed on this side of the Iron Curtain and lived in the shadow of the agreements achieved at the Yalta Conference. It was only after 1990 that the forced retreat of a large part of the Lithuanian populace to the West was referred to as a factor that had an extremely negative impact on Lithuanian culture. The biographies of famous pre-war artists who left for the West during Soviet times were expurgated, shortened or even elided despite the fact that the artists continued creating art. The development of the 20th-century Lithuanian art seemed to be extremely fragmented and inconsistent. On the other hand, Soviet society was not completely forbidden from getting acquainted with art created in the West. Lithuanian artists were extremely impressed and strongly influenced by books about Western modernist art brought in by exiles. In 1966, an exhibition of pre-war paintings by Viktoras Vizgirda, a painter and member of the legendary group *Ars*, was held in Vilnius at the Lithuanian Art Museum (then the Art Museum of the Lithuanian SSR) with the participation of the author himself. It was the first ever exhibition in Soviet Lithuania presenting works by a Lithuanian artist who lived in the West. Viktoras Vizgirda gave a lecture on Lithuanian art in America and showed reproductions of artworks created by artists in exile. This event aroused memories and caused local artists to take a huge amount of interest in the art created by their fellow nationals on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. Moreover, it encouraged people to start collecting art made by exiles. Viktoras Vizgirda took photographs of artworks created by Vilnius artists with him to America and used them when giving public lectures and writing articles. A close connection between the two parts of the divided nation formed. Letters with excerpts from the

Lithuanian–American press travelled to relatives who lived in Soviet Lithuania, where they ignited artistic discussions and encouraged further creative endeavours. The knowledge and opinions that entered Lithuania from the free world served as a strong creative inspiration for the artists who lived in the occupied country.

The graphic art classroom at Vilnius University library became a space to store the graphic works created by Lithuanian artists in exile and secretly brought to Lithuania by emigrants travelling around the Soviet Union with *Inturist*, the official state travel agency of the Soviet Union. The Leningrad–Moscow–Vilnius tour used to be the only opportunity to visit Lithuania, that is, to come to Vilnius for a short visit. Lithuanian artists were extremely interested in the exile graphic art that was secretly brought to Lithuania. They even used some memorable elements of it in their own work. Visits of Lithuanian exiles to Lithuania and their exhibitions here were rather rare in Soviet times, but became more frequent when the Revival movement started. Events of the kind used to attract a lot of attention for art created by exiles.

For 50 years, the Iron Curtain ruthlessly divided countries and people and the whole world into the East and the West. This division resulted in numerous blank spots on the cultural map. Therefore, today it is necessary to start speaking about a conscious strategy for the accrual of valuable Lithuanian art and promotion of it. Efforts to form Lithuanian art collections, and to present them at exhibitions and in the form of art albums are a meaningful cultural endeavour undertaken by Lithuanian national museums, private foundations, and individuals in Lithuania.

CONCLUSIONS

In general, artistic individuals tend to have a craving for wandering to new locations, for travelling the world continuously, and for gravitating from outlying regions to centres of art.

Émigré art was for more than a hundred years created by Lithuanian and Litvak people who had lost their homeland yet never doubted their identity.

Their works are diverse and heterogeneous, and important to Lithuania as an inspiring example of the power of identity. It is interesting as an aspect of art history which makes one think about art and culture in a much more flexible way.

The creative life of all the artists who left Lithuania went through a metamorphosis. They grew away from the images characteristic of their national culture and narrow perception. Their artwork gained a more open nature and became understandable to a multinational public without any additional explanations. The migrant Lithuanians residing abroad, or in other words, international artists, take part in global biennials and exhibit their works in prestigious galleries. Major museums around the world buy their works. All of this shows the creative potential of Lithuanian artists, including their importance in the global art arena.

The creative work of Lithuanians and Litvaks artists in exile is important not only in Lithuania but also in the diaspora countries. Their cultural contribution comes in addition to the Western Europe, the United States, Canada, South America, Australia's cultural heritage, which is also not forgetting about Lithuania. Although the artists of problems, emigration is ultimately seen as a positive phenomenon. Lithuanian artist migration should be frequently analyzed by asking what those positive people from the Baltic countries gave Western civilization and culture.

Notes

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[2] The term refers to the former territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Litvak artists were born in the territory of the current Poland, Belarus and Russia. These territories belonged to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Many Litvak artists came from these areas.

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DAILĖ EGZILYJE: EMIGRACIJOS PATIRTYS IR DAILININKŲ MOBILUMAS XIX–XX AMŽIUJE: LIETUVOS DAILININKŲ ATVEJIS

Santrauka

Šio straipsnio tikslas – išskirti ir charakterizuoti lietuvių ir litvakų dailininkų migracijos ir išvykimo bangas, kurios periodiškai kildavo Lietuvos teritorijoje nuo XIX a. vidurio, ir aptarti emigracijos patirtis, su kuriomis susidurdavo egzilio menininkai, išvykę iš Lietuvos. Dailininkų migracija, persikėlimas į meno centrus yra įprastas Europos meninio gyvenimo reiškinys. Menininko profesija visais laikais neatsiejama nuo judėjimo ir kontaktų plėtojimo. Studijos užsienyje, pažintinės kelionės, užsakymų paieška, menininkų kolonijų kūrimas, darbas rezidencijose buvo ir tebėra menininko visaverčio kūrybinio gyvenimo bruožas, tačiau šiame darbe aptariama kitokio pobūdžio menininkų migracija. Straipsnyje nagrinėjamas specifinis reiškinys – ilgalaikis arba visiškas menininkų pasitraukimas iš gimtųjų vietų, nulemtas ne tik meninių siekių, bet ir sudėtingų socialinių, politinių ar ekonominių aplinkybių. Lietuvos (ir jos aplinkinių teritorijų) menininkų emigracija į Vakarų šalis prasidėjo XIX a. viduryje ir tęsiasi ligi šiol. Straipsnyje chronologiškai išskirtos ir sistemingai pristatytos Lietuvos dailininkų emigracijos bangos nuo XIX a. pabaigos iki mūsų dienų, apibūdintos būdingiausios emigracijos (ir su ja susijusių reiškinių – migracijos ir reemigracijos) priežastys, aptartos menininkų integracijos naujose vietose problemos ir jų įtaka menininko tapatybei. Nustatyta, kad lietuvių ir litvakų emigracijos priežastys neretai būdavo panašios, bet prisitaikymo naujose vietose lygis skirtingas. Daugelis lietuvių emigracijoje keitė profesijas nesugebėdami arba nenorėdami prisitaikyti prie intensyvaus

tarptautinio meninio gyvenimo. Lietuvių dailininkai emigrantai netgi politiškai nepalankiomis aplinkybėmis ieš-
kojo ryšio su gimtąja šalimi. Egzilio menininkai sugebėjo užmegzti kontaktus ir daryti įtaką sovietinėje Lietuvoje
kūrusiems tautiečiams. Šiai sudėtingai temai būtina atidesnė menotyros analizė ateityje. Tiriant XXI a. menininkų
gyvenimo ir kūrybos atvejus tenka kalbėti jau ne apie emigrantus, bet apie migrantus, fragmentuotos tapatybės me-
nininkus, veikiančius išskirtinai tarptautinėje meno erdvėje. Jiems menininko tapatybės problema daug aktualesnė
negu menininko tautybė.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: egzilis, emigracija, migracija, egzilio kultūra, Lietuvos dailė, litvakų menas.

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PARENTS' ROOM BY AURELIJA MAKNYTĖ AS A TIME-IMAGE

Summary. The concept of time-image (*image temps*) coined by Gilles Deleuze could be applied to analysis of works of art that juxtapose objects from different periods of time and combine them into spatial installation-projects. Such exhibitions are designed for the visitor to create their final and ideal version, and have to be 'performed'. This leads to the obliteration of clear concepts as well as to the process of self-creation. Agnė Narušytė uses the concept of time-image as well as Erika Fischer-Lichte's theory of performative aesthetics in her phenomenological analysis of the exhibition *Parents' Room*, which was installed by the Lithuanian contemporary artist Aurelija Maknytė at the gallery Artifex in 2015.

In *Parents' Room*, Maknytė created layers of different periods and places as experienced by different people: a tailor who wrote letters to her daughter from 1965 to 1990, Maknytė's parents, already dead, and herself in two roles: that of a daughter and of a step-mother. The artist does not mask the separateness of the layers; she even reveals the sources: fragments of a family's life, printed materials she collects, artefacts made for different purposes (soviet folded tables for celebrations, shoes for funerals, a sewing machine, sewing patterns cut from soviet newspapers), her own works (an artist's book compiling the tailor's letters, *Father's Act* created in 2001 from her father's autopsy report and *The Role* – an appropriated film by Rūta Šimkaitienė, *The Gardener goes to the Cemetery* (1992) where Maknytė played a step-mother). Both comic and macabre, the stories of other people's lives are condensed in the exhibits installed in the three spaces of the gallery. Like in multiple exposure photographs, the exhibition connects realities that 'have no clue' about each other but are interlinked through accidental coincidences, invisible to them, but planned by the artist. The viewer becomes an all-seeing privileged connoisseur from the 'future' who gets also involved into the exhibition's narrative, thus forming an additional layer.

The viewer who walks around the exhibition and sees, hears as well as feels its elements one by one links them to each other and deciphers different flows of time in this Deleuzian time-image *(image temps)*. Therefore, this actual viewer performs the exhibition and creates herself, and through her, exhibition is created (actualized) as well. Although Maknytė has planned the audience's movements and responses, it is impossible to envision the final result, which is characteristic of performative acts. Thus, Narušytė's walk through the exhibition, while carrying out an experiment of phenomenological investigation of lived experience, should be also considered as part of the exhibition creating itself and her own self as becoming.

***Keywords*:** Aurelija Maknytė, performative aesthetics, performative act, time-image, recollection-image, Erika Fischer-Lichte, Gilles Deleuze, Felix Thürlemann, Peter Osborne.

Scene of the contemporary art is so much used to exhibitions as 'projects' that few notice how this format affects our experience of artworks, their temporal qualities, and our relationship with the past. As the philosopher Peter Osborne observes, malleability of time has become an important issue in post-conceptual art. Everyday things as well as various *objets trouvés*, iconic images, archaeological artefacts, archival materials and collections are used to construct temporal labyrinths where the viewers are expected to discover their own narrative paths by solving each segment as a *rebus rerum*.

