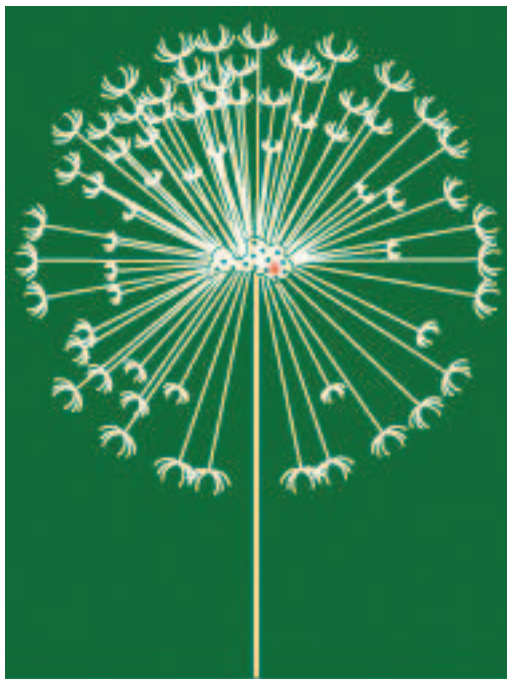




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INSTITUTE OF COMPARATIVE STUDIES

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FOREWORD

Volume 2 of *Comparative Studies* is dedicated to Latgale, the eastern region of Latvia, that is a unique nature and culture space. In fact, any space, no matter whether it is large or small, is singular; each hill or lake, river, forest, or even a tree is not just an isolated physical entity, but also a mental being with its own memory that is reflected in the consciousness of people living there that in turn is reflected in the surrounding forests and lakes, the sky. Natural landscape is also a spiritual landscape. Latgale differs from other regions of Latvia – Vidzeme, Kurzeme, and Zemgale; it is only natural because each space has its own rhythm of horizontal and vertical parameters. Latgale is called the land of blue lakes. This region is truly rich in lakes; they are not only blue but very diverse, big and small. There are dark forest lakes hidden in pine woods, still, mysterious, mythological ‘words’ of entrails of the earth; and there are wide, light, merry, many-voiced ones that lead a ceaseless dialogue with the sky. Latgalian landscape probably amazes one most with country graveyards that are small birch groves among the fields visible from afar or pine backwoods near a lake hidden from the human eye. Many graves are covered with grass, almost merging with the ground, unattended. There is nothing sadder than graves sunk into oblivion. Yet it seems that in the rustle of leaves, the sharp ‘shrieks’ of branches, sunny flashes or raindrops hanging on leaves, there is the sound of breath, speech of those who some time ago treaded upon this ground, ploughed, laughed, and cried. The graveyard, even if it has almost been razed to the ground, which is very sorrowful, is the repository of the former life. Passing over, people merge with the earth becoming its voice, the voice of birch and pine leaves. Nature is the great Mass, polyphonic, polyglot choral. Nature is also culture.

Country graveyards are the words spoken by the deceased generations. However, a country graveyard, about which I so insistently speak, is not only a concrete phenomenon but also a metonymy of limitless mental space. Memory – oblivion, Mnemosyne – the Lethe are most essential oppositions of human consciousness. It is evident that oblivion is necessary for living. Yet it is also evident that memory is necessary for living.

Latgale has been populated by many nations. Many voices have sounded beneath the Latgalian sky.

We wish to describe country graveyards.

We wish to describe the past unknown, yet the only lives of both individual people and bigger and smaller communities.

We wish to bring back to the present the distant past in the name of the future.

This is our duty before the past and the future.

Fjodors Fjodorovs

HISTORY. RELIGION. CULTURE. LITERATURE

Fjodors Fjodorovs

THE SPIRITUAL SPACE OF LATGALE

Summary

The Baltic region is one of the most catastrophe marked regions of the second millennium, especially its second part, a centre of attraction of geopolitical interests of the European world, both the Occident and the Orient. In the course of last 800 years, Latgale has survived five rather independent periods, five different lives, at the beginning of the 1990s entering the sixth one: 1) the German period, 2) the Polish, 3) the Russian, 4) the Latvian, 5) the Soviet one.

The history of Latgale is the history of the region that has restarted its life from scratch five times, first and foremost because each of these periods has been characterized by an almost total change of ethnicity and socio-cultural field, which perished before it had had a chance to form completely and locate itself on the mental map. For this reason, the historico-cultural 'vertical' of Latgale is the space of almost impermeable ethno-cultural layers (spheres). However, on the horizontal layer of the history of each period there had been attempts at overcoming the confessional, national, cultural, language closures and building a political coexistence instead of a conflicting and isolated one. The centres of harmonious cultural world order got spread in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. This is proved by the philosophical legacy of Nikolai Losskiy and the literary creation of Leonid Dobychin and Yuriy Tinyanov as well as the construction of churches of the 1890 – 1900s.

One of the major socio-cultural tasks of the present epoch is reconstruction of the multi-voiced spiritual field of Latgale, erecting that mental-vertical vector that would unite its diverse historico-cultural spheres.

Key-words: memory, Rome, Dinaburg, Daugavpils, periods, resettlement, invaders, Losskiy, harmonious world order

*

Two hundred years ago Friedrich Schlegel, one of the leaders of German Romanticism, said the words which we, historians to a greater or lesser extent, due to the fact that the subject of our studies is the created reality, should always keep in mind: historian is a prophet looking into the past¹. And really, any creation of the future is pointless and fruitless without knowledge of the past, and this knowledge must be spiritual and rooted in memory, instead of being just formal. As it is known, *memory – oblivion* is one of the most fundamental binary oppositions of the human consciousness, inextricably related to the opposition *life – death* (memory is the actual or metaphorical life, whereas oblivion – the actual or metaphorical death). Ancient Greeks honoured Mnemosina, the goddess of memory, as the mother of muses, while muses granted immortality to their favourites and favourites of favourites (i.e. subjects of songs). Yet the most important thing about

this myth is that singers who acquired immortality were the keepers of the past, as they were in a way the personifications of memory. The young generation probably does not know the sometime popular Kirgiz writer Chingiz Aitmatov, though in recent years his works have been widely published in Europe, particularly in Germany. His novel *И дольше века длится день* (And the Day Lasts Longer than Life) is based on the myth of *mankurt*, a creature who is devoid of memory: he does not know who he is, what is his parentage, he does not know his name, neither does he recall his childhood, father and mother – in a word, *mankurt* is not aware of himself as a human being and in this unconsciousness he kills his mother:

И, озираясь по сторонам в беспокойстве, не заметила она, что сын ее, манкурт, прячась в тени верблюда, уже изготовился с колена, целясь натянутой на тетиве стрелой. Ответ солнца мешал ему, и он ждал удобного момента для выстрела.

– Жоламан! Сын мой! – звала Найман-Ана, боясь, что с ним что-то случилось. Повернулась в седле. – Не стреляй! – успела вскрикнуть она [...], но стрела коротко свистнула, вонзаясь в левый бок под руку.²

[And, looking on both sides in anxiety, she did not notice that her son, *mankurt*, hiding in the camel's shadow, had already prepared from his knee aiming with a stretched arrow. The sunlight was interfering and he was waiting for a convenient moment to shoot.

– *Zholaman! My son!* – called *Naiman-Ana*, fearing that something was wrong with him. She turned in the saddle. – *Don't shoot!* – She managed to cry [...] but the arrow whistled shortly as it pierced in her left side under the arm.]

Human, like the social world, is situated on the coordinate axes; the horizontal axis is the space of the actual being, the vertical one – that of the mental being. Unity of the actual and the mental constitutes the spiritual space limited by the point of origin. The vertical – mental axis of the social world, measured by the succession of generations passing over the accumulated information, is grounded on the mythological mechanism; mythology, i.e. the system of spiritual constants of the social world not only regulates its life but also forms the type of the human, his or her behaviour models, particularities of speech, etc. Moreover, the spiritual space in the most essential way affects nature that becomes the sign of the spiritual space. The present-day Galilee or Lake Tiberias keep the memories of the Gospel times; a trip to Galilee by car or even a couch tour is a trip towards *light* that grows more and more intense and sacred by each kilometer transforming everything that is situated there. Rome is the eternal city not only because it remembers itself since the original times, and the signs of these times are ever-present. But maybe the most important and touching thing about Rome is its houses, the facades of which form a continuous gallery of memorial plates revealing the traces of the presence of great and even not so great people – not only Italians but also English, French, German, Polish, Russian, etc. Each memorial plate is a spiritual impulse in the awareness of the contemporary person, either the local resident of Rome or tourist, it is meeting with Andersen or Gogol, or Byron, and so on to eternity; it is the present conjoint with the past.

Thinking about Daugavpils, another city comes to mind – Koenigsberg that was founded almost at the same time as Daugavpils was, the city that has left nothing behind – either people who had lived there or its original name. It is *another* city,

another social world, having a name that is hard to pronounce. Yet the seven centuries of Koenigsberg have not passed without traces for the space where it is located. Iosif Brodsky has the poem *Einem alten Architekten in Rom* dedicated to Koenigsberg, and there is a wonderful line: *Дерева что-то шепчут по-немецки* [The trees are murmuring something in German]³. A kind of illusory character of the topos of Koenigsberg appears in the fact that the surrounding relief demolished by the Soviet and post-Soviet so-called architecture still sustains the German spirit dissolved in it.

The Baltic region, as is well known, is one of the most catastrophe-prone regions of the second millennium, especially its second half, a centre of attraction of geopolitical interests of the European world, both the Occident and the Orient. Most obviously, from all the segments of this region, the most tragic fate has befallen Latgale and first of all its largest town that has changed its name several times, the major of which are Dinaburg – Dvinsk – Daugavpils. In the course of last 800 years, Latgale has survived five rather independent periods, five different lives; and at the beginning of the 1990s it entered the sixth one.

The first is the *German* period initiated in the 17th century that lasted for three centuries; Dinaburg founded in 1275 was destroyed in 1577 by the Russian troops and rebuilt further down the river called the Dūna by Germans.

The second – Polish – period lasted for two centuries till 1772; Dinaburg having sustained the German name was the administrative centre of the Inflantia province, the north-eastern corner of Recha Pospolita.

The third – Russian – period started in 1772 as a result of the first division of Poland and was over along with the destruction of Russian Empire. For 150 years Dinaburg turned from a Polish town to a Jewish-Russian town like other towns of Latgale. During World War I Dvinsk was the centre of military actions and was destroyed, its population till 1918 was reduced for 100 thousand people and constituted 20 thousand. Latgalian awakening was an important factor of the final stage of this period.

The fourth – Latvian – period started after the war and lasted for 20 years. Significant demographic changes occurred again and for the first time the *Latvian* population became the major national formation.

Occupation of Latvia in the summer of 1940 initiated *the fifth – Soviet* – period. During World War II Daugavpils was extensively bombed that resulted in destroying 75% of municipal buildings. And again the socio-cultural facade of the town significantly changed. Daugavpils became a *Russian* town⁴.

The sixth, i.e. *second Latvian* period began in August, 1991.

The history of Latgale is the history of the region that has restarted its life from scratch five times, first and foremost because each of these periods has been characterized by an almost *total change of ethnicity* and socio-cultural field, which perished before it had had a chance to form completely and locate itself on the mental map.

Thus, two conditions are essential in this respect.

1. The region and first of all Dinaburg – Dvinsk – Daugavpils were formed by *migrants* marked by, first, the psychological complex of the alien space, and second, the behavioural complex of the *suppressor*. In this sense the town was the space of population of people without a genetic memory in relation to their place of living. This is a rather tragic factor.

2. At all stages the town was a marginal border space, not only from the point of view of the state formation but also from the social and ethnic cultural perspective. Latgale during the first Republic of Latvia the same as at present in the eyes of the metropolis is a far-eastern Latvian province with completely obvious features of the alien space. Yet during the catastrophic cataclysms, due to its border status, the town became the centre of global events that played a fatal role in its development. On the other hand, the marginality determined its multinational and multicultural landmarks.

Comparing the historical space of Latgale with the geological formation of the earth crust, its 'vertical' must be regarded as the space of impermeable, rather isolated ethno-cultural layers (or spheres). And this condition undoubtedly opposed the creation of united, organic spiritual space that has been formed in the benevolent cases when the ethnos 'grows' like a living organism inheriting all the parental experience and passing it over to the younger generations and this is the process not only of incessant losses but also incessant enrichment that forms a particular ethno-cultural type.

Yet on the historically-*horizontal* level, the level of a separate period, both the community and the authorities made attempts at overcoming the confessional, national, cultural, language closures and building a political, i.e. harmonious co-existence instead of a conflict-isolationist relations. As regards the initial periods of Latgalian history, the situation is rather unclear because it is little investigated. But historical facts make it possible to argue that the sources of the harmonious cultural world order became widespread in the late 19th and early 20th century.

And here we would like to make a particular remark of the Russian philosopher Nikolai Losskiy who was born in 1870 in Krāslava and spent his childhood in Dagda.

The essence of Losskiy's teaching is explicated in his book *Мир как органическое целое* (The World as an Organic Whole, 1915).

We will cite an extensive and essential fragment of the book:

Мир гармонии есть совершенное творение Божие, состоящее из множества существ, из которых каждое по-своему живет в Боге и для Бога, и, в силу такого единства цели, все они живут также друг в друге и друг для друга. Это – подлинное Царство Божие. Множественность в этом царстве обусловлена только идеальными отличиями одного члена от другого, т.е. индивидуализирующими противоположностями, без всякого участия противоборствующих противоположностей, а следовательно, и без всякой вражды одних существ к другим. Здесь нет эгоистического обособления и взаимоисключения. Всякая часть этого царства существует для целого, и, наоборот, целое существует для части. Мало того, вследствие полного взаимопроникновения всего всем здесь исчезает различие между частью и целым: всякая часть здесь есть целое. Осуществление принципов органического строения доведено до предела. Это – вполне совершенный организм.⁵

[The world of harmony is God's ultimate creation consisting of a multitude of creatures each of which lives in its own way in God and for God, and due to such a unity of telos, all of them are also living in one another and for one another. This is a veritable God's Kingdom. Multitude in this kingdom is conditioned only by ideal differences of one member from another, i.e. individualizing oppositions, without any participation of opposing extremes and thus without any animosity of one creature towards others. Here is no room for egoistic isolation and mutual exclusion. Any part of this kingdom exists for the whole and, vice versa, the whole

exists for the part. Moreover, *the complete insinuation* of all in all eliminates the difference between the part and the whole: any part is the whole. The principles of the organic construction are driven to the extreme. This is a completely perfect organism. (author's italics)

By the end of his long life he had begun writing the book which he called *Воспоминания. Жизнь и философский путь* (Memories. Life and the Philosophical Way). The book is not a standard memoir creation. The description of his life is ruled by the task mentioned in the *Introduction: In my memories I will omit very many nuances and will inform only of that which may explain [...] the development of my philosophical teachings*⁶. The conception of *Memories* determines the exclusive significance of chapter 1 that is called *The Early Childhood in Dagda*. According to Losskiy, the early childhood period in Latgale was the time when his teaching about the world as an organic whole originated.

We will cite here some fragments from this chapter but first we will mention that the Losskiy family was of Polish-catholic origin but according to the father's lineage it was Orthodox.

- 1) *Православный храм был от нас далеко, в 27 верстах в Креславке. Впервые я побывал в нем сознательно, лишь когда мне было уже десять лет. Но зато у нас в Дагде был прекрасный каменный католический костел. По воскресеньям мы с матерью – она была католичка – ходили туда слушать мессу. Благодаря этим впечатлениям детства и глубокой религиозности матери, мне доступна интимная сторона не только православного, но и католического богослужения. [...] Импронировала величественная латинская речь. [...].*

Посещения знакомых ксендзов и поездки к ним доставляли большое удовольствие: привлекательна была их образованность, культурность [...]. Особенно нравился мне своим остроумием и веселым нравом ксендз, живший в семи верстах от нас в местечке Осушь. [...] К благочестивому и кроткому креславскому священнику отцу Иоанну Гнедовскому мать наша и все мы питали глубокое уважение и любовь. [...] Мать бывала иногда в православной церкви, как и мы не отказывались посещать при службе костел.

[The Orthodox church was far away from our place, 27 versts in Kreslavka. For the first time I visited it on purpose only when I was ten years old. But in Dagda we had a beautiful stone catholic church building. On Sundays me and my mother – she was a catholic – went there to listen to the Holy Mass. Due to these childhood impressions and the deep religious feelings of my mother, I have an access to the intimate side not only of the Orthodox but also of the Catholic religious service. [...] The majestic Latin speech especially appealed to me. [...].

Visiting the Roman Catholic priests whom we knew personally gave a great pleasure: we liked their educated, cultured state [...] I had an especial liking of the priest who was witty and joyful and lived seven versts from us in Osup [...] My mother and all of us deeply respected and loved the honoured and modest priest, father Ioann Gnedovsky from Kreslava [...] Mother used to go to the Orthodox church the same way as we did not refuse to go to the mass in the Catholic church.]

- 2) *Видное место в укладе нашего местечка и среди впечатлений моего детства занимали евреи. В Дагде [...] они составляли, пожалуй, более 50 процентов обитателей: почти все лавочники и ремесленники были евреями. Привлекали к себе своеобразие их быта и наружности, живость характера, интенсивность умственной*

жизни, наличие духовных интересов вообще. Сильное впечатление производила их страстная, настойчивая молитва в синагоге.

[Jews took a visible place in the life order of our vicinity and my childhood impressions. In Dagda [...] they constituted about 50 per cent of the population: almost all small shop keepers and artisans were Jewish. We were attracted by the specificity of their everyday life and appearance, lively character, intense mental life, and spiritual interests in general. Their passionate, insistent prayer in the synagogue left a deep impression on us.]

Further on Losskiy describes diverse Jewish festivities he recalls and completes the discourse by stating that all these childhood impressions aroused in his soul liking for the so much persecuted Jewish people.

- 3) *[...] у нас было много знакомых, часто бывали гости. Особенно близка была к нам [...] польская семья помещика Дементия Осиповича Киборта, владельца красивого имения Старая Мысль в одной версте от Дагды. Жена Киборта, Ядвига Себальдовна, была стройная женщина высокого роста, с оригинальным красивым лицом. Как пылкая польская патриотка она драматически исполняла гимн «Еще Польша не погибла» и «С дымом пожаров».*

[...] we had so many people we knew who often visited us. We were especially close with a Polish family of the squire Dementiy Osipovich Kibort, the owner of a beautiful estate Staraya Mysl one verst from Dagda. His wife, Yadviga Sebaldozna, was a tall and slender woman with a beautiful original face. Being a passionate Polish patriot, she dramatically performed the hymns 'Poland has not Perished yet' and 'With the Smoke of Fires'.]

- 4) *Другая семья, с которой у нас были живые приятельские сношения, жила в семи верстах от нас тоже в живописном имении Константиново. Принадлежало оно Леониду Ивановичу Писареву, внушительная красивая наружность которого производила на меня большое впечатление. Жена Писарева – урожденная баронесса Бер из Прибалтики.*

[Another family, with which we had lively personal contacts, lived seven versts from us in a picturesque estate Konstantinovo. Its owner was Leonid Ivanovich Pisarev whose impressive handsome appearance made a great impression on me. His wife was a born baroness Ber from the Baltics.]

- 5) *Большим удовольствием бывал для меня ежемесячный приезд из Двинска доктора (врача) Диттриха, чрезвычайно полного добродушного немца. Он особенно любил меня и баловал, привозил множество самых разнообразных сладостей и игрушек.⁷*

[Special pleasure for me was the monthly visit of the doctor Dietrich from Dvinsk, an immensely plump kind-hearted man. He loved and spoiled me bringing lots of different sweets and toys.]

Losskiy's childhood in Dagda may seem a utopia like any past experience, especially that of childhood *recalled* in mature age, by the end of life. Yet Losskiy's expressions to a greater or lesser degree – depending on the author's world perception – are confirmed by other sources, both fiction and memoirs.

Leonid Dobychin, an outstanding Russian writer of the 20th century, was a person with a different world perception and his fate was also different. He was born in Lucina

(Ludza) in 1894, in a doctor's family. In 1897 his family moved to Dvinsk that Dobychin left in 1911 after leaving college. His father died in 1902 and was buried in the Orthodox cemetery and his grave is the only one of the large Dobychin family that has been destroyed by the history. His two younger brothers were shot as the 'enemies of the people'. Dobychin was severely persecuted in Leningrad in 1936 and obviously committed suicide without waiting till the inescapable arrest. His mother and two sisters got lost during World War II. In 1935 his novel *Город ЭН* (The Town N) was published where Dobychin depicts the Dvinsk of the 1900s. The world of the novel is multinational and naturally multiconfessional, and this world is far from idyllic, instead it is harsh, even cruel. Nevertheless the conversation of the catholic Prsyborovski and the Orthodox mother of the main hero in chapter 2 of the novel is significant.

– Сегодня, – говорил он [...] – мне случилось быть в костеле. Проповедь была прекрасная. – И он рассказывал ее: как мы должны повиноваться, выполнять свои обязанности. – Это верно, – согласилась снисходительно маман и призадумалась. – Ведь бог один, – сказала она, – только веры разные. – Вот именно, – расчувствовался Пишборовский. Он сиял.⁸

[– Today, – he said [...] I happened to be in the church. The sermon was wonderful. – And he retold it: how we must obey, fulfill our duties. – That is true, – maman agreed and fell into thought. – Because God is one, – she said, – it is just that beliefs differ. – Exactly, – Prsyborovski was moved. He was shining.]

In the polyphonic, multi-tonality world by Dobychin, the dialogue between the Catholic and the Orthodox woman is significant as an affirmation of a *united* world, as *awareness* of the speakers of their *original* unity.

Dobychin's major point is in full accordance with what Losskiy wrote in the introduction to his memories beginning with the citation from the Gospel:

«В доме Отца Моего обителей много», – говорит Христос ученикам своим. И не только в Царстве Божиим, а и здесь на земле обителей бесчисленное множество, и каждый из нас живет в той из них, которую он сам избрал себе. Если она неприглядна, не на кого пенять, кроме как на самого себя: тут же рядом стоящий человек видит совсем другое царство бытия, блещущее красками, полное жизни, богатой и разнообразной.⁹

[There are many abodes in My Father's house, Christ told his disciples. And not just in God's Kingdom but also here on the earth there are countless abodes, and each of us lives in the one we have chosen for ourselves. If it is ugly, no one is to blame except ourselves: the person who is standing next to us sees quite a different abode of existence sparkling with colours, full of life, rich and diverse.]

The world described by Losskiy is the world in which the social realm with its diverse manifestations, including the tragic ones, has merged with the nature, be it a lake, a forest, or a night catching of crayfish; this is the sense of accepting the surrounding existence, a kind of summon, *this is good*¹⁰. Dobychin is not so categorical, he is strict, ironic, contradictory in his expressions but the direction of his thought leads to the same idea: *there are many abodes in My Father's house*.

Yuriy Tinyanov, another great writer and literary scholar, was born in the same year as Dobychin, 28 kilometers from Lucina and 60 from Dagda. At the end of the 1930s, Tinyanov wrote in his *Autobiography*:

Я родился в 1894 году в городе Режице, часах в шести от мест рождения Михоэlsa [Двинск] и Шагала [Витебск] и восьми от места рождения и молодости Екатерины I. Город был небольшой, холмистый, очень разный. На холме – развалины Ливонского замка, внизу – еврейские переулки, а за речкой – раскольничий скит. До войны город был Витебской губернии, теперь – латвийский. В городе одновременно жили евреи, белорусы, великорусы, латыши. И существовало несколько веков и стран. Староверы были похожи на суриковских стрельцов. В скиту [...] ходили высокие русские люди XVII века: старики носили длинные кафтаны, широкополые шляпы; бороды были острые, длинные, сосульками. [...].

*Я помню на ярмарках, на латышских кермашах (старое немецкое слово *kermesse*) этих высоких людей и их жен в фиолетовых, зеленых, синих, красных, желтых бархатных шубках. Снег горел от шуб.*

Кругом города возникали цыганские таборы. Нищие, с женищинами в цветном тряпье, с молчаливым, чужим и равнодушным отчаяньем в лицах и холодной певучей речью. Потом проезжала по городу «Цыганка» – конь с крутыми боками, весь увешанный бляхами и ремнями, а за ним – цыган в тяжелой синей короткой поддевке.¹¹

[I was born in 1894 in the town Režica, six hours ride from the birthplace of Mikhoels [Dvinsk] and Chagall [Vitebsk] and eight from the birthplace of Katherine I. The town was small, hilly, very diverse. On the hill there were ruins of a Livonian castle, at its foot – Jewish lanes, beyond the river – a dissenter monastery. Before the war the town was in Vitebsk province, now it belongs to Latvia. The town was populated by Jews, Belorussians, Russians, Latvians. Several epochs and countries existed side by side there. Old-Believers were similar to Surikov's shooters. The monastery was populated by the tall Russians of the 17th century: the old men wore long caftans, wide brimmed hats, their beards were pointed, long, in the form of icicles. [...].

I recall these tall people and their wives in violet, green, blue, red, and yellow velvet fur coats in fairs. The snow was burning from their fur coats.

Around the town there were gipsy camps. Beggars and women in coloured rags with silent, estranged and indifferent despair on their faces and cold singing speech. Later a gipsy horse rode along the streets with round sides, decorated with twinkles and belts, followed by a gipsy man in a heavy blue short cloak.]

Tinyanov is focused on the ethnographic reality of the everyday-life described by the picturesque plasticity and analytical structuration characteristic of him. Yet his Režica, like the one of Losskiy and Dobychin, is a coloured and at the same time united world.

The last decades of the 19th century and the pre-war 20th century were the epoch not only of a vivid growth of Latgale but of the formation of the ideology of united life, multinational, multiconfessional, multicultural space.

In this respect, a highly symbolical meaning is attributed to the church building in Dvinsk that took place in the late 19th and early 20th century. It was the result of the formation of the town's self-awareness as a polylogic space, but it also ascertained this polylogic space as the ideology and the philosophy of the town and the whole of Latgale.

In the New Vorstadt district of Dvinsk, on the hill above the railway in 1892 – 1893 neo-gothic Lutheran church was built, though there were few Lutherans in the town. Next to it in 1902 a wonderful Catholic church of the Virgin Mary was erected.

This confirmed the dialogue between Catholics and Lutherans as a historico-confessional reality. On the other side of St.Petersburg highway, in 1905 the huge garrison Borisoglebsk cathedral was constructed that gained the reputation of *the most beautiful Russian church in Latgale*. Finally, in 1908, approximately 300 meters from it the foundation of the Old-Believer Nikolsk church was laid that became not only the most decorous Old-Believer church in the town but in the whole region that was especially important because first old-believer settlements in the Polish Inflantia appeared around Dinaburg at the end of the 17th century. Finally, in the New Vorstadt there were several synagogues, including the Great New Vorstadt synagogue (1865) situated near the Christian churches.

The region of Latgale in general and Dinaburg – Dvinsk in particular, populated by Jews, Russians, Poles, Latvians, Latgalians, Germans, Lithuanians, Belorussians, identified itself with the community oriented towards a polylogue.

Life open to a wider polylogue, life as a polylogue always produces creative activity, invites intense creative mechanisms tending to spiritual polyglossia. This is why the land of Latgale at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century gave rise to a splendid Pleiad of writers, artists, philosophers, scientists¹².

The 20th century with its cataclysms and experiments made a harsh impact on the lives of people, nations, countries and moreover on the *memory*, both individual and collective. We are hardly aware of the past, both on the individual and family level (in the best case we remember our grandfathers but are unaware of our great-grandfathers) and in general (the place where we live). This is abnormal when the young and not only young townsmen do not know who was Andrejs Pumpurs or Mikhoels, or Dobychin, though Pumpurs and Mikhoels have been immortalized – the former in a monument, the latter in the name of the street, but these are pure labels with a void behind them.

The arguments mentioned above lay the basis of one of the programs of the Institute of Comparative Studies.

First, it is *Bibliotheca Latgalica* initially designed for 30 volumes including fiction, memoir, and research works that either describe Latgale or belong to the people who were born and lived in Latgale. The structural model of the publication is prescribed in its first volume issued in August, 2007 – the novel by Leonid Dobychin *The Town N* (1935). The second volume *Māras zemē* (At the Land of Māra) will contain the Latgalian reviews by Antons Austriņš and Ādolfs Erss. The third one – memoirs and epistulas by Aaron Shteinberg, a famous philosopher of the 20th century. The fourth volume will contain Latgalian short prose. The fifth one – Latgalian reviews by Gustav Manteuffel (this will be a bilingual publication in Polish and translations into Latvian), etc.

Second, during next three or four years we intend to carry out the research initially called the semiotics of the natural-cultural landscape of Latgale.

Third, we plan once in three years to organize Latgalian congress to debate diverse problems associated with Latgale region and publish its materials.

All this is a textual declaration of the multivoiced spiritual field of Latgale, construction of the mental vertical vector that will unite its divergent historico-cultural spheres (periods).

And if our efforts gain the support of the authorities and the facades of buildings will be decorated by memorial plaques (as it is in Rome) and the town parks – by

monuments similar to the recently unveiled monument to Pavel Dubrovin who seems to have gone for a walk in the park designed by him – all this will contribute to the formation of memory, without which it is hard to imagine either the individual or our common life.

¹ Шлегель Ф. *Эстетика. Философия. Критика*. В 2 томах, т. 1. Москва: Искусство, 1983. – с. 293.

² Айтматов Ч. *Собрание сочинений в 3 томах*, т. 2. Москва: Молодая гвардия, 1983. – с. 301, 318.

³ Бродский И. *Часть речи: Избранные стихи*. Москва: Художественная литература, 1990. – с. 47.

⁴ See Федоров Ф. П. Этюд о Двинске. / *Humanitāro Zinātņu Vēstnesis* Nr. 12, 2007. – 88.–97. lpp.

⁵ Лосский Н. О. *Избранное*. Москва: Правда, 1991. – с. 399.

⁶ Лосский Н. О. *Воспоминания: Жизнь и философский путь*. Санкт-Петербург: Изд-во Санкт-Петербургского ун-та, 1994. – с. 11.

⁷ Ibid. – с. 12–26.

⁸ Добычин Л. *Город Эн*. Daugavpils: Saule, 2007. – с. 20.

⁹ Лосский Н. О. *Воспоминания: Жизнь и философский путь*. Санкт-Петербург: Изд-во Санкт-Петербургского ун-та, 1994. – с. 10.

¹⁰ Федоров Ф. П. Латгалия в «Воспоминаниях» Н. О. Лосского, in: *Балтийские перекрестки: Этнос, конфессия, миф, текст*. Санкт-Петербург: Наука, 2005. – с. 76–90.

¹¹ Юрий Тынянов. *Писатель и ученый: Воспоминания. Размышления. Встречи*. Москва: Молодая гвардия, 1966. – с. 9–10.

¹² Федоров Ф. П. Этюд о Двинске. / *Humanitāro Zinātņu Vēstnesis* Nr. 12, 2007. – 88.–97. lpp.

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Ludmila Zhilvinska

DINABURG – DVINSK AND ITS SELF-GOVERNMENT
(THE END OF THE 19TH – BEGINNING OF
THE 20TH CENTURIES)

Summary

Municipal self-government has always been an important social institute with rather wide and diverse functions. Among the reforms in the realm of the local government, Municipal Regulations of 1870 and 1892 have a special role.

The efficiency of the actions of the municipal government has been greatly influenced by its members. Studying the archival documents in Latvia and Belarus, the local newspapers published at the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries has given the opportunity to clarify the list of the mayors of Dinaburg (Dvinsk) of the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

In the pre-reform period the municipal government was presided by: the merchant of the 2nd, then the 1st guild Dmitriy Shatrov (1811 – ?) in 1859 – 1862; the collegial registrar Vikentiy Stankevich in [1862] – 1863; the merchant of the 3rd guild Radion Polyakov (1805 – ?) in 1863 – 1865.

On July 3, 1865, the retiree major-general Nikolai Hagelstroem (1812 – 1883) was appointed the mayor of the town; he was also the founder of the first theatre in Dinaburg. He took great efforts for the development of the centre of the town, introduced artificial illumination of streets, started building the first town park. N. Hagelstroem was the mayor from 1865 till 1870 and from 1874 till 1876. From 1870 till 1874 the post of the town mayor was taken by the colonel Pavel Ogiyevskiy (1870 – 1871) and the merchant Artemiy Makarov (1871 – 1873).

On June 15, 1876, Pavel Dubrovin (1839 – 1890) was elected the mayor of the town. He was in office for 15 years. This period is marked by intense construction of new developments of Vorstadt and Gayok, construction of water-main, founding of women's pro-gymnasium that was later developed into the major women's gymnasium in the Vitebsk province, construction of the town park that still bears the name of Dubrovin Park.

Later on the mayors of the town were: the retiree major-general Vassiliy Subbotin in 1891 – 1892, the retiree captain Dmitriy Antonov in 1892 – 1894, the merchant of the 1st guild Ivan Molchanov in 1895 – 1898, nobleman August Hagen in 1898 – 1899.

Among the mayors of the pre-revolution period, Arvid Pfeifer's (1847 – 1918) personality is of special interest; he remained in office for 16 years (from 1899 to 1915). Though his personality may arouse ambiguous evaluations, the years of his mayorship were the peak of the development of the town when Dvinsk became a significant commercial, trade and cultural centre of the north-western region of the Russian Empire.

Key-words: municipal regulation, public self-government, town mayor, town council

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In different historical periods, the municipal self-government has been an important social institution with rather wide and diverse functions. Study of the history of self-government entails investigation of its evolution, place and role in the life of the town.

For the first time the town council was founded by Katherine II and consisted of deputies representing particular social rank groups.

The efficiency of the functioning of municipal public administration depended to a great extent on its staff.

It is interesting that the famous writer and local culture connoisseur Dmitriy Mamin-Sibiryak was one of the first who started investigating the topic of the municipal self-government; he spotted the people who had been mayors of Yekaterinburg and analyzed their activities during almost a hundred years – from 1800 to 1884.

We, in turn, are interested in the mayors of Dinaburg (Dvinsk), of whom only a few were widely known (e.g. Nikolai Hagelstroem and Pavel Dubrovin). We even did not have a full chronological list of them.

In recent years, due to the financial support of the municipal council, we managed to work at the Latvian State historical archives, National historical archives of Belarus, Russian National Library in St.Petersburg with the Memo books of Vitebsk province, newspapers *Витебские губернские ведомости* (Vitebsk Province News), *Двинский листок* (Dvinsk Paper) and *Двинская мысль* (Dvinsk Idea) that made it possible to clarify the list of the town mayors who had worked in Daugavpils (Dvinsk) in the second half of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th centuries.

The abolition of serfdom, reforms of the 1860 – 70s, and the following development of capitalism in Russia essentially changed the image of Dinaburg. Construction of railways facilitated the formation of the town as a big railway junction, industrial and commercial centre.