Possible solutions are infinite. Although every object is invested with personal meaning, it is lost in ever changing heterogeneous structures and retains but a faint taste of a particular past moment, especially when an artwork is installed in many different countries. History becomes fictionalized, and the found objects as 'ruins of the past' are simultaneously transformed into Friedrich Schlegel's 'fragments of the future' or Robert Smithson's 'ruins in reverse'.[1] By using them, artists create virtual networks of possibilities where meaning and the work of art always remain 'under construction' –

necessarily incomplete and striving towards an ideal.[2] One of the most widespread means of creating such contemporary present is, according to Osborne, through recollection of historical memory as an authentic experience, a 'concrete presence of particular pasts within the present'.[3]

Osborne criticises such memory-based projects geared for the intensive involvement in the now because they disregard historical complexities and collective experience of the past, which leads to forgetting, while construction of history is always about the future as well as the past and the present.[4] He gives examples of works that uphold a critical attitude, for instance, the Atlas Group, Amar Kanwar and Navjot Altaf. In Lithuania, many artists also use various objects as references to historical memory and construct personal versions or rather fictions of history. The most interesting and talked about among them have recently been *Museum* (2012) and *Labyrinthus* (2014) by Dainius Liškevičius, *Crown Off* (2015) by Žilvinas Landzbergas, *The Diaries of Death* (from 2009) by Kęstutis Grigaliūnas and *Parents' Room* (2015) by Aurelija Maknytė. Only Grigaliūnas would fall into the category of authentic critical testimonies of the past that Osborne would favour, which I have discussed elsewhere.[5] Others use the on-going nature of exhibitions as projects to create de-politicised time-images, in which references to history are fragments of authentic experience barely related to concrete historical facts.

Time-image (*image temps*) is a concept coined by Gilles Deleuze when he reconsidered Henri Bergson's philosophy of time, which he then used to interpret films by Orson Welles, Alain Robbe-Grillet and Alain Resnais.[6] Differently from films that reveal time through movement, time-images are 'optical situations' characterised by 'indeterminability' and 'indiscernibility' as well as the vanishing difference between 'what is imaginary or real, physical or mental'.[7] They express the Bergsonian idea of present time as constructed from memory and the simultaneity of all possible intervals of personal time. The present is only the extreme point of the 'infinitely contracted past' because 'time makes the present pass and preserves the past in itself'.[8] The present juxtaposes and mixes recollection-images,

which are actualisations of 'pure recollection' picked by us from various regions in the past, which Deleuze also calls 'strata' and 'sheets'.[9] The time they refer to exists, for Deleuze, in two different states: the first is the 'time as perpetual crisis' and 'time as primary matter, immense and terrifying, like universal becoming'.[10] The artist, according to Deleuze, draws energy from that primary matter, connects the sheets of the past and turns them into something else by extracting 'non-chronological time' and creating 'these paradoxical hypnotic and hallucinatory sheets whose property is to be at once past and always to come'.[11]

Deleuze considers the filmmaker as the creator of such time-images containing specific meanings. Although the philosopher himself, in fact, creates those meanings through interpretation, he does not reflect on his own participation in transforming films into time-images. They are pre-created and stable artefacts to be discovered by an intelligent and sensitive spectator. Contemporary art projects that are always incomplete, process-based and work with recollection-images, however, require an active visitor who would link the sheets of the past presented separately into a coherent (or incoherent) whole of linear or non-chronological time depending on the visitor's personality. Hence, perception of artworks has become performative in essence and has to be reconsidered in terms of performative aesthetics.

Erika Fischer-Lichte has emphasised that differently from performative statements of John L. Austin, performative acts are not so much concerned whether they have been 'successful,' but by the fact that they were performed and disturbed the dichotomy of concepts.[12] This is due to the fact that performative acts, which are bodily actions, are not referential: they do not point towards any pre-existing reality. On the contrary, that reality only creates itself during the performance while both the audience and the performers keep switching roles and engage in self-creation.[13] This is why it is impossible to decide once and for all what is the meaning of such works of art; their meaning cannot be planned because the bodies of actors and viewers interact and keep changing the work by becoming 'elements of the feedback loop, which in turn generates itself'.[14]

Although the premises and focus of three theories discussed here are very different, they all have one idea in common: even if specific pasts are used in process-based artworks favouring uncertainty, they avoid concrete references as well as definite and pre-planned shapes and meanings, but rather invite the viewer or the visitor of an exhibition to perform the work as always a new reality rooted in the present. The result is often a Deleuzian time-image where real facts and objects of the past are moulded into, if not

hallucinatory, then fictional event of self-creation. In this paper, I shall interpret the installation *Parents' Room* by Maknytė as a case study to demonstrate how the time-image works and is created through the phenomenology of the visitor's experience.

Parents' Room was installed in the gallery Arti-fex in Vilnius, in 2015. Aurelija Maknytė (b. 1969) is known as a VJ artist, one of the makers of the avant-garde SMC TV series broadcast by the commercial channel TV1 in 2004–2007 and the creator
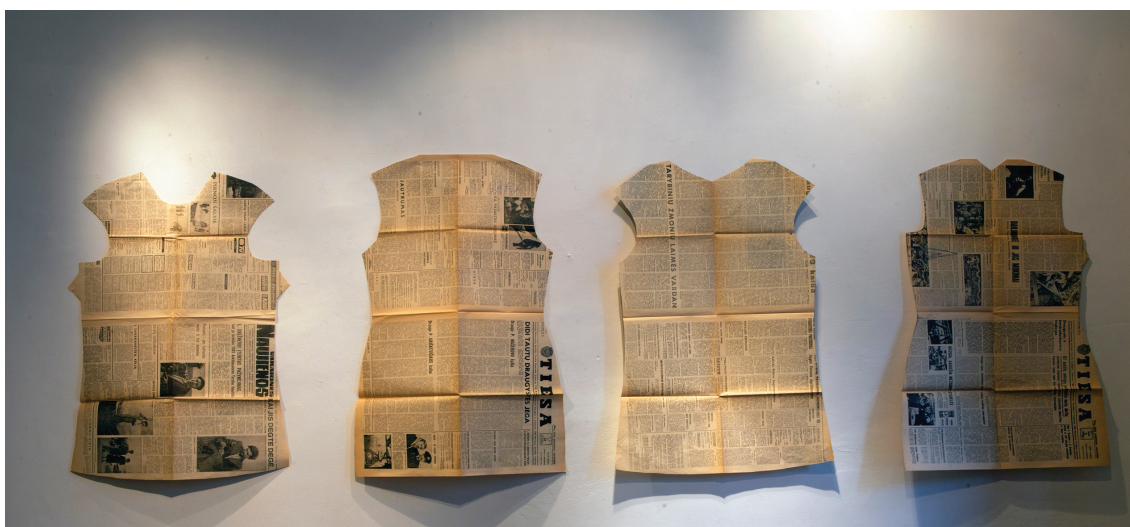

Fig. 1. Aurelija Maknytė, installation "Parents' Room", detail. 2015. Photo by Aurelija Maknytė

Fig. 2. Aurelija Maknytė, installation "Parents' Room", view of the exhibition. 2015. Photo by Aurelija Maknytė
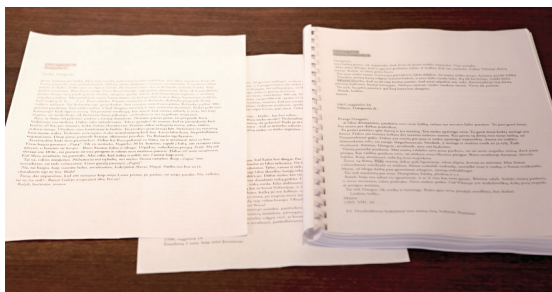
Fig. 3. Aurelija Maknytė, installation "Parents' Room", detail. 2015. Photo by Aurelija Maknytė

of participatory art such as letting strangers live in her flat and rearrange it (*A Week*, 2005), slipping her footage into borrowed tapes (*VHS Studija*, since2009) or getting everyone to burn fantastic explosions of light into old slides (*Burning Slides*, ongoing). She is also a passionate collector who buys objects, printed materials and photographs from flea markets and then uses them in her works. *Parents' Room* is also made of fragments selected from the artist's and other people's pasts that took place at different historical moments. The artist layers them into a spatial text. The gallery becomes a site composed of different periods and durations as experienced by different people. The artist does not hide the separatedness of the layers and even

reveals her sources: fragments of her family history and artefacts produced for various purposes she has been collecting for a long time, which also are testimonies of different people's lives. I will show how the installation connects realities that 'have no idea about each other' and communicate through chance coincidences invisible to people who had lived in particular periods of time but anticipated by the artist. Thus, it allows the visitor a privileged position from which she can observe the mixing of the past, the present and the future into a time-image.