Nikolai Hagelstroem was the most famous mayor of Dinaburg in the pre-reform period who along with other seven mayors of Russian towns was invited as an expert for the preparation of the project of Municipal Regulations in 1870.

We got to know the names of his predecessors.

In the 1840 – 50s, the position of the town mayor was taken by the nobleman Ignatij Audzevich, merchants Pyotr, Vassiliy, and Ivan Kozhevnikov, also Pyotr Budrevich, Mikhail Ivanovskiy, Ivan Losev (1852 – 1857), and Fion Yefimov (1858).

In 1859 – 1861, the town mayor was Dmitriy Shatrov (1811 – ?), the merchant of the 2nd, then the 1st guild, honoured citizen, Dinaburg council member in the 1880s (1880 – 1884).

In the Orthodox cemetery there is the burial place of the Shatrov family (6 graves) and unfortunately only 2 tombstones – to Dmitriy's wife Anna and his son Vassiliy.

Afterwards, probably in 1862 and according to the Memo book of Vitebsk province of 1863, the position of the town mayor was occupied for a very short time by the collegial registrar Vikentiy Stankevich. He was awarded the bronze medal on Vladimir ribbon in memory of the war of 1853 – 1856.

20 years later, in the 1880s, he returned to public activities as a municipal council member. His dismissal was evidently related to the Polish uprising of 1863 – 1864 when Poles were everywhere dismissed from public positions. Interesting material on these events has been provided in Aaron Schneer's investigation¹.

In April, 1863, because of the Polish uprising, martial law was announced. In May, the military leader of Vitebsk province, lieutenant-general Dlotovskiy reported to the governor general as follows:

[..] в Динабурге, [где] главнейшее население составляют русские, по большей части старообрядцы и евреи, [...] городским главою избран и утвержден городской чиновник Будревич, поляк, хотя и незамеченный в сочувствии к мятежу, но в этом подозреваемый.²

[[..] in Dinaburg, [where] the majority of the population is constituted by Russians, basically Old-Believers and Jews, [...] the municipal officer Budrevich has been elected the city mayor; he is Polish and, though he has not been noticed among those siding with the uprising, but still he is suspected in this.]

Dlotovskiy asked for a permission to elect instead of Budrevich a mayor from the Russian population of the town, a merchant who was renowned for his honesty and positive behavior³.

Permission for this was granted and Radion Polyakov (1805 – ?) was elected the town mayor; he was a merchant of the 3rd guild, 58 years old. He was in this office for 2 years.

On July 3, 1865, he was followed by the retiree major-general Nikolai Hagelstroem (1812 – 1883) who became famous as the founder of the first theatre in Dinaburg.

We have found evidence about Hagelstroem in Memo books of Vitebsk province as well as in Vassiliy von Rotkirch's papers.

Nikolai Hagelstroem was born in 1812. He graduated from the Main Engineering College in St.Petersburg. Then he served in the army.

In the early 1850s, colonel Hagestroem was appointed the commander of Dinaburg engineer armory. Soon he became the chief engineer of the fortress. Rotkirch characterizes Hagelstroem as a clever, educated, energetic person who stood out for his constant tireless activity⁴.

In 1865, Hagelstroem got retired as a military officer and got actively involved in the public life of the town. Soon he was appointed the town mayor and held this position for eleven years. After that he was several times elected a member of the municipal council.

Previously it was considered that Hagelstroem took the position of the head of the municipal self-government without break for 11 years. This mistake was due to insufficient study of archival documents and the fact that the major source of information – memorial notes of Vitebsk Province were not published in the 1870s; besides, Hagelstroem himself had stated having been in the office of the mayor of the town for 11 years.

However, the documents found in National historical archives of Belarus testify to the fact that the position of the mayor was taken by Hagelstroem twice: from 1865 till 1870 and from 1874 till 1876. In August, 1870, the mayor's position was occupied by the colonel Pavel Ogiyevskiy (1805 – ?) who in summer, 1871, was succeeded by the merchant of the 2nd guild, Artemiy Makarov (1818 – ?).

Despite the fact that at the elections of the town mayor in 1874 Hagelstroem got 82 votes 'for' and 76 – 'against', whereas the former ensign Josef Unger – 85 'for' and 65 'against', Hagelstroem was appointed the mayor of the town. This was followed by

riots, which was reported by the official of special errand Sementovskiy to the governor of Vitebsk Province.

The 1860s was the time of reforms that made essential changes in all spheres of life of Russian Empire providing a stimulus for rapid growth of the economic development of the country in general and Dinaburg in particular.

It would be hard to overestimate Hagelstroem's activity for the benefit of Dinaburg. He was involved in the elaboration of the housing scheme of the town. Construction work was especially active in the New Vorstadt (at present it is the central part of the town) where only stone buildings were erected. A commission for the improvement of the town infrastructure was formed that took effort to pave the streets, install in them artificial lighting, designed the first park named after Alexandr Nevskiy that nowadays has been renamed after Andrejs Pumpurs. In 1874, the public bank was founded in the town.

The famous historian Alexandr Sementovskiy wrote:

В настоящее время Динабург не только занимает первое место между уездными городами своей губернии, но даже нисколько не уступает, по красоте зданий и торговле, Витебску, не говоря уже о крепости, где все дома каменные в два и три этажа, так называемый Форштадт украшен многими прекрасными зданиями, в особенности на дамбе. Общественная жизнь в Динабурге более развита, чем во всех других городах этой губернии; это доказывается тем, что в Динабурге имеется частный театр, тогда как в Витебске нет и городского.⁵

[At present, Dinaburg not only occupies the first place among other towns in the district but also may be equaled in beauty of buildings and commerce to Vitebsk, to say nothing of the fortress where all the houses are built in stone with two or three storeys, the so-called Vorstadt is decorated by many beautiful buildings, especially on the dike. The public life in Dinaburg is more developed as compared to other towns in this province; this is proved by the fact that there is a private theatre in Dinaburg, whereas in Vitebsk there is not even a public one.]

On September 6, 1882, Nikolai Hagelstroem made the following announcement to the council:

Находясь 17 лет в должностях при общественном управлении, в том числе 11 лет по назначению от правительства в должности городского головы, и употребив во все время моего служения городу Динабургу все свои нравственные и телесные силы, я, достигнув 70-летнего возраста, полагаю своевременным отказаться добровольно от должности члена городской управы.⁶

[Having worked for 17 years in public administration, including after the government appointment 11 years as a town mayor, and having devoted to this work all my moral and physical powers, reaching the age of 70, I consider it the right time to give up the position of the member of municipal administration.]

Hagelstroem was awarded the 2nd degree order with the imperial crown of St. Anna, the 2nd and 3rd degree order of St. Stanislav, the 3rd and 4th degree orders of St. Vladimir, medals in memory of the war of 1853 – 1856, for the suppression of the Polish uprising of 1863 – 1864, and signs of 15 and 25 years of military service. He died in 1883 and was buried in the Orthodox cemetery, near the church of St. Nikolai.

In 2006, when the town celebrated the 150th anniversary of the first theatre in Dinaburg, on Hagelstroem's grave a tombstone was erected financed by the town council, Daugavpils Local Area Studies and Art museum as well as voluntary donations of the inhabitants of Daugavpils.

Abolition of serfdom caused the necessity to carry out other bourgeois reforms also in the sphere of the local government.

Among these reforms, the Municipal Regulations of 1870 and 1892 had a special place; they regulated the order of elections to the municipal self-government bodies, their structure, sphere of competence, and relations with the state administration.

Town council was the major body of public administration; it was elected by physical and legal persons having preferential rights of election. The members of the town council were elected for four years and they elected the town mayor who was the chair of the council and the board that was the executive body of the municipal public administration.

The municipal self-government was controlled by the state administration.

According to the town reform of 1870, the former social rank group councils were substituted by the councils where members were elected on the basis of the property right. All the municipal tax payers – owners of houses, trade and industrial enterprises, banks, etc. participated in the council elections. Workers, employees, and intelligentsia who did not pay the tax did not participate in the council elections.

Municipal Regulations of 1892 significantly raised the property right that resulted in a considerable reduction of the number of the electors to the municipal council.

Municipal income consisted of diverse payments from the following sources:

- 1) the real estate;
- 2) documents for the right of commerce and trades;
- 3) inns, taverns, and grocers';
- 4) cabmen and transport trades;
- 5) horses and carriages;
- 6) dogs.

Municipal administration performed the following functions:

- managing the municipal capital and property;
- controlling and regulating the development of the local industry and commerce;
- taking care of the improvement of the municipal infra-structure: town squares, streets, boulevards, gardens, roads, street lighting, water supply, transport;
- supervision of the private building;
- taking care of supplying the town population with food, regulating the commerce of vital products;
- charity and benefits for the poor and needy town inhabitants;
- taking precautions for the fire danger and other calamities (e.g. hail);
- solving the issues of public education and health care, financing education establishments, libraries, hospitals, various charity organizations;
- covering the expenses of the police, fire brigades, military units, heating and lighting of prisons, etc.

In 1875, the Municipal Regulations of 1870 came into force in the Western region.

On June 15, 1876, there were elections to the town council in Dinaburg (in Riga this happened two years later – in 1878). The titular councilor Pavel Dubrovin was

elected the town mayor; he remained in office for 15 years until his death being re-elected 4 times. Simultaneously with his election to the new position, Dubrovin was awarded the rank of collegial assessor and after some years – of court assessor.

In Daugavpils there are but few names that have reached our contemporaries from the distant past and sustained good memories about them. Dubrovin's name is one of such.

Also today the town-dwellers are attracted by the shady trees of Dubrovin park where some time ago was a bog with moss and cranberries growing in autumn. Dubrovin bought this boggy place and presented it to the town taking an active part in planning the public garden there. He devised to name the garden after him, though in fact the park became to be called Dubrovin park during the life-time of its founder as a sign of recognition of the mayor's contribution to the town development. In 1991, the park was given its former name and thus Dubrovin's name has not sunk into oblivion.

This year a rather unusual event happened in Daugavpils: in Dubrovin park a monument to the former town mayor Dubrovin was erected.

Pavel Dubrovin was born in 1839 in the lineage of the noblemen of Velikiye Luki district in Pskov province. After graduating from the Constantine cadet school, he was engaged in military service.

From 1864 he was in the position of the chairman of the first district of peace mediators of Dinaburg; from 1874 to 1875 he was the director of the town public bank. He held many other positions at the same time.

Taking the office after the elections in 1876, Dubrovin said:

[..] своим долгом считаю заявить [..], что я преисполнен самого искреннего, живого желания трудиться на общую пользу [..] я не принадлежу ни к какой партии, я не связан никакими обязательствами и от души желаю внести в думу согласие, умеренность в требованиях, одним словом, явиться здесь миротворцем, подобно тому как я являлся в течение 15 лет по должности мирового посредника.

[..] общими усилиями мы успеем сделать что-либо полезное для города, который возлагает на нас большие надежды и вправе ожидать и даже требовать иного порядка. Господа, постараемся оправдать эти ожидания и надежды города; будем помнить, что с обширными полномочиями, предоставленными нам законом, на нас перешли весьма важные гражданские обязанности и вся ответственность за неуспешный ход дел.

Будем же трудиться, будем трудиться серьезно, дружно, усердно и честно, и да благословит Бог всякое наше доброе начинание.⁷

[..] I consider it my duty to state [..] that I am filled with the most true and lively desire to work for the public benefit [..] I do not belong to any party, I do not have any commitments and from the bottom of my heart I wish to bring to the council concord, moderation in demands, in a word, to be a peace bringer like I have been during the recent 15 years in the position of the peace mediator.

[..] by common effort we will manage to do something beneficial for the town that puts great hopes on us and has any right to expect and even demand a different order. Dear gentlemen, let us try to live up to these expectations and hopes of the town; let us remember that with our extensive powers provided by the law we have assumed rather important civic duties and all the responsibility for any failure in the course of procedure.

Let us work hard, let us work earnestly, side by side, industriously and honestly, and God bless all our good deeds.]

In the time when Dubrovin was the mayor of Dinaburg, the town developed rapidly not only due to his personality but also because of the general course of the historical process.

This period is marked by intense construction of new developments of Vorstadt and Gayok, paving streets, building a shopping mall in stone, the numerous shops of which turned it into the trading centre of the town, construction of water-main, founding the society of mutual credit aimed at the development of industry and commerce, founding of women's pro-gymnasium that was later developed into the major women's gymnasium in the Vitebsk province, finally constructing the town park.

According to Vittenberg's description, Dubrovin was a tall man with an open Russian face and a characteristic beard⁸.

In *The Historical Note on Dvinsk Women's Gymnasium. 1879 – 1901* a whole chapter is dedicated to Dubrovin marking his sound and penetrating mind, ardent industriousness, decisiveness of actions, firm faith in the righteousness of his deeds⁹.

Dubrovin is characterized as a public figure and person by his address to the students of the women's gymnasium cited by the author of the *Note*:

*Здесь рядом с приобретением научных познаний усваивайте себе все благородные порывы души и сердца; здесь с малолетства приучайтесь любить друг друга, любить ближнего, помогать друг другу, снисходить к недостаткам других и быть строгими только к самим себе.*¹⁰

[Here along with acquiring knowledge be sure to learn all the higher strivings of the heart and the soul; here from young age learn to love each other, love your nearest, help each other, be patient with the shortcomings of others and strict only with yourselves.]

Dubrovin was awarded the 2nd degree orders with and without the imperial crown of St.Stanislav, the 2nd and 3rd degree orders of St.Anna, the 4th degree order of St.Vladimir, Japanese 5th degree order of the Rising Sun and the black-hill prince Daniil as well as the medal for suppressing the Polish uprising of 1863 – 1864, sign of excellence for the settlement of state peasants on November 24, 1866, and the sign of Red Cross approved on March 13, 1879.

On May 26, 1890, the newspaper *Vitebsk Province News* informed about Pavel Dubrovin's death in Berlin. He was buried in the Orthodox cemetery of Daugavpils.

In the summer of 2007, upon the initiative of the town museum with the financial support of the town council, Dubrovin's burial place was put in order and the cross on his tombstone renovated.

After Dubrovin's death, only on May 3, 1891 (practically after a year) the retiree major-general Vassiliy Subotin was elected the town mayor. He was a descendent from a noble family in Saratov Province and was educated at 2nd military school and went to military service. Since 1874 till retirement he had occupied the position of the military leader of the district. In the 1880s, he took the position of the head of the military hospital in the fortress. Vassiliy Subotin's biography is a typical one for a Russian officer who followed all the way from a rank and file officer to major-general. He was awarded the orders of St.Vladimir of the 3rd and 4th degree for 25 years of service, St.Anna of the 2nd and 3rd degree, St.Stanislav of the 2nd and 3rd degree, the cross for serving in the Caucasus, bronze medals commemorating the war of 1855 – 1856 and

for suppressing the Polish uprising in 1863 – 1864, the sign for 40 years of impeccable service in officer ranks as well as the sign of Red Cross.

He was the head of the municipal self-government for slightly more than a year and a half and successfully continued Dubrovin's tradition. In 1891, the architect Neumann was ordered the project financed by the town council (360 roubles) of the town fire-brigade building which was constructed for the mortgage in the town public bank (6500 roubles). Dr. Noishevsky in 1892 was provided with a plot of land to build eye treatment clinic. In the same year the town hospital was reconstructed and ship communication was opened between Dinaburg and Vitebsk.

On December 1, 1892, Vassily Subotin abandoned the position of the town mayor due to his appointment to the position of Polock district court assessor.

In the following two years (1892 – 1894), the town self-government was headed by the retiree captain Dmitriy Antonov who already had the experience of public work – both before his election to the position of the town mayor and after it he was a member of the town council and administration.

He was awarded the 3rd degree order of St. Stanislav, the medal on Georgiy ribbon for the Russian-Turkish War of 1877 – 1878, the medal on Andrey ribbon for the Crimea campaign, the medal in memory of the suppression of the Polish uprising of 1863 – 1864.

On January 1, 1895, the paper *Vitebsk Province News* informed about the appointment of Ivan Molchanov as the town mayor.

Ivan Molchanov was born in Dinaburg in an Old-Believer family with many children. He received education at home.

His father Kondraty Molchanov, a merchant, was well known in the town. In the 1880s, he donated a plot of his land for building the Old-Believer church in Gayok and after its building donated many icons and religious books. His son Ivan was the one who received the permit from the Ministry of Interior Affairs for building this church.

In order to take the position of the town mayor, Ivan Molchanov (as well as his brother Yakov) accepted the Orthodox faith. At the moment of his election, he did not have the guild certificate yet and was registered as a merchant's brother. His business was flourishing, he became rich in short time and was one of the major house owners in Dvinsk. In 1898, Ivan Molchanov's property was estimated for approx. 21700 roubles. In 1902, he already was the 1st guild merchant. Most probably in those years he was also awarded the title of the honoured citizen.

However, after three and a half years, Molchanov according to his application was retired due to poor health condition. It is evident that the true reason for his retirement was falling short of the expectations of those in power.

After retirement he actively worked in the municipal self-government for long years (until 1915); he was the deputy mayor of the town, a member of the municipal administration and the town council.

On September 10, 1905, the first session of Dvinsk council took place in the new building that had been bought from Molchanov in 1904 with the permit of Vitebsk governor. Today Daugavpils municipal council is situated in the same building in the former Shilderovsk Street (now Kr. Valdemārs Street).

After Molchanov's retirement, the town council appointed the administration member August Hagen in the position of the town mayor. It is noteworthy that Hagen's

name is mentioned in the list of town mayors in Dvinsk newspaper dedicated to the 35th anniversary of the introduction of the Municipal Regulations in Dvinsk (though he worked as a mayor for only 8 months).

August Hagen (Friedrich-August von Hagen) was born in 1821 in the northern part of Estonia. He was a German nobleman, Lutheran.

He graduated from the University of Jena in Germany. After his arrival to Dinaburg, he was the head of the Dinaburg railway station on Riga – Orlov route.

Long before his appointment (since 1881), Hagen was a member of the town council and administration. He was also the head of the Evangelical-Lutheran parish.

As mentioned in post-mortem, special contribution by Hagen to the development of the town was the foundation of the voluntary fire-brigade.

Hagen died on December 20, 1910, at the age of 88 and was buried in the Lutheran cemetery. Unfortunately, his grave has not remained.

Among pre-revolutionary mayors of the town, special interest is aroused by the personality of Arvid Pfeiffer who worked as a mayor for 16 years, from 1899 to 1915. This was a complicated period of time with ups and downs, crises and ascents, revolutionary tremors and the war.

Very little was known about Pfeiffer's life. In National historical archives of Belarus the official list of Karl Jacob Arvid Pfeiffer's service dated 1888 was found. We would also like to express our acknowledgements to Alexandr Belousov who provided us some evidence about this person and gave us his photo.

Karl Jacob Arvid Pfeiffer (1847 – 1918) was born in Courland (Kurzeme), possibly in Riga. He was a German nobleman, Lutheran. He passed an examination of land surveyor and since March 11, 1869, was in service. After that he worked in Riga police as a block warden and a private superintendent. During service, A. Pfeiffer received several gratitudes from the governor of Livland and the minister of internal affairs, e.g. *for successful disclosing of arson in Riga; for successful execution of order by locating in Holland and bringing back to Riga the former cashier of Riga stock exchange committee Karl Eke who had stolen money from Riga polytechnic college; for finding the chest with money stolen from the merchant's office in Riga, etc.*

On October 18, 1880, in the rank of province secretary (12th class according to the Rank Table) he was appointed the police master of Dinaburg. As a nomenclature figure of the Ministry of Internal Affairs he made a rapid career:

in 1883 he was appointed to the position of collegial assessor (10th class);

in 1887 – titular counselor (9th class);

in 1888 – collegial assessor (8th class);

in 1895 – court counselor (7th class);

in 1898 – collegial counselor (6th class).

Already in the position of the town mayor in 1913 he was awarded the rank of 5th class – state counselor.

On February 17, 1899, Pfeiffer was elected the town mayor of Dvinsk (with 17 votes 'for' and 5 'against').

On February 25, 1899, by the decision of the province administration he was retired from the position of police master due to poor health condition. The mere comparison of these dates shows that his retirement was a pure formality.

He was awarded the 2nd and 3rd degree orders of St. Stanislav, the 4th degree Order of Prussian Crown, and the sign of Red Cross.

Being a land owner (he owned an estate in Lepel district) in 1911 he was elected a member of Lepel district land assembly.

He was the honorary judge, the chair of the municipal assembly, the chair of the board of the voluntary firemen association, the head of the department of the imperial association for life guarding on water, a member of various charity organizations, and took many other positions.

Pfeiffer's activities may be evaluated very differently. According to some evidence, he stood out by his liberalism and disposition to the Latvians. However, there have been other views, too.

The active participant of revolutionary events, Raisa Borisova in her book *В огне революционной борьбы* (In the Fire of Revolutionary Struggle, 1957) from a distinct social class position gives a very negative evaluation of the town mayor calling him an ardent reactionary, accusing 'the fathers of the town' in endless theft and profiteering (and the town mayor personally in imposture) that became an obstacle for building the tram line in the town.

Pfeiffer's name has been silenced for long years; many historians and local history researchers who studied the history of Dvinsk of the late 19th and early 20th centuries never mentioned the personality of this public figure. Unfortunately, the lack of documental information impedes the clarification of the picture. Yet we can state with certainty that A. Pfeiffer deserves attention both as the head of the town self-government and a person.

In those years, Dvinsk like many towns of the Russian Empire reached the apogee in its development being a rather big industrial, commercial, and cultural centre of the north-western part of Russia. Its population in 1913 reached 113 thousand (112,848) people.

The municipal self-government continued the construction of water-main that was started at the time of Dubrovin in the office of the town mayor. If in 1889 16 buildings were supplied with water, then in 1904 – 424 and till 1914 the capacity of the water-main had grown 2.5 times constituting 5 thousand cubic metres of water per day (cf. 2000 in 1889).

The problem of electricity supply was solved. According to the agreement with Berlin *Joint-stock Company of Electric Enterprises*, the electric power station was built that started functioning in 1911. In 1912 the town streets were lighted by electric lamps.

The decision was made to construct a road to Stropi in 1914, numeration of houses was introduced. The tram line was planned and but for the war it would evidently have been constructed.

Vehicle communication with Novoaleksandrovsk was opened (twice a day).

The municipal self-government continued the improvement of the leisure zones in the town: in 1899 a platform was constructed in Dubrovin garden, in 1901 – the fountain in Alexandr Nevsky square, in 1903 Nikolayevsk park was opened with the buildings of the former agricultural exhibition.

The municipal assembly presided by the town mayor organized many culture events – exhibitions, concerts, musical socials. There were 3 theatres in the town (the 4th one was open in summer time in Pogulyanka), 4 movie theatres, 7 libraries.

In 1903, the first free town reading hall named after Gogol was opened where readers had access to varied literature, books, and periodicals.

Dvinsk took one of the first places according to the number of education establishments in the whole Baltic area. On the brink of the war, their number was 39. New schools were opened, in 1908 in the women's gymnasium form 8 (pedagogical) was opened for preparing teachers for the town schools and junior forms of gymnasium. The women's gymnasium was financed by the municipal administration. Hence, in 1913/1914 academic year 3000 roubles were allotted from the municipal funds for the gymnasium and 410 roubles for the benefits to the needy students.

With the beginning of the war, lazarettos were opened in the town, the address bureau was established with the municipal administration, and budget expenses were reduced. The council considered the issues of providing assistance to the wounded and refugees, of creating the committee for cutting prices. Cup donations were organized for the needs of the army, gifts sent to soldiers on the front line.

On May 5, 1915, the newspaper *Dvinsk Idea* informed that

[..] городской голова Пфейффер закупил для продовольственных нужд города 50 тысяч пудов ржаной муки хорошего качества по 1 руб. 35 коп. Считая расходы на перевозку, она будет продаваться не дороже 1 руб. 40 коп, т.е. на 60–70 коп. дешевле рыночных цен.

[...] the town mayor A. Pfeiffer bought for the food supplies of the town 50 thousand poods of good quality rye flour for 1 rouble 35 kopeks. Adding the expenses of transportation, it will be sold for no more than 1 rouble 40 kopeks, i.e. for 60–70 kopeks cheaper than the market prices.]

In summer 1915, Pfeiffer was elected to the war industrial district committee founded in Vitebsk. This is the last piece of information concerning Pfeiffer provided by *Dvinsk Paper*, the last issue of which came out on August 28, 1915.

Since the very beginning of the war, in Russia the citizens of Germany and Austro-Hungary as well as ethnic Germans were retired from jobs and their property was expropriated. Military power bodies also expressed discontent for the 'strategic positions' of the Germans in Dvinsk (Pfeiffer being the town mayor, Minus – the director of the bank, Mirbach – the marshal of the nobility, Engelhardt – the head of the district council).

Being evacuated to Orl, Pfeiffer in autumn 1915 was discharged from the position of the town mayor and deported to the Siberia. It is significant that *Vitebsk Province News* did not give any information on these events.

Previously it was considered that Arvid Pfeiffer had died in the Siberia (according to other evidence – in Orlo). Besides, it was supposed that he was buried in Dvinsk. The documents found in Latvian State historical archives helped clarify some facts concerning the last years of Pfeiffer's life. At the beginning of September, 1915, the mayor of Vitebsk Province gave Arvid Pfeiffer permission for a two months leave. However, after this period of time the town mayor did not return to Dvinsk. One may suppose that it was related to the fierce battles near Dvinsk in summer and autumn, 1915; besides, there was evacuation of municipal institutions on 2 September, 1915.

According to the remaining minutes of Dvinsk municipal council, Arvid Pfeiffer returned to Dvinsk in summer, 1918. On 3 June, 1918, the council looked through the application of a group of its members for paying salary to the former town mayor

Pfeiffer for the time of his banishment by the military power bodies outside the province, without his giving up the position in a legal way. A unanimous decision was taken to pay Pfeiffer his salary.

On 5 October, 1918, Pfeiffer's death was announced and the council decided to organize his funeral on the part of the town. The funeral took place on 6 October, after the prayer in Lutheran church. Unfortunately, Pfeiffer's grave has not been preserved. However, at present the town council is considering the issue of erecting a memorial tombstone in the Lutheran cemetery. The last remaining minutes of the town council meeting have been dated by 10 October, 1918. At this meeting it was decided to assign pension to Pfeiffer's widow.

There is very scarce evidence about the fate of the relatives of the former town mayor. His wife Eleanor-Henrietta-Maria (née Krum) (1866, Ilūkste district – ?) was repatriated to Germany in 1939. His son Alexandr-Arvid Pfeiffer went to Dvinsk real school and followed his father's tracks serving in the army from May 19, 1889. In 1890 he was appointed the assistant of the *pristav* of Vitebsk, next year – the *pristav* of Polock district. In 1894, in the rank of collegial registrar (the lowest 14th class) he was appointed the 4th rank *pristav*. In the same year, the governor of Vitebsk expressed his acknowledgements to *pristav* Pfeiffer and 2 police officers for the energetic action in the search and detention of murderers.

Since January 14, 1906, Alexandr Pfeiffer was the district police officer in Sebezh. In 1912 he was the district police officer in Dvinsk. At the beginning of December, 1915, 'for the benefit of service' he was transferred to the position of the district police officer in Nevel but on January 16, 1916, was discharged by the order of Vitebsk governor from the position (by the way, in the rank of collegiate councilor) without indicating the reason.

On July 6, 1916, another, more lenient order followed: Nevel district police officer Alexandr Pfeiffer is discharged from service due to poor health condition. His further fate is unknown.

Pfeiffer's daughter Margarita (17.11.1896 – ?) learned at Dvinsk Women's Gymnasium.

After Pfeiffer's departure from Dvinsk in autumn, 1915, till the middle of March, 1917, the actual head of the municipal self-government was the deputy mayor Yakov Molchanov, the former mayor Ivan Molchanov's brother.

The present study is just the initial stage of research on a rather vast and intriguing topic. The research is planned to be continued.

¹ Шнеер А. К вопросу о влиянии польского восстания 1863 г. на крестьянское движение в Латгалии. / *Humanitāro Zinātņu Vēstnesis* Nr. 1, 2002. – 99.–106. lpp.

² ЦГИА Лит.ССР (теперь *Литовский государственный исторический архив*), ф. 378, оп. 1863, д. 113, л. 3.

³ Ibid.

⁴ *Воспоминания Теобальда*. Часть III. Вильна, 1890. – с. 120.

⁵ Сементовский А. М. *Витебск и уездные города Витебской губернии*. Санкт-Петербург, 1864. – с. 91.

⁶ Якуб З. *Даугавпилс в прошлом*. Даугавпилс, 1998. – с. 250.

⁷ *Витебские губернские ведомости* 29 сентября, 1876.

⁸ Витенберг Я. Памяти П. Ф. Дубровина. / *Двинский голос* 16 августа, 1932.

⁸ ЛГИА, ф. 2076, оп. 1, д. 126, л. 24.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

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Aaron Shneyer

THE JEWISH LUDZA – THE TOWN AND ITS PEOPLE (1772 – 1941)

Summary

The present article regards the phenomenon of Lucina – the keeper of the Jewish tradition and culture during one and a half centuries. The cultural-historical processes of all the pre-revolutionary Russia not just Latgale are reflected in the history of the Jewish community of Ludza.

The first mention of Jews of Lucina dates back to 1765. After the first division of Poland in 1772, Lucina became a part of the Russian Empire. Therefore the Jewish population has affected the development of the town of Ludza. The Jewish community of Lucina was famous for its rabbis whose authority was so great that Lucina was called ‘the Latvian Jerusalem’.

In 1883 Lucina became known in Russia owing to ‘the bloody calumny’ – the so-called ‘case of Lucina’, the trial that took place in Vitebsk in 1885, in which all the accused were pleaded not guilty.

From the beginning of the 20th century, in the life of the Jews of Lucina there has been a decline in the centripetal tendencies leading to isolation within the limits of a community, and centrifugal – extending the limits of communal life, participation in self-government in cultural and educational activities.

During more than 100 years, the Jews of Lucina were a dominating ethnoforming element of the town, the major socio-economic factor that provided all needs of the population of the town and its suburbs.

Destinies of many Jews and non-Jews are connected with Lucina. The future founder of the religious-Zionist movement, Rabbi Kook who became the main rabbi of Israel had studied in Lucina. The destinies of the landscape painter Pyotr Vereshchagin and suprematist artist Iliya Chashnik, the well-known director of documentary films Herz Frank and one of the great experts in the former USSR, the oncologist professor Aaron Althausen are connected with Ludza, too.

The outstanding Jewish poet Chaim Bialik and one of the leaders of Zionist movement Zeev Zhabotinsky acted in Ludza.

In the first independent Republic of Latvia (1920 – 1940), despite the flourishing of the Jewish education and active national-political activity of the Zionist movement, the social contradictions between the Jews and the radical Latvian population became aggravated. That affected the Jews’ destinies during the Nazi occupation in 1941.

Key-words: rabbi, Ashkenazi, Talmud, Talmud Torah, Joint, Beitar

*

*The whole Israel will weep over the fire... Moshe Ben David today on tamuz¹ 25 of the year 1768.*² This first mention of the Jews of Lucina (Ludza) in Jewish sources is found in the inscription on the tombstone in an old Jewish cemetery in Ludza. Once a Jew argued with peasants for whom he was tailoring clothes and they accused him of having ridiculed Christ. The master of the estate who was Polish suggested that Ben David should be christened otherwise he will die. Moshe refused and was burned³.

However, the first historically grounded evidence of the Jews in Lucina is the inventory list of the estate owners of Lucina parish of 1765. The list mentions two Jews who owned small shops⁴.

After the first division of Poland in 1772, Lucina was incorporated into the Russian Empire. According to the data of the first town census, in 1772 the town population was 227; 32 of them Jewish⁵.

Lucina was situated within the Jewish pale; therefore it developed and grew into a town to a great extent due to the Jews populating it. In 1802 Lucina was populated by 353 Christian and 565 Judaic people⁶ but in 1847 there were already 2 299 Jews⁷.

The Jewish community of Lucina had been respected and had a certain influence on Vitebsk province since the early 19th century. Therefore the merchant Yekutiel Zieskind Levi was elected one of the two representatives of Vitebsk province to the meeting of Jewish communities of the western Russia that took place in Wilno (Vilnius) in 1818⁸.

Yet the situation of the Jewish community in Lucina at the beginning of the 19th century was rather hard. Poor harvests followed one another, the people were starving and thus many Jews left the town and moved to Herson and Yekaterinoslav provinces where since the end of the 18th century Russian government had been trying to create Jewish agricultural colonies. The situation grew so grave that in 1808 the community lost any future hopes for staying in Lucina and wishing to move to the southern provinces refused the foundation of a Jewish school; this fact is revealed in the document addressed to the headmaster of schools in Vitebsk province:

Из Люцинского Уездного Еврейского Кагала

РАПОРТ

На требование Вашего Высокородия от 22 — сего Августа под № 77-м, коим изволили требовать от сего кагала сведения, какие приняли меры на заведение начальных училищ для детей Еврейского народа согласно Указу о Евреях 1805 года. По которому Вашему Высокородию сей кагал почтеннейше имеет честь донести, что в силу одного Указа о Евреях положения сей кагал со стороны своей прилагал старательствы, о постройке школы для обучения Еврейских детей, о коем представлено было начальнику Губернии для утверждения на оную нужного расхода, на которое в разрешение сей кагал доньше еще не имеет; но как многие во время переписи о Евреях объяснили свое желание переселиться в Херсонскую и Екатеринославскую губернии, из коих уже немалое количество выступило в означенные губернии, остальное Еврейское общество по неурожаю хлеба год от года не предвидит себе остаться и объявляют непрестано свои решения к переселению в сказанные губернии. А затем как по недостатку сей кагал не предвидит к заведению такого училища мер.

Августа 23-го дня
1808 года
Люцин.

Следуют подписи на иврите,
Моше бал Алал, Ицхак
Айзик, Цви Гири, Яков
Эйдельштейн, Моше Барух
Хакоэн Аарон.⁹

[From Lucina regional Jewish Kahal

REPORT

As concerns the demand of your highness of 22nd August this year No. 77 as to the information about the measures taken for the foundation of elementary education establishments for Jewish children in accordance with the *Ukaz about Jews* of 1805. In this respect, this kahal has the honour of informing your highness that, in accordance with the aforementioned *Ukaz about Jews*, the kahal on its part made the effort of building a school for Jewish children and submitted to the mayor of the province the estimated costs but it has not received the permit yet; but as many of Jews during the census expressed their wish to move to Herson and Yekaterinoslav provinces, from which quite a lot have already settled there, and the rest of the Jewish community, due to the poor harvest from year to year, do not consider it possible to stay and insist on their decision to move to the aforementioned provinces. For this reason, the kahal does not plan any measures for founding these education establishments.