Let us remember the experience of the exhibition. When the visitor opens the door to the gallery, the wind rustles the templates for making clothes cut from the Soviet newspaper *Tiesa* (*The Truth*) hanging on the adjacent wall (Fig. 1). A tailor's letters to her daughter lie on the sewing machine in the corner (Fig. 2). The artist has purchased a whole collection of them and now presents them typed on an A4 sheets of paper with names of persons and places as well as some details changed so that specific situations could not be identified (Fig. 3).[15] One is tempted to read the letters, but something prevents us from getting too deep into that: a bed raised up to our waist is stuck into the entrance to

Fig. 4. Aurelija Maknytė, installation "Parents' Room", view of the exhibition. 2015. Photo by Aurelija Maknytė

Fig. 5. Aurelija Maknytė, installation "Parents' Room", view of the exhibition. 2015. Photo by Aurelija Maknytė

another room on the left (Fig. 4). This object is disturbing because of two reasons. First, this unusual situation of the bed hovering in the air is intriguing. It makes us wonder why it has been installed in such a way. But its juxtaposition with the title of the exhibition offers an answer almost immediately: you are in your parents' room, small and unable to see anything beyond the world defined by your parents. The bed is the boundary of that world and also a frightening sight reminding of the fact that you are being looked after, observed and forced to behave properly. From this follows the second reason: it is not appropriate to read somebody else's letters, even if you have bought them in a flea market. The reason for buying them is suspicious as well. Maknytė admits the moral ambiguity of her activities in an interview.[16]

Let us leave these questions for the future, because we need to see the third room, which is open (Fig. 5). Two collapsible tables stand parallel to each other in the middle of it. Now they are folded or 'closed'. Two small bundles of newspaper are stuck on the wall behind them (Fig. 6). They have been taken from the artist's mother's burial shoes, which have been left at one of the tables. Maknytė

Fig. 6. Aurelija Maknytė, installation "Parents' Room", detail. 2015. Photo by Aurelija Maknytė

remembers her 'strange inheritance' of burial shoes and dress:

> I thought: is it too early to show all that? But the tailor with her letters also suited here. I decided not to postpone it anymore. After all, art does not have to be comfortable and gratifying. I decided to see what happens if I dare. I decided not to show the dress – one does not have to show everything. Only newspaper bundles and shoes have remained. They have
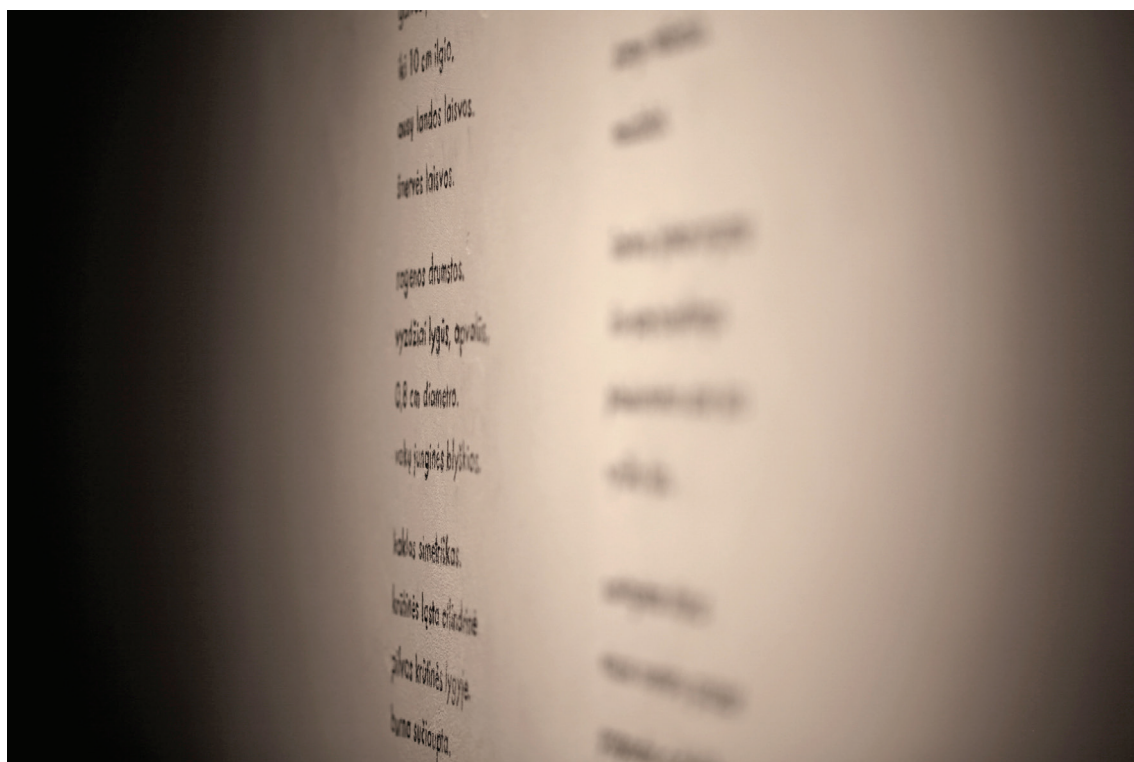
Fig. 7. Aurelija Maknytė, installation "Parents' Room", detail. 2015. Photo by Aurelija Maknytė

left a rebus because they are worn: perhaps my mother's plans had changed?[17]

There is one more exhibit in this room: a poem written on the wall. It describes a body with cold precision. Its scariness is explained by the last words of the poem: 'when pressed it pales / and recovers its colour after 1 minute' (Fig. 7). This is a description of the artist's father's autopsy turned into a poem. It was a separate work of art, *Father's Act*, by Maknytė created in 2001from fragments of the medical act No. 1696 stating the death of her father. She identifies the author of that original, seemingly anonymous, text: it was 'the doctor of medicine A. Zakaras, an expert with experience in expertise since 1960 and the highest qualification category. Act No. 1696. The object of the act is Vaclovas Maknys, b.1938. The act was filled on 24 August, 1998'.[18] Thus, both parents in the title of the exhibition are dead; imaginary coffins stand on the two tables. Maknytė refers to that in her interview:

The tables in the parents' room also have a story. I was looking for so-called tables-books for a long time. Everybody had them and used for varied purposes, including laying out the

dead. Julius Balčikonis answered my call and offered two tables. That suited me very well. When he came to the opening of the exhibition, Julius realised that the tables stood in a death chamber and remembered that his great grandparents were laid out on them too.[19]

This realisation is striking because it reverses the 'message' of the raised bed we had noticed before: the protective fence erected by parents falls, the boundaries disappear and this is frightening because the boundary separating the visitor from death also vanishes.

These experiences of space transformed by carefully placed objects taken from different sheets of the past form the first layer of meaning. It has really become everyone's parents' room. Yet the visitor who observes the change in her sensations notices also that the room moves in time, and not just a little, but essentially, through an entire lifetime: from the dependent, protected and restricted childhood to the final maturity when all support, all protection and all boundaries have disappeared. The same parents' room gets transformed from a grand, immense and safe place seducing with mysteries

of the yet unknown life into a small chapel, which contains only a few things, all simple and clear, and their totality points to the only remaining mystery – death. After the restrictions established by one's parents have disappeared, this mystery remains impenetrable; death belongs to the beyond of this life. In the small space of the gallery, this transition from the original point to the final one happens very quickly, as if one's body grew and stretched fast. As if, having just seen your parents' bed from below, now one is looking at his last place of rest from above. But we have just started uncovering the layers of meaning.

The tailor's letters and newspapers lay still unread in the entry room. If we open them now, after having bid the final farewell to our parents, we would forget the anxiety caused by their death. Life is bubbling in the letters. The mother who writes them talks a lot, and the father, the step-father and other relatives talk through her stories of everyday life. Maknytė has called the daughter Danguolė. This beautiful name resonates throughout the exhibition, including the scary sky of non-existence, which has manifested itself in the death room. It is to her that the mother tells all news about crimes, diseases, work, drinking and love. The relationships of people and their troubles reflect the hum of changing social and political circumstances. The woman's life runs together with the rhythms of nature: the dreary Lithuanian weather corresponds to the feeling that everything is bad, and love throbs together with the currents of spring. Interjections interrupt the story: 'Terrible!' Gross words chop the rhythm of writing. The mother talks a lot, scolds everyone and swears sometimes. But she ends all letters in the same way: 'We shall talk when you come over; write to me, kisses, mum.' This combination of tenderness and roughness creates the feeling of reality, which distinguishes these letters from the polished, smoothed and puttied literary texts; it is complete opposite to what one could read in newspapers.

While the visitor is reading the letters, an entire human life runs past: from the year 1965 when the first letters were written to the daughter who left her hometown to study at university until the beginning of Lithuanian independence. The time runs

very fast here because letters are only short excerpts from the past, fragments that contract the events of a longer time into one hour of writing and one minute of reading. Life becomes like Richard Linklater's film *Boyhood* (2014), which shows 12 years in 160 minutes. In that time, the child turns into a teenager and this process is collated from fragments of becoming filmed several days a year. As the philosopher Dalius Jonkus observed, 'The flow of time as if embodies itself and that embodied time is transforming in front of our eyes'.[20] When we read the tailor's letters, something similar happens, only now we see not a body, which would be really changing in front of us, but the river of social change flowing in bursts. 'Nevertheless,' Jonkus concludes, 'the most important thing here is, I think, not the flow of time but the presence of time'.[21] In fact, when we get interested in the story and drawn into it, we also experience time itself as a category of apperception, given *a priori*, but unyielding to representation or reflection. In this case, we are somebody looking at the world from a distance: Maknytė's exhibition as if gives us a superhuman and supernatural power to see time.

Newspapers are a different matter (Fig. 8). They should convey the speed of change and create a possibility to observe time itself for it is coded in the Lithuanian word for newspaper. *Laikraštis* means 'writing time,' realising it literally. What is not written remains as a hole when the present turns into the past and not only risks to be forgotten, disappear from collective memory but seems to not have ever existed. Moreover, we should not forget that when we write, we create more than there is: every instance of writing is an extra with regard to reality. First of all, it is an extra because reality is denser and metonymically reduced in the text. Secondly, while we write, we understand something new about it as I understand Maknytė's work while writing this text. Through this process, the meaning is added to the reality. The semiotician Felix Thürlemann opposes *poetics* to the iconic imitation of the world as 'surpassing' it, as 'a relationship between the planes of contents and expression, which, when present, at least partially overrides the normally unmotivated (arbitrary) nature of the

"prosaic" discourse'.[22] Yet if we agree that meaning is what 'exceeds' reality as a non-reflected jumble of haphazard coincidences and causalities, then even the prosaic discourse would have characteristics of poetics, only the layer of poetry would be thinner. Thus, newspapers write time in the sense that unwritten pieces of reality remain unmotivated jumble, and the written ones acquire characteristics of poetry and as such attach to the memory of reality, become its characteristic because it does not exist in another form that someone could check and say if it was really so. The newspaper writes reality as a poetic time that has acquired meaning surpassing all that remains unwritten, which means – the rest of time and space.