August 23, 1808,
Lucina]

[signatures in Ivrit]

Several families from Lucina having the surname Kabo¹⁰ moved to the colonies *Nadyozhnoye* and *Novyi Zlatopol*. Their names have been mentioned in the census of 1834, as well as of 1850 – 52 and 1858¹¹.

In the 1840s the economic situation improved and the Jews in Lucina made living by trading agricultural products that they bought from the neighbouring peasants as well as cloth and wood. There already existed lots of workshops in the town built for the money of the company *Paoley Cedek – Rabochaya pravednost'*. 71 out of 104 workshops belonged to the Jews. Among Jews there were 310 professional craftsmen and 65 workers (40% of them were tailors). In those years the *Kupat Cdaka* – the charitable foundation was raised providing money for the needy workers and workshop owners. The workshops and proprietries were family run as a rule and they were extremely small.¹²

The Jewish community of Lucina was famous for its rabbis who were well educated. The first rabbi of the Lucina community known from the documents was Zeev Wolf Altshuller who settled in the town in 1786. In 1806 he was succeeded by David Tzioni, the progenitor of the famous Tzioni dynasty. In 1810 he was succeeded by the eldest son Naftali Tzioni who during the next 46 years was the rabbi of the town¹³.

On August 26, 1827, Nikolai I signed the order about recruiting Jews in the military service with the aim of forcing the Jews into the Christian faith. It was supposed that the military service that was 25 years long, during which there would be no possibility of observing Jewish religious traditions, would force Jewish soldiers to give up the faith of their ancestors. The order was discriminating the Jews. If other citizens of Russia were called into the army from the age of 18, Jews were called from 12 years of age. Boys from 12 to 18 were sent to battalions and canton schools for the preparation for

the military service; moreover, the years of preparation were not considered within the term of the military service.

In July, 1852, Jewish communities were allowed to recruit substitute Jews without passport even from the communities of other provinces. This led to the appearance of ‘smarts’ who either stole the passport or took it away by force from another Jew and reported him to be recruited into the army¹⁴. Similar things took place in Lucina as well. In 1886 Aizik Bondarsky came to the town and demanded compensation for having been kidnapped from Lucina with three of his friends in 1853. As they did not have personal identification, they were recruited into the army. Naftali Tzioni helped buy out his three friends but not him and so he served in the army instead of the Lucina Jew. The leaders of the community acknowledged the claim of Bondarsky fair. The statement about the compensation for the damage says:

*Я, нижеподписавшийся Айзик Хаим Бондарский, которого жители Люцина взяли пойманником и сдали в солдаты, ныне, приехав в Люцин, помирился с ними за сумму в 75 рублей и простил их от всего сердца. И нет у меня больше к ним никаких претензий. Прощаю и покойников, давно умерших, и живых, здравствующих поныне.*¹⁵

[Me, the undersigned Aizik Chaim Bondarsky, who had been caught by the inhabitants of Lucina and recruited into the army, now upon arriving to Lucina, have made up with them for the sum of 75 roubles and forgiven them from my heart. I do not have any other claims to them. I forgive both the deceased and the living.]

The authority of Lucina rabbis was so great that Lucina was called the *Latvian Jerusalem* and therefore young men from other towns were sent there to study. One of them was Abraham Isaac Kook (1865 – 1935) who was born in Grīva on September 7, 1865. Till the age of 15 he learned in Dvinsk with Rabbi Reuven Galevi Levin who was known as Rabbi Ruvele Dinaburger¹⁶. In 1880 Abraham Kook came to Lucina and learned for two years with Rabbi Eliezer Don-Yehiya (1838 – 1924) who considered it very important to teach laymen. He had very good relations with the local non-Jewish population¹⁷. The Lucina period made an impact on the whole of the following activities of A. Kook. He served as rabbi in Lithuania, later on in Bauska. In 1904 he went to Palestine. He tried to attract the religious Jews to the ideas of Zionism; therefore he became one of the founders of the religious Zionist movement *Mizrabi*. In 1919 he was elected the major Rabbi of Jerusalem and from 1921 he was the leading Ashkenazi Rabbi of Palestine. Kook’s greatest contribution consists in his consequential development of the idea of tolerance and pluralism considering them not only as compromise in the situation of actually conflicting points of view but also acknowledgement of the fact that God’s presence fills the whole world and all people and *any perspective, any language, culture, faith must play their special role in saving the world*¹⁸.

The Jewish Lucina was famous not only for its spiritual teachers. High evaluation of the contemporaries was attributed to one of the best works on the Biblical Temple – Mikdash Aaron (Aaron’s Temple). It was written by Aaron Zelig De Glin who lived in Lucina. The book was published in Warsaw in 1891. Its second publication that came out in 1894 in Riga was financed by Baron Goraziy Ginzburg. In 1896, in Riga another work by De Glin was published – the archeological album. These books provided a detailed description of the tabernacle of the Testament and all paraphernalia of the

religious service in the Temple, Israel chariots and Levite towns according to the Bible, Talmud, Josephus Flavius and other Jewish researchers¹⁹.

At the beginning of the 1880s in Russia, there was a wave of Jewish pogroms and growing anti-Semitism. This bloody wave reached Lucina as well. In November 1883, in the family of the merchant Lotsev his Christian servant girl Maria Drich was lost. Her body was found in the lake. There were rumours that Jews had drained the blood of the servant girl. All Russian newspapers published articles accusing Jews in this crime. The inquest lasted for two years. The Lotsev married couple, Maih and Gurevich were arrested. The case was examined at the regional court of Vitebsk on April 15 – 16, 1885. The attorney was Prince Alexandr Urusov from St.Petersburg who stated at the court:

Обвинение зашло ужасно далеко. Оно дошло до обвинения людей, не привлеченных к суду, до опозорения ни в чем не повинного еврейского населения Люцина. С высоты прокурорской трибуны брошено обвинение, которое могло бы вызвать в вас, христианских жителей, страшное ожесточение... Но вы знаете своих соседей евреев, вы знаете, сколько между ними есть добрых, честных, хороших людей. Вы, верно, слышали, что их закон, как и наш, запрещает убийство, и что евреи питают непреодолимое отвращение к крови. Бог Израиля не требует человеческих жертвоприношений.²⁰

[The prosecution has gone extremely far. It has gone to accusing people who have not been taken to court, to the disgrace of innocent Jewish population of Lucina. From the height of the prosecutor's tribune the charge has been issued that could arouse in you, Christian people, a horrible disgust... But you know your Jewish neighbours, you know how many good, kind, honest people are among them. You must have heard that their law the same as ours prohibits murder and that Jews have irresistible disgust towards blood. The God of Israel does not demand human sacrifice (The Case of Maria Drich's Murder 1999).]

The inquest proved that all the witnesses of the prosecution were lying. After a 40 minutes discussion, the jury pleaded everybody not guilty.

It is characteristic that during many decades till 1941 the town population avoided national conflicts unlike other places. Even the *Lucina case* did not lead to pogrom, but in 1905 the attempt at pogrom on the part of the aliens going through the town who had been called for the Russian-Japanese war was not supported by the local inhabitants and was rapidly and strictly cut short by the local authorities.

In the second half of the 19th century, new tendencies appeared in the spiritual life of the Jews in Lucina: apart from the traditional religious aspect, secular education was initiated. Hence, in 1865 the school of Russian learning was opened for Jews entailing 60 boys²¹. In 1887, the religious school *Talmud – Torah* was founded where, apart from the religious subjects, also the Russian language and mathematics were taught²².

In 1910, Meir Levin founded the school for teaching Ivrit not as the language of prayer but as that of the everyday communication. It existed just for two years as it was hard to stand the competition with the popular state Jewish college²³. Yet the parents who wished to provide their children with secular education sent them to Vitebsk, as in Lucina there was no Russian gymnasium till 1917. One of these children was Aaron Althausen who was born in Lucina in 1890. In 1908 he left Vitebsk gymnasium and entered Kharkov University. Later the professor, PhD Aaron Althausen²⁴ became one of the major professionals in the former USSR in the field of clinical laboratory research in oncology²⁵.

As a result of simultaneous entrepreneurial and enlightening activities of the Jews, in 1883 the first book-shop was founded in Lucina by Haim Suer. In 1884 the shop turned into a library the collection of which after 4 years consisted of 6 books. The library was regularly used by 44 readers, 38 from which were males and 6 – females²⁶.

In 1903, the Gutner brothers from Režica opened in Lucina the first printing-house. The second one was founded in 1907 by Wolf Suer²⁷. In the same year, Chaim Shor opened the first and only Jewish printing-house in Latgale²⁸.

The lives of many famous people, both Jews and of other nationalities are connected with Lucina. We will mention just a few of them. Pyotr Vereschagin – the master of landscape painting was born in Perm in 1834, studied at St.Petersburg Academy of Art with Sokrat Vorobyov and for many years lived and worked in Italy. In 1865 he graduated from the academy of arts and from 1866 to 1868 taught drawing, technical drawing, and pencraft in Lucina. In 1867 for his paintings *A View of Dinaburg* and *A View of the Town from the Vicinities of Lucina* he was awarded the title of second degree class artist. In 1873 Pyotr Vereschagin was awarded the title of the academic of landscape painting. His works are kept in Tretyakov Gallery²⁹.

From February 19 to 26, 2004, there was an exhibition in Tretyakov Gallery *Kazimir Malevich, Ilya Chashnik, Nikolai Suetin. Graphic works. New acquisitions*. All the exhibited works were shown in Russia for the first time. This exhibition is related to Lucina as well. Ilya Chashnik was born in Lucina in 1902. From 1913 he learned in Vitebsk and till 1918 he visited the studio of Yehuda Pen. In 1918 he learned at People's Art school with Marc Chagall. In 1919 Kazimir Malevich started working at this school. In the spring of 1920 he organized the group *Unovis* (Утвердители нового искусства (the founders of the new art)). Nikolai Suetin and Ilya Chashnik became his disciples and closest confreres. They were called *the canonical trinity of Suprematists*.

Chashnik's works are kept in Tretyakov Gallery, as well as art galleries in Madrid and Köln, etc.^{30, 31}

Omitting the events of World War I and the years of the revolution³², we will proceed to the life of Ilya Yorsh (Yershov) who was born in Lucina in 1897 and since 1912 lived in St.Petersburg. He spoke fluent German and worked as an accountant in Petrograd commercial bank till the revolution of 1917. Afterwards he lived a typical life of a revolutionary being the commissary of the former commercial bank in Petrograd in 1918, then the special department of the Martial Extraordinary Committee, diplomatic service in Germany, director of the national bank in Byelorussia in 1928, financial adviser in Mongolia, in 1937 the head of the revision board of the National Bank of the USSR, until he was shot in March, 1938. He was rehabilitated in 1956³³.

Let us turn to the period of the first Republic of Latvia. On the night from January 20 to 21, 1920, the Red Army troops left Lucina and the power in the town was taken over by the temporary civilian committee of 8 people, three of them being Jews: E. Falkov, Nathan Levin, Aaron Gamza. On January 26, 1920, Latvian national army entered the town³⁴. A new period in the life of Lucina and the Jewish community started. The town got a new name – Ludza. During the five years of the war, the number of the Jews in Lucina was reduced. If in 1914 a half of the population of the town were Jews (3500 from 7100), then in 1920, 2050 Jews lived there, in 1935 their number diminished to 1518 from 5546 of the total population. At the same time, the number of the Latvians

in the town grew from 237 in 1897 to 1581 in 1930. The major growth of the Latvian population occurred from 1920 to 1925³⁵.

For a long time, the Jews of Ludza lived under the influence of the Russian culture and the majority of them spoke Russian. Jews, as shown by their millennium history, not only got quickly integrated into the economic life in the places of their residence but also rather successfully accepted the culture of those nations they were living with simultaneously sustaining their individuality. This was also the case in Lucina where not only the Jews but also the Poles and Russians understood Yiddish and some of them, including police, spoke this language. In the 1920s, the situation changed. In the process of the ‘Latvianization’ of the town, with new inhabitants appearing from villages, social contradictions in general became more incisive and particularly between the Jewish and the local Latvian population, both fighting for their place in the municipal socio-economic structures. All this could not but be reflected on the lives of the Jews during the German occupation in 1941.

In the period from 1914 to 1920 the town was brought to ruin. However, due to the fact that Ludza bordered on the USSR, it was one of the major points of transporting corn and other freights to the Soviet Union. This aroused the renewal of production and the participation of the Jews in the town economy became very significant. Till 1935, there were 302 enterprises in the town – stores and diverse workshops, 191 of them belonged to Jews³⁶.

The following table provides an overview of the role of Jews in the town economy:

The kind of commerce of production	Total in the town	Owned or rented by Jews	% of Jewish property
Food stores	53	48	90
Baker’s, selling flour	19	15	79
Butcher’s	11	7	64
Confectioner’s and drinks	11	8	73
Clothes and textiles	32	31	97
Footwear	21	20	95
Bookstores	3	2	67
Hotels, cafeterias, beer parlours	17	5	29
Chemist’s	4	4	100
Drugstores	3	3	100
Furniture and household goods	5	4	80
Plastic products	4	4	100
Agricultural goods	19	16	85
Selling and repairing watches	3	3	100
Building materials and paints	5	4	80
Selling corn	7	6	90
Hairdresser’s and barber’s	8	6	75
Other	5	5	100

The three photographer studios in the town were owned by the Jews as well. One of them was the father of the famous director Herz Frank³⁷ who was born in Ludza in 1926. 3 of the 6 doctors in the town were Jews³⁸. Dr. Samuel Gurevich owned a three-storey hospital with modern equipment including X-ray and quartz lamps. 3 of the 5 dentists of Ludza were Jews³⁹. Solomon Suer owned the biggest store in Ludza and a movie theatre. Wolf Suer owned a printing house. Samuel Krupp was the co-owner of the small electric station of the town. In April, 1940, 159 telephones were registered at Ludza telephone station, 116 of them private; 45 or 38.7% of the subscribers were Jews⁴⁰.

However, the Jewish community of Ludza was not as wealthy as may seem from the above-mentioned facts. Actually, the majority of Jewish population was constituted by numerous craftsmen, carters, loaders, small merchants, besides the majority of the owners of small stores were just leaseholders of diverse firms and companies granting them the rights of commerce.

The district of the town inhabited by Jews – Slobodka was populated by the poor. For very poor Jews there was a free canteen visited daily by about 80 people. On Ezerkrasta Street there were two old people's homes financed by the community where a number of poor single Jewish men and women lived.

During more than 100 years, the Jews of Lucina – Ludza were the dominant ethnic group of the town as well as the most important socio-economic factor catering for the demands of the population of the town and its vicinities.

Since the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, the life of Lucina Jews was dominated not by the centrifugal tendencies leading to distancing themselves within a closed community but centripetal ones – going beyond the boundaries of the community life, participation in the municipal self-government and cultural and educating activities. In 1925 there were 8 Jews among 20 members of the municipal council (Архив Киббуца). For long years the community interests in the municipal council were represented by Isaak Vaispap, Nathan Levin, Noson Astanovsky, and Aaron Ber Gamza. Nathan Levin worked as a deputy mayor of the town several times⁴¹.

The economy of the town and the material welfare of many Jews were damaged by the fire that broke out in Lucina on June 12, 1938. According to official evidence, 212 houses and 17 workshops burnt down, 95% of which belonged to Jews. Apart from that, also the synagogue, Catholic church, and state enterprises were destroyed. The neighbouring Jewish communities reacted by providing immediate aid. Jewish organizations in Riga helped with reconstructing the stores and workshops. The government of Latvia granted special funds from the state budget and the minister of interior affairs produced a special program of restoring the block destroyed in the fire. In Ludza the committee for providing aid to the victims of the fire was founded. Aaron Ber Gamza was elected its chair. His daughter Basya in a letter to the author of the present article recalls the following:

[...] отцу выделили пишущую машинку, и он ночами напролет просиживал над ней, составляя письма к зарубежным еврейским общинам. А потом в его кабинете появился шкаф с одеждой, которую выдавали пострадавшим. Помощь евреям поступала из Америки, Южной Африки, где жило много родственников погорельцев.⁴²

[...] father was given a typewriter and he was sitting by it all nights long writing letters to the Jewish communities abroad. And afterwards in his study

there appeared a wardrobe with clothes that was given to the victims. Aid to Jews came from America, South Africa, where the relatives of many victims of the fire lived.]

In the years of the first Republic of Latvia, Jewish education developed rapidly. The report *On the state of affairs concerning the education of Jews in Latvia* produced in the early 1920s by the representatives of Joint states: *В еврейской народной школе в Лудзе есть прекрасный коллектив учителей, в школе есть лучшее оборудование, какое можно найти*⁴³. [In Jewish popular school in Ludza there is a wonderful teaching staff, the school has the best equipment possible.]

In December, 1917, gymnasium was opened in Lucina (this year is the 90th anniversary of this event). Its foundation was initiated by the dean of Ludza church Tukish, the mayor of the town Nikolai Rutkovsky, private commissioner Solomon Gurevich, and tailor S. Vaispap. Among the first 48 graduates of the gymnasium in 1921 there were 45 Jews. In 1922 the situation had changed little: 35 Jews from 44 graduates⁴⁴. This situation led to closing the town gymnasium and on September 1, 1922, two new gymnasia were opened – the Jewish and Belarusian ones. However, the number of pupils of the Jewish gymnasium diminished each year. Hence, if in the academic year 1926/1927 the number of pupils was 100, then in 1932/1933 less than 60 pupils were left. After closing the gymnasium on August 1, 1934, its pupils continued learning in the Latvian gymnasium that had been founded in 1921, or in the Russian one founded in 1926.

In the academic year 1934/1935, the Latvian gymnasium had 207 pupils out of whom Latvians constituted 73%, Russians and Belorussians – 12%, Jews – 10%, Polish – 3%, other nationalities – 2%⁴⁵.

In 1930 *Žīdu pamatskola* (Jewish primary school) was opened in Ludza. At first there were only three forms – two preparatory and form 1. With each following year, the number of forms grew larger. The first headmistress of the school was Hannah Weismann who in 1933 or 1934 moved to Palestine. The next headmaster was Tuvov and since the mid-1930s till the summer of 1940 – Moses Ginsburg. In 1915 he graduated from Dorpat University in veterinary studies and taught anatomy and zoology being a born educator. The school rented a large two-storey house that belonged to Rusinovskiy. At school Ivrit and Yiddish were taught, however preference was given to Ivrit. The duration of studies at the school was 6 years; afterwards it was possible to go to Latvian gymnasium or Trade College. Among the pupils were children from the whole district, not only from the town of Ludza. The children who came from the country-side stayed with relatives and acquaintances; on Sabbath those who lived nearby went home, others visited home only on holidays and in summer. The teacher of preparatory and primary forms was Fanya Levin. Ivrit was taught by Aaron Dov Ber Gamza and Fanya Zelikson, Tuvov and Moshe Kats taught Ivrit and Tenaha. Yiddish and mathematics were taught by Hasya Slobod. Mathematics was also taught by Gilkin and Haya Kagan. Bluma Druyan taught botany and natural science as well as drawing and singing in preparatory and senior forms. Latvian and the history of Latvia were compulsory subjects. There was a chorus, dancing group as well as diverse sports activities at school. The school football team always participated in contests with teams from other, non-Jewish schools.

In the 1920s an argument occurred between the champions of learning Yiddish and those prioritizing Ivrit. The supporters of the Bund lobbied Yiddish, whereas Zionists – Ivrit⁴⁶.

In December, 1931, Ludza as well as Daugavpils was visited by the famous Jewish poet Chaim Nahman Bialik. Sela Levin (Stern) in a letter to the author of the present article writes, *I greeted him in Ivrit that gave him a big surprise that in the Diaspora such a little girl (I was 6 then) fluently speaks Ivrit*⁴⁷. Then followed meeting in the Community Centre where the Jewish theatre studio staged plays. The studio was led by Berl Gurevich, the artist and stage designer was the photographer Wolf Frank. The religious life was concentrated around 7 synagogues situated in Ludza.

In the 1920s, the Jews who had received the right of national and cultural autonomy in Latvia were especially active politically. Along with the existing party of the common Zionists in Ludza after the visit of Zeev Zhabotinsky⁴⁸ in 1923 separate parties of revisionist Zionists and the movement Beitar⁴⁹ were formed. The leaders of the Beitar movement in Ludza were Mayofis brothers. One of the residents of Ludza David Varhaftik was elected the vice-chair of the Latvian Beitar in 1935. On August 6, 1940, he was arrested. The charge inference states the following:

[...] состоял в контрреволюционной военно-националистической сионистской организации «Трумпельдор» [...] отрывал еврейскую трудящуюся молодёжь от комсомола, ориентируя её на антиленинское разрешение еврейского вопроса, через создание еврейского государства в Палестине...

[...] was a member of counter-revolutionary military-nationalist Zionist organization Trumpeldor [...] distracted the working Jewish youth from komsomol orienting it towards anti-leninist solution of the Jewish issue by founding the Jewish state in Palestine..]

On March 8, 1941, David Varhaftik was sentenced to 8 years in camps. He was first sent to VORKUTLAG (Vorkuta camp), then into exile. In 1955 he was rehabilitated. Only on November 12, 1955, the Supreme Court of Latvian SSR reconsidered the case and closed it due to the lack of *corpus delicti*⁵⁰.

Another Jew from Ludza, Motl-Ichah Kats was the leader of the Latvian organization *Hashomer Hacair* (the young guard). Lev Frank was one of the leaders of Ludza branch of this organization. In summer, camps by Lake Evertovo nearby the town of Malta were organized for the members of the organization. On these camps they learned how to make a fire, went tracking, and went in for sports. Beitar and Hashomer Hacair were conflicting organizations due to their opposite views concerning the means of fighting for the foundation of the Jewish state in Palestine.

The majority of Jewish families of Ludza donated money to buy land in Palestine. The money was collected by the Keren Kaemet fund that was also represented in Ludza. Zionist movement that was aimed at founding the Jewish state in Palestine and preparing the Jews from Diaspora (this means also from Latvia) for moving there appealed also to the President of Latvia Kārlis Ulmanis. He supported Zionists and by this he planned to get rid of the Latvian Jews by peaceful, rather legitimate means.

Under the influence of Zionist ideas, around 30 young men and women from Ludza went to Palestine in the 1920 – 30s. *My parents loved reading the poetry by Pasternak and Akhmatova*, these are words by Effie Eitam (Fain Efraim), the Israel general who commanded the armoured and commando troops, at present the chair of the National Religious party, the deputy of Knesset. His mother Esther Fain was born and lived until the war in Ludza⁵¹.

On June 17, 1940, the Red Army troops entered the territory of Latvia⁵² that led to the foundation of the Soviet regime here; after that all Jewish political, religious, public, educating, sports, charity organizations were banned. Learning Ivrit was also banned. The Jewish school of Ludza continued working, however only Yiddish and Russian were taught there. New subjects appeared – the history of the USSR and the initial military training. Instead of diverse Jewish youth organizations, the pioneer and young communist organizations existed. The first leaders of Jewish pioneers in August, 1940, were Etya Davidova and Ida Puternik. David Fainstein was the young communist leader and the senior pioneer leader in the Jewish school.

Some Jews were granted by the Soviet power not the leading but rather important positions in the communist party bodies. Hence, the second secretary of the regional committee of the party in Ludza was Hannah Skutelskaya and the second secretary of the regional committee of the young communist league was Yankel Cilevich.

The attitude of the majority of Jews to the Soviet regime is characterized by the structure of Ludza battalion of the working guard under the command of Ivan Gusev. The battalion entailed 50 people – Russians, Latvians, Poles, whereas the majority were Jews – around 30 people⁵³.

The new power needed not only qualified but also reliable personnel and it used the Jews at all stages of the new political and administrative system of state government that could not but tell on the enhancement of negative attitude of the local, first and foremost Latvian, population to the Jews.

However, not all Jews accepted the new regime with enthusiasm. According to Batya Gamza who lived in Ludza, the establishment of the Soviet regime was the beginning of the tragedy of the Jews of Ludza as well as the Jews in other places⁵⁴. One may debate or disagree with her opinion but they certainly reflect the attitude of a part of the Jewish population not only in Ludza but all the territories that were sovietized in 1939 – 1940.

On the night from June 14 to June 15 mass arrests took place in Ludza and the whole Baltic republics. Among the 102 arrested were also 13 Jewish families from Ludza.

Все мужчины были отделены уже на вокзале в Лудзе и по этапу через несколько месяцев были доставлены в Вятские лагеря Кировской области. Цемель и Гамза умерли до суда в начале 1942 года. Ривкин умер в апреле 1942 г. Бунимович был освобожден, но скончался там же в ноябре 1943 г.

Женщины с детьми были высланы в отдаленные от железной дороги деревни Красноярского края. Там женщинам объявили, что они вместе с детьми будут на спецпоселении в течение 20 лет. Через несколько месяцев спецпоселение было заменено пожизненной ссылкой. Лишь в 1956 году спецпоселенцы были освобождены.⁵⁵

[All men were separated already at the station in Ludza and were deported during several months to Vyatsk camps in Kirovsk district. Tsemel and Gamza died until the trial at the beginning of 1942. Rivkin died in April, 1942. Bunimovich was released but died there in November, 1943.

Women with children were deported to the distant villages in Krasnoyarsk district. There they were informed that they would be on special settlement for 20 years. After some months special settlement was substituted by life exile. They were released only in 1956.]

And still, in our opinion, the tragic paradox of those horrid days is in the fact that the majority of the deported survived unlike those who remained in the town and were exterminated under the German occupation.

The establishment of the Soviet regime brought disillusionment also to those who related their lives with Zionism and wished to go to Palestine in order to fight for the foundation of the Jewish state. One of such persons was Kalman Entin. He was born in 1918 in Ludza and was one of the Beitar leaders. He escaped being arrested and with the beginning of the war sensing the danger of fascism for the Jews, despite the reluctance to the Soviet system, fought side by side with workers-guards defending Riga, retreated with the Red Army troops reaching Ashabad to cross the border and flee to Iran and then to Palestine. In Ashabad Kalman found people of the same views: Samuel Levin, Israel Tsemah from Rēzekne and Tevel Alpenstein from Poland. However their attempt of crossing the border was unsuccessful. Military tribunal charged them in parricide. The accused tried to explain their wish to leave the Soviet Union and fight against fascists in the Jewish legion. All of them were sentenced to 10 years in camps. In March, 1943, Kalman died in one of the camps of Tyumensk district. Only in 1990 the Supreme Court of the USSR reconsidered the sentence of 1941⁵⁶.

In the same year of 1943 another Jew from Ludza, Nahman Astanovsky died in the Soviet prison. He was accused of the same offence – border trespass. Yet opposite causes and ideology led to the same tragic outcome. Nahman was an underground communist who crossed the border of Latvia and Soviet Union in 1933 hoping to find a new homeland in the country of his ideals. However, he was accused of espionage for Latvia and Germany and was imprisoned.

A year before, on March 13, 1942, the former young communist league member Noson Althausen who had been arrested in 1940 was shot in the Yenisey prison.

After June 22, 1941, unfortunately, very few Jews left the town. Such a decision was stipulated by the year of the Soviet power: some of them had lost their property as a result of nationalization, others were disillusioned in the Soviet approach to national problems; still others did not wish to leave their home and decided to wait till the war was over remembering the benevolence of Germans during World War I. Besides, everybody was struck by the arrests of June 14 – 15 that in a flash turned many champions or just loyal supporters of the Soviet power in its opponents who feared new repressions. Rabbi Don-Yehiya was one of those who remained in Ludza. His decision, undoubtedly, made an impact on the future fate of the Jews from Ludza. Moreover, even the beginning of the war did not influence the relations between Jews and other nationalities. On June 24, 1941, in the vicinity of Ludza, in Garbari forest by the lake, the Ligo festival was celebrated:

Еврейская молодежь вместе со своими латышскими друзьями и знакомыми также веселилась, пила пиво и пела песни. У воды горел огромный костер, и казалось, что полыхает огнем весь лес и все небо. А люди ловко прыгали через эту огонь с песнями и криками «Лиго! Лиго!» На лужайке девушки и парни вели хоровод или, разбившись на пары, обняв друг друга за пояс, кружились в танце.⁵⁷

[Jewish youth together with their Latvian friends and acquaintances were celebrating, drinking beer, and singing songs. A huge fire was burning by the lake and all the sky and the wood seemed to be ablaze with fire. But people were merrily jumping over this fire singing and shouting, ‘Ligo! Ligo!’ On the green grass, girls and guys were playing games or in couples dancing in embrace.]

On July 3, 1941, German troops entered Ludza. And just after three weeks after the festival of Ligo in the flames of another fire Jewish prayer books and Torah scrolls were burning and more than 40 Jews of Ludza were shot by the local murderers before the foundation of ghetto. Rabbi Ben Zion Don-Yehiya was among them. This was the end of the more than 150 years old history of rabbis of the Tzioni family in the town of Ludza. The community led by him was shot on August 17, 1941. From more than 1500 Jews residing in the pre-war Ludza, only 350 people survived the war. Today there are less than 15 Jews in Ludza.

¹ Jewish name of a month corresponding to the end of June – July.

² *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities. Latvia and Estonia.* Yad Vashem. Jerusalem 1988. – p. 160. (in Ivrit).

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ Сахаров С. П. *Город Лудза в прошлом и настоящем.* Рига, 1935. – с. 25.

⁵ Коробков Х. *Перепись еврейского населения Витебской губернии в 1772 г. Еврейская старина.* Вып. II. Санкт-Петербург. 1912. – с. 171.

⁶ *Еврейская энциклопедия.* Брокгауз-Эфрон в 16 томах, т. 10. Санкт-Петербург: Терра. Репринт, 1991. – с. 447.

⁷ Коробков Х. *Перепись еврейского населения Витебской губернии в 1772 г. Еврейская старина.* Вып. II. Санкт-Петербург. 1912. – с. 171.

⁸ *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities. Latvia and Estonia.* Yad Vashem. Jerusalem 1988. – p. 162. (in Ivrit).

⁹ Arhiv Moreshet, f. Institut fun vaysrusland idishe aptailung (IVIA). 1. – p. 753.

¹⁰ This family is the lineage of the famous 1st rank captain commander of III-309 Isaac Solomonovich Kabo. He has destroyed 11 ships of the enemy. He was nominated for the title of the Hero of the Soviet Union.

¹¹ *Запорожский обл. архив.* Ф. 12, оп. 2, д. 266, л. 22–33. д. 280.

¹² *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities. Latvia and Estonia.* Yad Vashem. Jerusalem 1988. – p. 162. (in Ivrit).

¹³ *Ibid.* – p. 161.

¹⁴ Гессен Ю. *История еврейского народа в России.* Москва – Иерусалим, 1993. – с. 115.

¹⁵ Кандель Ф. *Очерки времен и событий. Из истории российских евреев. Часть вторая: 1772 – 1882 годы.* Иерусалим: Тарбут, 1990. – с. 152.

¹⁶ *Maran Rabbenu Meir Simha Cohen.* Tel-Aviv, 1967. – pp. 265–287.

¹⁷ Мирский И. Раввин Кук: из Бауски в Сион. <http://www.lu.lv/materiali/studiju-centri/jsc/resursi/013-029.pdf>

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Электронная Еврейская энциклопедия в 16 томах,* т. 7. – с. 42.

²⁰ Дело об убийстве Марии Дрич. / *Закон. Журнал для прокуроров и следователей* 21.10.1999 г.

²¹ *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities. Latvia and Estonia.* Yad Vashem. Jerusalem 1988. – p. 162; Сахаров С. П. *Город Лудза в прошлом и настоящем.* Рига, 1935. – с. 29.

²² Сахаров С. П. *Город Лудза в прошлом и настоящем.* Рига, 1935. – с. 29.

²³ *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities. Latvia and Estonia.* Yad Vashem. Jerusalem 1988. – p. 162.

²⁴ A. Althausen died on January 3, 1960.

²⁵ Некролог. Альтгаузен А. А. / *Лабораторное дело* 1960. № 2. Москва, Медгиз. – с. 57.

²⁶ Сахаров С. П. *Город Лудза в прошлом и настоящем.* Рига, 1935. – с. 38.

²⁷ *Ibid.* – с. 39.

In 1926, in V. Suer's printing-house the book by Lucina Rabbi Eliezer Don-Yehiya *Comments on the Teaching of the Judaic Religion* was published in Ivrit.

²⁸ *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities. Latvia and Estonia.* Yad Vashem. Jerusalem 1988. – p. 162.

²⁹ Лаптева В. Петр Верещагин: Апофеоз академизма. / *Антиквариат, предметы искусства и коллекционирования* № 5, 2003. – с. 53.

³⁰ The most widely known works by Ilya Chashnik are *Suprematism*, 1923, in Tretyakov Gallery; *Suprematist Composition*, 1923, the Tissen-Bornemis Gallery in Madrid; *Composition*, 1925 – 26, Ludwig Gallery in Köln, etc. Since 1922 he worked together with N. Suetin at the State Porcelain factory. The productions of this period are exhibited at the factory museum. On March 4, 1929, Chashnik died in Leningrad.

³¹ Ракигин В. И. *Чашиник*. Москва, 2000.

³² From November, 1918 to January, 1920, the Soviet regime existed in Lucina. Communist ideas were very popular in the milieu of the Jewish youth. In December, 1919, there were 250 Young Communist League members in Lucina, no less than a half from who were Jews. The head of militia Levin at the end of 1919 forced Jews to open stores on Saturdays. This aroused dislike of Jews, the rabbi Eliezer Don-Yehiya intervened and persuaded Levin to cancel the order that violated the Saturday tradition.

³³ Ковалев М. М., Селеменов В. Д. *История Белорусского центрбанка в биографиях его руководителей*. Минск, 1998. – с. 4.

³⁴ Сахаров С. П. *Город Лудза в прошлом и настоящем*. Рига, 1935. – с. 18.

³⁵ Ibid. – с. 26.

³⁶ *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities. Latvia and Estonia*. Yad Vashem. Jerusalem 1988. – p. 163.

³⁷ Herz Frank, 1926, Ludza. The author of many documentaries, e.g. The Payday, The Soul's Trace, The Restricted Area, The Supreme Court, The Jewish Street, Flashback, etc.

³⁸ *Medicīniskā personāla saraksts 1937. gadam*. Tautas labklājības ministrija, 1937.

³⁹ *Medicīniskā personāla saraksts 1940. gadam*. Tautas labklājības ministrija, 1940.

⁴⁰ *Latvijas 1940. g. telefona abonentu saraksts*. Lietojams ar 1940. g. 1. aprīli. Rīga, 1940.

⁴¹ Сахаров С. П. *Город Лудза в прошлом и настоящем*. Рига, 1935. – с. 28.

⁴² B. Gamza.