What time do the cuttings from the newspapers create? A date is visible on one of them: 31 March 1977, Thursday. I was seven, Aurelija Maknytė was eight. The word *Tiesa* (*The Truth*) written in a thick font catches one's eye first. Sealed with the coat of arms of the Soviet Union, it is repeated twice. The title of another newspaper, *Vakarinės Naujienos* (*Evening News*), appears once. There are sections of *Reikalingi* ('Needed'), *Dėkoja* ('Thanks'), *Keičia*

('Exchange'), *Įvairūs* ('Various'). Somebody explains 'When exemptions apply' (*Kada teikiamos lengvatos*). There are several condolences surrounded by a black frame. One could read boring leading articles, tedious speeches of 'comrades of the Party' about discussions in the Kremlin, but there is also a review of letters called *Jautrumas* ('Sensitivity'). We can learn 'What an Album Tells Us' (*Ką pasakoja albumas*). A lonely 'Artist and her students' (*Dailininkė ir jos mokiniai*) is hiding somewhere. There is also a glance at the Earth from the space: 'Humans and Biosphere' (*Žmogus ir biosfera*). Editors are more interested in creating the impression of thickening: 'For the high harvest of the fifth year of the five-year plan' (*Už aukštą penktųjų penkmečio metų derlių*), 'The knitting-machines hum and burr' (*Dūzgia, gaudžia mezgimo staklės*), 'Grain falls into the earth' (*Į žemę byra grūdai*), 'The trenches of silage are filling up' (*Pilnėja siloso tranšėjos*). The rhythm and rhyme of headings swing our memory that starts yielding to the rhetoric of moralizing: 'Do we always protect the truth?' (*Ar visada giname tiesą?*), 'Let us repay goodness with goodness' (*Už gerą atlyginame geru*), 'We shall keep our word' (*Žodį ištesėsim*). The
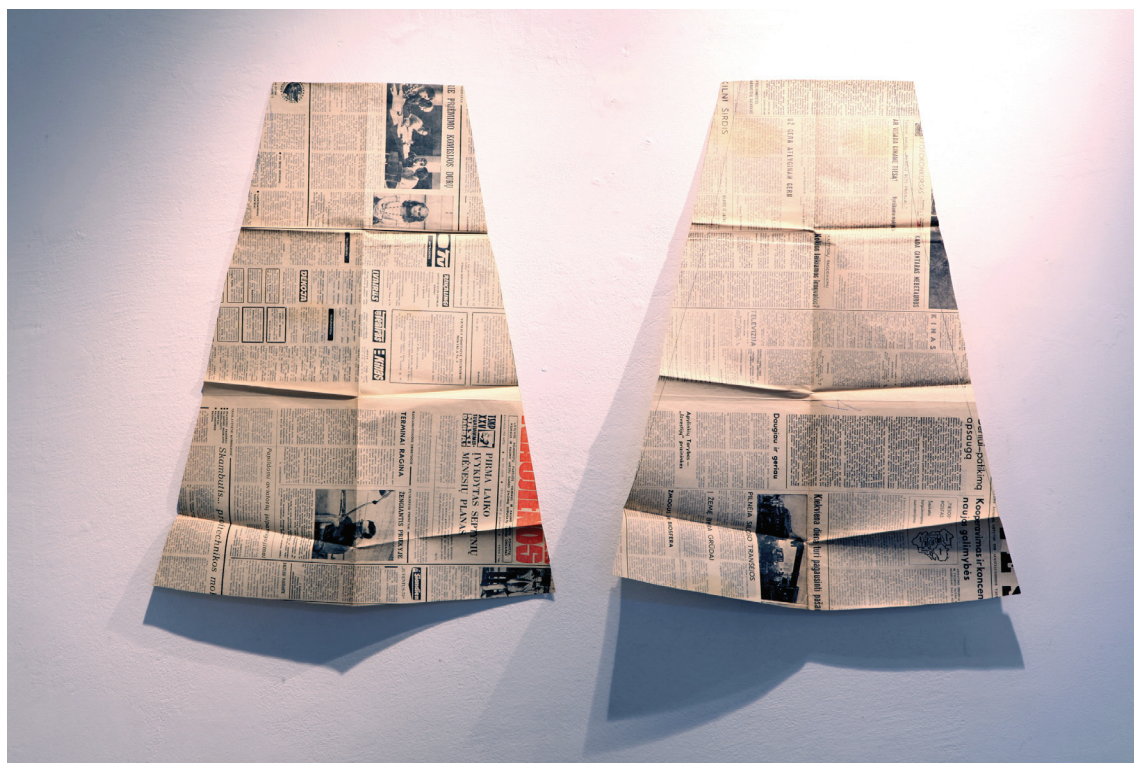
Fig. 8. Aurelija Maknytė, installation "Parents' Room", detail. 2015. Photo by Aurelija Maknytė

cold constructions of false statements hammer in: 'The great power of the friendship of nations' (*Didi tautų draugystės jėga*), 'For the sake of the happiness of the Soviet people' (*Tarybinių žmonių laimės vardan*). An unexpected 'Rebuff to the hegemonists of Beijing' (*Atkirtis Pekino hegemonininkams*) flings our attention to the side as well as the demand to 'Defend the independence of Vietnam'(*Apginti Vietnamo nepriklausomybę*). And the constantly repeated imperative 'Proletarians of all countries unite!' has a hypnotizing effect: *Visų šalių proletarai vienykitės! Visų šalių proletarai vienykitės! Visų šalių proletarai vienykitės!'''*

In 1977, I did not read such newspapers; I started paying attention to them only in 1982 when Leonid Brezhnev finally died and something started to change. But the rhetoric stayed the same: the same statements, the same headings were repeated endlessly. In other words, the cuttings from newspapers in Maknytė's *Parents' Room*, however strange that may sound, write a time that had stopped to a standstill, which was opposite to the one written in the tailor's letters. The two versions of time do not match although they belong to the same historical time. The newspapers write the same and the same, conjuring up a mantra, which echoes between the present and the past, and the words stiffen into repeated sound-fragments without a meaning: *Dūzgia, gaudžia mezgimo staklės / Į žemę byra grūdai / Pilnėja siloso tranšėjos / Pilnėja siloso tranšėjos / siloso tranšėjos pilnėja / tranšėjos pilnėja / pilnėja / ėja...* The perception of stillness contradicts the discourse about intense time constructed in the newspapers: 'The five-year plan in four years and three months' (*Penkmetį – per ketverius metus ir tris mėnesius*), 'The seven-month plan realised before time' (*Pirma laiko įvykdytas septynerių mėnesių planas*), 'Every day has to increase…' (*Kiekviena diena turi pagausinti...*), 'Deadlines urge' (*Terminai ragina*) and pull to a halt 'Once and for all' (*Kartą visam laikui*). This contradiction is only apparent, however. The newspaper writes the time that stopped to a standstill when the pressure to hurry was written soon after the October revolution. If we compare the rhetoric and contents of

the newspapers with the rhetoric and contents of the letters, we would see that they have nothing in common. These are not only two different speeds of time but also parallel lives that have no points of contact. The templates made out of the newspapers symbolize this disconnectedness of different planes of existence. But the tailor has made them not so much because, as Jolanta Marcišauskytė-Jurašienė writes, everything had to be used while everything was lacking and everything was deficit during the Soviet period,[23] but because newspapers received under obligatory subscription were useless for their primary purpose: to convey objective information.

In the exhibition, the newspaper cuttings get lifted and rustled every time somebody opens the door to the gallery or passes by. They remind of a photograph by Alfonsas Budvytis made in 1981 when he recorded posters on an announcement tower: a detached corner is lifted and briefly covers the sun.[24] That was a minimal and insignificant change in the city that had been changing very slowly, even despite numerous constructions, which also used to take decades. Here, in the gallery, the movement in the air also generates similar mini-changes, makes the stillness vibrate and creates a miniature motivation in the meaninglessness of press messages, thus exceeding the time written in newspapers. Poetry is born in the prose of the gallery.

We could guess that precisely this superimposition of the actual, but extensive, present and the virtual, but intensive, past creates a hypnotic effect in Maknytė's *Parents' Room*. For the image constructed in the present, which is always illusory and imperfect, is uprooted by the reality of the past brimming with unrealised, still untouched possibilities. While the visitor walks around the exhibition, some possibilities are realised by recollection-images brought from different sheets of the past, but one can never forget that both in the past of this project and in the future anticipated by its construction those sheets are folded and crumpled into the dense point of death, which is represented here by two bundles of newspaper. At that point, everything connects to everything, all differences disappear, the multifaceted nature of matter is gone as well as time, as if, time-space before the Big Bang.

Now it is time to consider the fact that stares at us from the wall: the newspaper cuttings have bodily shapes. Their silhouettes help us imagine clothes and bodies that will be dressed in them. The clothes will be simple (such are the lines of the templates). They will remind of a grandmother's waistcoat, cardigans and other unattractive Soviet clothes, which used to hide women and their unpresentable bodies, unshaped in sports clubs, unembellished in soliariums and massage parlours, not nurtured with creams and ointments, fattish, often floppy and unloved. Such a body could have belonged to the mother who wrote the letters; she sees everyone around her, but not herself. Invisible bodies dressed in invisible clothes lie invisibly on the raised bed and in coffins on the tables. The only visible bodies are newspaper bundles taken from shoes and the autopsy report. The newspaper bundles are the negatives of feet made in the tradition of the inside of the house turned into a hard body by Rachel Whiteread (*House*, 1993). These negatives of feet touched the shoes that were worn, thus they might have cells of the already dead body – or genetic material to recreate a loved person, at least theoretically. It is also possible, theoretically, to recreate a loved one from the autopsy report for the description is very accurate. But that would be a computer generated photograph at best, which requires the viewer to invest himself into its silent pose, which always attests to the subject's death, if to remember *Camera lucida* by Roland Barthes.[25] Both imaginary recreations only confirm the impossibility of such an act and thus present themselves as recollection-images. They are powerful tools of memory, but only as empty constructions that require filling them with the self as their contents. This gives an opening for the visitor to enter this time-image with her own memories, but also presents recollection-images as dead and empty shells.