⁴³ *Pinkas hakehilot. Encyclopedia of Jewish Communities. Latvia and Estonia*. Yad Vashem. Jerusalem 1988. – p. 163.

⁴⁴ Сахаров С. П. *Город Лудза в прошлом и настоящем*. Рига, 1935. – с. 34.

⁴⁵ Ibid. – с. 37.

⁴⁶ The poetess Aspazija who was the wife of the outstanding Latvian poet and minister of education Rainis stated that Ivrit as the language of the Bible and the new builders of Palestine has the right to exist (Цейтлин Ш. *Документальная история евреев Риги*. Израиль, 1989. – с. 42).

⁴⁷ Левина (Стерна) С. *Письмо 14.05.1999*. Архив автора.

⁴⁸ Zhabotinsky Vladimir (Zeev) (1880 – 1940). Poet, translator, writer, publicist, one of the leaders of the Zionist movement, the founder of revisionist stream in Zionism. The ideologue of Jewish self-defence proclaiming the necessity to found a Jewish state. One of the founders of the Jewish Legion within the English army in World War I. After the slaughter of Jews committed by Arabs in Hevron in 1929, the leader of the National martial organization *Irgun cvai leumi – Ecel*. On the eve of World War II he warned Jews of the ensuing catastrophe and suggested a plan of evacuation for 1.5 million Jews from the Eastern Europe.

⁴⁹ Abbreviated from Brit Isef Trumpeldor. A Jew, participated in Russian-Japanese war in 1904 – 05. Knight of 4 George Crosses, one of the few Jewish officers in Russian army. He was killed in the fight with Arab gangs in 1920 defending a Jewish settlement. In his memory in Riga in 1923 a youth Beitar organization was founded. Beitar organized military training of young people for the purpose of Jewish self-defense and preparation of the armed fight for the foundation of the state of Israel. On the verge of World War II, the members of Beitar entailed 100 thousand Jewish young men and women in the whole world. During the war, Beitar members took part in all uprisings in ghetto and fought in Jewish guerilla units. In Palestine, Beitar members fiercely fought against Arab gangs, terrorists, and English administration in Palestine, often using terrorist methods. One of the Beitar leaders was the would-be prime minister of Israel Menahem Begin.

⁵⁰ Лично-ссылное дело № 2579. <http://www.memorial.krsk.ru/DOKUMENT/People/varhaf.htm>

⁵¹ Куперман Е. Бригадный генерал Эфи Эйтам: «Любовь без предварительных условий». / *Misnews*. 24.01.2001. Израиль.

⁵² In October, 1939, the USSR signed an agreement with the Baltic republics concerning the dislocation of the Red Army troops in their territories. In Latvia about 30 thousand of Red Army soldiers were located.

⁵³ M. Aleshina, Y. Bash.

⁵⁴ B. Gamza.

⁵⁵ Гамза Б. *Письмо 28.01.1999*. Архив автора.

⁵⁶ Энтин Х. *Приговор Трибунала* 15.04.1999. Архив автора.

⁵⁷ M. Schneer (Hackevich).

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MEMORY NARRATORS:

People born in Ludza who now live in Israel, Latvia, and Germany: B. Althause, M. Aleshina, Y. Bash, E. Althausen (Davidov), I. Dubovskaya (Zolotukhina), L. Veinberg (Gilevich), Y. Nagle, H. Frank, B. Gamza, S. Levina, I. Schneer, M. Schneer (Hackevich), H. Entin.

Aleksandrs Feigmanis

RABBINIC LITERATURE OF LATGALE AND ITS AUTHORS

Summary

The history of Jewish communities in Latgale is more than 300 years old. The first mention about synagogue in Daugavpils dates back to 1714. During hundreds of years rabbis and talmudists were spiritual leaders of the local Jewry. They left rich literature – commentaries on Torah and Talmud, the works on Halakha and Hagadah.

In cozy, provincial towns of Latgale, such as Daugavpils (Dinaburg, Dvinsk), Rēzekne (Režica), Ludza (Lucina) and Krāslava (Kreslavka) resided great rabbis of the 19th and 20th centuries – Meir Simcha Katz-Kagan (Or Sameach), Yosef Rosen (Rogatchover Gaon), rabbis from Tzioni and Donchin (DonYachia) families. Apparently this is because in those small towns the talmudists were able to think and create without being disturbed by the noise and occupations of big town.

Wolf Altshtuller was the rabbi in Ludza in 1786 – 1806. In 1794 he published in Shklov three of his books:

- 1. ‘Safad Khayim’, commentaries on Haggadah Shell Pesach;*
- 2. ‘Zevad Tov’, about the temple of Yezekiel;*
- 3. ‘Hamishey Halukhey Evnim’ – commentaries to Five Megillot.*

Since 1856 till 1876 the rabbi in Ludza was Aaron Zelig Tzioni. He was a man of great moral qualities and often opposed the leaders of kahal (Jewish community) who drafted into army the sons of poor inhabitants instead of the rich. In 1874 and 1875 in Wilno the two volumes of his book ‘Shealot U Tshuvot Tziuni’ were published. There were halakhic answers of young but experienced rabbi to the issues of everyday life.

The great talmudist of Ludza was Israel Zeligman. His works were:

- 1. ‘Yad Israel’, commentary on Talmudic tractate ‘Kutim Veavdim’, Wilno, 1888;*
- 2. ‘Meim Ganim’, commentary on the tractate ‘Kakla Rabati’, Wilno, 1894.*

In 1940 in Ludza, the printing house of Rabbi Bentzion Donchin published the book of Ludza Rabbi Abraham Joelson ‘Shlosa Srigim’ – work on Halakha, Talmud, and Hagadah.

Among the greatest rabbis of Daugavpils were Meir Simcha Katz-Kagan (1843 – 1926) and Yosef Rosen (1858 – 1936).

The works of Meir Simcha – ‘Or Sameach’ (commentaries on the works of Rambam) and ‘Meshech Chochma’ (commentaries on Humash, written Torah) are still to be learned in the yeshivas in the whole world. These books are recognized as fundamental and classical works of rabbinic literature. During 38 years Meir Simcha was the rabbi of the community of mitnagdim (Lithuanian orthodox Judaism) in Daugavpils.

Yosef Rosen was the Hasidic rabbi in Daugavpils in 1889 – 1936. He was a man of penetrating erudition and sharp logic. His main work is ‘Tzofnat Paneach’ – commentaries on Rambam, published in 5 volumes in 1903 – 1908. It is interesting to note that he was a strong opponent of political Zionism.

Among other authors we can mention Aharon Shaul Zelik Guryan (1813 – 1879), the head of Beis Din (rabbinic court) in Daugavpils, Moshe Gershuni, the head of the rabbinic court in Krustpils, rabbi of Krāslava r. Yakov Klyatskin (1870 – 1941?), r. Chaim Lubotzky (1877 – 1941?), rabbi in Rēzekne. Their works constitute an important resource for the study of spiritual life, economic activity, everyday life and history of Jewish communities of Latgale, but such a study is impossible without introducing serious studies of biblical Hebrew, Yiddish, Torah and Talmud in universities of Latvia.

Key-words: Rabbinic literature in Latgale, cabalists in Latgale, rabbi, Daugavpils (Dvinsk), Ludza (Lucina)

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The Jewish communities have existed in Latgale for more than three centuries. It is enough to say that the first mention of synagogue in Daugavpils dates back to 1714¹. In the course of centuries, until World War II, the mentality, world view, everyday life, and the economic activities of the Jewry of this region were determined by the Torah and its laws, whereas rabbis and Talmudists were rightly considered the spiritual leaders of the Jewish communities. They left versatile writing tradition entailing commentaries on the written Torah and Talmud, cabalistic and morally-ethical works as well as Halakhic writing. The genre of Shealot U Tshuvot is very interesting entailing the questions arising during one's lifetime and answers to them given by rabbis as the experts of the Jewish law. Nowadays still the works by Daugavpils rabbis Meir Simcha Katz-Kagan (Or Sameach), Yosef Rosen (Rogatchover Gaon), Abraham Ichak Kook born in Grīva are studied all over the world. Also many other rabbis and Talmudists from Latgale had an amazing expertise and width of knowledge being capable of giving a logically grounded answer in the most complex situation.

Why exactly in Daugavpils, Ludza, Krāslava, Rēzekne did these great experts of the oral and written Torah live and work? First, in their cultural and religious orientation the Jews of Latgale constituted a part of the Lithuanian and Belarusian Jewry that was marked by their profound and extensive knowledge of Judaism. Graduates of the famous yeshivas of Telshai, Panevezys, Volozhin, Mir, Raduni occupied the positions of rabbis in the communities in Latgale. Second, Latgale and Daugavpils in particular were situated on the commercial route from Belarus to Riga that contributed to the migration of the Jewish population and facilitated the spread of new ideas including Hasidism. On the other hand, the small picturesque towns of Latgale such as Ludza and Rēzekne were an ideal place of living for rabbis wishing to dedicate their time to the teaching not being distracted by solving commercial, economic, or family quarrels. According to the major Rabbi of Latvia Nathan Barkan who before the war had been studying in the yeshiva in Hostin, great rabbis live in small towns.

I wish to begin my story on the rabbinic literature of Latgale and its authors with Rabbi Wolf Altshuller who occupied this post in Ludza from 1786 to 1806. He was born in Žemaitiya (Lithuania). Rabbi Wolf first did not wish to be a rabbi and worked as a mechanic-vintager with the squire who owned a vintage plant near Pskov. Living in a rural backwater, all his leisure time he dedicated to science. Once the squire was visited by two honourable members of the Lucina community – the Levin brothers. They dined with Rabbi Wolf and went to bed. At night they heard the host's voice who

read aloud a chapter from *Shulkhan Arukh* (the collection of Judaic laws) with such a penetration into the essence of the interpreted subject that revealed serious knowledge of the rabbinic literature. In the morning the Levin brothers persuaded Wolf to take the position of rabbi in Ludza. Soon a great scientist was discovered under the mask of a vintager. Wolf Altshuller published three of his books in Shklov in 1794 at once:

1. *Safad Khayim*, commentaries on Haggadah Shell Pesach;
2. *Zeved Tov*, about the temple of Ezekiel;
3. *Hamishey Halukhey Evnim* – commentaries to Five Megillot, from which the commentaries to the Song of Songs and the Book of Ruth were published.

In the foreword to one of these books, Rabbi Wolf mentions his commentary to the Five Books titled *Mahshof Halavan* that was never published².

After the death of Rabbi Wolf, David Tzioni was invited to take the rabbi's position; his family lineage was famous for the Jewish learnedness. In his youth, following the example of the holy men of that time, he made the heroic deed of roaming around many towns. He studied hard not only the open science but also the secret cabala. Hence, Ludza may be rightly called not only the Latvian Jerusalem but also the town of cabalists. He left a huge manuscript – commentaries on *Torat Koganim* but it was not published and later got lost. Rabbi David died in 1808 in the prime of his life.

His son Naftali Tzioni took the position of rabbi in Ludza for 48 years, until 1856. He was respected for his high moral qualities, care for the people's needs and rare altruism. He got up at 2 a.m. and studied the Torah until the dawn, at dawn he prayed in the synagogue, after that he read books, had breakfast, and went around the town visiting the sick and the poor. As a result of his extraordinary humbleness, Rabbi Naftali did not apply his huge knowledge of Talmud and rabbinic literature to produce texts of his own but limited himself to writing answers to law and ritual issues that he was addressed with by other rabbis. His name is mentioned in other authors' works.

From 1856 to 1876, the spiritual leader of the Jewish community of Ludza was the son of Rabbi Naftali – Aaron Zelig Tzioni who previously was the rabbi in Varakļāni. He had inherited the high moral qualities of his father and was adored by the people. He did not fear to get into a conflict with the leaders of Ludza kahal (Jewish community) whom he accused of license and violence during the recruitment of draftees to the army. Once he was visited by the elders of kahal in order to justify themselves for their deeds. They tried to prove that their actions of forced recruitment were agreeable to God, as the draftees were young people who trespassed Saturdays and ate non-kosher food unlike of the sons of 'decent' rich families. But the rabbi replied angrily that this was not agreeable to God but was a criminal deed because the wise men have said long ago that one soul is not sacrificed for another³.

The Judaic department of the National Library of Lithuania in Vilnius has a collection of the answers *Shealot U Tshuvot* by Rabbi Aaron-Zelig Tzioni in two volumes published in Wilno in 1875. The collection entails addresses referring to the cases of recruitment, e.g. about one 'convict' (a candidate to recruits being arrested before calling up) who had given a girl a pack of tobacco with the aim of initiating a process of divorce and break free from imprisonment.

I wish to cite two questions from the book by Rabbi Tzioni translated from Ivrit with the kind help of Aaron Leuberg and Boruch Dergachov, the leaders of Riga base-midrash.

*Спросили меня, как быть в отношении одного случая, когда послал человек разводное письмо (гет) своей жене при помощи посланника. Но в дороге передумал посланник и отменил своё посланничество по закону. А потом опять передумал и всё-таки донёс гет до этой женщины. Вопрос: так было ли отменено посланничество или нет, действителен ли этот гет?*⁴

[I was asked what to do in one particular case when a man had sent a letter of divorce to his wife with an envoy. But the envoy on the way changed his mind and lawfully cancelled his mission. Then he changed his mind once more and brought the woman the letter. The question is: was this mission cancelled or not and is the letter valid?]

*Один человек по имени Меир из Режицкой общины ездил в Швецию, чтобы исполнить заповедь о выкупе пленных, и выкупил одного пленного. Поехали они домой, и был большой мороз. Ехал с ними рав Борух, у которого был тулуп, взятый взаймы. Рав Меир попросил у Боруха тулуп, чтобы закутать пленного, и обещал оставить тулуп в Вараклянах. В Вараклянах раввин Тодрес разрешил взять этот тулуп до Режицы и передать обратно в Варакляны через кучера. А кучер этот тулуп потерял, и Борух потребовал у Меира деньги за тулуп. Дело это поступило на рассмотрение к Элизеру, раввину в Режице, и ко мне.*⁵

[A man named Meir from Režica community went to Sweden to carry out the commandment of buying out a captive and bought one captive out. They went home and there was severe frost. Rabbi Boruch was traveling with them and he had a fur-coat that he had borrowed. Rabbi Meir asked Boruch the fur-coat for the captive and promised to leave it in Varakļāni. In Varakļāni Rabbi Todres permitted to take the fur-coat to Režica and send it back to Varakļāni by a coachman. The coachman lost the fur-coat and Boruch demanded money for it from Meir. This case was sent for consideration to Eliezer, the rabbi in Režica and then to me.]

Apart from rabbi writers, the Ludza community gave rise to a number of learned Talmudists, from whom Rabbi Israel Zeligman became especially renowned; he was the grandson of Rabbi Naftali Tzioni mentioned above. He wrote a number of serious works:

1. *Yad Israel*, commentary on the Talmudic tractate *Kutim Veavdim* published in Wilno in 1888.
2. *Meim Ganim*, commentary on the tractate *Kakla Rabati* with an exhaustive introduction full of erudition, published in Wilno in 1894.

Zeligman died in 1908 having left some unpublished works including a biographical piece on the famous people of Ludza families Tzioni, Altshuller, Zeligman, Levin, and Don Yachia⁶.

In 1940 in Ludza the publishing house of Bentzion Donchin published the book by Ludza Rabbi Abraham Joelson *Shlosa Srigim* (Three Clothes) on Halakha, Talmud, and Hagadah. With the beginning of the war a significant part of the published copies were stored in the synagogue in Ludza where it is still rotting on a floor full of holes.

Among the rabbis of Daugavpils, Rabbi Meir Simcha Katz-Kagan (1843 – 1926) and Rabbi Yosef Rosen's (1858 – 1936) works were most renowned in the Jewish world.

Meir Simcha became famous as a great Talmud scholar and commentator after the publication of his work *Or Sameach* in Warsaw, 1902 – 1904. This book represents an extensive multi-volume commentary on Maimonides' works *Mesbech Chochma* and

Hamaada providing a thorough explication of the Torah rules and their practical application: rules of doing agricultural work, sequestering the tithe, on herem, nazir, service in the Jerusalem Temple, on repentance, prayer, love to the neighbour, notable dates of the Jewish calendar, etc. The work *Or Sameach* also entails commentaries on the Talmud tractates *Bava Kama* and *Bava Mecia* published in Jerusalem in 1948. This work was acknowledged as a fundamental and classical work of rabbi literature throwing light on the Talmud and its codifiers revealing great erudition, profound thought and splendid logic of the author.

In 1927, Meir Simcha's work *Meshech Chochma*, a commentary on Humash, was published. In this work the author shows a profound knowledge of both Talmud and Halakhic and Hagadah writing producing new in-depth interpretations.

In the book by the American Rabbi Yosef Telushkin *The Jewish Wisdom* the following citation of Rabbi Meir Simcha from Dvinsk, his commentary on Breishit 9:1 from his work *Meshech Chochma* is produced:

Тора освободила женщину от обязанности «плодиться и размножаться», так как беременность и роды опасны для её жизни... Но ради сохранения жизни на земле Бог наделил женщину сильнейшим желанием иметь детей.⁷

[The Torah liberated woman from the obligation of 'propagating and filling the earth' as pregnancy and labour may be dangerous for her life... But for the preservation of life on the earth, God has granted woman a strongest desire to have children.]

In the book published in Riga in 1924, he accused those who thought that Berlin was Jerusalem and predicted their destruction. Meir Simcha supported the settlement of Jews in the land of Israel and enthusiastically welcomed Balfour Declaration⁸.

It remains to be added that Rabbi Meir Simcha Katz-Kagan occupied the post of rabbi in Dvinsk (Daugavpils) for 38 years and in 1906 he declined the offer of taking the position of rabbi in Jerusalem due to the petition written by the leaders of Dvinsk community to Jerusalem stating that the whole town and Diaspora would sink into decay in case of Meir Simcha's departure⁹.

Rabbi Yosef Rosen (1858 – 1936) was the Hasidic rabbi in Daugavpils from 1889. For his phenomenal encyclopaedic knowledge and capability of analysis, he was called Rogatchover Gaon (genius). He knew the whole Jerusalem and Babylonian Talmud, all Tannaic and Amoraic literature, the Medieval rabbinic writing. He could regard the subject in its totality and in details, carefully analyze it and come to a strictly logical halakhic conclusion. He was able to compare numerous scattered citations from diverse works in order to sketch out basic conceptions. In his studies of Humash and Talmud, in responses he often applied a rational and historical approach accepted in the European science. His works contain thousands of new explanations. Talmud was the greatest authority for him, he related it to the philosophical views of Maimonides and the recent scientific developments, therefore researchers experienced pleasure in talking with the Rogatchover Gaon.

Yosef Rosen first published commentary to Maimonides' work *Mishne Torah* in 5 volumes in 1903 – 1908. In 1930 in Daugavpils publishing house of Shalom Salman Klummel in Officer Street (at present – Lāčplēša 16) the first volume of Yosef Rosen's book *Tzofnat Paneach* was published repeatedly entailing a commentary to Rambam.

Rogatchover Gaon and Rabbi Meir Simcha were the most outstanding rabbi authors of Daugavpils but they were not the only ones. In 1890 in Warsaw the work by Yakov Eliezer Segal, the rabbi from Dinaburg-Daugavpils was published under the title *Minkbat Yakov* (Yakov's Present). It entailed new explanations of the positions of Talmud and its commentators – Rashi and Tosafot.

In 1929 in Wilno the collection of rabbinic responses (questions and answers) by Rabbi Aharon Shaul Zelik Guryan (1813 – 1879) was published. From the age of 18 till 40 he was the head of the Grand yeshiva in Minsk and afterwards – the head of Beis Din (rabbinic court) in Bryansk, Pružāni, and Dinaburg.

In 1866 in Wilno the book *Sefer Mahshevet Moshe* was published. Its author was Rabbi Moshe Gershuni, the head of the rabbinic court in Kreuzburg (Krustpils) and after that in Siauliai. It entails the commentary on *The Book of Commandments* (Sefer Hamicvot) of Rambam.

In 1832 in Dvinsk the publishing house of S. S. Klummel published the work by Krāslava Rabbi Yakov Klyackin *Divrei Yakov* or the revelations from Babylonian Talmud. Rabbi Yakov Klyackin was born in Krāslava in 1870 and learned in Volozhinsk yeshiva. He took the position of rabbi in Krāslava from 1908, from 1934 he was rabbi in Indra¹⁰.

In 1929 the book by Rēzekne Rabbi Chaim Lubotzky *Sefer Tosafot Chaim* (Book of Chaim's Additions) was published in Riga. It entails extensive notes and revelations from Hemara, medieval commentators and rabbis of the modern times on various issues. Here are also provided answers to different questions concerning life provided on the basis of Shulhan Aruha and the works of Tosafot (medieval commentators of Talmud). Rabbi Chaim Lubotzky was born in Kaunas in 1877 and learned at Wilno rabbinic college. From 1913 he took the position of rabbi in Rēzekne¹¹.

To conclude, it must be noted that rabbinic literature is a unique and rich source for studying the world vision, history, economic and public activities as well as the everyday life of the Jews of Latgale. This veritable depository of knowledge is practically not used by theologians, philosophers, and historians of Latvia. The causes are clear – the universities of Latvia do not teach the Biblical Hebrew, Yiddish, the Aramaic language, Talmud, its commentators, and rabbinic literature.

At the beginning of the 16th century, the German humanist Johann von Reichlin (1455 – 1522) suggested opening at each university two departments of the Jewish language and rabbinic literature¹². This 500 years old advice is still topical in the contemporary Riga and Daugavpils, as without serious studies of the Biblical Hebrew and Talmudic literature it is impossible to speak about any progress in the studies of the spiritual legacy of rabbis and Talmudists from Latgale and the formation of serious research tradition in the sphere of Judaic studies in Latvia.

¹ *Regesten und Urkunden zur Geschichte der Juden in Riga und Kurland, herausgegeben von Dr. I. Joffe*. Riga, 1911. – pp. 90, 93, 107–108.

² Донхин Б. Из прошлого еврейских общин в городе Люцине и его уезде, in: *Еврейская старина*. Выпуск 3. Санкт-Петербург, 1912. – с. 268.

³ Talmud, tractate of Sanhedrin, 72.

⁴ Циони Арон-Зелиг. *Сефер Циони*. Том 1, раздел 1, параграф 1. Вильно, 1874.

⁵ Циони Арон-Зелиг. *Сефер Циони*. Том 2, раздел 1, параграф 1. Вильно, 1875.

⁶ Донхин Б. Из прошлого еврейских общин в городе Люцине и его уезде, in: *Еврейская старина*. Выпуск 3. Санкт-Петербург, 1912. — с. 269, 270.

⁷ Телушкин И. *Еврейская мудрость*. Москва: Феникс. 2001. — с. 135.

⁸ Волкович Б. Раввины в Даугавпилсе (1920 — 1940), in: *Евреи в Даугавпилсе*. Книга четвертая. Даугавпилс, 2005. — с. 32, 68.

⁹ *Encyclopedia Judaica* 1996, Vol. 7. — p. 1261.

¹⁰ *Latvia: Synagogues and Rabbis, 1918 — 1940*. Text author and compiler R. Bogdanova. Riga, 2004. — p. 232.

¹¹ *Ibid.* — p. 234.

¹² Переферкович Нехемия. Враги Талмуда. / *Лехаим* № 9, 2007. — с. 31.

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Boris Volkovich

ZIONIST MOVEMENT IN LATGALE (TILL 1917)

Summary

The present article regards the origin of Zionist movement, its ideology, and activities of Zionist organizations in the eastern part of Latvia – Latgale. Before 1897 there were Palestine oriented organizations, e.g. Hovevei Zion, societies of Moses Montefiore, Freedom, etc. They fought for Jewish rights and the peculiarities of their ideology later composed the ideology of Zionist movement. The most prominent activity of pre-Zionists was in Dinaburg-Dvinsk (nowadays Daugavpils), which was considered to be one of the movement centres in Russia. From there some of Palestine oriented persons moved to Palestine. The activity of pre-Zionists has taken an important part in training of the Jewish population for acceptance of ideas of Theodore Herzl – the father of political Zionism. This movement emerged at the end of the 19th century. A part of Latgalian Jews supported the Zionist ideas. There were branches of Zionist parties Zeirei-Zion, socialist Zionists, and religious Zionists. The First World War, events of 1917 and later delayed the development of Zionist movement in Latgale. However, Zionist organizations were active. Their activity prepared Zionists' work in 1918 – 1940 in the independent state of Latvia.

Key-words: Palestine, Latgale (Dinaburg-Dvinsk, Lucina, Režica), pre-Zionism, Zionist movement, Theodore Herzl, Poale Zion, Zeirei Zion, socialist Zionists, religious Zionists, youth organizations

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Zionism is an ideological conception laying the basis for the Jewish nationalist movement, the original goal of which was the union and rebirth of the Jewish people in its historical home-land – Palestine. The etymological origin of the notion of Zionism is related to the toponym *Zion* that denotes a hill in Palestine that has become the symbol of the city and the historical home-land of Jews. The Zionist doctrine is based on the following postulates: affirmation of the fact of the existence of the world-wide Jewish nation, declaration of the permanent character of anti-Semitism, and the necessity to found the Jewish state as well as proclamation of Ivrit as the only national language of Jews.

The origin of Zionism is related to certain conditions. A number of changes in the milieu of European Jewry in the 18th – 19th centuries caused the deterioration of the Jewish community (kahal) as a closed religious-ethnic unit. This destroyed a part of the barriers separating Jews from the nationalities among which they lived. The movement of Haskala (enlightenment) and secularization of a part of Jewry facilitated to their accepting the ideas coming from without. Hence, two opposite tendencies originated in the Jewish milieu.

First, striving for assimilation arose. Second, the growing activity of Jewry contributed to their perception of the European nationalism as a new epoch leading to the renovation of the Jewish nationalist ideas on secular grounds. Consequently, some Jewish ideologues made a number of important conclusions.

1. Emancipation is not capable of radical changes in the hard situation of the Jews, especially the majority of them placed at the lower steps of the social ladder.
2. Assimilation leads to the loss of national identity, mentality, it does not facilitate complete integration in the society, drives away other nations and consequently leads to the extinction of the Jewry as an ethnic and spiritual community.
3. Hence, veritable emancipation of Jews is possible only in a specifically allotted territory where they must become a majority and found their state.

For spreading and implementing these ideas, some Palestine-supporting movements were created that reached also the eastern part of the would-be Republic of Latvia – Latgale.

One important note should be made here. The spiritual life in boroughs was concentrated primarily in synagogues. Taking into account that in mass the representatives of the Judaic religion were against Zionism, it is not difficult to realize that in these places until 1917 the options of Zionist activities were rather scarce. Moreover, the level of education and culture was rather low there. There were settlements with no elementary secular education establishments. E.g., according to the *Jewish Encyclopaedia* published at the beginning of the 20th century, in 16 towns and boroughs (with the Jewish population no less than 500 people) of Dvinsk, Lucina, and Režica districts there were only 13 education establishments and 2 libraries (appendix 2). Besides, leaving apart the cultural-enlightening establishments of towns, in 13 boroughs of Dvinsk district, there were only three education establishments. Therefore the activities of Zionist organizations were spread first of all in the towns with a considerable number of Jewish population and from there to smaller places of settlement. However, Zionists of such small settlements could not play any significant role in Latgale. This is probably the reason for the scarcity of the data on Zionist activities in boroughs of Latgale, while those in bigger towns, first of all Dinaburg – Dvinsk, become foregrounded; this will be the matter of the present article.

The organizations Hovevei Zion, associations of Moses Montefiore, Freedom, Renaissance, the New Israel, etc. were founded in Dinaburg already in the 1880s. All of them fought for the improvement of the situation of Jews, and their ideology had much in common with Zionist ideas. Till 1890, these organizations acted separately as cultural-enlightening circles familiarizing their members with culture, Talmud, and Ivrit. The movement Hovevei Zion was initially little known to the Jewish community of Dinaburg. The situation improved with the foundation of Odessa committee for promoting Jewish agricultural work in Syria and Palestine in January, 1890. This committee had branches in a number of towns of the Russian Empire. Members of Hovevei Zion in Dinaburg were involved into active work, and due to this Dinaburg (Dvinsk) was acknowledged as one of the centres of the movement in Russia. Dvinsk committee of the organization consisted of 25 people, e.g. Z. Kalmanson, Zaks, Zukovich, Berlin, writer and rabbi

I. Melamed, brothers Reiser, Abraham-Elias Shtorch, etc. The organization Hovevei Zion in Dinaburg – Dvinsk consisted of several groups, the goal of which was resettlement of Jews to Palestine. In those years, Dvinsk committee organized in the town the so-called cultural *subbotniks* with lectures on history and philosophy in Russian and German. The ideology of nationalism and later Zionism was discussed in these aspects as well. Lecturers tried to arouse in the audience love to the national culture, religion, and language of the fore-fathers, discussing also the issues of assimilation of Jews.

At the end of the 19th – the beginning of the 20th century, there was no common point of view among the partisans of the growing Zionism concerning the way and the location of the new Jewish state. Some supporters of Hovevei Zion considered it necessary to take part in the colonization of Palestine directly. Hence, at the beginning of 1890, the representatives of one of Riga groups (entailing 9 or 12 people) I. Hafnovich and M. Shektsler together with the members of the movement from Wilno (Vilnius) and Kovno (Kaunas) acquired land in Palestine. Plots of land purchased by Leib Shalit and Y. Hindin were later attached to it. Y. Hindin bought land also for his son-in-law V. Schneerson from Dvinsk. In 1891 families of the rest of the group members started to settle on this land¹. These immigrants were among those who founded Hadera. At that time it was one of unfavourable places and the settlers suffered many a deprivation. Part of them died of malaria, part of them left. However, the rest overcame all difficulties and got settled in the state. The posterity of the group members until now live in Hadera. Other resettlers with their confederates from Livland and Courland founded other settlements, e.g. Rishon Le Zion.

Palestine-supporting movement in Latgale did not dissociate from the whole Hovevei Zion one. Its members were active participants of many events. So, the representative of Dinaburg was a delegate to the congress in Druskininkai (1887). Moshe Berlin represented Dinaburg in the 1st congress of Odessa committee in 1890.

The action of the predecessors of Zionism in Latgale played an important role in preparing the Jewish population for the perception of Zionist ideas and contributed to the growth of national self-awareness. In particular, this was manifested in the fact that the Jews learned to value their human and national dignity. Hence, Zionist weekly *The Chronicle of the Life of Jews* informed that in Dvinsk 60 Jewish girls left Russian school as a sign of protest against anti-Semitic attitude of a teacher to one of them².

However, at the end of the 19th century, due to a number of reasons, Palestine-supporting movement was undergoing a deep crisis. The movement was led out of it by **political Zionism**, the main positions of which were explicated in the book by the Viennese journalist Theodore Herzl (1860 – 1904) *The Jewish State* published in 1896. The essence of these positions was formulated by Herzl as follows: *I am talking about the reconstruction of the Jewish state*³. *The Jewish Encyclopaedia* of the beginning of the 20th century, in turn, defined Zionism as [...] *an organized Jewish movement aiming at the economic and cultural rebirth of the Jewish nationality in Palestine*⁴.

The book and the ideas explicated in it were perceived in the Jewish milieu rather controversially. The wealthy layers of Jewry and the majority of the religious circles sharply criticized Herzl's work. In Russia (including the territory of Latvia), the older generation also denied the ideas of *The Jewish State*. Yet the younger generation fully supported the program suggested by the Viennese journalist.

Notwithstanding all opposition, on August 29 – 31, 1897, the 1st congress of the World Zionist Organization took place that adopted the so-called *Basel Program* based on the idea of striving of *the Jewish people to found an asylum guaranteed by the public law in Palestine*. Despite all hardships, by 1911 the organized Zionists constituted 2% of the world-wide Jewish community.

In Russia, the Jewish question arose at the end of the 18th – the beginning of the 19th century when, as a result of dividing Poland, the territories populated by Jews (including Latgale) became the part of Russian Empire. On the whole, the rulers of Russian Empire were not farsighted in this question. Pogroms of the early 1880s and the stricter legislation concerning Jews caused even greater isolation and showed the illusoriness of assimilation. This had far reaching consequences.

First, the politization of the Jewish population grew – Jews got involved in revolutionary and liberal movements. The inflow of the Jews in the political parties of Russia increased. In the pre- and post-revolutionary years, the percentage of Jews and Polish in the Communist Party was high as these peoples were especially suppressed by the tsarist regime and they were more eager than others to join revolutionary organizations. *Among Marxists and social-democrats called to trial in 1892 – 1902, there were 23% of Jews. This rate was almost 6 times bigger than the rate of Jews in the population of the Russian Empire (according to the census of 1897 it was 4%).*⁵ On the other hand, national parties were founded.

Second, as a result of suppression, the Jewish emigration assumed a mass character: from 1881 till 1914 about 2 millions of Jews left Russia.

Third, the aggravation of the living conditions caused the growth of the impact of Zionist ideology. This resulted in the switch of attention of a part of the Jewish population from the local problems to the issues of national rebirth that was consolidated and organized: in 1902 Zionist organization of Russia was founded uniting more than 75 thousands of people.

How were all the above mentioned factors reflected in the eastern part of Latvia?

All social groups of Jewry had the right of settlement in the so-called *Jewish pale* that included Vitebsk province with Dvinsk, Lucina, and Režica districts. A significant part of the Jewish population lived in these districts (see appendix 1). Hence, in 1784 there were only 3698 Jews, whereas in 1897 their number was more than 64 thousands, the majority of whom resided in Dvinsk. On the eve of World War I there were about 56 thousands of Jews in the town that constituted almost a half of the town population. In the class and social respect, the majority of Jews were petty bourgeois, besides, among the Jews of Latgale there were 1865 merchants with the income of more than 500 silver roubles per year, 424 peasants and 12 noblemen and officials. As to the occupation of the Jews of Latgale, they were basically craftsmen.

Latgalian Jews in several respects differed from Jews of other parts of Latvia: they belonged to the Lithuanian-Belarusian Jewry and were greatly influenced by Chabad (abbreviated from *Chokhmah, Binah, Da'at* – ‘wisdom, understanding, knowledge’ – one of the central trends of Hasidism). Unlike Jews from Courland and Zemgale who were dissociated from the Russian Jewry, Jews of Latgale constituted its intrinsic part. Like Russian Jews, they were restricted by the Jewish pale and were closer related to the Jewish tradition and culture as compared to Jews in other parts of Latvia. Jews in

Latgale lively reacted to the idea of the national awakening and got involved in the political and social movements. The proximity of the border with Russia was acutely felt in Latgale and the revolutionary tradition of the beginning of the 20th century was still alive the same as the idea of returning to Zion was rather powerful here. In particular, Jews of Latgale took an active part in the movement Poale Zion, Bund, in the revolution of 1905 – 1907, in Zionist strivings, and later on – in halucian movement.