Here the film *The Role* creates the fourth layer of meaning in the exposition. On the first layer, we saw the becoming of the human being, his transition from the illusion of safety into the condition open to the realisation of non-existence. On the second layer, we observed two simultaneously written times: the fast moving time of history and the still magical time. The movement of invisible bodies and the suggestion to the visitor to identify with them happened on the third layer. The film *The Role* (*Vaidmuo*) reiterates the theme of identification, but now as that of moulding oneself into somebody else's shoes for the sake of a performance. Barthes observed that film contains two poses tied to the past: that of the actor and that of the role he is playing, both awakening nostalgia in the spectator's mind.[26] This double nostalgia is very strong in the case of the film *The Role* for Maknytė plays in the first film directed by her art teacher Rūta Šimkaitienė, *The Gardener Goes to the Cemetery* (*Sodininkas eina į kapines*). It tells the story of a boy whose mother dies and is replaced by a step-mother performed by Maknytė. In 1992, she looks the same as she does now, even slightly older; some of her hair is tied into a bun. She keeps arranging funerary flowers in the background while the boy stays silent in the foreground. She is both in the present of the exhibition as its author, the subject whose recollection-images we see, and an actor playing her role in the past of this old film. The movement of the film makes her present here and now as films always do according to Christian Metz.[27] Thus present in both the time flow of the exhibition and in the past-present of the film the artist, never changing, is a fixed point, an embalmed body around which everything turns. This slow film repeating the shots of flowers and empty faces is another macabre inclusion in the exhibition. Its cyclic motion is one more version of time that was left not identified in this exhibition. As it loops around the body of the artist, next to the passing life of the tailor and the visitor, a permanent ritual of funeral, meeting and betrothal takes place, necessary to alleviate the flow of time towards death or at least work as an antidote by injecting some meaning into the present, albeit in a mystifying fashion.

Therefore, the present becomes both macabre and funny, adding a touch of the death dance into the pseudonym VJ Makaura used by Maknytė when she does VJ performances – the macabre Makaura. The fun as the fifth layer of meaning comes into this exhibition from the artist's ironic attitude towards her

own life, which she expresses here through the constant performance of changing roles. The younger Aurelija is a step-mother in the film; the older Aurelija is a child in her parents' room, but not quite a real step-mother nor a real child in both cases. Her own child, the grown up son Kasparas, has observed that his grandfather's body described on the wall is the same height as he is now.[28] This should be only a casual remark, not a macabre identification with the dead man, very much like Maknytė did not identify with the dead bodies when she had to lie in the coffin during the filming of *The Gardener Goes to the Cemetery*. She only explored the materials of the coffin, thus discovering unused paper for packaging chocolate ice-cream 'on sticks' between the white silk and shaves lining this bed-coffin. Thus, she came up with an idea to create *The Last Supper* (*Paskutinė vakarienė*): 'to collect the menus offered to prisoners as their last supper before execution.' This remained only as a project due to the abolition of death penalty in Lithuania.[29] In other words, she keeps changing roles and thus hits the tragic flow of the time with irony diverting it from the trajectory. She returns us back to the present suggesting we should stop and have a look around: the space is so full of curious things from which one could create something new.

This move also involves the visitor into the performance. In fact, from the moment when she opened the door to the gallery and heard the rustle of newspapers lifted by the moving air, the visitor has been participating in this performance of recollection by walking through the exhibition and filling the spaces left by invisible bodies. At first, the visitor became aware of the dichotomy of the concepts of life and death signified by different objects. But soon it became clear that their meanings kept switching between life and death as the same object could be used for both living and dying. The socio-political background of Soviet time initially seemed strongly affected by ideological certainties, but while reading letters, they soon melted amidst everyday concerns. The linear flow of time, always tinged by the certainty of death in the future, was also dismantled by using different forms of time. And the

first impression that the artist was talking about her own personal past was finally undone through the discovery of Aurelija switching roles with her parents in the exhibition and even with fictional parents in the film, including the actualised and non-actualised possibilities inherent in assuming different identities. All this could have been left as a collection of scattered sheets of the past but for the tailor's virtual presence. This symbolical figure showed how to sew fragments into a unique shape that had not existed before entering the exhibition. Thus, the artist and the visitor switched roles in the act of self-creation.

To sum it up, we could say that the viewer walking around the exhibition, seeing, hearing and feeling its elements, performs it and thus creates it. Of course, Maknytė had planned some of the visitors' movements and meanings they were bound to read beforehand. But as it is impossible to construct the performance as a finished product, so it is impossible to know for sure what the visitor would make of such an installation. Thus, my walk with this text around the exhibition, while exploring my own experiences of the speeds and trajectories of time, should be considered as part of the feedback loop of self-creation. For me, the most important part of it was to (re)create myself.

Notes

[1]   Osborne, Peter. *Anywhere or not at all. Philosophy of Contemporary Art*. London: Verso, 2013, p. 169.
[2]   Ibid., p. 170–171.
[3]   Ibid., p. 190.
[4]   Ibid., p. 190–192.
[5]   Narušytė, Agnė. The Diaries of Death. In: *The Art of Identity and Memory: Toward a Cultural History of the Two World Wars in Lithuania*. Ed. Giedrė Jankevičiūtė, Rasutė Žukienė. Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2016, p. 55–84.
[6]   Deleuze, Gilles. *Cinema II. The Time-Image*. Trans. Hugh Tomlinson and Robert Galeta. London: Bloomsbury, 2013, p. 103–130. I have applied this concept for the analysis of artistic research projects exploring the Soviet past in another paper: Narušytė, Agnė. Sovietmetis kaip meninio tyrimo objektas: Kęstučio Grigaliūno, Dainiaus Liškevičiaus ir Eglės Ulčickaitės atvejai [Soviet period as the object of art research: cases of Kęstutis Grigaliūnas,

Dainius Liškevičius and Eglė Ulčickaitė]. *Acta Academiae Artium Vilnensis*, 79, *Meninis tyrimas: teorija ir praktika*. Ed. Vytautas Michelkevičius. Vilnius: Vilniaus Art Academy Publishers, 2015, p. 55–56.

7 Deleuze, p. 7–9, 18.

8 Ibid., p. 103.

9 Ibid., p. 104.

10 Ibid., p. 120, 128.

11 Ibid., p. 128–130.

12 Fischer-Lichte, Erika. *The Transformative Power of Performance. A New Aesthetics*. Trans. Saskya Iris Jain. Oxon: Routledge, 2008, p. 25.

13 Ibid., p. 27, 50.

14 Ibid., p. 50.

15 Later, Maknytė bound the letters in a self-published book of 3 copies: *Lik sveika, manęs aplankyta: motinos laiškai dukrai / 1965–1990 metai / [Farewell, visited by me: mother's letters for a daughter / 1965-1990/]*, a draft publication of digitalised letters, digitalised by Aurelija Maknytė, 2013–2015.

16 Pankūnaitė, Birutė. Pokalbis nepatogia tema. Aurelijos Maknytės paroda "Tėvų kambarys" galerijoje "Artifex" [Discussion on the awkward subject. Exhibition of Aurelija Maknytė "Parents' room" in the gallery "Artifex"]. In: *7 meno dienos*, 27-03-2015 [interactive]. www.7md.lt. Available: http://www.7md.lt/tarp_disciplinu/2015-03-27/Pokalbis-nepatogia-tema.

17 Ibid.

18 Maknytė, Aurelija. Fater's Act. In: *maknyte.com*, 2001 [interactive]. Available: http://maknyte.com/fathers-act-tevo-aktas-2001-2/.

19 Pankūnaitė, op. cit.

20 Jonkus, Dalius. Įkūnytas laikas ir akimirkos grožis. Nauji filmai – "Vaikystė" [Embodied time and beauty of the moment. New movies – "Childhood"]. In: *7 meno dienos*, 21-11-2014 [interactive]. Available: http://www.7md.lt/kinas/2014-11-21/Ikunytas-laikas-ir-akimirkos-grozis.

21 Ibid.

22 Thürlemann, Felix. *Nuo vaizdo į erdvę: Apie semiotinę dailėtyrą*. Trans: Lina Kliaugaitė. Vilnius: baltos lankos, 1994, p. 42–43.

23 Marcišauskytė-Jurašienė, Jolanta. Įeiti į tėvų kambarį. Aurelijos Maknytės paroda "Tėvų kambarys" galerijoje "Artifex: [Entering parents' room. Exhibition by Aurelija Maknytė "Parents' room" in the gallery Artifex]. In: *artnews.lt*, 2015 [interactive]. Available: http://www.artnews.lt/ieiti-i-tevu-kambari-aurelijos-maknytes-paroda-tevu-kambarys-galerijoje-artifex-27960].

24 Narušytė, Agnė. *The Aesthetics of Boredom in Lithuanian Photography*. Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 2010, p. 252–257.

25 Barthes, Roland. *Camera lucida. Reflections on Photography*. Trans. Richard Howard. New York: Hill and Wang, 1982, p. 78–80.

26 Ibid., p. 79.

27 Metz, Christian. *Film Language: A Semiotics of the Cinema*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974. p. 8. Quoted by GREEN, David. Marking Time: Photography, Film and Temporalities of the Image. *Stillness and Time: Photography and the Moving Image*. Brighton: Photoworks, 2006.

28 From my interview with Aurelija Maknytė in 2015.

29 Maknytė, Aurelija. Last Supper. In: *maknyte.com*, 2008 [interactive]. Available: http://maknyte.com/paskutine-vakariene-last-supper/.

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AURELIJOS MAKNYTĖS PARODA „TĖVŲ KAMBARYS" KAIP LAIKOVAIZDIS

Santrauka

Gilles'io Deleuze'o sąvoka „laikovaizdis" (angl. *image temps*) tinka mąstant apie meno kūrinius, jungiančius objektus iš skirtingų laiko sluoksnių į erdvines instaliacijas – projektus, kurių galutinį ir idealų variantą turi susikurti pats žiūrovas. Tokia paroda įgyvendinama tarsi performansas, išklibinantis sąvokų opozicijas ir paskatinantis savikūros procesus. Šiame straipsnyje, pasitelkiant „laikovaizdžio" sąvoką ir Erikos Fischer-Lichte performatyvios estetikos sampratą, fenomenologiškai nagrinėjama Aurelijos Maknytės paroda „Tėvų kambarys", įvykusi Vilniaus galerijoje „Artifex" 2015 m.

„Tėvų kambaryje" žiūrovas atranda skirtingų laikotarpių ir vietų prisiminimus generuojančius įvaizdžius, susijusius su įvairiais, vienas kito nepažinojusiais žmonėmis: siuvėja, rašiusia laiškus dukrai nuo 1965 m. iki 1990 m., A. Maknytės mirusiais tėvais ir ja pačia, atliekančia dukters ir pamotės vaidmenis. Menininkė neslepia sluoksnių atskirumo,

ji net atskleidžia savo kūrybos šaltinius: šeimos gyvenimo fragmentus, kaupiamus spaudinius, įvairiais tikslais pagamintus dirbinius (sovietinius sulankstomus stalus šventėms, laidotuvių batus, siuvamąją mašiną, susiuvančią iš sovietinių laikraščių iškirptus drabužių šablonus), savo pačios kūrinius (menininkės knygą „Lik sveika, manęs aplankyta: motinos laiškai dukrai", kurioje surinkti siuvėjos laiškai; „Tėvo aktą", sukurtą 2001 m., ir filmą „Vaidmuo", savo kūriniu paverstą aproprijuojant Rūtos Šimkaitienės filmą „Sodininkas eina į kapines", sukurtą 1992 m., kur A. Maknytė vaidino pamotę). Ir komiškos, ir makabriškos kitų žmonių gyvenimo istorijos sykiu kondensuojasi objektuose, instaliuotuose trijose galerijos erdvėse. Paroda jungia tikroves, kurios „neturi informacijos" viena apie kitą, bet yra susijusios nematomais atsitiktiniais, tačiau menininkės planuotais, sutapimais. Žiūrovas tampa visamatančiu privilegijuotu žinovu iš „ateities", taip pat įsitraukiančiu į parodos naratyvą. Taip suformuojamas papildomas patirties sluoksnis.

Po parodą vaikščiojantis žiūrovas regi, girdi ir jaučia pavienius elementus vieną po kito, juos susieja į delioziška „laikovaizdį" ir iššifruoja skirtingas laiko tėkmes. Taigi šis žiūrovas „atlieka" parodą kaip performatyvų aktą ir taip „kuria pats save", o per jį kuriama ir paroda. Žinoma, instaliuodama parodą A. Maknytė žiūrovų judesius ir perskaitomas reikšmes planavo, bet, kaip ir performanso, taip ir daugybinės ekspozicijos rezultato, neįmanoma iki galo suplanuoti. Dėl to šis „pasivaikščiojimas tekstu" per parodą, fenomenologiniu metodu tiriant laiko greičių ir trajektorijų patirtis, laikytinas tos parodos kaip kilpos savikūros dalimi.

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REPRESENTATION OF "THE OTHER" IN THE THEATRE JOURNALISM DURING THE FIRST LITHUANIAN INDEPENDENCE

Summary. The article discusses the notion of *the Other* as it reveals itself through the content of the Lithuanian press media in the time period between 1926 and 1940. Articles describing the performances of the Lithuanian National Theatre are discussed. The content of these articles shows that Russian artists working in independent Lithuania were considered as a dangerous *Other* who exploits Lithuania ideologically and economically. Although such artists as Andrius Oleka-Žilinskas, Mikhail Chekhov, Vera Solovjova and others came to work in Kaunas in order to escape the Soviet regime, they were accused in Lithuania as being pro-Bolshevik and pro-Communist. The research shows that Lithuanian theatre journalists only considered Russians as dangerous to the young independent state but not Jewish or Polish artists. One can presume that Lithuania feared the communist regime so much that it tried to avoid any collaboration, including this with artists, which could harm the development of the independent state. In spite that Russian theatre artists enriched Lithuanian National Theatre, they were forced to leave Lithuania and never come back.

Keywords: Lithuanian theatre during the first independence, representation of *the Other* in Lithuanian theatre, theatre and *the Other*, theatre journalism.

The first Lithuanian independence (1918-1940) is known as the time period when the notion of Lithuanian national identity was created. Starting with 1926, this notion was supported by the so called *tautininkai* (nationalist) government. One of the objectives of this government was to implement and defend the Lithuanian language – national language of Lithuania. Other objectives were to express nationality in different art forms – architecture, visual arts, literature, music, and theatre. However, a big part of the population of that time was used to express itself in other languages, not Lithuanian. Lots of Lithuanian citizens were using Russian, German or Polish as their everyday languages. In 1935, 60 percent of Kaunas citizens considered themselves as Lithuanians, whereas 26 percent of them considered being Jewish, 4 percent –Polish, and 3,5 percent –German, 2,8 percent were of other nationalities.[1] This situation continued till the occupation of Lithuania by the Soviets.

The aim of this article is to analyze the way other nationalities (not Lithuanian) were represented in Lithuanian national press of that time. In order to realize this objective, we shall take advantage of the philosophical notion of the *Other* since it allows to understand the general condition of the Lithuanian state at that time. Using this perspective, we shall analyze the content of certain Lithuanian newspapers and journals which had the task to present processes in Lithuanian theatre to its readers. Various descriptions of Lithuanian theatre events can be considered as representative ones since theatre was hold by the government as *the* most important tool for the creation of national identity. When we talk about Lithuanian theatre, we have in mind only Lithuanian National theatre, an institution that consisted of three theatre groups – drama, opera, and ballet – and that had a significant building in the heart of Kaunas city. This was the only theatre in Lithuania that was solidly supported by the state, whereas other theatre groups had to survive on their own means and could never last for longer.

Before we go into the analysis of the content of the articles, we would like to discuss the notion of the *Other* and the role this notion could play in Lithuania during the discussed period. The concept of the

Other was established at the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century by German philosophers, and it was coined in the middle of the 20th century by French intellectuals Jacques Lacan and Emannuel Lévinas. In the context of our article, we would like to develop briefly the notion of the *Other* as it was discussed by German thinkers Johann Gottlieb Fichte and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel. According to Fichte, the predecessor of this term, the *Other*, rises from the concept of *I* that is already in a relation with the surrounding world. *I* appears in the act of self-consciousness and self-perception, before any concrete external relationships with the other have come into action yet. Self-consciousness can constitute the identity of *I* only when it neglects *Other*. That is why the *Other* is the deny of myself, that is why subjects – individuals, consciousnesses–- are in the confrontation.[2] While expanding the insights of Fichte, Hegel adds that a being can comprehend itself only when it desires something. While satisfying its natural desires, the desiring self destroys, transforms, neglects and thus establishes itself. To understand and to justify its own identity, it needs not only a direct relation with itself but also a mediator. In order to constitute self-consciousness, the *I* needs the *Other* not only as an object but also as a desire. Thus, the *Other* as a mediator can allow the consciousness of the *I* to know itself objectively. One must admit, that the *Other* is not a passive object but an active one, a consciousness that is also trying to define its *I* as an object.[3] This relationship between the two consciousnesses is defined by Hegel as the relationship or the battle between a master and a slave.

This relationship of the battle between *I* and the *Other*, as well as the desire of the slave to break out of the shackles of the master, can be compared to the relationship between Lithuania and Russia. Having been a part of Russian Empire for more than a century, Lithuania made every effort to stay away from this country after the First World War. Lithuania needed to establish itself as a solid nation, therefore, starting with 1918, when it declared its independence, the country used every possible tool to create it. Lithuanian press was used as a tool to neglect Russia, or the *Other*. The analysis of different theatre articles allows presuming that Lithuanians considered Russians as the most dangerous *Other* for establishing Lithuanian identity.

In order to illustrate this thesis, theatre articles written in such Lithuanian journals as *Naujoji Romuva (New Romuva)*, *Tautos kelias (The Way of the Nation)*, *Dienos naujienos (Daily News)*, *Teatras (Theatre)* were chosen. The analysis of these articles allows to conclude that Lithuanian minorities deserved different evaluations from the press. There are no articles about theatres of Polish or German minorities – several amateur troupes existed in the discussed time period, but they were not considered as being important or of interest. There were quite a lot of articles about different Jewish theatre troupes in such journals and newspapers as *7 meno dienos (7 Days of Art)*, *Dienos naujienos(Daily News)*, *Lietuvos aidas (Echo of Lithuania)*, *Diena (Day)*, *Lietuvos žinios (Lithuanian News)*, *Rytas (Morning)*, *Vairas (Steering Wheel)*. There existed one to three Jewish troupes in the discussed time period, but neither Jewish theatre nor Jewish artists were considered by the journalists of these newspapers as being a menace to the Lithuanian theatre.[4] Sometimes the press was making mockeries of Jewish audiences while describing their bad behavior habits in the theatre, but it never considered Jewish artists as making any damage to the Lithuanian theatre. For instance, one of the *Rytas* journalists was writing about Jewish spectators:

> "There is a real problem with the Jewish audience! The time period when "Habima" is performing in our theatre [Lithuanian National Theatre] is called the Jewish week, because everyday the theatre is stuffed with Jews. There is a real traffic jam around the theatre: everyone is pushing, hustling, trampling. Four policemen have difficulties protecting the doormen: everyone is trying to get in, whatever you try to do. By the time you get into the theatre, you feel like you have crossed a dog mill. When will these people learn to be polite!"[5]

The only reproach to Jewish audiences is that they are impolite, but there are no accusations that would

have political background. Sometimes the press accused Jewish theatre entrepreneurs of employing to their troupes not Jewish residents of Lithuania but foreign Jews, however again, the press did it in favour of local Jewish artists, in order to protect their rights. Prima's article in the journal *Theatre* illustrates it:

> "We cannot talk about a permanent Jewish theatre in Lithuania indeed. A businessman who has a theatre enterprise invites either a group from a foreign country (and then all the actors here can starve) or a star actor who already has a lot of plays and then local actors are invited to play with him. Of course, still many actors stay without a job if they do not agree to be paid as bad as they are by the local theatre businessmen. In that case, actors from foreign countries are invited without any obstacles to work here instead of giving jobs first to the local actors. ... If [the performance] is successful and the star actor is appreciated by the audience, actors can be happy not because they get salaries but because they get, as it was always before, their share from the revenues. From theses revenues, one also covers travel tickets of the foreigners and – what is really strange – Lithuanian citizens pay for their visas and permissions to live and work in Lithuania."[6]

That is, Jews and Jewish theatre was not regarded as a dangerous *Other* that would harm the Lithuanian *I*. One can presume that the collision was not so much between the cultures as between the political regimes – even though Lithuania was in conflict with Poland and tried to control the behaviour of Jews in Lithuania,[7] Russia and its communist ideology represented nevertheless the most dangerous enemy of Lithuania. Therefore, the government tried to take necessary measures to prevent the spreading of communist ideas in Lithuania and it used the press as a tool for this prevention. This can be illustrated by the behaviour of the Lithuanian government led by nationalists (tautininkai), just in the time period they overtook the power from the folk's party (valstiečiai liaudininkai) in 1926.