Notwithstanding the fact that the traditions of Jewish life and religious customs had been severely shattered, especially for the younger generation, the traditions of everyday life were a rather actual power. Not in vain was Latgale called *Latvian Palestine*. Many of Jews observed Saturday law. Even Bund members used to visit synagogue on Saturdays. The writer A. Isbach who was born in Dvinsk wrote in his autobiographical stories that solicitor and Bund member Shemshelevich

[...] был руководителем объединенной меньшевистской организации в нашем городе, считал себя старым социал-демократом и любил рассказывать [...], как много лет назад за границей встретился с самим Карлом Каутским [...]. «Богатое» социал-демократическое прошлое не мешало Шемшелевичу до самой Февральской революции аккуратно ходить в синагогу [...]. Он вызывался к Торе одним из первых.⁶

[...] was the leader of the united Menshevik organization in our town, considered himself a social-democrat and liked to tell [...] how many years ago abroad he had met with Karl Kautski in person [...]. The 'rich' past of social-democrats did not restrain Shemshelevich from regular visits to synagogue even until the February Revolution [...]. He was summoned to Torah among the very first.]

The impact of Judaism in Dvinsk was considerable. Y. M. Rapoport, the author of the book *Light from Dvinsk*, calls it *the town of devout Jews*⁷. In *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, Dvinsk is mentioned among the centres of the spiritual rabbi organization of Russia, pointing out its outstanding rabbis Yehuda Leib Batlan, Reuben-ha-Levi, Meir-Simcha-Kohen, Yoseph Rosin. From the rabbis of other towns, the 'well-known rabbi' Icele Luciner is mentioned there.

A number of authoritative rabbis of the country supported the ideas of religious Zionism.

The famous Daugavpils rabbis Meir-Simcha (1845 – 1926) and Yoseph Rosin (Rogatchever; 1858 – 1936) were the supporters of Zionism. Hence, noting the significance of Balfour Declaration that laid the judicial basis for the reconstruction of 'the Jewish national hearth' in Palestine, Rabbi Meir-Simcha considered that after accepting it also gentiles would be forced to recognize Jews as a nation, i.e. he supported one of the basic thesis of Zionism. He found positive moments in Zionist movement, contributed to the organization of meetings of Zionists in his synagogue, and never gave negative reference of the new settlers in Palestine⁸. The rabbi took part in the celebration on the occasion of accepting Balfour Declaration held at Horal synagogue declaring that he was not concerned whether some people would not approve of this⁹. The paper *Наш Даугавпилсский голос* (Our Voice of Daugavpils) wrote about the hearty relations between Meir-Simcha and one of the founders of Zionist movement in Dvinsk, Abraham-Elias Shtorch, to whom the rabbi gave over *a famous letter in favour of Zionism*¹⁰. It should be noted that all these efforts in favour of Zionism were taken by

Meir Simcha – the rabbi who recognized the indubitable primacy of the Torah in the life of Jews and regarded the reconstruction of Palestine as the fulfillment of God's will. Moreover, it was the point of view of the member of the party Agudat Israel, the member of the Council of the Torah connoisseurs of the international union of this party, to which he belonged from the moment of its foundation till the end of his life. The rabbi of Rogatchev, Yoseph Rosin was in good, friendly relations with Shtorch in the last years. The stamp emphasized the devotion of Zionist and member of Histadrut Hacionit, Shtorch to the synagogue.

The activists of the religious Zionism, in their turn, during their visits to Daugavpils considered it to be their duty to visit the graves of rabbis.

On the whole, the religious factor contributed to the promotion of Zionist ideas. As a result of this, the idea of returning to Zion was rather powerful in Latgale.

The Jewish population of Latgale (as well as of Latvia in general) was not homogeneous in the social respect either. When analyzing the Zionist movement in Latgale until 1917 (and also later), the social divergences of the Jewish population must be taken into consideration. Jews were divided by the language, education, religion, material situation, and political preferences. The basic issues of disagreement for Jews were related to the attitude towards the power bodies, relations with gentiles, and relations within the Jewish community that were marked by acute contradictions. In the latter case, these were divergences between Yiddish supporters, Hebrew supporters and the partisans of Russian and German, between the left and the right, the Orthodox (clericals) and unbelievers (anti-clericals).

Discrimination of Jews was the echo of the hard condition of Jews in tsarist Russia. First and foremost it was anti-Semitism that contributed to the spread of Zionist movement that sometimes reached the extremes of pogroms, e.g. in Režica in October, 1905.

At the same time it is impossible to ignore the fact that there was solidarity between gentiles and Jews in Latgale. Hence, the pogrom in Lucina in 1905 was not permitted by Catholic Latvians. On October 23 – 24 of the same year, Latvian and Jewish fighters (social-democrats and Bund members) stopped the pogrom in Dvinsk¹¹.

Another important reason of the popularity of Zionism was the hard material situation of the majority of Jewish population. According to the evidence provided in *The Jewish Encyclopaedia*, the rate of the needy was very high. Hence, in Dvinsk there were 1996 indigent families (30.9% of Jews residing in the town). Though a part of Jews in Latvia occupied a visible place in the economic life, the majority of Jews belonged to the poor and uneducated social layers busy with commerce and crafts. The presence of a considerable layer of small owners among Jews contributed to the success of Zionist propaganda, as this social layer was an active promoter of Zionist influence on masses.

Soon after the 1st congress of the World Zionist Organization where the delegates from Latgale took part as well, Zionist circles started to appear here that from 1898 until 1917 were closely related in their organization to Russian Zionism. The local Zionists participated in conferences, congresses, and other events of Zionists of the Russian Empire.

The structure of Zionist organizations in the territory of Latgale at the beginning of the 20th century was rather diverse. These organizations entailed the partisans of

However Zion whose main agenda was populating of Palestine, the representatives of the political Zionism opposing the policy of resettlement without any political and judicial base. In Zionist circles there were also the followers of the spiritual Zionism of Ahad Ha'am and religious Zionists, mainly the orthodox rabbis who interpreted the suggestion of some Zionists to promote cultural activities among Jews as a threat of reforming the religion. The divergences between the political and spiritual Zionists were particularly acute, the latter being in extreme opposition to the views of the partisans of Theodore Herzl.

Zionists in Dvinsk were very active. At the 1st congress of Zionist organization in Basel, Dvinsk was represented by S. I. Zaks who was later one of the directors of the Jewish Colonial Bank¹².

Dvinsk was among those 18 towns and cities that were visited by famous activists of Zionism after the 1st congress of the World Zionist Organization with the aim of propaganda and collecting donations.

Evidence of rather emotional reactions of the inhabitants of Dvinsk towards Zionism has been preserved:

Однажды в Двинске поползли слухи о том, что знаменитый еврей по имени Герцль ведет переговоры с турецким султаном о покупке Эрец-Исраэль как отечества евреев. Один «знаток» дипломатии заявил, что Герцлю не хватает несколько тысяч. Но что такое эти несколько тысяч для евреев! [...] Мы все хотели знать, сколько хотел султан. Но точную цифру узнать было невозможно. [...] Сионисты были склонны уменьшить сумму, бундовцы – увеличить. Каждого еврея агитировали купить «шекель», цена которого была всего 40 копеек. Но могла ли быть цена высокой, когда с его помощью вы получали доступ в Эрец-Исраэль!? Он вот-вот должен был стать вашей собственностью!? Герцль был Моисеем нашего века, и совсем как Моисей вывел израильтян из египетского рабства, так Герцль выведет их из Галута [...]. Когда все эти разговоры, бурные мечты начали утихать, была создана организация, и еврейская интеллигенция начала в нее стекаться. Среди них были бездельники [...]. Но [...] было много идеалистов, которые старались день и ночь, чтобы привести новичков и молодежь к сионистскому движению.¹³

[Rumours were spread in Dvinsk that the famous Jew whose name was Herzl was leading negotiations with the Turkish sultan about purchasing Erez-Israel as the homeland of Jews. An 'expert' on diplomacy stated that Herzl is short of some thousands. But what are these some thousands for Jews! [...] We all wanted to know how much the sultan demanded. Yet it was impossible to learn the precise sum. [...] Zionists tended to reduce the sum, whereas Bund members – to enlarge it. Each Jew was invited to buy a 'shekel' that cost just 40 kopecks. But could the sum of money be too high if by means of it you could get to Erez Israel!? It had to become your property at a short notice!? Herzl was the Moses of our epoch, and just as Moses led Israeli people out of the Egyptian slavery, Herzl will lead them out of Galut [...] When all these negotiations and heated dreams began to boil down, an organization was founded and Jewish intelligentsia started to flow into it. Among them were loafers [...] Yet [...] there were many idealists who worked hard day and night to bring new members and youth to Zionist movement.]

There is also a story about one of the first propaganda meetings of Zionists in the town. It took place in a synagogue in the Old Vorstadt where two women came:

Наконец, появились ораторы сионистов [...] Добрин выступил с воззванием собирать деньги. Рабочим он обещал подготовку для работы в Отечестве евреев всего мира. Каплан все это повторил, убеждая евреев города присоединиться к сионистской организации [...]. Из местных выступила ссыльная революционерка Бейлке. Когда она поднялась на трибуну, религиозные евреи, считавшие богохульством выступление женщины в синагоге, хотели уйти, но их уговорили остаться. Бейлке сказала [...]: «Если нужны деньги, пусть дают богатые. У них их больше, чем нужно. Бедные не могут себе позволить дать. Мы должны бороться за нашу свободу также и здесь». После ее выступления поднялся большой шум [...]. На собрании выступил также учащийся местной иешивы, обратившийся к социалистическому движению. Он заявил: «Если богатые будут готовы делать пожертвования, Израэль скоро будет принадлежать евреям. Бедным нечего отдавать. Вы хотите, чтобы мы поехали в Эрец-Израэль работать. Хорошо! Пусть Заксы, Грилихесы и другие переведут свои фабрики в Эрец, и мы поедem и будем работать там».¹⁴

[Finally, the Zionist orators came [...] Dobrin raised a claim to collect money donations. He promised workers training for work in the Fatherland of Jews of the whole world. Kaplan repeated all that persuading Jews of the town to join Zionist organization [...] On the part of the local Jews, the exiled revolutionary Beilke took the floor. When she came to the rostrum, the religious Jews who considered that woman speaking in the synagogue was blasphemy wanted to leave, but they were persuaded to stay. Beilke said [...]: 'If there is a need for money, let the rich donate it. They have more money than they actually need. The poor cannot afford donating. We must fight for our freedom also here.' After her speech, big noise issued [...] The student of the local yeshiva who had turned to socialist movement took the floor. He claimed: 'If the rich are ready to donate money, Israel will soon belong to Jews. The poor have nothing to give. You expect us to go to Erez-Israel to work. Very well! Let the Zaks, Grilihess and others transfer their factories to Erez and we will go and work there.']

However, despite the opposition, Zionist propaganda was successful. In Dvinsk, a committee was founded called *Herzl's Zionism* that established a link with the activists of Jewish culture. At the beginning of its activities, Dvinsk committee delegated its representatives to Bialostok Rabbi Schmuël Mogilever who agreed to get involved in Zionist propaganda actions. Opening of school with Ivrit as the language of instruction in 1901 was beneficial for the success of Zionist propaganda¹⁵.

During celebrations dedicated to the 50th anniversary of Zionism and 30th anniversary of National Foundation, the press of the town wrote that there are veterans of Zionist movement in Daugavpils. Abraham-Elias Shtorch's name must be mentioned here. At the beginning of the 20th century and also later, he made a great contribution to spreading Zionist ideas in the town. The paper *Our Voice of Daugavpils* wrote that Shtorch as an ardent propagator of Zionism was famous all over Europe. The paper called him the father of the local Zionism. After his death, his portrait was unveiled on the premises of the Keren Kaemet fund. I. Kisin spoke at the ceremony summoning the local Jews to cherish in their hearts the flame of eternal love to Zionism lighted by the deceased Zionist activist. The town press called Dr. B. Rozenberg who had left to Palestine another 'father' of the Zionists of Dvinsk as he had also been engaged in active spreading of Zionist ideas among the Jews of the town.

Dvinsk Zionists supported close relations with the leaders of international Zionism. The town press already in the 1930s wrote that the local Zionists had always supported

contacts with those who decided the fate of Zionism being aware of the news about the Zionist movement in the world. This was obviously the result of Theodore Herzl's relations with the Zionists in the Baltic territories, first of all Latvian and Lithuanian. Actually, T. Herzl visited Dvinsk on his way to negotiations with tsarist ministers.

Dvinsk committee of *Herzl's Zionism* got students involved in its work. Dvinsk was the first town where young Zionists were united within an organization.

The writer and literary scholar Alexandr Isbach (Isaac Abramovich Bachrach; 1904 – 1977) who was born in Dvinsk in his collection of autobiographical stories *Годы жизни* (The Years of Life, 1948) has provided some data on Zionists in the town:

Большим влиянием среди евреев нашего города пользовалась сионистская организация. Во главе ее стоял местный богач Соломон Розенблюм, а среди гимназистов сионистскими вождями считались Веня Розенблюм и Изя Аронштам [...]. Город наш, в ту пору прифронтовой, был наводнен беженцами. Много новых учеников прибыло в нашу гимназию. [...] в гимназии Александра I [...] обучалась добрая сотня еврейских детей и существовал сионистский кружок. В синагоге (подчеркнуто мною. – В. Б.) всегда продавались какие-то билеты на поездку в Иерусалим. Деньги шли в золотой фонд сионистской партии. Господин Розенблюм, очевидно, потому и был председателем партии, что билетов этих покупал больше всех. У меня не было ни одного рублевого билета для поездки в святую землю. Слишком большим трудом доставался мне каждый заработанный рубль. И произнося [...] традиционную формулу: «В будущем году в Иерусалиме», я [...] не верил в эти слова. Я не любил сионистов, и они отвечали мне тем же.¹⁶

[Zionist organization was very influential among the Jews of our town. It was headed by the local rich man Solomon Rosenblum, but the leaders of Zionists in the gymnasium were Venya Rosenblum and Izya Aronshtam [...] There was the front line near our town at that time, so it was crowded with refugees. Many new students came to our gymnasium [...] at Alexander I gymnasium [...] more than a hundred Jewish children learned and there was a Zionist circle there. In the synagogue (underlining mine – В.В.) tickets to Jerusalem were always on sale. The money was transferred to the golden fund of Zionist party. Herr Rosenblum was obviously the head of the party because he bought most of tickets. I had no ticket for going to this sacred land. Each rouble I earned was too hard to make. And saying [...] the traditional formula: 'Next year in Jerusalem' I [...] did not believe these words. I did not like Zionists and they reacted to me in the same way.]

And more:

Председатель общества сионистов Соломон Розенблюм сам не собирается в Палестину. У него было слишком много дел здесь. [...] Но рублевые сионистские билеты он продавал с большим рвением, Веня Розенблюм был организатором молодежного спортивного общества «Маккаби». Юные маккабисты мало чем отличались от городской организации бойскаутов. У них были [...] добротные, красивые форменные костюмчики, [...] на рукаве на голубом фоне красовался щит Давида.¹⁷

[The chair of the Zionist union, Solomon Rosenblum was not going to Palestine himself. He had too much to do here. [...] But he sold Zionist tickets for a rouble with great enthusiasm. Venya Rosenblum was the organizer of the youth sports union 'Makkabi'. Young 'Makkabi' members little differed from the town organization of boy-scouts. They had [...] fine, nice uniform suits, [...] David's shield stood out on the blue background on the sleeve.]

At the beginning of the 20th century, Dvinsk was one of the centres of Jewish workers' movement where Bund and Poale Zion (the workers of Zion) played the leading role. First groups of Poale Zion were founded in Russia at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries.

It is indicated in the history of Poale Zion published by the central committee of this party in 1924: *The origin of poale-Zionism in Russia dates back to 1900 – 1901. A group of Jewish workers and intelligentsia of Minsk was the first to act under this name*¹⁸. From here poale-Zionism started to spread fast in the Jewish pale – already in 1900 – 1902 circles of *socialist Zionists* were formed, in particular, in Dvinsk. At first they did not have any program and had a weak relation among each other. Their ideology was rather nebulous: some of them were called Marxist, some were associated with *narodniks*, others were called territorialist. They were aiming in particular at destroying the capitalist system and the solution of the Jewish issue by means of founding a democratic centre in Palestine.

The first Poale Zion group in Dvinsk was founded in 1900. Its members considered that the Jewish issue may be solved by means of founding a Jewish hearth in Palestine, as the growth of the Jewish emigration, in their opinion, demanded concentrating Jews on a particular territory. By 1902, Dvinsk group was included in the so-called Lithuanian regional centre. At the conference in Wilno (Vilnius), poale-Zionists from Dvinsk were represented by Alter Yoffe and Solomon Abramson. When discussing their attitude towards socialism and elaborating the program of the movement at the conference, three directions were manifested. One of them that was supported by the delegates from Kovno (Kaunas), Gomel, Krāslava, and partially Wilno, got the name of the *Dvinsk direction*. It was based on the class struggle and ideas of socialism.

In 1905 – 1907, poale-Zionists expressed anti-tsarist claims, though not everywhere. The members of Dvinsk organization took an active part in the revolution. In particular, they considered one of their major aims to found the group of self-protection from pogroms. In 1905, the members of Poale Zion penetrated into the trade union movement that had been monopolized by Bund before. They played a certain role there in the struggle for the improvement of living and work conditions of the workers. Political demands were set as well. The power bodies treated Zionists with suspicion. Hence, after the protest demonstration against Hirsh Lekkert's (1879 – 1902) execution, many people were arrested in Dvinsk among whom were also Zionists. According to Idel Flior, *though they were not guilty, they were not only imprisoned but also severely beaten*¹⁹.

Till the beginning of World War I, the department of Poale Zion had been founded also in Lucina. In 1910 – 1912, there was a private school with Ivrit as the language of instruction in the town. There were 60 pupils in this education establishment and their teacher Meir Levin and writer Hirsh Melamed infused them with love to the Hebrew language and Zionist movement.

Relations between Bund and Zionists, Zionists and social-democrats were rather antagonistic. Yet from time to time they acted together. Hence, after the defeat of the revolution of 1905 – 1907 when there was a threat of pogrom in Dvinsk, the union of Bund, Poale Zion, and socialist Zionists prevented it by means of organizing self-protection.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the department of Zionist-socialist party was active in Dvinsk²⁰. Its supporters were in Dvinsk and other places of Latgale. This organization propagated the idea of the foundation of the Jewish state in Palestine or – temporarily – on any other territory where Jews would constitute the majority of the population. In this they saw the basis for the development of Jewish proletariat. Probably, their delegate with the nickname *Zalman* was present at the conference of the left Zionists in Kiev in 1903. As concerns the socialist Zionists of Dvinsk, it seems more appropriate to call it a group instead of a party. The events of 1905 contributed to the foundation of the departments of this organization in Dvinsk and Wilno in summer, the ideology of which was already based on the idea of resettlement of workers to Palestine.

At the beginning of the 20th century, on the territory of Latgale there were also the partisans of the revolutionary Zionism. The rabbi of Bauska, Mordechai Eliasberg also supported Zionists. A visible place in the revolutionary Zionist movement was occupied by Yehuda Leib (1869 – 1941) and Shabtai (b. 1909) from the Don-Yehiya family who were born in Latgale (Lucina)²¹.

The authority of rabbis of Lucina was so great that Lucina was called the *Latvian Jerusalem* and therefore young men were sent to study there from other towns. One of them was Abraham Isaac Kook (1865 – 1935) who was born in Grīva, September 7, 1865. From 1921 Abraham Isaac Kook became the leading Ashkenazi Rabbi of the mandated Palestine. His contribution was the systematic development of the idea of tolerance and pluralism. A.-I. Kook did a lot to attract the orthodox Jews to Zionism.

The activities of Zionists from Dvinsk and Grīva at the beginning of the 20th century were poorly reflected in the paper *Двинский листок* (Dvinsk Paper). Yet, some information can still be found there.

Hence, great attention was paid to the preparation and the proceedings of the 4th congress of the World Zionist Organization where a special correspondent was sent²². He reported that more than 125 delegates were expected from Russia and that *during the congress an informational paper will be issued in Russian publishing [...] everything concerning the congress*. This emphasizes the significance of Russian Zionism in the Zionist movement. The journalist also reported about a mass rally on the eve of the opening of the congress in London with the participation of Theodore Herzl, professor Mandelshtam from Russia, Moses Montefiore who *were [...] welcomed by grandiose applause*. The rally was opened by the rabbi of London Dr. Haster, a speech was given also by the chair of the Zionist federation of England, Kohen. The rally participants accepted a resolution, in which they welcomed the congress and gave *a vow to serve Zionism*. The paper informed the readers about the speeches of the participants of the Zionist forum, including Rabbi Herzl who spoke Ivrit and other orators. Herzl in particular stated in his speech the bankruptcy of philanthropist anti-Zionists and stressed that *Zionism is the only way to humane and practical solution of the Jewish issue*. Completing his review on the congress, the special correspondent of the paper wrote: *Singing the hymn 'Hope' aroused special enthusiasm of the audience, moreover, the Zionist banner was raised above the platform: it was of white and blue colour with embroidered golden 'David's shield' with a word 'Zion' on it*.

It was also reported that the Turkish sultan *sent a congratulation telegram to the 5th Zionist congress. This was the proof of the benevolence of the sultan to Zionist strivings*²³.

Dvinsk Paper also reported that not at once but still Zionists admitted the fact that Zionism was a long historical process. In his speech at the 4th congress of Zionist organization, Herzl emphasized: *Let them who expect immediate success leave our banners*²⁴. This foregrounded the issue of fighting of Zionists for the improvement of the situation of Jews in Diaspora, and at the 5th congress (in 1901) a number of resolutions were adopted for the improvement of the situation of Jews in particular places. At the same congress, the Jewish National Fund was created that also resulted from the evolutionary point of view regarding Zionism. The process of colonization of Palestine led to this as well that showed that colonization is a lengthy, complex, and contradictory process, and at the 6th congress the commission for the investigation of this country was formed.

The paper familiarized its readers with Jewish periodicals, books including those by Zionist authors, e.g. Max Nordau's book *The Jewish Mind* and the material on this Zionist activist²⁵.

Among the few announcements of the Zionist events were the following:

*К сведению господ сионистов. [...] 15 февраля с.г. в местечке Гриве [...] имеет быть семейный вокально-музыкальный вечер с отчетом о Минском съезде сионистов. Крецмер (Грива) и 3 апреля [...] сионистское собрание с участием доктора Брука из Витебска.*²⁶

[For the notice of Zionists. [...] on February 15 of this year in the borough of Grīva [...] the family recital of vocal music will take place with the report on the congress of Zionists in Minsk. Krezmer (Grīva) and on April 3 [...] Zionist meeting with the participation of Dr. Brook from Vitebsk.]

Unfortunately, there are no reports on these events. It is difficult to judge about the arguments, but the author of the paper supposed that at the beginning of the 20th century Zionist movement was not widespread²⁷. This is not exactly so, though one must certainly keep in mind that the history of Zionist movement at the beginning of the 20th century had just begun.

As already mentioned, the hard conditions, anti-Semitism and discrimination as well as the ideological reasons were the causes of emigration of a part of the Jewish population to Palestine among other places, with the aim of its colonization. Money was needed for this work and in Riga a bank was founded for raising money to buy lands in Erez Israel. Leib Shalit from Riga and S. I. Zaks from Dvinsk were among the directors of the Jewish Colonial Bank (*the bank of emigration*)²⁸. In 1899 about 600 Jews in Riga donated money for the colonization of Palestine. At the beginning of the 20th century, many Jews, also from Riga, left with the help of the local bank through the port of Riga²⁹. Libau was another centre of emigration. Hence, *Dvinsk Paper* informed that large groups of Jews were leaving from Libau mostly to North America (in fewer cases – to South Africa), *the poor proletariat prevailing among them*³⁰. In 1903 a group of young Jews from Dvinsk emigrated to Palestine who were the members of Zionist Labour movement. Sarah Malkin, Rachel Gutmann, Antin Techia Liberson, Eliser Zadikov, Boruch Kastral were among the first halucim of Dvinsk. The number of those willing to leave, e.g. in Dvinsk, was growing. Hence, in 1907 623 Jews applied to the Jewish Colonial Bank, whereas in 1909 the number was already 734.

The life of the migrants was hard. Alexandr Isbach writes in his book *The Years of Life* that a trip to Palestine was expensive describing the tragedy of one family: one of the heroes of the book sent there his wife and daughter in 1913 but in the following year World War broke out. Letters from Palestine *were not joyful. Living on the land of Israel was not easy. People were actually starving*³¹.

Yet the main stream of émigrés was not going to Palestine. It was reported that 43,237 Jews had arrived in the USA from June, 1900, till June, 1901³².

World War I brought much suffering to the Jewish population of Latvia. In particular, trying to lay the blame on Jews for the mistakes of the command, they were blamed without proof in espionage for Germans. The order was issued to drive them out of the military action zone in 24 hours. This deportation was carried out very violently. Many refugees died on their way of hunger and epidemic diseases. All in all from 1914 till 1918 from the territory of Latvia 75% of Jews – more than 127 thousand people – were evacuated by force or voluntarily to the inner provinces of Russia. With the growth of military failures, the attitude to Jews grew harsher. It was stressed in the memorandum of Poale Zion party handed in to the Socialist International: *Russia has declared war to its Jewish population*³³.

In the years of war, the Zionist work continued, though in a limited scope. In particular, when in 1915 deportation of Jews from the front zone started, committees for the assistance to refugees were founded, the Jewish Committee for Assistance being the central one. Jewish activists including Zionists worked in these organizations.

Later on the evacuated had to undergo all the horror of the Civil War in Russia. The war brought suffering to those who had remained in Latvia. Hence, at the conference of Jewish communities of Latvia, the representative from Daugavpils, Dr. Weissman informed that in 1919 10% of the town population died out³⁴.

After the war the number of the Jewish population had considerably reduced. If in 1914, 190 thousand of Jews resided here, then in 1920 the number was only 80 thousand, from which 36 – 38 thousand returned till 1920 followed by approximately 15 thousand more later on. As a result, about 90 thousand Jews remained outside Latvia or had perished in Russia.

Repressions that followed the defeat of the revolution of 1905 – 1907, World War I and the events of 1917 certainly held back the development of Zionist organizations in Latgale. Nevertheless they continued to act.

During the rule of Provisional Government, Zionists got more active in Latgale. In particular, the chair of Zeirei-Zion, Rosenbaum was the first commissary of Dvinsk in the spring of 1917. Zionists circulated the bonds for cultivating the land in Palestine (the so-called *shekel* bonds) and elected a delegate for the Russian Jewish congress in Petrograd. In October, 1917, in Dvinsk the congress of Jewish soldiers of the 5th army took place, with 100 participants. The congress was organized and headed by Joseph Trumpeldor. Trumpeldor, in particular, demanded from the congress delegates to organize the protection of Jewish communities from the possible pogroms.

Departments of left Zionist organizations – Zeirei-Zion party and Hehaluc movement – were founded in Preiļi in 1917. The members of Zeirei-Zion founded the library, reading-room and taught Ivrit. There was also an amateur art club in the town.

Socialist Zionist organization Hehaver and left Zionist youth organization Ha-Shomer Ha-Zair were founded in Režica in 1918.

What was the influence of Zionists on Jews of Latgale? It is possible to judge about this to a certain degree by the following fact: at the end of December, 1917, there were elections to Russian Jewish congress. In Dvinsk, from 8 thousand Jews having the right of vote, more than 2500 people took part in the elections. Their votes were divided as follows: the orthodox Jews received 1263 votes, Zionists – 1001, and Bund – 333 votes.

Thus, it may be stated that Zionist movement in Latgale at the beginning of the 20th century basically existed in bigger places of settlement in the district; however, it also reached to the periphery that affected the future actions of Zionists in the centres and province of the independent Latvia in 1918 – 1940.

¹ Бобе М. *Евреи в Латвии*. Рига, 2006. – с. 92–93.

² Маор И. *Сионистское движение в России*. Иерусалим, 1977. – с. 202.

³ Герцль Т. *Избранное*. Иерусалим, 1974. – с. 7.

⁴ *Еврейская энциклопедия*. Т. XIV. Санкт-Петербург, 1908 – 1913. – с. 330.

⁵ *Новый век* (Израиль) № 1, 2003. – с. 77.

⁶ Исбах А. *Годы жизни. Рассказы*. Ленинград, 1948. – с. 74–75.

⁷ Rapoport J. *The light from Dvinsk*. Israel, 1990. – p. 16.

⁸ Ibid. – pp. 105, 106.

⁹ Ibid. – p. 106.

¹⁰ *Наши Даугавпилсский голос* 11 декабря, 1936.

¹¹ *Соблазн социализма: Революция в России и евреи*. Париж – Москва, 1995. – с. 342.

¹² *Двинский листок* 4 июня, 1900.

¹³ Flior Ydel. *Dvinsk: The Rise and Decline of a Town*. Johannesburg, б. г. – p. 92.

¹⁴ Ibid. – pp. 103–104.

¹⁵ *The Jews in Latvia*. Tel-Aviv, 1971. – p. 71.

¹⁶ Исбах А. *Годы жизни. Рассказы*. Ленинград, 1948. – с. 26–27.

¹⁷ Ibid. – с. 55.

¹⁸ *История СССР* № 5, 1973. – с. 43.

¹⁹ Flior Ydel. *Dvinsk: The Rise and Decline of a Town*. Johannesburg, б. г. – pp. 121–122.

²⁰ *Коммунист Советской Латвии* № 6, 1974. – с. 85.

²¹ *Краткая Еврейская Энциклопедия*. Т. 4. Иерусалим, 1988. – кол. 694.

²² *Двинский листок* 21 мая, 6, 20 августа, 10 сентября, 1900.

²³ *Двинский листок* 22 декабря, 1901.

²⁴ *Двинский листок* 10 сентября, 1900.

²⁵ *Двинский листок* 18, 25 сентября, 1902.

²⁶ *Двинский листок* 8 февраля, 3 марта, 1903.

²⁷ *Двинский листок* 15 октября, 1903.

²⁸ Бобе М. *Евреи в Латвии*. Рига, 2006. – с. 283; *Двинский листок* 4 июня, 1900.

²⁹ *Краткая Еврейская Энциклопедия*. Т. 7. Иерусалим, 1988. – кол. 199.

³⁰ *Двинский листок* 6 декабря, 1903.

³¹ Исбах А. *Годы жизни. Рассказы*. Ленинград, 1948. – с. 54–56.

³² *Двинский листок* 20 февраля, 17 августа, 25 сентября, 1902.

³³ Маор И. *Сионистское движение в России*. Иерусалим, 1977. – с. 324.

³⁴ *Сегодня* 14 октября, 1920.

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APPENDICES

1. Jews in Latgale (according to the data of *The Jewish Encyclopaedia* published in Russia at the beginning of the 20th century)

District	Town	Borough	Total population	Incl. Jews	%
Dvinsk	—	—	240 000	47 832	19.9
	Dvinsk	—	69 675	32 400	46.6
		Višķi	959	668	69.7
		Glazmanka	2 328	1 976	84.9
		Dagda	1 516	1 026	67.7
		Kreuzburg	4 150	3 164	76.2
		Kreslavka	7 834	4 051	51.7
		Livenhoff	2 658	1 406	52.9
		Preiļi	2 104	1 375	65.3
	Raipole	1 528	220	1.4	
Lucina	—	—	130 000	6 255	4.8
	Lucina	—	5 140	2 803	54.5
		Korsovka	1 313	609	46.4
		Poliščeno	599	144	24.1
Režica	—	—	136 000	10 152	7.5
	Režica	—	10 678	6 478	60.2
		Varkļāni	1 810	1 365	75.4
		Velioni	774	321	41.5
		Ribinišķi	584	533	91.3
Total:			506 000	64 239	12.7

2. Jewish cultural enlightening establishments in towns and boroughs of Latgale at the beginning of the 20th century (according to the data of *The Jewish Encyclopaedia* published in Russia at the beginning of the 20th century)

Districts, towns, boroughs	Education establishments	Libraries
Dvinsk district		
Dvinsk	6	2
Višķi	—	—
Glazmanka	1	—
Dagda	—	—
Kreuzburg	1	—
Kreslavka	1	—
Livenhoff	—	—
Preiļi	—	—
Raipole	—	—
Lucina district		
Lucina	2	—
Korsovka	—	—
Poliščeno	—	—
Režica district		
Režica	2	—
Varkļāni	—	—
Velēni (Velioni)	—	—
Ribinišķi	—	—
Total:	13	2

Notes: a) boroughs with the population no less than 500 people are indicated; b) the borough of Grīva of Ilūkste district adjoined Dvinsk district (Dvinsk in particular) (its population being 8 009, including 3 027 Jews).

Tatyana Filosofova

THE ANONYMOUS POETRY IN THE MANUSCRIPT TRADITION OF THE RUSSIAN OLD-BELIEVERS OF LATGALE

Summary

The diverse and rich culture, literature, and folklore of the Russian Old-Believers are considered an inseparable part of Russian culture, literature, and folklore as a whole. At present, Russian Old-Believers, who live in more than twenty countries, carefully maintain their customs, literature, and culture. Their culture, essentially orthodox and written, is guided by medieval Russian culture and early Christian literature before the time of Patriarch Nikon. The Latgalian Old-Believer community provides an example of both a successful integration into society and preservation of their own original culture in a foreign environment. The local Old-Believer community preserved their manuscript tradition and developed a very large and diverse repertoire of literature and folklore, in particular Christian folk poetry. This article examines a little-known area of studies, the anonymous poetry, devoted to the presentation of Christian values and beliefs that have survived in the manuscript tradition of the Latgalian Old-Believer community. This poetry was commonly included in manuscripts containing Christian folk poetry ('dukhovnye stikhi'). The origins of some of these texts can easily be traced as they were written by professional Russian poets of the 18 – 19th centuries, such as M. V. Lomonosov, M. Y. Lermontov, etc. The original texts were altered by the Old-Believer men of letters and then included in the Old-Believers' manuscripts as if they were poems by anonymous writers. Other texts cannot be traced as easily, as they were written by local authors and survived as only one copy. This article, first sets out to describe five main directions, in which this poetry developed in the local manuscript tradition:

- 1. dogmatic and polemic poems on the most important theological matters;*
- 2. satirical poems exposing human sins and vices of the world and society;*
- 3. patriotic and Christian hymns;*
- 4. poems about real historical events, especially the history of the Old-Believers and the most prominent figures in the breakaway movement;*
- 5. poems written on the basis of well known folklore poems.*

This article further analyses some of the most interesting examples of the anonymous poetry. The research is based on material from the Manuscript Collections and Work published in Russia before the 18th century and held in the 'Drevlekhranilishche im. V. I. Malysheva', IRLI, St.Petersburg, Russia. This library holds one of the most comprehensive collections of manuscripts of the old-believer community in Latvia and Estonia and was put together by experts of Russian manuscripts. This enables us to carry out comprehensive research in many areas of the Old-Believer literature, folklore, and culture.

Key words: Russian Old-Believers, Latgale, manuscript tradition, Orthodox Church, Christian folk poetry, anonymous poetry, poems

*

The rich culture of the Russian Old-Believer written tradition is rightly considered an intrinsic part of Russian culture, folklore, and literature. Russian Old-Believers, who nowadays live in more than twenty countries all over the world, respect their traditions, customs, and manuscript writing based on medieval Russian culture. The Old-Believer community of Latgale is an example of successful preservation and development of the Russian medieval culture and writing in an environment dominated by other languages and religions.

The mass settlement of Russian Old-Believers in the Baltic lands including the eastern regions of contemporary Latvia (Latgale) started in the second half of the 17th century. The advocates of the old Orthodox tradition ('drevlee blagochestie') did not accept the Russian Orthodox Church reform of the 1650 – 60s and sought refuge either in the distant regions of Muscovite Russia or beyond its borders. The flow of the forced resettlers grew especially large in the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century. Old-Believers tried to settle down in small groups both in towns and rural areas – anywhere they could find a sympathetic attitude from the local population and tolerance concerning the inner life of the community on the part of government bodies. By the second half of the 19th century, on the territory of contemporary Latvia, several large Old-Believer centres had been formed in Jakobstadt (Jēkabpils), Rezhica (Rēzekne), and Dvinsk (Daugavpils)¹.

A tolerant attitude by the local authorities towards the Russian Old-Believers, on the one hand, facilitated their successful integration into business and everyday life of the local population, on the other hand they did not intrude with the Old-Believer culture, traditions, writing, and folklore. The specificity of the existence of Old-Believer communities in the Baltic territories undoubtedly made a certain impact on the development of the local manuscript tradition and the formation of the reading traditions of the local Old-Believers. First of all, it must be noted that Old-Believers in Latvia managed to sustain a rich manuscript repertoire of the traditional orthodox service, hagiographic, dogmatic, and polemic literature, Old Russian fiction, Christian and confessional folk poetry². Developing the local manuscript tradition they formed an interesting and rich local manuscript tradition. In this tradition, the literary works created by talented local men of letters³ played a significant role. In Latgale there had always been special interest in the Christian folk poetry that in the Old-Believer environment was considered an important means of education in the spirit and customs of the old orthodox traditions ('drevlee blagochestie')⁴. Successful preservation of the singing tradition, using the neumatic notation, facilitated the development of hymnography in the local music manuscript tradition up to today. A significant part of Latgalian singing manuscripts has been preserved including traditional orthodox liturgy, confessional poetry, prayers and Christian hymns that are of a later origin.

The present research is focused on two aspects of the development of the local manuscript tradition. First, the successful preservation of a varied written and oral repertoire of Christian folk poetry of general Russian origin and Old-Believer spiritual poetry. Second, the tradition of including works by anonymous and well-known Russian poets in the collections of Christian folk poetry. It must be noted that the tradition of including poetry by professional Russian poets of the 17 – 19th centuries, from Simeon

Polotskiy and Dmitriy Rostovskiy to M. V. Lomonosov and M. Y. Lermontov, in the manuscript collections of Christian folk poetry is common to the Old-Believer manuscript tradition in general⁵. I will mention as an example two of the most popular poems that have become an intrinsic part of the repertoire of the Christian folk poetry in the Old-Believer environment: *Молитва Иоасафа в пустыню входяща* (Joasaph's Prayer Entering the Desert) by Simeon Polotskiy and the poem *Взира́й с прилежаньем, тленный челове́че...* (Look with Devotion, the Humble man...) by Dm. Rostovskiy. The popularity of these poems among the Old-Believers of Latgale is testified to by the fact that they have survived in a large number of manuscript copies, from five to eight⁶. Usually, poems by individual authors were included in the collections of Christian folk poetry or mixed collections without indicating the author's name and were circulated in the local manuscript tradition as anonymous folk poems. They constitute a specific literary environment of the Christian folk poetry. They may be regarded as examples of the Old-Believer manuscript tradition that unite the literary and folklore texts existing in the Old-Believer environment. However, in Latgalian manuscript tradition, apart from the well-known poetry by professional Russian poets, anonymous poetry by local men of letters was also circulated. Up to the present day, the most interesting examples of anonymous Old-Believer poets have not attracted the attention of academics studying old-believer culture and manuscript tradition. Anonymous poetry by Russian Old-Believers have remained unpublished and thus unavailable to a wider circle of readers.

The present article is based on the manuscript collections of the early 17th – early 20th centuries and hectographs of the first half of the 20th century containing Christian folk poetry, confessional and other spiritual poetry from the Latgalian collection and I. N. Zavoloko collection of the *Drevlekhranilishche im. V. I. Malysheva*, IRLI, St. Petersburg, Russia.⁷ The complete Baltic collection of Old-Believers' manuscripts and works published in Russia before the 18th century exceeds more than 1000 items. It was formed as a result of almost fifty years of annual planned expeditions, which were carried out by Pushkin House in the Old-Believer regions of Latvia and Estonia. This is one of the largest and most complete manuscript collections of the Old-Believers from the Baltic countries. Christian folk poetry and other spiritual texts of the Latgalian and I. N. Zavoloko collections amount to approximately 10% of the whole Baltic collection of the *Drevlekhranilishche*. The two above mentioned facts make it possible to conclude that the materials of the *Drevlekhranilishche* reflect the development of folk poetry, in the manuscript tradition, of the Latgale Old-Believer community. This, in turn, provides the basis for studying the development of the local manuscript traditions, singling out the characteristic features of the spread of particular texts and describing various groups of poetry known to the Latgale Old-Believers.

The number of poems produced by anonymous Latgalian Old-Believer poets is very small and they have survived in manuscript collections, usually, as only one original copy. The name of the author of the poem is not mentioned, yet the texts of some poems are marked by a specific kind of author's signature, e.g. *мужичок-дурачок Кириллушка* (a fool-fellow Kirillushka) in *Стих об иконоборцах* (The Poem of Iconoclasts⁸), *скорбный старец* (the sorrowful old man) in *Биографический простой мотив из былин реформации Никона и его сотрудников. Рассказ скорбного старца* (Biographical Simple Motif from Bylinas of Nikon and His Followers' Reformation. A Story of the Sorrowful Old Man)⁹. Notwithstanding the small number of the anonymous poetry known to the

Latgale Old-Believers, I can single out the basic thematic directions in the development of the given group of poems:

1. Dogmatic and debate poetry. These texts are examples of the polemic poetry on major church issues. In particular, polemic concerning church weddings was very active among the local Old-Believers.
2. Satirical poetry. The tradition of creating vivid and imaginative texts unmasking the vices of the contemporary world has its origin in Russian popular satire of the 17th century. The best examples of anonymous satirical poetry may be placed in line with such popular Old-Believer texts as *Газета из ада* (A Newspaper From the Hell) or *Стух о табаке* (Poem on Tobacco).
3. Patriotic and Christian hymns. A good preservation of the singing tradition most probably enabled the appearance in the repertoire of Latgalian men of letters, of various religious and patriotic hymns praising the Orthodox faith, brotherhood of the Slavic peoples, etc.
4. Poems about real historical events. These poetical narratives are based on a story about the events related to the history of the schism accompanied by emotional authorial comment and often aggressive attacks on the ideological foes.
5. Finally, there are arrangements of famous Christian folk poetry produced by anonymous authors that have become an intrinsic part of the poetry repertoire in the Old-Believer environment, e.g. *Вечер с другом я сидел...* (The Evening I Spent with My Friend...), *Поздно, поздно вечерами...* (Late, Late at Nights...).

Now let us turn to a more detailed consideration of each group of the above listed poetry. Polemic poetry was a very widespread phenomenon in the Latgalian manuscript tradition being one of its specific distinctions. Polemic poetry on dogmatic church issues constitutes a vivid and interesting feature of the development of spiritual poetry of the Old-Believers of Latgale who did not recognize parish priests (*bespopovtsy*). The following texts from the *Drevlekhranilishche* collections are provided as examples of such poetry:

- The poem *Явилась церковь вновь, имея две личности...* (The Church Appeared Again Having Two Faces...), one copy of the 1860s.
- The poem *The answer to Pavel, the Prussian, against self-performed weddings by a father of Preobrazhensk cemetery* (Слушай, мудрый вопрошитель, христианский наш ответ...) (Listen, Wise Enquirer, to Our Christian Reply...), one copy of the first half of the 19th century.
- The poem *О браке мы здесь законно предлагаем ...* (On Wedding We Here Legitimately Suggest...), one copy of the early 20th century.
- The poem *Честные отцы! Давайте поговорим о том, как мы свои паства ко Христу поведем...* (Honest Fathers! Let Us Talk About the Way We Will Lead Our Parishes to Christ...), one copy of 1930.

It must be noted straight away that Old-Believer polemic prose and poetry have strict temporal boundaries and that they are related to debates on various dogmatic issues that were important for Old-Believers representing various trends at different times. Written discussions on a whole range of issues on church organization, church service, the relations with the official Orthodox Church and the state apparatus accompanied the development of the Old-Believer movement and were its driving force

since its origin. They reached a particular urgency at the turning points of this religious movement when basic changes took place in the opinions of one or another Old-Believer group. Such topical and essential issues as the formation of a united church, recognition of the prayer for the Tsar, arguments on the issues of church weddings were reflected in polemic prose and poetry. Thus I believe that the whole body of polemic works by Old-Believers provides a unique source for researchers of the history of the Old-Believer movement in general and its local traditions in particular. The repertoire of polemic poetry is much smaller in number as compared to its prose equivalents. Nevertheless, the polemic poetry is also rather informative and may provide interesting additional evidence concerning the ideology of the Old-Believer faith. Manuscript copies of polemic poems from the *Drevlekhranilishche* collections are dated by the first half of the 19th – early 20th centuries and reflect the debate, among diverse groups of Old-Believers, that went on in the 19th century.

Of strong interest to us is the fact that polemic poetry on dogmatic issues was not spread among other groups of Old-Believers who did not recognize parish priests (*bespopovtsy*) either, such as the *bespopovtsy* groups of Ust'-Tsył'ma¹⁰ or Povolzh'e¹¹. This significant fact provides evidence that the above-mentioned peculiarity of the poetry repertoire was conditioned not so much by the preservation of the Old-Believer community but by the force of its structural organization and active involvement in the Old-Believer movement on the whole. Examples of such powerful communities noticeable in the Old-Believer world, the influence of which reached far beyond the limits of the local tradition, are found in the communities of the *bespopovtsy* groups of Old-Believers in Latvia and specifically in Latgale.

Now, let us turn to one of the polemic poems, *Стих-ответ Павлу Прусскому* (The Answer to Pavel, the Prussian). I consider this poem the most vivid and revealing example of polemic on one of the most essential issues of church organization, which had been debated in the Old-Believer environment for many years, i.e. recognizing church weddings. This text is of a special interest to us against the background of wedding poetry being widespread in Latgale – *Мессия пришел в мир...* (Messiah Has Come to the World...) and *Бог, творец всесильный, создал человека самовлаством почитая...* (God, the Omnipotent Creator, Has Created Human by Respecting Self-power...). This fact emphasizes once more the significance of texts on the topic of weddings in the local tradition. *Стих-ответ Павлу Прусскому*¹² has been recorded in the form of a dispatch by a father of the Preobrazhensk cemetery for informing his ideological opponent, Pavel, the Prussian, as to the following:

*Слушай, мудрый вопроситель,
Христианский наш ответ.
Ты всей Австрии учитель,
Помни строго свой обет.
Христианский твой рассудок
Мы любили навсегда
И сих новых прибауток
Не слышали мы тогда,
Чтоб брак мог совершиться
Без священного лица.
Того вечно не случится,
Чтоб был свят от простеца ...*¹³

Pavel, the Prussian (Pavel Lednyov; 1821 – 1895), an addressee of the polemic message, was a conspicuous opponent of church weddings and, until settling in Prussia at the end of the 1860s, was a member of the community of the Preobrazhensk cemetery¹⁴. Moreover, as a reliable and talented figure he was sent to Prussia to organize the community life of Old-Believers who did not recognize parish priests. Pavel was a gifted orator, an educated man and was deeply respected by the Old-Believers, which was reflected in epithets and the form of address used by the author of the poem. Pavel is called the wise inquirer and the teacher of all Austria. Yet Pavel did not live up to the expectations of the fathers of the Preobrazhensk cemetery and after a rapid change of views and acceptance of the position of single faith, became an active missionary in the Old-Believer environment that was against the fundamental principles of the teaching of *bespopovtsy*. Unfortunately, I do not have any information as to whether the given poem was a reply to a written polemic work by father Pavel or whether it was inspired by his preaching.

Apart from polemic poetry on dogmatic issues of church organization constituting the particularity of the Old-Believer repertoire of the Baltic regions, the local Old-Believers were very active in producing satirical poems. These poems may be called literary pamphlets unmasking the vices of contemporary society. The poem *Об иконоборцах мужичка-дурачка Кириллушки*¹⁵ (On Iconoclasts by the Fool-fellow Kirillushka)¹⁶ may serve as an example of the anonymous satirical poetry known to the Latgalian Old-Believers. This original satirical text relating the life of the Pope reflects the folk ideas of the material welfare, sins, and appropriate faith:

*В самом Риме я был,
С папой вместе гостил,
Имя папе Макар,
Он не так еще стар,
Но уже за полста.
А все хулит Христа!
Ненавидит креста,
И не имеет креста,
И не имеет поста.
Папа очень богат:
Он и землю купил,
И дом новый срубил,
Для быков и коров
Он настроил дворов,
Жеребцов и кобыл
Табуны наплодил ...¹⁷*

According to its artistic qualities and liveliness of language, this poem may be compared to such popular examples of Old-Believer satirical poems as *Газета из ада* (A Newspaper from the Hell)¹⁸ and *О чае* (On Tea)¹⁹. The latter was inspired by the texts of Old-Believer prohibitive regulations.

As mentioned earlier, the Latgalian Old-Believer tradition is marked by a good success in the preservation of singing manuscripts and a rich repertoire of hymnography. In particular, the Latgalian collection of the *Drevlekhranilishche* contains a unique body of Christian hymns that have not spread beyond this local tradition. The following hymns, of a more recent origin, may be mentioned among them: *Братья славяне! Знамя свободы пусть разовьется над вами!* (Brethren Slavs! Let the Banner of Freedom Waver

above you!), *Гимн святым Кириллу и Мефодию* (A Hymn to the Saints Kirill and Methodiy), *Гимн св. равноапостольному князю Владимиру* (A Hymn to St. Prince Vladimir), *Хвалебная песнь равноапостольному князю Владимиру* (A Song of Praise to Prince Vladimir) etc. Their number is supplemented by the anthem of the Russian Empire *Боже, царя храни!* (God, Save the Tsar!), which appeared in the manuscript tradition under the title *Народный гимн* (The Folk Hymn).

All of these texts have been preserved to this day in a hectograph of the Latgalian collection of the *Drevlekhranilishche* dated 1910 – 1912 and titled *Духовные стихи для домашнего употребления* (Christian Poetry for Domestic Use)²⁰. It must be noted that copying the original text by hectograph allows up to 100 copies of the original. Therefore, in this case it would be possible to talk about a rather widespread readership of those Christian hymns, among the Old-Believers of Latgale. All these manuscript copies of hymns are accompanied by neumatic notation. Most probably the hymns indicated above were taken by the local men of letters from literary journals and other popular mass publications of the second half of the 19th – first half of the 20th centuries and later were spread, in the local tradition, as anonymous works. Undoubtedly, the anthem of the Russian Empire is not an anonymous poem. However, in my opinion, it is rather unexpected and curious that for a ‘respectable’ way of spending leisure time in the family circle for Old-Believers it was suggested to sing the anthem of the Russian Empire or the patriotic hymn praising the union of all Slavic people *Brethren Slavs!* Yet a more detailed study of the issue of why these examples of Christian poetry existed in the repertoire of Latgalian Old-Believers leads us to understanding the deeper processes going on in the public consciousness of the Russian Old-Believers’ enclave that had been forced to adapt to living in an environment dominated by other languages and religions. Apart from that, investigation of the circulation of the anthem *God, save the Tsar!* in the Old-Believer environment constitutes a very valuable material for studying the problems of the so-called popular monarchism²¹ and a range of issues related to recognition of the prayer for the Tsar by the Old-Believers of Latgale in the 19th century²². An essential fact for my research is that all of these texts (except, of course, the state anthem) have not travelled beyond the local tradition²³. It must be noted that the fortunes of the Russian Old-Believers in the Baltic regions and Latgale in particular have been rather benevolent owing to the tolerance and liberalism of the local power bodies; Old-Believers were not cruelly persecuted or repressed there. These historical facts have probably facilitated the more positive attitude of the Old-Believers of Latgale both to the Russian state on the whole and their historical roots. It is interesting that all the above-mentioned hymns reflect an intense feeling of patriotism. Local Old-Believer communities probably also experienced a powerful connection with the whole Slavic world giving rise to a need of expressing feelings of solidarity with the fight of the Slavic peoples for their independence in the 1880s (during the Balkan War of 1876 – 77). The hymn *Brethren Slavs!* in particular, is a poetic response to the general Slavic movement of that time:

*Братья славяне!
Знамя свободы
Пусть разовьется над вами!
Жив дух славянский,
Славы преданья
Живы останутся вечно...²⁴*

Another thematic direction developed in the Old-Believer anonymous poetry is shown by poems about real historical events. This kind of poetry in the *Drevlekhranilishche* collections may be exemplified by the poem *Биографический простой мотив из былин реформации Никона и его сотрудников. Рассказ скорбного старца* (Biographical Simple Motif from Bylinas on Reforms by Nikon and His Followers. A Story by the Sorrowful Old Man). This text is an original interpretation of real events from the history of the Russian Old-Believer faith from the schism to debates among Old-Believers in the second half of the 19th – beginning of the 20th centuries. The narrator is a ‘sorrowful old man’ who is a strict follower and keeper of the old orthodox traditions (‘drevlee blagochestie’). The poem describes the events related to the church reform by patriarch Nikon providing an account of the causes of the schism:

*Любезная братия!
Древлеправославныя христиане,
Верныя и миряне!
Хочу поделиться съ вами словомъ,
Только старымъ, а не новымъ.
Вотъ это было в 1654 годе,
Когда Никонъ Патриархъ былъ в моде.
Онъ саномъ своимъ гордился
И на святыя древняя книги разсердился.
Он бы по своему нраву ихъ жжогъ,
Да такъ одинъ сделать не могъ.
А потому онъ на хитрость пускается
И хитрой лисой притворяется.
И чтобы решить свой споръ,
Созвалъ онъ Россійскій Соборъ
И вопросы Собору предлагаетъ,
И исправить книги повелеваетъ.
Говорить:
– Нечего вам сомневаться,
А надо къ решенью моему подписаться.*

The author makes an attempt of not only naming all disparities between the champions of the old traditions and those who had accepted patriarch Nikon’s reforms but also proving the inadequacy of his ideological opponents:

*// Тутъ есть соборное и
Для всехъ нас на удивление.
Что въ книгахъ Никономъ было исправлено
И бывшему собору доставлено,
То Соборъ сие утверждаетъ
И служить по нимъ повелеваетъ.
«Верую» читать без истиннаго прилога,
А то говорить, и такъ написано многа.
«Аллилуйя» по трижды, безъ сумнения,
Для пения и чтения.
И знаменоваться тремя перстами,
Какъ мужие, такъ поселяни.
Хотя они и на апостоловъ указали,
Но кругом ихъ оболгали.*

*Потому что въ апостольскихъ уложенияхъ
Нетъ и слова о перстосложенияхъ...*

This unique story ends in praising Old-Believers who have sustained the true faith in all its purity notwithstanding the hard trials that had befallen them as well as exalting the Tsar who by his will put an end to the persecution and misery of Old-Believers:

*Старообрядцы, безъ сомнения,
Не зделались такими басурманами,
А остались истинными же христианами.
За то ведь вы их мучили и гнали,
Что они истинну на ложь не посменяли.
Но теперь Божиимъ провидениемъ
И великимъ царскимъ повелениемъ
Ваше прежнее гонение уничтожено
И конецъ всему положено.
За сие-то старообрядцы сердечно
Будут благодарить Создателя вечно.
А своему-то царю-батюшке,
И царице, своей матушке,
За таковой истинный обетъ
Приведи, Господь, царствовать много летъ!
Много летъ!
Много летъ!²⁵*

The last remark contains an almost direct allusion to the edict of Nikolai II *On the Consolidation of the Foundations of Religious Tolerance* of 1905 that declared the principle of tolerance of all religions including the Old-Believer faith.

The development of the image of a kind Orthodox Tsar in *The Story of the Sorrowful Old Man* and the fact that the anthem of the Russian Empire was included in the poetry repertoire of the Latgale *bespopovtsy* Old-Believers should be regarded as two factors that indicate a transformation that had taken place in the relationship with the monarch, in the local Old-Believer communities. According to the Old-Believer ideology (in particular, the *bespopovtsy* group), the problem of the interpretation of tsarist power and the Tsar figure was one of the most important ones. The treatment of this problem determined the solution of the issue of accepting or refusing the prayer for the Tsar. These complex dogmatic issues are rooted in the Old-Believers' interpretation of some essential aspects of the Christian teaching on the Second Coming, the Antichrist figure etc.²⁶ The Old-Believers' firm belief in the fact that after patriarch Nikon's reforms a Tsar-antichrist had come to power in the world led to a general refusal to include the prayer for the Tsar in the religious service. It must be noted that in the traditional Orthodox service, the prayer for the Tsar is conducted as a prayer for the God-anointed monarch and carries an important ideological weight. Therefore, refusal to pray for the Tsar became the stumbling block between the power bodies and many Old-Believer communities. For example, in the 1850s the large Old-Believer centre, Preobrazhensk cemetery in Moscow, was closed due to their refusal to pray for the Tsar. The following explanation was provided by the authorities: *To be dispersed for not praying for the Tsar*²⁷. Much later, at the end of the 19th century, some Old-Believer communities compromised with the authorities on some essential church rituals. In particular, they recognized the prayer for

the Tsar and church weddings. At approximately the same time *bespopovtsy* in Latgale also accepted praying for the Tsar²⁸. I suppose that the appearance in the singing repertoire of patriotic hymns and even the anthem of the Russian Empire became possible after the above-mentioned changes had been made in the teaching of the Old-Believers in Latgale.

The Old-Believers of Latgale not only carefully observed and developed the tradition of performing Christian poetry but also created original texts using well-known plots. Such texts may be exemplified by the authorial arrangements of Christian poems *Поздно, поздно вечерами...* (Late, Late at Nights...) and *Вечер с другом я сидел...* (The Evening I Spent with My Friend...) belonging, most probably, to the leader, of one of the Old-Believer communities, E. P. Yegupenko:

*Как прельщены человеки,
Ум запутан до конца.
Суетами сего мира
Все блуждают,
Как во тьме.
От младых же и до старых
Все работают греху...*²⁹

Concluding this short survey of some examples of the anonymous poetry known to the Old-Believers of Latgale, I would like to stress that spiritual poetry by well-known and anonymous Russian poets is not an alien element in the Old-Believer reading repertoire. It became an intrinsic part of a large and varied body of poetry that was widespread in the late Old-Believer manuscript tradition. It was included in the Old-Believers' manuscripts, along with the folk poetry, without references to the origin of the poem. Therefore, it naturally fitted into the collections of poetry containing Christian folk poetry. The complete repertoire of poetry that was widespread in the Old-Believer manuscript tradition in general, contains a united fusion of texts that are diverse by their time of creation, genesis, language, style, and their artistic worth. The reason for this was undoubtedly that any poems that were both created in the Old-Believer environment and borrowed from literary sources had to correspond to a single universal criterion – 'good for the soul'. The didactic orientation of poetry, its 'regulating function'³⁰ and its content 'good for the soul'³¹ unite all poetry texts that occur in the manuscript collections. It must be noted that the overwhelming majority of the authorial and folk poetry of spiritual content was included in the hand-written collections under the title *Стих душеполезный* (A Poem that is Good for the Soul). I think that it is quite appropriate to draw a parallel between the function of spiritual poetry in folk culture and the function of authorial and folk poetry that was created in the Old-Believer environment or borrowed from the general Russian literary tradition. After the acceptance of Christianity in Russia, according to F. I. Buslayev, folk poetry became the bridge between the folk and Christian cultures: *Что касается до духовного стиха, то в нем наши предки нашли примирение просвещенной христианством мысли с народным поэтическим творчеством*³² [With regards to the spiritual poetry, our ancestors found in it a reconciliation between the enlightened Christianity of thought with the folk poetic creativity].

In the Old-Believer environment, in my opinion, both the spiritual poetry by anonymous local men of letters and the Old-Believer Christian folk poetry became the sphere of folk creativity where they could express, in an artistic form, their understanding of contemporary history, society, and the basic dogmas of Christianity. I think that

further, more detailed studies of both the poetry by anonymous Old-Believer poets and the Old-Believer Christian folk poetry are a fruitful direction in the research of the late Old-Believer tradition in general and its cultural aspect in particular.

Below, I publish *Стихи об иконоборцах мужичка-дурачка Кириллушки* (The Poem about Iconoclasts by the Fool-fellow Kirillushka). The text is based on the manuscript copy of the poem dated by the first quarter of the 20th century from a manuscript in the I. N. Zavoloko collection³³. The poem is published according to the rules accepted by the department of Old Russian literature of the IRLI, Russia for the publication of Old Russian literature texts. The orthography of the original has been kept³⁴.

The Poem about *Iconoclasts*

- л. 1 // *В самомъ Риме я былъ,
С папой вместе гостилъ.
Имя папе — Макарь,
Онъ не такъ еще старъ,
Но ужъ летъ за полста,
А все хулитъ Христа.
Ненавидитъ креста
И не имеетъ поста.
И у нихъ уже тамъ
Не кадятъ фимиамъ.
И лишь только речей,
Что не надо свечей.
И живетъ с папой втай
Казачекъ Оплетай.
Онъ с нимъ тяить одно
Накриво веретно.
И одно не одно,
И равно не равно,
А такъ будъто одно
Ихъ злосмрадно гов...*
- л. 1 об. // *У нихъ пояса два,
А десница вдова.
И крещение внофъ
Проповедуютъ въ кровь.
И ни кровь, ни вода,
Лицемерна беда,
Чреву — Богу еда.
И мотыла душина,
Да требуха страшна.
Есть у папы легатъ,
Евся — пестный халатъ.
Папа очень богатъ:
Онъ и землю купилъ,
И домъ новый срубилъ.
Для быковъ и коровъ
Онъ настроилъ дворовъ,
Жеребцов и кобылъ
Табуны наплодилъ.
Всемя печать свою далъ,*

- л. 2 // «Се» и «Че» написалъ.
 У него однихъ дровъ
 Будеть на пять годовъ.
 А соломы с назмомъ —
 Дом запружень кругомъ.
 Да у папы что есть,
 Намъ здесь все не сочестъ.
 Есть и баня своя,
 Да живетъ в ней змея.
 Гласъ одинъ шуритъ та,
 А собой претолста,
 И у ней два хвоста.
 Папа с ней вместе спитъ,
 Она папу соситъ,
 Ибо вместо сосковъ
 У ней пара хвостовъ.
 Змия, змиева дочь,
 И пречерна, какъ ночь.
 Я ихъ тамъ пошухалъ
 И крестомъ попугалъ,
- л. 3 // Ибо страшень имъ крестъ
 От десныхъ ручныхъ перстъ.
 Какъ для мухъ вреденъ дымъ,
 А такъ крестъ вреденъ имъ.
 Крестъ ихъ тронулъ, какъ ось,
 Заужжали сквось слезъ.
 И за папинъ весь взоръ
 На весь миръ придетъ моръ.
 Здесь есть папе урокъ
 От восьмидесять строкъ.
 И от сей ихъ хулы
 Я среди ночной мглы
 Убежалъ в бугалы.
 Я ни попъ, ни дьячекъ,
 И не стар старичекъ,
 А з брадой мужичекъ
 И слыву дурачекъ-Кирилушка.

¹ See the history of Russian Old-Believers in Latgale in: Заварина А. А. *Русское население Восточной Латвии во второй половине XIX — начале XX века*. Рига: Зинатне, 1986; Заварина А. А. Русское население Латвии (К истории поселения), in: *Русские в Латвии. Из истории староверия*. Вып. 3. Рига: Веди, 2002. — с. 10–47; Никонов В. В. Из истории Режицкой кладбищенской старообрядческой общины, in: *Русские в Латвии. Из истории староверия*. Вып. 3. Рига: Веди, 2002. — с. 76–83; Никонов В. В. Старообрядчество Латгалии (вопросы хронологии), in: *Староверие Латвии*. Рига: Старообрядческое общество Латвии, 2005. — с. 312–319. See the bibliography on the history, culture, and folklore of Russian Old-Believers in: Инфантьев В. Ф. Библиография Латвийского староверия, in: *Русские в Латвии. Из истории староверия*. Вып. 3. Рига: Веди, 2002. — с. 364–376.

² See the development of the Latgalian manuscript tradition and the scope of reading of the local Old-Believers in: Отчеты археографических экспедиций в Латгалию Древлехранилища им. В. И. Малышева за 1976 — 1992 гг.

³ The Degutsk chronicle may be considered as a unique example of the local manuscript tradition (Маркелов Г. В. Дегутский летописец, in: *Древлехранилище пушкинского Дома. Материалы и исследования*. Ленинград: Наука. Ленинградское отделение, 1990. — с. 166–248).

⁴ Заволоко И. Н. *Духовные стихи старинные*. Вып. 1. Рига: Издание Рижского Кружка ревнителей старины, 1933; Фридрих И. Д. *Фольклор русских крестьян Яун-Латгальского уезда*. Книга I. Рига, 1936; Жилко А. Н. Духовные стихи в старообрядческой среде в Латвии, in: *Бодровские чтения: Сборник докладов 2-ой научно-практической конференции «Старообрядчество в Латвии; вчера, сегодня, завтра»*. 25.09.98. Резекне, 1999. — с. 36–42; Жилко А. Н. *Русские в Латвии. Из истории староверия*. Вып. 3. Рига: Веди, 2002. — с. 162–172.

⁵ Петрова Л. А. Произведения профессиональных поэтов в народной рукописной книжности Русского Севера, in: *Устные и письменные традиции в духовной культуре народов*. Тез. докл. Ч. I. Сыктывкар: Издательство Сыктывкарского государственного университета, 1990. — с. 62–63.

⁶ The number of copies is provided according to the studies of the Christian folk poetry in the manuscript tradition of the Old-Believers of Latgale and Prichudye in: Философова Т. В. Духовные стихи в рукописной традиции старообрядцев Латгалии и Причудья, in: *Русский фольклор*. Т. 30. Санкт-Петербург: Наука, 1999. — с. 431–458.

⁷ On the formation of the collections of the Drevlekhranilishche im. V. I. Malisheva see: *Древлехранилище Пушкинского Дома: (Литература 1965 – 1974 гг.)*. / Составитель В. И. Малышев. Ленинград: Наука, Ленинградское отделение, 1978; *Фонды и коллекции рукописного отдела*. Краткий справочник. Российская академия наук, Институт русской литературы (Пушкинский Дом) / Сост. В. П. Бударагин, М. В. Родюкова. Санкт-Петербург: Русско-балтийский информационный центр «Блиц», 1996.

⁸ Зав. № 66

⁹ Зав. № 318

¹⁰ Малышев В. И. *Усть-Цилемские рукописные сборники XVI – XX вв.* Сыктывкар: Коми книжное издательство, 1960; Петрова Л. А. Духовные стихи в Усть-Цилемской рукописной традиции, in: *Устные и письменные традиции в духовной культуре Севера*. Межвузовский сборник научных трудов. Сыктывкар: Издательство Сыктывкарского государственного университета, 1989. — с. 86–101.

¹¹ *Духовные стихи. Канты*. (Сборник духовных стихов Нижегородской области) / Сост., вступ. статья, подг. текстов, исслед. и коммент. Е. А. Бучилиной. Москва: Наследие, 1999.

¹² Зав. № 265.

¹³ Cf: Зав. 265.

¹⁴ *Старообрядчество. Лица, предметы, события и символы*. Опыт энциклопедического словаря. Москва: Церковь, 1996. — с. 212.

¹⁵ This text is cited fully at the end of this article.

¹⁶ Зав. № 66.

¹⁷ Cf. Зав. 66.

¹⁸ Бударагин В. П. «Газета из ада» (по материалам Древлехранилища Пушкинского Дома), in: *Русские утопии. Канун: Альманах*. Санкт-Петербург, 1995. — с. 313–320.

¹⁹ Бегунов Ю. К. Стих-раешник о чае. *Рукописное наследие Древней Руси*. Ленинград: Наука, Ленинградское отделение. 1972. — с. 245–248.

²⁰ Лат. № 23.

²¹ Гурьянова Н. С. Монарх и общество: к вопросу о народном варианте монархизма, in: *Старообрядчество в России (XVII – XX вв.)*. Москва: Языки русской культуры, 1999. — с. 126–148.

²² Леклер И. Старообрядцы Латвии и царь-освободитель в 1860-х годах, in: *Староверие Латвии*. Рига: Старообрядческое общество Латвии, 2005. — с. 305–311.

²³ The anthem *Боже, царя храни!* has also been circulated in Guslitsy Old-Believers manuscript tradition. In Guslitsy manuscripts all copies of the anthem are accompanied by neumatic notation.

²⁴ Cited from the hectograph Лат. №. 23.

²⁵ Cited by: Зав. № 318.

²⁶ Смирнов П. С. *Внутренние вопросы в расколе в XVII веке. Исследование из начальной истории раскола, по вновь открытым памятникам, изданным и рукописным*. Санкт-Петербург: т-во «Печатня С. П. Яковлева», 1898. — с. 245–250.