Robert W. Heingartner, American Consul residing in Kaunas at that time, wrote about the censorship of the press in his diary in December 1926, day after the putsch in Lithuania: "The Kovno newspapers appeared again today but under military censorship. The *Litauische Rundschau* (newspaper in German language) shows two blank spaces in its columns which were deleted by the military censor."[8] In the next two days, "the situation did not change – news stands were forbidden to sell German or other foreign newspapers that would give their opinion about the military events in Kaunas."[9] One month later, the situation in the country was still not normal, not only because of the putsch but also because the new governors sentenced to death four communists. Protests for this event took place in different countries of Europe. As Heingartner noticed in his diary, "The papers of today report that there was rioting in Berlin yesterday when communists tried to storm Lithuanian legation. One man was killed and several were wounded. The communists all over the world are enraged at the Lithuanian government for shooting the four communists last month."[10]

The situation was still not stable in March. A printing office of the daily *Lietuvos žinios* was blown up in the night of the 11th, and it was presumed that it happened because it was the only oppositional paper published in Lithuania. According to Heingartner: "Owing to the press censorship, the newspapers are not permitted to express their views on the explosion."[11] *Lietuvos žinios* continued nevertheless its existence and gave its opinion concerning the bombing. It affirmed that it will continue its course without a fare. According to Heingartner, this incident "gave some idea of the hatred between political parties in this country and it is not a hopeful augury for the future of the republic."[12]

As the above mentioned quotations show, the newly formed government, that was led by the President Antanas Smetona and the Prime Minister Augustinas Valdemaras, was desperately afraid of any revolutionary movements that could be organized by the supporters of communist or other leftist ideologies, therefore, it strictly forbid any kind of free expression in the press. This situation lasted for some time.

Later on, some of the newspapers were obliged to change their editors in chief so that they would be more loyal to the government, and the ordinary life of the press continued.

Nevertheless, as the analysis of the content of the articles on theatre matters in different press means shows, the intention to protect Lithuanian nation from the "communist enemy" continued to be of importance during the coming years, and was especially visible in 1931-1932, in time period when prominent Russian actors – Andrius Oleka-Žilinskas, his wife Vera Soloviova and one of the leaders of Russian theatre, Michail Chekhov – worked in Lithuanian National Theatre. All of them were former students of Konstantin Stanislavsky. The latter was considered as the most important theatre reformer in the world, at the same time, Stanislavski's Theatre of Art in Moscow was considered by Stalin as *the* model of the Soviet theatre that should be followed by all other Soviet theatres. We shall show below what narrative was used by Lithuanian theatre journalists in order to reveal Russian artists as the *Other*, the *Other* that is presupposed to be menacing to the young independent country.

Andrius Oleka-Žilinskas was invited to Kaunas in 1929 by the director of the Lithuanian National Theatre Jurgis Savickis.[13] Although born in Russia, Oleka-Žilinskas was of Lithuanian origin, therefore, his supporters, such like the prominent Lithuanian poet, drama writer and theatre critic Balys Sruoga, and Jurgis Baltrušaitis, also a poet and diplomat, wanted to see him at the lead of the Lithuanian National Theatre. The latter, in the opinion of Sruoga, was suffering due to the lack of new ideas and better quality. Oleka-Žilinskas accepted the invitation and came to Kaunas from Moscow, where he was working before at the progressive Art Theatre 2. The Stanislavsky pupil was supposed to give new creative impulses to the most important Lithuanian cultural institution. He succeeded doing this while creating an original performance based on the legend of Lithuanian knight Šarūnas, in 1929.

The text (written by Vincas Krėvė and adapted for stage by Petras Vaičiūnas) was interpreted by the actors as a kind of Lithuanian folk song – this interpretation confirmed the expectations of most of the Lithuanian audience and the actors. Oleka-Žlinskas had explained to the troupe as well as to the press the idea behind the performance.[14] In other words, the press knew beforehand the purpose of the play and could explain it to the audience while the actors understood the sense of their being on stage. Second, the form of the performance demanded that the troupe acted as if it was an orchestra. The actors had to coordinate their instruments – bodies and voices – in a way that the whole would again resemble a song. With the performance of *Šarūnas,* several things became evident concerning the Lithuanian National Theatre and its relationship with the theatre reforms going on in Russia. Ultimately, *Šarūnas* crowned the efforts of the Lithuanian intellectuals, especially Sruoga, to create a National Theatre that would be relevant to contemporary society by giving rise to profound questions about the newly reborn nation. *Šarūnas* corresponded to what the Theatre Council had described, ten years before, as an authentic Lithuanian theatre. It was a dramatic poem, a song, and a fairy tale at the same time, about the heroic Lithuanian past and the ability of the people to sacrifice themselves in the name of the homeland.

The critic in general was favorable for this interpretation, nevertheless, there were already some critics who reproached Oleka-Žilinskas for spreading the "disastrous principles of anarchism" in the society as well as serving the Bolshevik propaganda.[15] Most of the newspapers, as said, praised the performance and treated Oleka-Žilinskas as a serious candidate for the leadership of the theatre. He was nominated for the post of the director the same year and, with the help of Sruoga, started not only working on the repertory but also creating an image of a serious modern theatre institution. Therefore, he organized intensive public relations campaigns. As we shall see later, these campaigns were only partly appreciated by the representatives of the Lithuanian press.

One of the first accusations that Oleka-Žilinskas had to confront was the fact that he employed Russian actors instead of Lithuanian ones. For instance, the nationalistic minded newspaper *Tautos kelias* criticized the leader of the theatre for wanting to

employ five Russians since the Lithuanian ones "seemed to be not convenient for him."[16] Even if Oleka-Žilinskas tried to justify himself about the necessity of high quality actors despite their nationality, the pro-nationalist press accused him of Bolshevik intentions.

Every time they could, Lithuanian intellectuals, such as Faustas Kirša, Juozas Keliuotis, Jonas Kossu-Aleksandravičius, blamed him for serving the communist ideology. For instance, in his article about *Sabbatai Cevi*, performance that was staged by Oleka-Žilinskas in the beginning of 1931, Kirša wrote that the director "could not reveal a Man on stage; as Russians would say, everything in the performance seemed colourless ("niečto v sierom") as it would probably be in a communist state."[17] He also accused the director that his interpretation of the prophet Sabbatai Cevi, whose make-up reminded of another religious hero, Jesus Christ, was not correct. According to him, the director took a path that was very common to Russian nihilists, that is, to "drag the name of Christ around."[18] It is clear that the critic of a catholic trend could not be satisfied with the way his idol was interpreted on stage.

Another intellectual, Juozas Keliuotis, who was the editor in chief of one of the most important cultural magazines *Naujoji Romuva*, responded to the considerations about the national theatre, that Oleka-Žilinskas had shared during one of his press conferences, organized for the beginning of the new theatre season in 1932. He reproached the director's locution that he could not find a ready-made Lithuanian national ideology, therefore, could not stage national performances. According to Keliuotis, nationalism could not be learned, "one can maybe become a patriot when ordered, but one cannot definitely become a nationalist when ordered."[19] Keliuotis did not like Oleka-Žilinskas's appeal to journalists where he asked them to explain the national character of the nation: "nationalism is not a beigel that could be taken out from somewhere and eaten."[20] He suggested that theatre artists should "love their nation from the bottom of their hearts ..., then the nation would also love them and would not accuse them any more for Russification and indifference for the highest ideals of the nation."[21] He

invited theatre artists to kick out Russian language and customs from the temple of theatre art.

In his article, Keliuotis concluded that "Lithuanian nation is not satisfied anymore with only its political independence in the beginning of the thirties. It wants as well to be independent culturally and artistically."[22] Lithuania, according to him, will not slave someone any more, especially not Russians. He finished his long article in an exalted note: "Everything and everybody, who will not want or will not be able to serve sincerely the creation of national culture, will have to leave our cultural life! … Lithuanian nation will not wait any more. … It requires from Jews not to speak Russian any more, otherwise they should search for another homeland. It cuts with Russian, Polish and German rudiments in all the fields of society – politics, army, university, literature, visual arts, economics, and also theatre."[23]

The spirit, in which Keliuotis expressed himself, reveals that nationalism was considered the most important ideology in Lithuania in 1932, and it was not favorable for the artists, especially when they were of foreign origin, to reveal cosmopolite approaches to the culture.

Another intellectual, Kossu-Aleksandravičius, continued in the same vein, although his message about nationalism was rather contradictory. In one article that appeared in *Naujoji Romuva* in 1932 he considered Oleka-Žilinskas's performance Šarūnas as not national enough because the costumes of the performance "smelt very much like mother Russia."[24] In the same article, he also discussed the Russian staff of the ballet of the National theatre. According to him, Russians should not dance Lithuanian dances since the way they were doing that resembled more of a caricature than of a dance. At the end of the article, he nevertheless criticizes the defenders of the Lithuanian nationalism since the demand to perform art in a national manner, according to him, was an exaggeration that finally became comic.

In his later article of 1933, Kossu-Aleksandravičius defined the situation of Lithuanian national theatre as tragic, but he avoided to blame Russian artists who were working at the theatre at that time. Instead, he debated Lithuanian nature that needed

foreign nannies and would still need them for a long time. Lithuanian theatre, according to him, had lips to talk but it "did not have neither lungs nor the heart."[25] It was not the fault of the director but of the Lithuanians themselves, declared the journalist. That is, the critic treated Lithuania as being inferior to Russia, a sort of Hegelian slave, meanwhile Russia was serving as a master.