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- ²⁸ Леклер И. Старообрядцы Латвии и царь-освободитель в 1860-х годах, in: *Староверие Латвии*. Рига: Старообрядческое общество Латвии, 2005. — с. 305–311.
- ²⁹ Cited by: Лат. №. 261.
- ³⁰ Никитина С. Е. *Устная народная культура и языковое сознание*. Москва: Наука, 1993. — с. 35.
- ³¹ In order to be accepted as a text concerning what is 'good for soul', the text must meet the following criteria: it must enlighten the reader in accordance with the old Orthodox traditions (so called 'drevlee blagochestie'), explain the basics of Christian virtues and morals and discuss divine matters.
- ³² Буслаев Ф. И. Повесть о Горе и Злочастии, как Горе-Злочастие довело молодца во иноческий чин, in: *Исторические очерки русской народной словесности и искусства..* Сочинение Ф. Буслаева. Том. I. Русская народная поэзия. Санкт-Петербург: Д. Е. Кожанчиков, 1861. — с. 600–601.
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ACCEPTED ABBREVIATIONS

ТОДРЛ — Труды Отдела древнерусской литературы Института русской литературы (Пушкинский дом) Академии наук СССР (с 1992 г. Российской Академии наук)
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Лат — Латгальское собрание Древлехранилища им. В. И. Малышева ИРЛИ (Пушкинский дом). Санкт-Петербург

Yelena Muratova

THE RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS AND CHOOSING NAME IN THE MILIEU OF OLD-BELIEVERS

Summary

The analysis of the names, used in the community within 100 years (end of the 19th – beginning of the 20th century), shows that the distinguishing feature of the Old-Believer list of the names from the general Russian anthroponymic system lies in Old-Believers' names being little, rarely, and seldom used.

Several reasons of an extra linguistic origin can be pointed out to define the peculiarities of the Old-Believer list of the names, the main of them being the religious views of the Old-Believers. In the Old-Believers' milieu the choice of a name in some cases was defined by its frequency of occurrence in the church calendar. In many cases, the special respect to a saint influenced the choice of the name for a newborn child. When the name is being chosen, the existing church traditions of the time and the rite of naming are of great importance, too. This influence, to a greater or lesser extent, existed in the community during the whole period analyzed, though in the second half of the 20th century it became much less. In general, it can be claimed that the direct dependence between the choice of the name and religious views is lacking in the Old-Believers' milieu now.

Because of the community's long closure, its own traditions and habits of naming were formed, among the members of the community, primarily based on the strict church requirements. These traditions continue to determine the contents of the Old-Believer list of the names. Even in the second half of the 20th century the names (especially those of the elderly) Anfiyan, Aviv, Yeleveriy, Iliy, Feofilakt, Filagriy, Miropriya, Ksanfippa, Yermioniya, Fevrusa do not seem strange in their milieu, because that is how their parents, relatives, neighbors were called. That is why popular names (as the natural influence of the modern reality) and the ones, which had already disappeared from the Russian list of the names in the previous centuries (as the reflection of intercommunity naming traditions), function simultaneously in the community till the present time.

Now, when the former isolation of the Old-Believers has disappeared and intermingled marriages and migration of young people to the city are being spread, there is a tendency among the youth to diverge from religion. Personal names of the new-born children of the 1980s show the traits of modern Russian, Belarusian, Lithuanian, Latvian and Polish anthroponomy, among these names almost a complete leveling of the traditional peculiarities of the Old-Believer list of the names is observed.

Key-words: Belarus, Old-Believers, diachronic, contemporary, religious, communal tradition, social

*

The investigated Old-Believer community is located in Miori region of Vitebsk district in Belarus. At present it is one of the 14 officially registered Old-Believer communities in the territory of Vitebsk district. Its members populate three villages: Nivniki, Malyavki, and Zacherevye (separate Old-Believer families live also in the neighbouring Belarusian villages). The community centre is situated in the Nivniki village where the Old-Believer church is located.

The analysis of the names functioning in the community during 100 years (from the end of the 19th to the end of the 20th century) shows that the basic peculiarity differentiating the Old-Believer list of names from the general Russian anthroponomical system lies in the fact that Old-Believers' names in majority are the names of rare use.

Hence, in the first half of the 20th century, 80% of male names and 44% of female names of the investigated community consisted of names practically not used among the Russian population after 1916, e.g. Anfiyan (Анфиян), Yevgariy (ЕвагриЙ), Neopiy (Неопий), Papiy (Папий), Feopempt (Феопемпт), Feust (Феуст); Yerotiida (ЕротиИда), Kiriakiya (Кириакия), Makrina (Макрина), Randa (Ранда), Sinklitikiya (Синклитикия), Hioniya (Хиония). Thus, there is an obvious disparity between the names of active and passive use in the Russian anthroponomical system and that of the investigated Old-Believer community.

Apart from those, traditional Russian names have been and still are actively used in the community, e.g. Andrei (Андрей), Vasiliy (Василий), Ivan (Иван), Mikhail (Михаил), Pavel (Павел), Alexandr (Александр), Nikolai (Николай); Anna (Анна), Yekaterina (Екатерина), Irina (Ирина), Maria (Мария), Tatyana (Татьяна). They are related to the stable stock of the investigated names, i.e. they have been constantly registered in the community during the 20th century.

The popularity of certain names and disappearance of others are impossible to explain by exclusively linguistic reasons. Rather often the composition of the list of names is determined to a great extent by extra-linguistic factors, i.e. the principles and traditions of name giving that depend on the history of the people, its national psychology, and social conditions of everyday life.

It is possible to discern some extra-linguistic reasons that determine the peculiarities of the Old-Believer list of names; the religious views of Old-Believers being the major one in our opinion.

Religious views as a rule include a whole complex of elements: mythologically fantastic, intellectual, axiological, cult, institutional, emotionally-psychological, etc. The cult element of religion is of a major interest for investigating anthroponyms due to its relation to giving name to a new-born and being reflected in official church documents.

In the pre-revolutionary Russia, the popularity of certain names was greatly influenced by the church calendar: the more often the name recurred in church festivities the more widespread as a rule it was.

Анализ списка русских канонических имен дает прямое указание на влияние факта частотности, на популярность одних и непопулярность других имен. Так, мужские имена, встречающиеся в церковных календарях более трех раз в год, обычно достаточно популярны, имена, упоминающиеся один-два раза в год, за редким исключением, непопулярны. Более популярны имена, стоящие в начале перечня имен

и событий, достойных упоминания в тот или иной день, и менее популярны – имена, стоящие в конце.¹

[The analysis of the list of canonized Russian names gives a direct indication to the impact of the fact of frequency on the popularity of some and unpopularity of other names. Hence, male names recurring in church calendars more than three times a year are usually rather popular, whereas the names that are mentioned once or twice a year are unpopular with few exceptions. More popular are the names at the beginning of the list of names and events commemorated on this or that day; the names at the end of this list are less popular.]

In the Old-Believer environment, the choice of the name was also to a certain degree determined by its frequency in the church calendar. The analysis of the stable stock of male and female names of the investigated community from this aspect shows that many popular names recur on the festive days of the Old-Believer church several times. E.g. Alexandr – 19 times, Georgiy – 15, Dmitriy – 17, Ivan – 53, Pyotr – 26, Fyodor – 30; Anna – 7, Irina – 5, Maria – 9, Feodosiya – 6 times.

The popularity of these names may be related to the frequency of their recurrence on the festive days of the church. But, on the other hand, the names like Vladimir and Saveliy are related to the group of stable male names that appear in the Old-Believer church calendar only once; the popularity of the female name Yekaterina cannot be accounted for by the festive day, as St. Yekaterina is commemorated by the old-believer church only once a year.

As we can see, the account for the popularity or unpopularity of certain names exclusively by their recurrence on the festive days of the church would not be objective because there are different conditions influencing the popularity of the name, such as language and psychological phenomena, factors of social and everyday life, traditions, and customs.

Investigating the personal names of the believing community, it is also necessary to take into consideration the religious traditions existing in their environment. In many cases, special respect paid to a particular saint played a significant role when choosing the name for the new-born. In the Orthodox faith since the ancient times the most respected saints were Ilya the prophet, Nikola the miracle maker, Georgiy the martyr. Among the people whose faith was especially strong, name-giving was treated as something fateful, therefore the name of the saint could mean fortune for the new-born, whereas the name of a martyr – misfortune.

In Old-Believer communities that have been formed particularly on the basis of general religious views, the cult of saints played an even greater role for giving the name to the new-born. Thus, the female name Anna was the most popular one in the investigated community from the end of the 19th to mid-20th century. This may be explained by the special attitude of Old-Believers to the princess St. Anna Kashinskaya. I. Kologrivov writes the following about this matter in his historically-religious study *Очерки по истории Русской Святости* (Reviews on the History of Russian Sainthood):

[..] ее почитание, официально установленное в 1649 году, было запрещено в 1678 году на основании содержащихся в ее житии исторических ошибок, а главным образом потому, что у княгини в гробу рука лежала с двухперстным сложением, а не с трехперстным, так того требовали каноны, реформированные патриархом

Никоном. Так как на этот факт ссылались старообрядцы, власти решили «деканонизировать» Анну. Только в 1909 году ее культ был восстановлен...²

[...] her worship that was officially initiated in 1649 was banned in 1678 on the grounds of the historic mistakes in her life, yet basically because the hand of the princess in the coffin was placed with two finger setting instead of the three finger one as was required by the canons reformed by Patriarch Nikon. As old-believers referred to this fact, the authorities decided to 'decanonize' Anna. Only in 1909 her cult was restored..]

Rather significant role in the choice of name is attributed to the church traditions relating to the time and the ritual of name-giving. Hence, in the Orthodox tradition the new-born had to receive its name from the saint who was commemorated on the day of birth of the child, but this rule was not canonical (i.e. in essence it was recommended by the fathers of the church) and therefore was rather flexible. There were other church rituals related to the rite of baptism as well: to baptize the child on the third or eighth, or the fortieth day. More archaic practice of Old-Believers was giving the name of the saint commemorated on the eighth day after the child's birth; girls were given names of female saints commemorated on the eighth day before their birth.

In the investigated community in the first half of the 20th century the Orthodox tradition prevailed: around 80% of all new-borns received names of saints commemorated within 30 – 40 days since the child's birth. At the same time boys were named after the saint commemorated on the eighth day after the child's birth. In 1900 the fifth part of male new-borns were named according to this tradition. A similar custom in relation to female names (the eighth day before the birth of the child) has not been registered in the community. It is considered that this tradition in relation to female names was either totally lacking in the investigated community or was less stable and had disappeared much earlier.

In the second half of the 20th century, the dependence of the Old-Believer list of names on the church traditions became less and less obvious. At the end of the 19th century, just singular cases of free choice of name were noted (i.e. the child was given a name without any relation between the day of its birth and the day of commemorating the saint after whom the child was named), whereas in the second half of the 20th century free choice of name became more and more widespread in the community. This is demonstrated by the facts: in 1900 3.2% of all new-borns were named in this way, in 1936 – 13%, but at the beginning of the second half of the 20th century – more than 50%.

However, also at the end of the 20th century the Old-Believer list of names contains a sufficient number of especially rare names. They were, as a rule, the names of aged people. A certain part of such names have existed and still exist, evidently, in particularly religious families where children are given names in accordance with the church tradition.

Thus the impact of religious traditions on the choice of the Old-Believer's names was different both in individual families and at diverse periods in the community on the whole. To a smaller or greater extent, this impact existed in the community during the whole of the investigated period, though in the second half of the 20th century it became significantly weaker. Yet also at present, notwithstanding the decline of Old-Believing as a religious trend, there are quite a lot of authentic Old-Believers (especially people of

mature age) who continue strictly observing the church traditions and giving names to their children, and more often grand-children, not according to their own wish (or the wish of the parents who are probably non-believers) but according to the church calendar and the religious traditions of the community.

But on the whole it is possible to argue that nowadays there is no direct relation between the choice of the name and the religious views in the Old-Believer environment.

Yet the difference of the old-believer list of names from the general Russian system of name-giving as to the popularity/unpopularity of person names must have an explanation. Another and, in our opinion, basic reason for the specificity of Old-Believer list of names comes from the inner traditions of name-giving in the community.

After the schism of Russian Orthodox Church, Old-Believers moved to the marginal regions of Russia and abroad. Before that they lived in the Russian language environment and their list of names corresponded to the taste, customs, and traditions of this environment. Names that were popular in Russia in the 17th century traveled together with their bearers to the new places of settlement. It may be supposed that the tastes and traditions of name-giving of Old-Believers' children remained on the level of the 17th – early 18th century. Why did it happen? In our opinion, it may be explained by two factors. First, the formation of the Old-Believer list of names was influenced by the very character of the community existence. Old-Believers lived isolated from generation to generation, separated from the external world, far from roads and big villages. Their environment was characterized by eschatological views, preaching escape from 'the world', i.e. during centuries the Old-Believer community was a closed micro-environment and this fact could not but get reflected on the traditions of name-giving.

Second, the formation of Old-Believer list of names was influenced by the religious ideas of Old-Believer faith at the stage of its formation as a religious trend, i.e. the epoch of fanatical religiosity and mass self-immolation of Old-Believers. Subjection to the church demands at that time was unconditional and compulsory for its members. This included also name-giving to the new-born children who were named not according to their parents' whims but so that the names of all saints were not disregarded³. This is obviously the reason for the existence in the community not only of rare names but also of traditionally widespread Russian names, like Ivan, Fyodor, Pyotr, Grigoriy, Mikhail, Alexandr, as these were exactly the names that most often recurred in the church calendar.

Thus due to the prolonged closure of the community, its members have formed their own traditions and customs of name-giving that were initially based on strict church requirements. These traditions continue to determine the Old-Believer list of names. So, in the second half of the 20th century in the Old-Believer environment it is not strange to meet people (especially of mature age) with such names as Анфиан (Анфиян), Авив (Авив), Елевферий (Елевферий), Илий (Илий), Феofilakt (Феофилакт), Filagriy (Филагрий), Миропиуа (Миропия), Ксанфирра (Ксанфиппа), Yermioniya (Ермиония), Fevrusa (Феврусa), as this was the way their parents, relatives, and neighbours had been named. This is the very reason why popular names (as a natural influence of the contemporary reality) and the names extinct from the Russian list of names already in previous centuries (as a reflection of the inner traditions of name-giving in the community) function simultaneously in the community at present.

The impact of the social conditions on the Old-Believer list of names is, in our opinion, the third reason determining its specificity. The social status of the investigated

community had remained unchanged for a long time because of the unchanging activities, everyday life conditions, the level of education, and religious views of its members. Due to the closed character of the community, the impact of the social conditions on it was insignificant. As concerns names, the social factor has become evident just in recent decades. During this time, the number of popular names has grown significantly, though rare names still constitute a great part of the Old-Believer list of names. This social marking reflected in the names as the legacy of the previous centuries cannot but be felt by the young generation of Old-Believers. It is overcome in several ways.

First, children born in the 1970 – 80s practically do not have rare names. The analysis of the existing tendencies of transformation of the Old-Believer list of names shows that the changes lead in the direction of its unification and erasure of any anthroponymic peculiarities in the Old-Believer environment.

Second, artificial transformation of the existing names has been registered. The facts of officially substituting one name for another reflected in the official papers of the civic registration office of Miori are very scarce. Yet transforming names on the level of their oral use has become widespread in the investigated community, especially in the 1960 – 70s.

Rare, unusual names of Old-Believers undergo complete or partial transformation taking the form of more widespread names. Hence, Vikuliy (Викулий) is called Vitya in the community, Korneliy (Корнелий) – Kolya, etc. The most widespread male name transformations in the community are as follows: Ignatiy (Игнатий) – Gena (Гена), Kesariy (Кесарий) – Kolya (Коля), Liveriy (Ливерий) – Val'era (Валера), Martinian (Мартиниан) – Misha (Миша), Yevgraf (Евграф) – Yura (Юра), Timofei (Тимофей) – Dima (Дима), Filosofiy (Философий), Feoktist (Феоктист) – Fedya (Федя), Kallinik (Каллиник) – Kolya (Коля). Similar trend concerns the functioning of the female names in the community, e.g. Anfiya (Анфия), Arfiya (Апфия) – Anya (Аня), Domna (Домна) – Dasha (Даша), Dorosida (Доросида) – Dusya (Дуся), Yenaфа (Енафа) – Lena (Лена), Sanfira (Санфипа) – Inna (Инна). In some cases the 'new' name is rather naturally developed from the 'old' one: Timofei (Тимофей) – Tima (Тима) – Dima (Дима), Feoktist (Феоктист) – Fektya (Фектя) – Fedya (Федя); in other cases there are no similarities between the names: Protasiy (Протасий) – Kolya (Коля), Yevgraf (Евграф) – Yura (Юра), Yenaфа (Енафа) – Lena (Лена). These cases show that the complete form of one calendar name is substituted by the abridged form of another calendar name.

Transformations of christened names are observed first of all in case of the younger generation of Old-Believers. The new name, as a rule, appeared beyond the community boundaries (during the young man's military service, at the time of studies or working in the city), but later it was adapted within the community and continued to exist along with the christened name. Hence, Old-Believers perceive this tendency of two coexisting names as rather natural at present. And it is understandable. Entering the world, from which they and their ancestors had been separated, the contemporary Old-Believers (especially young people) became conscious of the specificity, difference of their existence including the particularity of their names that they never hear any more in the expanded environment around them.

This kind of coexistence of two names in the Old-Believer community is a direct consequence of the changed social conditions. But, apart from that, their attitude to it is very significant. It indicates the serious religious and psychological changes in the Old-

Believer environment, as previously they did not use even abridged forms of christened names because any change of the name of the saint after whom the person had been called was considered sinful.

At present, due to the disappearance of the former isolation of Old-Believers, appearance of mixed marriages, and migration of young people to urban areas, the young generation is losing its religiosity. Person names of the children born in the 1980s reflect the features of the contemporary Russian, Belarusian, Lithuanian, Latvian, and Polish anthroponomy; the structure of the contemporary list of names brings out an almost complete erasure of the traditional peculiarities of the Old-Believer traditions of name giving.

¹ Суперанская А. В. *Общая теория имени собственного*. Москва: Наука, 1973. – с. 200.

² Кологривов И. *Очерки по истории Русской святости*. Брюссель: Жизнь с Богом, 1961. – с. 253.

³ Сф. Унбегаун Б. О. *Русские фамилии*. Москва: Прогресс, 1989. – с. 327.

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Yelena Korolyova

STORY OF A LATGALIAN OLD-BELIEVER. THE EXPERIENCE OF FICTION

Summary

The present article analyzes the story by an Old-Believer woman from Latgale Maria Pakhomovna Blokhina. The uniqueness of this experience of fiction is that its author received only three year education. The story is about the people, written by a common woman. All her life Maria Pakhomovna has lived in the village Zui in Rēzekne region. She worked on kolkhoz and is a typical Old-Believer of her days. At present, she is 83 years old.

The article entails the author's biography, pointing out the moments that might have affected her striving to write fiction. Further the analysis of the story's plot is provided. The title of the story is 'Forced Love'. It relates of a young woman who is forced to love by trying to make her fall in love. The action takes place during the 'times of Ulmanis' when 'aizsargs' Valdis tries to woo the worker of his neighbours, Pauline. The narrator of the story is a fifteen years old girl Masha who works together with Pauline. Masha becomes a witness of this love story.

The article analyzes the poetic means and language of the story, namely portrait characteristics and similes. The story is written in a dialect language that to a certain degree is made literary. The author of the article argues that Maria Pakhomovna Blokhina is a predecessor of the epoch of soap operas, as the story was written in the time period between 1960 and 1965 when this phenomenon had not yet appeared in the Russian literature.

Key-words: folk story, Old-Believer woman's personality, plot, imagery, language means

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About the author

Maria Pakhomovna Blokhina (MP), née Kuznetsova, was born in Riga. Her mother worked in Riga and St.Petersburg, her father was a blacksmith in the village Zui of Rēzekne district and was the housekeeper, he owned a smithy, brought up children and cared for his disabled brother and sister. MP came to the village Zui in childhood and has lived there up to the present. MP is a hard worker who has worked all her life on a collective farm doing different jobs; she has been awarded many prizes for her work, both of a local and government scale. All of these awards MP has been holding dear till this time. MP is very sociable: she used to organize amateur performances in the local culture club, as well as diverse competitions and culture events. She is an open, kind-hearted person who is always ready to help anyone in need, and people have always been attracted to her. She also knitted mittens and socks for the children in orphanage

as New Year presents. Her knit-work was so fine that it was exhibited on several personal exhibitions in the Soviet times. MP has sown a huge number of coloured muffs that are genuine works of art; she has presented her muffs to the local churches, even to those in America. MP was childless and she brought up two of her husband's nephews.

I got acquainted with Maria Pakhomovna in 1996; she seemed to me too 'learned' then, which means that she was not a suitable object for recording dialect speech. Nevertheless we communicated with her a lot then. MP was of a great help in explaining to us the process of processing flax; no male was able to tell us about the whole technology of this complex procedure in as detailed and precise a way as she could. In that region in the Soviet times there was a flax plant and the local inhabitants were renowned for their capability of growing huge crops of flax of the finest quality. It is probably not accidental that MP had a longstanding dream of founding a flax museum in Kruki. Almost everything had been prepared for its opening but the times of reconstruction came and the intention was never carried out.

Second time I met MP two years ago, in 2006. I do not know what had happened but MP had suddenly become a veritable depository of dialect lexis. Her speech was saturated with dialect words and she could very precisely explain the meaning of words we did not understand. It could be possibly explained by the fact that people who have scarcely used dialect speech in their life return to the language of their childhood in old age.

MP is very well known in Latvia. She is constantly visited by the representatives of the capital and local press and she is often shown on TV. For the mass media, our heroine is an epitome of old-believer. MP has collected articles about herself from most diverse newspapers. I have read these articles from MP's personal archives where she keeps these materials. Journalists have written about MP absolutely everything: from her biography and descriptions of her work life to hobbies mentioning all her talents. MP is endowed with aesthetic feeling. She is a wonderful craftswoman who has participated in a number of exhibitions of ornamental art with hand-embroidered carpets; she was excellent at embroidery, knitting, and making soft toys. She makes design and matches colours for her works that are genuine art productions. Even the stove at her home is painted with the motifs from Russian fairy-tales. Just one of MP's talents has escaped the journalists' attention: they are unaware that she has also tried to write fiction. MP has a splendid memory and brilliant gift of a story-teller, besides she has been keeping diary.

MP has written some poems about war, one of them about a soldier rescued by her family. Her father had risked the life of his whole family by rescuing him. As this soldier had been wounded and was heavily bleeding, he needed urgent operation and her parents, having collected clothes for him from their neighbours, brought him to the German hospital setting him as their son. Mother was so bitterly and inconsolably crying that none of the Germans got any suspicion and so they rescued the soldier; he was operated on and sent to the front from where he escaped to friendly troops, but some days before the end of the war he was killed. All this became known through the Red Cross organization after the war. MP's mother went to the Ukraine when a monument to this soldier was erected.

We know two tales written by MP. Very recently we got to know that MP had tried to write a love story. Everything that she had given to me to read up to this time was

very different: those were poems causing tears or tales making one laugh. In the poetic works by MP there were no dialect words, the rhymes in them were correct. If one did not know that their author was a common person one would not realize it. Love plots were not characteristic of MP's writing therefore this story was very intriguing. Imagine a meticulous Old-Believer, an extremely serious, conscientious person, fair judge in all dubitable situations having written a love story. MP gave it to me to read when I visited her alone, without students, and went to the bath. I started reading it and could not stop, hardly making it for the bus (that would be very inconvenient as there was no bus the following day). For two months I could not wait to learn how the story would end.

The title of the story is *Принужденная любовь* (Forced Love). As we can see, it is a telling title, the story written in the first person. The author is represented by a 15 years old narrator, shepherd girl Masha who became a witness of a love story between a farm worker Pavlina who is sometimes also called Paula or Pauline and Valdis, a son of the farm owners' neighbour for whom Masha and Paulina were working. From MP's diaries I had learned that during the war she worked for rich Latvians and she was exactly 15 then. Her father was sent to Germany, the cattle taken away, there were four children and a disabled uncle in the family, the aunt had died and they could not make ends meet, so MP went to work. But in the diary the hassle of the poor girl is described tragically, whereas the story totally lacks the dramatic tinge of the diaries. MP did not manage to tell me the history of writing the story; she had just remarked that everything was imagined though presented as if she had been the witness of all the events. As we know, fantasy is the basis of creative work and this means that the author had intentionally written a piece of fiction. Afterwards I learned that the story was written in the 1960s. It seems that it was written in two stages. The former, according to MP, was in 1960 – 65. It remains to add that MP received three year education. In this sense it is a veritable folk tale.

The plot

The first sentence of the story sets the plot in motion: *Охотники собрались на охоту, отвязали своих собак и ушли* [The hunters had gathered for hunt, released their hounds and left]. In the afternoon, they returned to the master with a slain roe. According to Arkadiy Neminuschiy (an oral remark in relation to our presentation at Latgalian Congress), the image of a roe is associated with a visual range characterizing the interior of the house: in the 1960s tapestry carpets from Germany were very popular depicting diverse plots, roe being one of the most widespread images. Though roes were abundant in the local woods and were the usual game, this remark seems to us very valuable. The image of a roe is significant not only on the visual plane for introducing the reader to the social space but also symbolically. It may be interpreted as a symbol of a young girl chased by hunters from all sides.

The plot develops as follows. The masters have invited guests and hunters to dinner. Paula and Masha helped the mistress to prepare food. Valdis from the neighbouring farmstead appeared among the guests and straight away started wooing Paula. But she met his wooing with coarseness and did not show any interest in contact with him; but her indifference had an opposite effect, it turned Valdis on even more. Judging from Paula's portrait, she was a very attractive young girl and the fact that Valdis fell in love

with her from the first sight is not surprising at all. The author pays great attention to the portrait characteristics of the heroine. The story depicts portraits of Valdis, his mother, and Pauline.

Валдис – парень лет 27 – 28, белокурый, стройный с голубыми глазами и с бледным румянцем на щеках.

Мать, молодая, лет 50, красивая, голубоглазая, румяная женщина, сын очень похож на неё. Сама она из работниц, замуж вышла за старика из-за хозяйства, хотя в то время он был не так уж стар: 40 лет, ей 20. Всегда опрятная, чистая, разговорчивая, приветливая к людям.

[Valdis is a young man of 27 – 28 years, blond, tall, with blue eyes and pale glow on his cheeks.

His mother is a young woman, about 50 years of age, beautiful, blue-eyed, glowing, her son taking after her very much. She is from workers, married to an old man because of property though at that time he was not so old: 40 years, her being 20. She is always neat, clean, talkative, kind to other people.]

Attention is attracted by the expression ‘kind to other people’ – this is an attempt of expression in a learned manner, that is often the case with the author, but besides one may notice incomplete knowledge of literary language norms. As to Valdis’ father, it is stated that he is *gray and uncouth. Always walking around with ropes and bridles, taking in and out horses.* The material status of Valdis’ family is described as follows, *They were not rich and kept just one farm-hand doing everything themselves.* Pauline’s appearance is described as follows, *Paulina is a very beautiful girl. Her eyes are black, sparkling, hair is dark, curly, long, face is tenebrous with a blush, figure is stately taking after a painted Madonna.* It seems that in the framework of this text it is a very good comparison that leads to think that Paula is obviously a catholic. Or else this portrait is provided from the viewpoint of the catholic Valdis. Old-Believer and Orthodox depiction of Madonna usually has a more restrained colour range, icons veiling the colours leaving only the face opened; this means that painted Madonna is presented from the catholic point of view. Masha inquired for the reason of Pauline’s reluctance because Valdis was such a handsome guy, Masha liked him and would not turn down his wooing. Let us add that the portrait of all heroes is marked by blush that is a manifestation of folk aesthetics.

Pauline answered Masha’s question as follows:

А потому что я его хорошо знаю. Когда я была маленькая, пасла у Рексте Александры коров, он был такой длинный верзила и пас своих коров, а земли их граничили, и вдруг моя корова перешла через границу на их землю, я как-то не углядела. Он кнутом отстебал корову и меня и заявил: «Ну, несчастный цыганенок, ещё раз пустишь коров в наш хутор, я тебя выстебаю крепче».

[Because I know him very well. When I was a child, I pastured cows for Rekste Alexandra, he was such a tall guy and pastured his own cows and their lands bordered; suddenly my cow crossed their land border and I somehow missed that. He beat the cow with a rod and then he beat me and said, ‘Well, miserable Gipsy, if you let cows once again into our land, I will beat you harder.’]

Thus the social motivation for refusing Valdis is provided. Everything becomes clear now. Yet at the same time, another memory of Pauline suggests that this moment may

be considered the beginning of some kind of special relationship between them, *That very autumn I went to school, form one, but he was already in form six. I was standing in the hall, he ran by and pulled me by my braid saying, 'You are also here, Gipsy?'*

In the course of the narrative it is revealed that

Валдис – единственный сын у родителей, он учился в Риге в медицинском институте на хирургическом факультете, когда началась война и пришли немцы, началась мобилизация, и чтоб его не взяли на фронт, мать его привезла домой и устроила работать айсаргом, так как айсаргов не брали на фронт, они воевали в тылу, но поскольку он ученый, не воевал, а находился в конторе писарем.

[Valdis is the only son to his parents, he studied in Riga in medical college at the faculty of surgery; when the war began and Germans came there was mobilization and, to avoid his going to the front, his mother took him home and found him a job in 'aizsargi' organization as 'aizsargi' were not taken to the front fighting in the rear but, as he was a scientist, he did not fight but worked in the office as a clerk.]

As Valdis fell in love with Pauline, he started visiting the house of Masha and Pauline's masters and helping the girls with house-work, as common work always unites people.

Но она к нему была очень колка, всё время острила, даже иногда выходила из себя, бросала обидные слова. Ты – хозяйский сынок, неженка, а я – работница, ты – айсарг, я вас ненавижу. При этом он молчал, только лицо заливалось краской, обиженный, садился на велосипед и уезжал домой, но наверно, обида отходила быстро, и он появлялся снова.

[But she was very sharp with him, pulling his leg all the time, sometimes even losing her temper, throwing hurtful words. You are a son of a land-owner, softy, while I am a worker, you are an 'aizsargi', I hate you. He kept silent, just his face blushed, he got hurt and rode home on his bicycle but he probably forgot the offence soon and turned up again.]

However, the author has not placed the social and political accents on things. MP writes without measuring up to the rules of socialist realism, she writes as her heart and life experience suggests.

Notwithstanding Valdis' dodges, Pauline did not change her anger for mercy but just the other way round, grew angrier, fiercer, and more unattainable day by day. When he once wanted to kiss her, she scratched his face with her nails until it was bleeding.

И засмеялась: «Теперь такой красивый больше не появится.» Но мне его было жаль. Ведь он так ей всегда старался сделать доброе, а она, как кошка, все время его порет, если не словами, то когтями.

[And started laughing, 'now this dreamboat will never come again.' But I felt pity for him. Because he was always so eager to do something good to her while she attacks him like a cat, if not by words then with her nails.]

Things develop very fast. The most interesting fact reflecting the everyday life of that epoch most truly, in my opinion, is the description of milling when landowners

together with workers grind corn for all the neighbourhood taking the mill from house to house.

Бривкалн хозяин зажиточный, хлеба много, рабочих собрал на две смены, работали по два часа и снова менялись. На обед столы накрыли в большом зале и в первую очередь посадили обедать хозяинов и их сынов и дочек, а работников и работниц во вторую застолу. Рабочие начали роптать, мол, мы свиньи должны обедать после господ.

[Brivkalns is a well-to-do landowner, having much corn; he gathered workers on two shifts, working for two hours and then exchanging shifts. For dinner, tables were laid in the big hall and the first to dine were the landowners with their sons and daughters; the workers dined in the second turn. They started grumbling: we pigs must eat after masters.]

The description of the milling process is very interesting also from the ethnographic point of view, maybe because the author makes the narrative dynamic or because she is well aware of the details of the everyday life of that epoch unknown to the contemporary people.

During milling, Valdis did not approach girls: the work was very hard, but Paula continued mocking him: *Today the soft hands will get bloody blisters*. Finally, the milling was finished.

Пришёл старик Бривкалнс снял фонари, погасил, один фонарь повесил на улице около дома. Хозяйки вынесли на двор тёплую воду в ведрах и тазах, а также мыло и полотенце. Все вымылись, у кого была запасная одежда, переоделись. Валдис уехал домой, я с Паулой зашли в работницкую комнату, там лежала наша запасная одежда, там же расчесали свои волосы, поскольку они были длинные, но за день тяжелой работы они растрепались и сбились, заплели косы, уложили аккуратно, переоделись. Когда все были уже в порядке, и все собрались, хозяйки пригласили на ужин. Явился и Валдис в голубой рубашке, в галифе и начищенных до блеска сапогах. На этот раз ужинать в первую очередь пригласили работников, и снова опять начался ропот, что в первой застолу надо торопиться, чтоб дать место другой, а другая может не торопиться, сидеть, сколько им захочется, торопится никто не станет, работа кончен. Работали больше мужчины, им жаль было упустить лишнюю кружку пива, хозяйки волновались, но молчали. [...] После ужина разобрали столы, и начались танцы. Играть были приглашены два аккордиониста, молодые красивые парни, они играли поочередно.

[The old Brivkalns came and put out the lamps hanging one lamp outside the house. The landlady brought out into the yard warm water in pails and bowls as well as soap and towels. Everybody washed and changed into fresh clothes. Valdis left for home but I and Paula went into the workers' room; there were our spare clothes, there we brushed our hair as it was long and had got disheveled during the hard working day, we did our hair and changed. When everyone was ready and all had gathered, landladies invited us to supper. Valdis came dressed in a blue shirt, riding-breeches and polished shining boots. This time workers were invited to eat first and there was grumbling again that those who eat first must hurry in order to make room for the second turn that need not hurry and may sit as long as they like because the work is finished. Workers were mostly men and they were reluctant to miss another jug of beer, the landladies were worried but kept silent. [...] After supper the tables were taken away and people started dancing. Two accordionists had been invited to play, they were young handsome guys and played in turns.]

Pauline danced all the time. If there were no male partners, she danced with her female friend.

А Валдису так и не подходила очередь. Вдруг объявили отбивной танец, парни хлопали в ладошки и отбивали девушек от парня. С которым она танцует, и с ней танцует, а тот отбивает другую и т.д. Тут вышла очередь Валдису. Павлина как раз танцевала с кордионистом. Валдис подошел, улыбнулся и легонько хлопнул в ладошки. Паулина сделала вид, что не заметила, уцепилась крепче в партнера, крутанулась и хотела скрыться среди танцующих, но не тут-то было. Валдис схватил ее за руку и ударил по щеке, выдернул ее из круга и посадил рядом со мной и сел рядом с ней сам. В зале воцарилась тишина. Паулина сидела, не шевелясь, глаза ее стали больше и чернее, они не моргали, но слезы катились крупные, как горох. Валдис молчал, но был бледный, как лист бумаги.

[But Valdis never had a chance to dance with her. Suddenly a clapping dance was announced, guys clapped their hands and took away girls from other guys. Valdis' turn came. Pauline was dancing with the accordionist. Valdis came up, smiled, and clapped lightly. Pauline pretended not to notice him, clutched to her partner firmly, turned and wanted to disappear among the dancers but her plan failed. Valdis caught her by the hand and slapped her cheek, pulled her out of the circle and made her sit beside me and sat down himself. There was deep silence in the hall. Pauline was sitting without moving, her eyes growing larger and darker, they did not blink but tears were rolling huge like peas. Valdis kept silent but was as pale as a sheet of paper.]