As the above mentioned discussions show, Lithuanian pro-national press was playing kind of a censor at the Lithuanian national stage. In addition to this, it reproached to the theatre the quality of the repertoire and performances, and the constitution of the staff. According to the press, Russian artists were infiltrated by Soviet ideology *per se*, no matter what they were really thinking and what their beliefs were. It accused the director Oleka-Žilinskas of employing Russian artists and firing from the theatre Lithuanian ones. Lithuanian press was concluding that "all the fields of our life were impregnated with the Soviet spirit, and we do almost nothing in order to fight it."[26]

Another reproach made by the press was of a more pragmatic nature. According to journalists, it was not decent to pay big royalties to Russian artists who were not really attached to the country they were working in, and thus make financial harm to the Lithuanian economics. This discontent was especially visible after Michail Chekhov staged Gogol's *Inspector General* in the National Theatre in 1933. Chekhov was one of the most famous actors of the Moscow Art Theatre 2. Oleka-Žilinskas invited his colleague to Kaunas to stage some performances and give acting courses for the students. The press criticized *Inspector General* since it was based on Russian customs that, according to the press, had nothing to do with our young independent country. As *Dienos naujienos* wrote, "To whom the performance was applying? …We do not have such degenerates here. … We should only be happy that *Inspector General* has nothing to do with us and that it was not Lithuanians who treated Gogol so badly."[27] Soon after the premiere, Chekhov left Lithuania for Riga. The press commented this departure in a sarcastic way comparing Chekhov with the main character of the play, Chlestakov, the inspector general. The

same daily wrote: "Chekhov took some thousands Litas for his *Inspector General*, waved his hat, got into the train for Riga, and just sang a song about not staying in this place anymore."[28]

Soon after Chekhov's departure, Oleka-Žilinskas abandoned the post of the director of the National Theatre as well. One can presume that the pro-national press did its job since rumours and discussions spreading out in the press started harming the reputation of the theatre, as well as of the state itself. Therefore, the Ministry of Education decreased the salary for Oleka-Žilinskas so that soon he was confronted with serious financial difficulties. These difficulties, as well as the concerted critic of Russification and Sovietization, forced Oleka-Žilinskas and his wife to leave Lithuania for other Western countries.[29] One can presume that Lithuania feared the communist regime so much that it tried to avoid any collaboration, including this with artists, which could harm the development of the independent state. In spite Russian theatre artists enriched Lithuanian National Theatre, they were forced to leave Lithuania and never come back.

As we could see, part of the Lithuanian theatre press did not support the fact that artists of Russian origin or sympathizers of Russian culture would take part creating Lithuanian national theatre or Lithuanian culture in general. In order to present them as an enemy and to stress their political background, adjectives such as *Bolshevik*, *communist* or *soviet* were used. These adjectives implicated such pejorative associations as external menace, forced protectorate, cruelty and degeneration. In general, Russians were seen in Lithuania as a dangerous *Other* who was not there to enrich the young country but to exploit it economically and ideologically. No matter that Russian artists working in Lithuania were of a very high professional level, they were seen as a menace to the Lithuanian state, therefore they had to be expelled. One can presume that such a discourse of hatred and distrust impregnated not only the minds of ordinary people but also that of Lithuanian intellectuals. Only later, after the Second World War and its disasters in Europe were experienced, Emmanuel Lévinas, French philosopher originated from Jewish of Kaunas, developed another notion

of the *Other*. This notion was meant not to establish the relationship between the *I* and an objective *Other* but to establish the relationship between *I* and the God, a footprint, an invisible Face, *Visage* that is visiting a human being.

Notes

1 Kauno miesto statistikos metraštis 1937 [Statistic chronicles of Kaunas city 1937]. Kauno miesto statistikos biuro leidinys [Publication of the Statistic Office of Kaunas city], Kaunas 1938, p. 10.

2 Fichte, Johann Gottlieb. *Foundations of Natural Right*. 1796-7. Translated from German in 2000, Cambridge University Press, 2000, p. 18-53.

3 Hegel, Georg Wilhelm Friedrich. *Phenomenology of Mind*. Translated by W. Wallace, 1971, Oxford Clarendon Press, p. 47-59.

4 More about Jewish theatre in Lithuania in: Ina Pukelytė. Reconstructing a Nomadic Network: Itineraries of Jewish Actors during the First Lithuanian Independence. *Nordic Theatre Studies*. 2015; vol. 27, no 1: 78-89.

5 Menas ir kūryba. Habima *[*Art and Creation. Habima*]. Rytas*. 1926 vasario 18, p. 2.

6 Prima. Jewish Theatre in Lithuania (Žydų teatrai Lietuvoje). Teatras. 1938; nr. 4: 6-7. (translated by I. P. – Ina Pukelytė)

7 The Jewish Ministry that was established in Lithuania in 1919 was closed in 1924. Lithuanian government considered that Jews should obey Lithuanian laws as all other nationalities living in the country should do. More in: Šarūnas Liekis. *A State within a State? Jewish Autonomy in Lithuania in 1918-1925*. Vilnius: Versus aureus, 2003. (translated by I. P. – Ina Pukelytė)

8 Heingartner, Robert W. *Lithuania in the 1920s. A Diplomat's Diary*. Amsterdam-New York: Rodopi, 2009, p. 77.

9 Ibid., p. 79.

10 Ibid., p. 97.

11 Ibid., p. 117.

12 Ibid.

13 Andrius Oleka-Žilinskas joined the Moscow Art Theatre in 1913 as an associate. He stayed at the theatre for one year after which he was recruited to serve in the army. He returned to Moscow in 1917, and was accepted as a student at the First Studio. Between 1917 and 1920, he played in several performances of the Studio, including *Twelfth Night*, *The Wreck of the Ship 'Hope'*, and *Baladine*. The dream of the Studio's founders, Stanislavsky and Leopold Sulerzhitsky, was 'to create something that would be similar to a spiritual order of actors. Members of the order had to be more noble-minded, with wider horizons, perceiving human nature, being able to sacrifice themselves for a cause'. At the time when Oleka-Žilinskas was working in it, the aspirations of the Studio were starting to change; however, Sulerzhitsky had died in 1916 and Stanislavsky would soon distance himself from the Studio as it would become more of a formal theatre, with an emphasis on production of performances rather than training. Striving for new challenges while trying to escape post-revolutionary Russia, Oleka-Žilinskas left Moscow for Kaunas in 1920 with the goal to become a leader of the newly-founded national theatre. In the summer of the same year, the Lithuanian Art Association elected him, together with Sruoga, as a member of the Theatre Council which had to develop a unique Lithuanian theatre concept based on rituals, fairy tales and ancient songs, or the plays of certain Lithuanian modern writers. Nevertheless, the Council decided that the theatre should be led by a personality that would have stronger links with Lithuanian actors, which led to Oleka-Žilinskas being offered to head the newly established Acting Studio rather than the National Theatre. Since the ambitions of the young leader were not met, Oleka-Žilinskas soon left Lithuania for Paris, even before the opening of the Theatre. In the summer 1921, he joined the Mchat group of Prague, led by Vasily Kachalov, and toured with it in Europe until 1922, when he returned to the First Studio in Moscow. In 1924, the First Studio became the Mchat II, where Oleka-Žilinskas worked until his return to Lithunia in 1929. More in: Aleknonis, G. *Režisierius Andrius Oleka-Žilinskas [Director Andrius Oleka-Žilinskas]*. Vilnius: Scena, 2001; Česnulevičiūtė, P. *Andrius Oleka-Žilinskas, Balys Sruoga ir kiti [Andrius Oleka-Žilinskas, Balys Sruoga and others]*. Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 2012; Stanislavskis K. S. *Mano meninis gyvenimas [My Life in Art]*.Vilnius: Valstybinė grožinės literatūros leidykla, 1951, p. 393.

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18 Ibid.

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20 Ibid.

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24 Kossu-Aleksandravičius, Jonas. Valstybės teatro paradai ir kiti dalykai [Parades and other things of the governmental theatre]. *Naujoji Romuva*. 1932; 48: p. 1040.

25 Kossu-Aleksandravičius, Jonas. Dėl baleto išsišokimo [For ballet dancing]. *Naujoji Romuva*. 1933; 133: 205.

26 Alkis. Ne tik patys lietuviai, bet ir užsienis nori lietuviško teatro [Hunger. Not only Lithuanians but foreigners want Lithuanian theatre]. *Naujoji Romuva*. 1932; 30-31: 693.

27 M. Chekhov. Revisor. *Dienos naujienos*. 1933; p. 4.

28 Ibid.

29 Oleka-Žilinskas Andrius left Lithuania in January 1935 in order to join Chekhov in Paris. Subsequently, both of them moved forward to other destinations: Oleka-Žilinskas ended in New-York in 1935, whereas Chekhov received an invitation to work in Great Britain. More in: Aleknonis, G. *Režisierius Andrius Oleka-Žilinskas [Director Andrius Oleka-Žilinskas]*. Vilnius: Scena, 2001.

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„KITO" REPREZENTACIJA PIRMOSIOS LIETUVOS NEPRIKLAUSOMYBĖS TEATRO ŽURNALIZME

Santrauka

Straipsnyje nagrinėjama *Kito* koncepcija, kuri atsiskleidžia vertinant 1926–1940 m. lietuviškos spaudos publikacijas. Analizuojami straipsniai, kuriuose rašoma apie Lietuvos Valstybės teatro spektaklius. Tekstų turinys rodo, kad rusų artistai, kurie dirbo tuo metu nepriklausomoje Lietuvoje, buvo laikomi pavojingu *Kitu*, išnaudojančiu Lietuvą tiek ideologiškai, tiek ir ekonomiškai. Nors teatre dirbę menininkai Andrius Oleka-Žilinskas, Michailas Čechovas, Vera Solovjova ir kiti atvyko į Kauną bėgdami nuo sovietinio režimo, Lietuvoje jie buvo kaltinami bolševizmu ir komunizmu. Tyrimas rodo, kad tik rusų, o ne, pavyzdžiui, žydų ar lenkų, menininkai buvo laikomi pavojingais jaunai nepriklausomai valstybei. Galima daryti prielaidą, kad Lietuva, bijodama komunistinio režimo, visais būdais stengėsi vengti bendradarbiavimo, kuris pakenktų nepriklausomos valstybės vystymuisi, ypač su rusų menininkais. Nepaisant to, kad rusų menininkų darbai praturtino Lietuvos Valstybės teatrą, jie vis dėlto buvo priversti palikti Lietuvą ir daugiau į ją niekada nebegrįžo.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: Tarpukario Lietuvos teatras, *Kito* reprezentacijos Lietuvos teatre, teatras ir *Kitas*, teatro žurnalizmas.

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