Further the action develops even faster. The master seeing that one of his workers had been hurt called Valdis and made him leave the hall. Pauline with Masha's help silently crept through the window outside and ran home. Valdis having learned that she had run away started chasing her on a bicycle, whereas the master fearing an unpleasant turn of events ran after him. This marathon was rounded up by Masha. Suddenly a shot was heard and Paula fell down. The master approached and started scolding Valdis, Masha ran up shouting and shedding tears. At that moment, the door opened and the master and Valdis came in carrying Paula in their arms. Valdis put her carefully on the bed and asked for a wet towel to bring her to senses. After some time he managed to do it.

The following day Valdis and his mother drove to the landlady in a carriage; she had evidently expected this visit as the table had been laid in the hall. The girls were invited to the table and offered some food. Masha was invited so that Paula would be more persuadable. After some time, Valdis' mother said, *Well, young people, enough sitting, go for a ride, the horse cannot wait any longer*. Later Masha realized that this was an arrangement between Valdis' mother and their landlady. While taking Pauline for a ride, Valdis took her to his home. He asked her to marry him but she did not agree. *You, sons of the rich, just want to play with us while we must bear the shameful cross*. Valdis went to work but Pauline was not let out of the house by his mother. Because of all that had happened she suddenly fell asleep and woke up only when she heard steps. Valdis returned furious.

«Паула, последний раз спрашиваю тебя, будешь моей женой или нет?» — Паулина ответила: «Отпусти меня домой!» — «Сейчас ты будешь свободна!» — и вынул пистолет из кобуры, Паулина онемела, не могла ничего сказать, только закричала тогда, когда он наставил пистолет себе к виску, она бросилась к нему на шею и громко крикнула: «Не надо!»

['Paula, I beg you last time, will you marry me or not?' – Pauline replied: 'Let me go home!' – 'In a moment you will be free!' – and he took a pistol out of a holster, Pauline went dumb and couldn't say a word, bursting into shouting just when he aimed the pistol at his temple, she flung her arms around his neck and shouted in a loud voice: 'Don't do that!']

Valdis shot into the ceiling, his mother fainted as she heard the shot, and the sound of her fall was so loud that Valdis ran up to his mother and started bringing her to senses. When she came to herself and saw Valdis, she thought that he had killed the girl and fainted again, this time even deeper. Valdis called Paula to help him bring his mother to senses. Finally, due to their common effort, she came to herself and seeing them together asked whom he had killed and Valdis replied to this: *A fly on the ceiling*. As we can see, the author has a sense of humour. She likes to depict comic situations. Let us recall the situation on the day of milling: Paula ran away, Valdis ran after her, followed by the master and then by Masha. The episode of the doctor's arrival who was asked by Valdis' mother to examine Pauline is also comic. The doctor told Valdis:

Ты что натворил девушке, что она заболела. Валдис покраснел то ли от неудобства, то ли от зла и ответил: «Об этом не вам судить.» Врач засмеялся и сказал: «Судить не нам, а лечить нам», – и вышел.

[What did you tell the girl that she has fallen ill. Valdis blushed either of embarrassment or fury and replied: 'It is not for you to judge.' The doctor burst into laughter and said: 'It is not for us to judge but it is for us to heal' and left the room.]

Thus, this story has a happy end notwithstanding two shots and lots of fainting, chase, etc. The story in fact has not been finished but the finale of this love story is quite predictable. Here is the last phrase of the story:

До родов оставалось два месяца. Валдис уговаривал жену не бояться при родах, он говорил, я сам буду присутствовать при родах и говорил в шутку, ведь я без одной недели хирург.

[Two months remained till the delivery of the child. Valdis persuaded his wife not to be afraid, he told her that he would be present at delivery himself and said jokingly, remember that I will be a surgeon in one week.]

The subjective layer of the narrative is represented unobtrusively. Hence, the national identity of the author is revealed only once: *Everybody was watching the girls whirling in a dance. Russians whirl in a Russian manner and it looks great*. Notwithstanding two shots, the subjective tone of the narrator is not a determining factor in the story; it is rather the dynamics of the narrative that counts: events follow one another very fast captivating the reader. The story is very scenic due to its dynamic character.

Figurative devices and language

Numerous similes stand out among the figurative devices. They may scarcely be called poetic as they exploit images that are typical of stable similes, e.g.:

Я была похожа на бесёнка, чумазая, вся в пыли, глаза слипались, хотелось спать
[I looked like a little devil, black-faced with the dust, my eyes stuck, I wanted to sleep];

Валдис молчал, но был бледный, как лист бумаги [Valdis kept silent being pale as a sheet of paper];

Слёзы катились крупные, как горох [the tears were rolling down as huge as pees];

Она лежала, как мёртвая [she was lying like dead];

Мать лепетала, как птичка, своим нежным голосом [mother was twittering as a bird in her tender voice].

There is one transformed proverb in the story: *долг отдачей красен* [the debt is beautified by paying back].

A metaphor has been noted in the text: *Она так и разливалась* [she was just streaming].

Occasional use of a word has been registered: *Он снова на неё брыснул* – ‘сказал брысы!’ [he shooed her again – ‘said shoo!’] There are also sentences that produce a joke: *О чем вы смеётесь и что смешное скушали?* [what are you laughing about and what funny have you eaten?]

The text is saturated with dialect words, that is quite understandable because the author comes from the common people writing in a dialectal language as she knows this language very well. Not only dialect lexis occurs (*беремя, застолица, братенник, отстебать, выстебать, подграбить, перечитывать* (‘перечислять’)) but also dialect phraseological units, e.g. *работать работу, со всех сил, пасть в обморок*. There are also morphological dialectal occurrences, e.g. discrepancy of the gender of the noun ‘potato’ that is used in the feminine gender instead of the masculine. Syntactical dialectal occurrences are observed as well, e.g. subordinate attributes in preposition are used only in the oral speech of the Russian language: *Которые освободились от других работ, обчасывали стог граблями, а солому подпихивали к Валдису* [Who were free from other work, raked around the stack pushing the straw towards Valdis]. Uncoordinated forms of participles are rather often used, e.g. *Работа кончен. Срезан горки. Лошадь была уже запрежен. Глаза его были наполнен слезами.*

As the author does not have a full command of literary language though she tries to use it (let us note that the author considers literary language highly prestigious), we can observe ‘switching of codes’: dialectal speech in the text turns bookish. This results in inappropriate use of literary language, low colloquial style, bureaucratic language (*kantselyarit*).

Sometimes there is excessive use of synonyms: *Все гурьбой, весело, со смехом потащили коосулю в сарай* [All in a heap, merrily, with laughter dragged the roe to the shed]. There also occur excessive word collocations: *Хозяйка подморгнула мне глазом. В тайне своей души она стала обвинять себя. Белокурый блондин.* [The landlady winked at me. At the bottom of her soul she started blaming herself. The light-haired blond man.]

Bookish words are sometimes inappropriately used:

Хозяйка взялась стряпать и привлекла меня с Павлиной [The landlady started cooking and involved me and Pauline];

Взглянув на него, Паула улыбнулась и молвила: «А следки ещё остались» [Looking at him Paula smiled and said, ‘But the traces have still remained’];

Павлина с каким-то юмором отказалась [Pauline refused with a kind of humour];

Все бросили взор на них, даже в зале воцарила тишина [Everybody threw a glance at them, even silence ensued in the hall];

На этот спектакль обратили все внимание [Everybody paid attention to this spectacle];

Я далеко отстала от ночного финиша [I am lagging long behind the nightly finish].

Along with an inappropriate complication of syntactical constructions there are also curious cases: *Хозяйка пустила в ход всё горло* [The landlady put in action all her lungs].

The use of prepositions may be inappropriate as well: *Хозяйка начала звонить по телефону и приглашать всех, кто участвовал на охоте* [The landlady started telephoning and inviting all who had taken part in hunting]. The appropriate use of preposition in Russian in this case is: *кто участвовал в охоте, от кто был на охоте*.

The use of bureaucratic language is also inappropriate:

[..] обращался он больше к Паулине, смеялся, шутил, в отдельных случаях критиковал только себя [..] he addressed mostly Pauline, laughing and joking, in some cases criticizing only himself];

Разбирала по категориям и носила в буфет (посуду) [Sorted in categories and carried to the sideboard (dishes)];

Хозяйка просила нам помочь ей в приготовлении – и опять монстр – добавочной пищи [The landlady asked us to help her in preparing – and another monster – additional food].

There is the author's correction in the text: *кровавые музули* has been corrected to *кровавые мозоли* [bleeding blisters].

MP recalled that when she spoke at diverse conferences on Old-Believer faith, she was asked to speak her 'natural language'. Obviously this kind of understanding of the language correctness based on opposing it to her own speech (just not in the village manner, not the way we are used to) was worked out by MP long ago.

Conclusions

The story is so interesting due to the author's talent, good knowledge of the everyday life details, life experience, the habit of keeping a diary since childhood, and the previous literary experience.

The story is written in dialectal language that matches its content. Dialectal language is the advantage, not a shortcoming of this work. This sphere of dialectal language use has not been sufficiently studied yet.

The author has avoided any ideological standpoints. She is free in every sense: in the development of the plot, in her thoughts, feelings, language priorities. The author has taken up a universal plot model but the value of her work lies in its authentic development instead of being the result of learned literary skills.

The folk psychology is of interest in the story. The author in a sense is a predecessor of the epoch of soap operas, as the story was written in the time period between 1960 and 1965 when this phenomenon had not yet appeared in the Russian literature.

Drawings on the Russian Stove



To the Spike's Order



Drinking Tea



Cow



Maria Pakhomovna
Blokhina

Anita Bistere

THE ARCHITECTURE OF ORTHODOX CHURCHES IN LUDZA DISTRICT

Summary

There are about 120 buildings of Orthodox churches that have survived in the territory of Latvia. One third of them are situated in Latgale, and 11 churches are situated in Ludza district.

Nine Orthodox churches are built from wood in Ludza district, and two are masonry buildings (in Vecsloboda and Ludza). Only a small number of Orthodox churches were built in Latgale before the 19th century. Such examples survive in Brodaiža and Lauveri. In the 19th century, churches were built in Goliševa, Ludza, Pudina, Vertulova, and Jaunsloboda. In the first half of the 20th century, churches were built in Kārsava, Vecsloboda, and Kvitene. The Orthodox church in Krivanda was built in the first years of the 21st century.

Orthodox churches in Ludza district have mostly two types of planning – rectangular and cruciform. Buildings of Orthodox churches in Ludza district have two towers – a belfry above the entrance and a bigger or smaller cupola above the central part of the church. Exceptions are in Kārsava and Kvitene, where churches have another cupola above the altar part of the church. However, the belfry of Krivanda church is free-standing and situated in some distance from the church itself, whereas the building of the church has two cupolas – one above the central part and the other above the altar part of the building.

In the architectonic layout of buildings, horizontal painted plank cladding is mostly used. Vertical plank cladding zones are added in certain places. The Orthodox log-built church of Krivanda has no cladding. Masonry buildings in Ludza and Vecsloboda are plastered and painted. The Orthodox churches of Ludza district have mostly two-pitched roofs, which are combined with four-pitched and eight-pitched roofs. The form of windows and doors is mostly rectangular. Sometimes there are truncated upper corners or arched upper part. The architectonic layout of the buildings is laconic and marked by simplicity. Painted board floors are mostly used in the church interiors. The walls of masonry buildings are plastered and painted. The walls of wooden churches sometimes have no cladding, or they have cladding of plank or some other material. Ceiling of churches can be horizontal or horizontal with carving on both sides. Some churches have a dome-shaped ceiling in the central part. There are cylindrical vaults and cupolas in the central part of the masonry buildings. Decorative murals of interiors are simple, the only exception being the Orthodox church of Ludza. The iconostases of the Orthodox churches of Ludza district have one to four rows of icons.

The wooden Orthodox churches are a specific part of the architectural heritage of Latgale; they are characteristic exclusively of this region and may be considered also as a landmark of its cultural history.

Key-words: architecture, Orthodox church, Latgale, Ludza district, Ludza, Brodaiža, Lauveri, Goliševa, Pudinava, Vertulova, Jaunsloboda, Kārsava, Vecsloboda, Kvitene, Krivanda

*

There are about 120 Orthodox church buildings that have been preserved in the territory of Latvia until nowadays and one third of them are located in Latgale. The architecture of Orthodox churches in Latvia has been scarcely studied yet, especially in Latgale. Literature and press publications provide information on individual churches but there are no materials that would reflect the overall scene of this part of architecture legacy of Latvia. Hence, it seemed important to study particularly these buildings.

Ludza district is rich in Orthodox churches. 11 of about 40 Orthodox churches that have been preserved in Latgale are located in Ludza district.

Latgale is interesting also with the fact that a half (approximately 23) of Orthodox church buildings are made of wood. In the rest of the territory of Latvia, wooden buildings have been preserved in rare cases, there are some churches in Dundaga, Ķemeri, Riga, etc., yet the richest legacy of wooden Orthodox architecture is to be found in Latgale.

Regardless of the fact that there are hypotheses concerning the introduction of Orthodox religion in the territory of Latvia in the 11th century before Catholicism, this confession did not get rooted here. In the following centuries, Orthodox religion in Latvia was brought in by Russian merchants and army troops, yet it was not spread among the local population. Churches were also built mostly for the immigrant Russian people.

In the 17th century, a large number of old-believers settled in the territory of Latgale who had left Russia after patriarch Nikon's reforms due to religious persecution.

The unorganized migration of Russians to new places of settlement in the 18th century was not large, therefore it did not introduce radical changes in the structure of the religious faith of the population of the territory of Latvia¹. Even at the end of the 19th century Old-Believers constituted the majority of rural Russian population in eastern Latvia (71.2%)².

In the 18th and 19th centuries the number of Orthodox parishes grew proportionally with the growth of the number of immigrant Orthodox people.

In 1772 Latgale was included in the Russian Empire. However, tsarist government in the 18th century considered that its main task in home policy in the Baltic territory was to secure the support of the local Baltic German gentry to tsarist government. Everything possible was done not to diminish the rights and privileges of nobility including also the previous order of religious faith. This was the reason for providing the liberty of faith in parallel to the Orthodox Church³.

Along with the inclusion of the territory of Latvia in the empire, Russian army troops settled here, Orthodox civil servants appeared, and Russian merchants grew in number. As a result, still rather small number of new Orthodox parishes formed mostly in towns or the places of permanent dislocation of army troops⁴.

In the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century, the number of Orthodox believers among the local population of Latgale was rather small. In 1859 the number of Orthodox Latvians in the whole Vitebsk province (Latgale being a part of its eparchy)

was only 461. It must also be noted that it was impossible to form new Orthodox parishes in those towns of the Baltic provinces where no army troops were dislocated or there were no Orthodox believers among the local population⁵.

In the 1830 – 40s, there was growing dissatisfaction of peasants with the rule of the gentry.

In the 1830s, after the Polish uprising russification tendencies in Latgale became stronger, the Russian language was introduced, and the struggle between the Catholic and Orthodox churches for believers took place⁶.

Latgale received huge loans from Russia for church building, decorating, and improving the mission, also for opening schools. With the help of Polock eparchy, in the time period from 1833 till 1916, 31 churches were built in Latgale (at some places the existing church buildings were renovated), e.g. in Goliševa (1841), Vertulova (1866), Tiskādi (1878), Tilža (1896), Rugāji (1913 – 1914), etc.⁷

When Latgale got united with Latvia in 1920, the work of post-war reconstruction and organization of parish life was initiated there. Church buildings were repaired, new ones were built to replace the destroyed ones, inventory was purchased, etc. The work in this sphere became especially intense after June 24, 1921, when the head of the Orthodox Church of Latvia, Archbishop Jānis (Pommers) visited Riga. In the period of the existence of the independent state of Latvia, 11 new parishes were formed and 17 churches were built and renovated in Latgale. All new churches were built with the support of Latvian government⁸.

After World War II, the situation of the Orthodox as well as other religious confessions grew worse; everything was done to promote distancing from the church. In the post-war years, the number of Orthodox priests was considerably reduced, especially in Latvian parishes, as many priests were forced to leave Latvia or were isolated because of their collaboration with K. Ulmanis' government. In 1950, from about 67 parishes having Orthodox Latvians, only 26 ones had their own priests. During twenty years (1964 – 1984), 25 parishes terminated their action in Riga eparchy. In 1894 there were 87 Orthodox churches in Latvia, 16 of them were Latvian⁹.

At present, Latvian Orthodox parishes still lack priests, many church buildings need repair. However, Zilupe (picture 1) and Krivanda (picture 2) Orthodox churches in Ludza district demonstrate the tendency to build new churches to replace the destroyed ones. Krivanda Orthodox church was damaged in fire in 2000 but already in 2001 the construction of a new building was started. It was similar in Zilupe where the old wooden church building was destroyed in fire in 2004 and soon afterwards a new church was started to be built.

From 11 Orthodox churches in Ludza district, nine have been made of wood. Stone church buildings are only in Vecsloboda (picture 3) and Ludza (picture 4). The oldest Orthodox churches that have been preserved until nowadays are in Brodaiža (picture 5) and Lauveri (picture 6), both of them were built in the mid-18th century. The Orthodox churches constructed in the 19th century have remained in Goliševa (1841) (picture 7), Ludza (1843 – 1845) (picture 4), Pudinava (1862) (picture 8), Vertulova (1866) (picture 9), and Jaunsloboda (1867) (picture 10). In the first half of the 20th century churches were built in Kārsava (1917 – 1918) (picture 11), Vecsloboda (picture 3), and Kvitene (1937) (picture 12). In its turn, Krivanda Orthodox church (picture 2) was built in the first years of the 21st century (2001 – 2004).

The Orthodox churches built in Ludza district have two characteristic types of planning – rectangular and cruciform. Krivanda church (picture 13) has the simpler – rectangular planning with a slightly narrowed altar part. Rectangular planning occurs also in Lauderi (picture 14) where the church has a polygonal altar part, with two antechambers and the oratory separated by partitions in its interior. Vertulova church has a rectangular planning as well, with a narrowed antechamber and polygonal altar part. Cruciform planning can be seen in Brodaiža (picture 15), Goliševa (picture 16), Pudina, Jaunsloboda (picture 17), Kārsava, Kvitene as well as in masonry churches in Ludza and Vecsloboda. Jaunsloboda (picture 17), Kvitene, and Ludza churches have a rectangle altar part, while in the other churches it is polygonal.

The majority of Orthodox churches in Ludza district have two towers – the belfry above the entrance to the building and a bigger or smaller cupola above the central part of the building. Exceptions are Kārsava (picture 11) and Kvitene (picture 12) churches that have the third cupola above the altar part. Vecsloboda Orthodox church (picture 3) has six towers – a belfry and five cupolas above the central part of the building (a bigger cupola in the centre, four ones in the corners). The belfry of Krivanda church (picture 18) is free – standing and situated in some distance from the church, with two small cupolas decorating the building above its central and altar parts. The simplest samples of belfries are in Brodaiža (picture 5), Jaunsloboda (picture 10) and Krivanda (picture 18) where they have a simple quadrangle form. The other church buildings have a more complex variation entailing the combination of quadrangle and polygonal form on several levels.

In Vertulova (picture 9) and Vecsloboda (picture 3), the belfries are topped by an eight-pitched spire with a cross. In Lauderi (picture 6), Pudina (picture 8), Kārsava (picture 11) the octagonal spire is crowned by a round cupola with a cross. In Goliševa (picture 7) and Ludza (picture 4) the belfry is covered by a dome-like covering above which in Ludza Orthodox church there is a high, narrow, polygonal spire. A similar spire crowns the belfry of Kvitene church (picture 12).

The second variation of the tower in most cases is marked by polygonal base that ends in a round dome. This is the case in Lauderi (picture 19), Pudina (picture 8), Vertulova (picture 9), Jaunsloboda (picture 10), Vecsloboda (picture 3), Kvitene (picture 12), and Krivanda (picture 2). The base of the small towers of Kārsava church is cylindrical in form completed by a round dome. Brodaiža (picture 5), Goliševa (picture 7), and Ludza (picture 4) churches have comparatively large domes. In Brodaiža and Goliševa they are of polygonal form with a dome-like covering, in Ludza they are cylindrical. There are window openings in the dome of Goliševa church that provide additional lighting to the church interior.

Horizontal, painted weatherboards are mostly used in the exterior of wooden churches. In Brodaiža (picture 5), Lauderi (picture 19), and Kvitene (picture 12) they are supplemented with vertical weatherboard belts. No weatherboards are used in Krivanda church (picture 2). Ludza (picture 4) and Vecsloboda (picture 3) masonry churches are plastered and painted.

The Orthodox church buildings of Ludza district mostly have ridged roofs (in Lauderi, Jaunsloboda, Kārsava, Krivanda) that are alternated by four-sided roofs (in Brodaiža, Goliševa, Ludza, Vecsloboda, Kvitene) or eight-sided (Pudina, Vertulova) ones.

Ordinary rectangle is the most widespread form of windows and doors (in Lauferi, Goliševa, Vertulova (windows), Kārsava (windows), Vecsloboda, Kvitene, Krivanda) (picture 20). The upper corners of the rectangle may be cleaved off (in Pudina, Vertulova (doors), Jaunsloboda – picture 21). Convex upper edge is present in the window and door design in Brodaiža. Goliševa, Ludza, and Vecsloboda churches have window openings with semi-circumference ending (picture 22).

The exterior of wooden Orthodox church buildings in Latgale is simple and laconic. Rather often towers, cupolas, and the roof above the entrance to the building are the only decorative elements used (in Krivanda – picture 2). The weatherboard direction of the buildings may vary (in Brodaiža – picture 5, Lauferi – picture 19, Kvitene – picture 12).

The corner boards of the buildings as well as door jambs and some other elements are often marked by a different colour tone (in Pudina – picture 8) or another colour, white paint being most widespread (in Brodaiža – picture 5, Lauferi – picture 6, Goliševa – picture 7, Vertulova – picture 9, Jaunsloboda – picture 10).

The decoration of the church exterior is sometimes supplemented by a more complex arrangement of roofs at diverse heights and forms (in Goliševa – picture 7, Pudina – picture 8, Vertulova – picture 9).

Some churches have decorative window jambs (in Lauferi, Pudina, Vertulova, Jaunsloboda – picture 21, Kārsava).

The decorative elements of wood-carvings are used more seldom. They may appear as silhouette carving railings in belfries (in Lauferi – picture 6, Pudina – picture 8) or decorative sub-cornice belts (in Lauferi – picture 6, Jaunsloboda – picture 10, Kārsava – picture 11). Kārsava church must be mentioned in particular as its exterior has many elements of old Russian churches, e.g. wood-carvings in sub-cornice belts, above the windows, the porch, in the pillars of belfry, hammered work in the outer door design. Special mention must be made of the towers with the so-called wooden sock covering that is a unique and single case among the Orthodox church buildings in the territory of Latvia.

Goliševa church building (picture 7) has the rare decoration of cupolas with decorative stars.

Masonry churches in Ludza (picture 4) and Vecsloboda (picture 3) show a much greater use of decorative elements. Ludza church has such elements of Classicism as a massive entrance portico with columns, ornamental sub-cornice belt, etc. Vecsloboda church demonstrates a decorative design of window jambs, corners, and towers, denticles, elements of the fake vault-wall forms.

Painted plank floor is most often used in the church building interior. Exceptions are in Krivanda, where the plank floor is lacquered, and in Vecsloboda where the floor is stone tiled.

The walls of stone church buildings are plastered and painted. In their turn, wooden churches very often have uncoated walls (in Pudina, Krivanda) or boarded ones (in Lauferi, Goliševa, Vertulova, Kārsava) or coated with another material (in Jaunsloboda, Kvitene).

The ceiling in the church buildings may be level (in Lauferi, Goliševa (in transepts), Pudina, Jaunsloboda, Kvitene, Krivanda) or there may be slantings at the junctures of ceilings and walls (in Lauferi, Jaunsloboda, Krivanda). The ceiling of Brodaiža church is level, slightly higher in the central part. There are domes in the central part of some

churches (in Lauderi, Goliševa, Vertulova). Masonry churches in Ludza and Vecsloboda have cylindrical vaults and elevated cupolas in the central part of the building that is of a quadrangle form in Vecsloboda and spherical in Ludza.

Ornamental paintings in the church interior are rather modest. In Lauderi and Goliševa, domes are painted with ornamental stars. Ornamental painting belts are present in Pudinava and Ludza. There is an ornamental star in the centre of the ceiling of Jaunsloboda church. Wall and ceiling paintings with the images of the saints, evangelists, and angels are present only in Ludza Orthodox church.

Balconies above the entrance to the oratory are rather rare in Orthodox churches; they appear only in Jaunsloboda and Vecsloboda church buildings.

Iconostases in the Orthodox churches of Ludza district have from one to four rows of icons thus following the canons of iconostasis of Russian Orthodox churches, yet adapting them to the local possibilities. The simplest iconostasis is in Krivanda church having only one row of icons. Two rows are present in the iconostases of Brodaiža, Vertulova, Jaunsloboda, Kvitene churches; three rows – in Lauderi, Goliševa, Ludza, and Vecsloboda. The iconostasis with four rows of icons of Pudinava church (picture 23) is the only one with this number of icon rows in the whole territory of Latgale.

In the conclusion, I would like to mention Zilupe Orthodox church (picture 1) that was built in the first third of the 20th century and destroyed by the fire in 2004, on the site of which the construction of a new masonry church building is taking place at present. This wooden church testifies to the fact that the legacy of wooden architecture is endangered enough to prove the necessity of the research that would inscribe into the history of architecture also those buildings, the life of which is not as long as that of the masonry ones.

Orthodox wooden churches in Latgale form a special part of the architectural legacy that is characteristic exceptionally of the region of Latgale that also reflects the historico-cultural situation.

¹ Гаврилин А. *Очерки истории Рижской епархии*. Рига, Филадельфия, 1999. – с. 13.

² Заварина А. *Русское наследие Восточной Латвии во второй половине 19 – начале 20 века*. Рига, 1986. – с. 39.

³ Гаврилин А. *Очерки истории Рижской епархии*. Рига, Филадельфия, 1999. – с. 11–12.

⁴ Ibid. – с. 19–20.

⁵ Сахаров С. *Православные церкви в Латгалии*. Рига, Авторское издание, 1939. – с. 7.

⁶ Trojanovskis V. *Ludzas zeme*. Ludza: A. Rancāna izdevniecība, 2005. – 24. lpp.

⁷ Сахаров С. *Православные церкви в Латгалии*. Рига, Авторское издание, 1939.

⁸ Ibid. – с. 10–11.

⁹ Balevics Z. *Pareizticīgo baznīca Latvijā*. Riga: Avots, 1987. – 142.–143. lpp.

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Picture 1. *Zilupe Orthodox church*



Picture 2. *Krivanda Orthodox church*



Picture 3. *Vecsloboda Orthodox church*



Picture 4. *Ludza Orthodox church*



Picture 5. *Brodaiža Orthodox church*

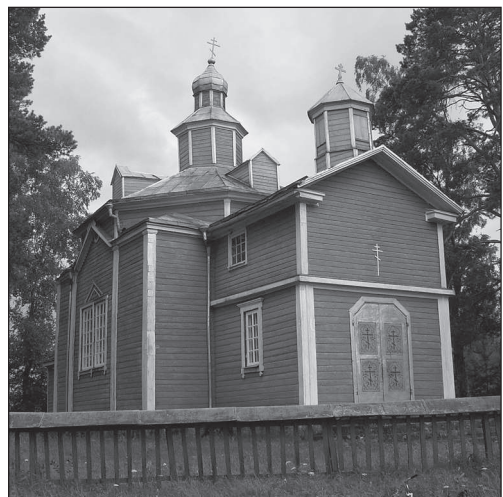
Picture 6.
Lauderi Orthodox church



Picture 7.
Goliševa Orthodox church.



Picture 8. *Pudnova Orthodox church*



Picture 9. *Vertulova Orthodox church*



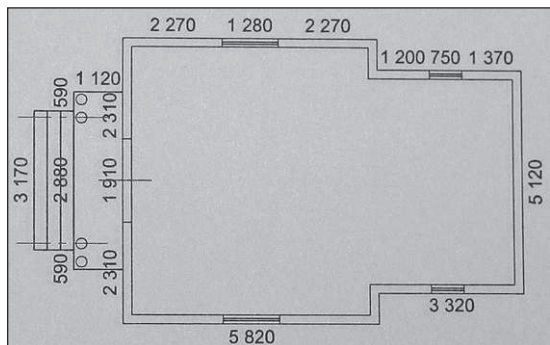
Picture 10.
Jaunsloboda Orthodox church



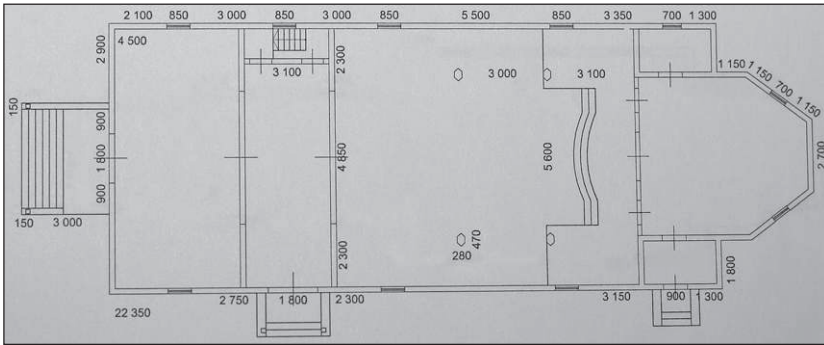
Picture 11.
Kārsava Orthodox church



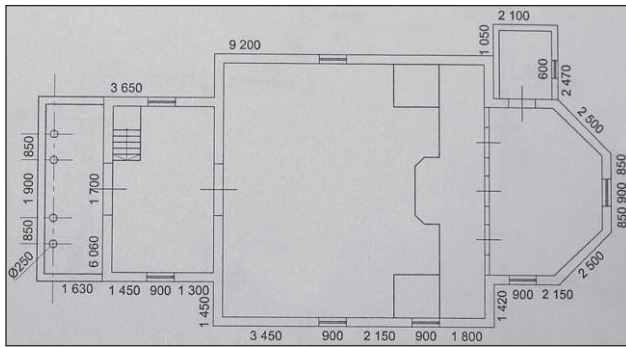
Picture 12. *Kvitaine Orthodox church*



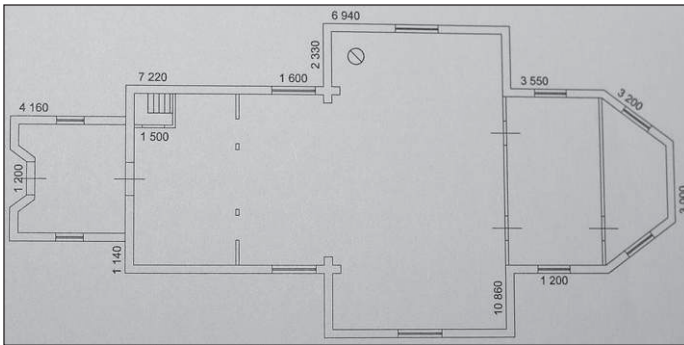
Picture 13.
Krivanda Orthodox church layout



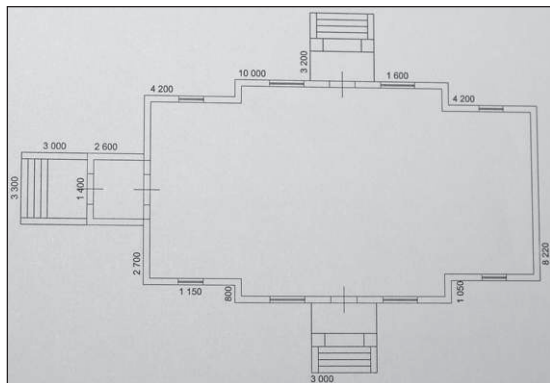
Picture 14. *Lauderi Orthodox church layout*



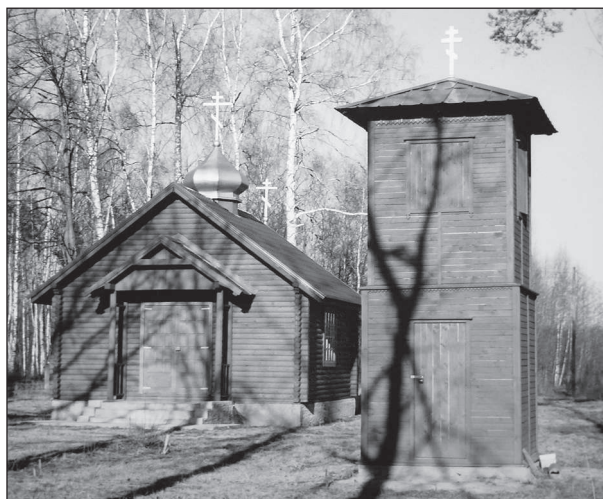
Picture 15. *Brodaiža Orthodox church layout*



Picture 16.
Goliševa Orthodox church layout



Picture 17.
Jaunsloboda Orthodox church layout



Picture 18.
Krivanda Orthodox church belfry



Picture 19. *Lauderī Orthodox church cupolas*



Picture 20.
Kvitaine Orthodox church window



Picture 21.
Jaunsloboda Orthodox church window



Picture 22. *Vecsloboda Orthodox church window*



Picture 23. *Pudinova Orthodox church iconostasis*

Valda Čakša

LATGALIAN TRADITIONAL CULTURE AND REGIONAL IDENTITY: PLACES OF CULTURAL MEMORY AND SYMBOLS

Summary

In the 21st century, attention to the regional (local) history and culture is one of the main tendencies in the research of the past and simultaneously it is the premise of the community development because the global and national culture and their regularities reveal themselves demonstratively and in an itemised way exactly in the fate of historical regions, whereas the past and people's experience become more particular and individual.

The way of production, the kind of people's existence, the motivation of life and work change at the turn of historico-cultural ages, the system of values changes, the position of the person has been re-evaluated in the micro- and macro-environment. Every activity of a person includes the mutual relationships of people and takes place in the context of culture experience.

Culture experience entails knowledge, confidence, and skills acquired by people. Experience is one's mediated attitude to the world, peers, oneself through the expression of the essence of the person's nature. Experience is a general and necessary condition of human existence, a natural skill that provides his/her adapting and survival, cognition and communication, i.e. the competences of culture maintenance.

Culture as 'a cohesive substance' unites people into regional, national, ethnic subcultural and other groups. If effective mechanisms of culture inheritance are sustained over generations, the community continues to maintain vitality, which means to maintain one's own identity as long as it is linked to a particular culture. A person in the culture perceives the phenomena of ethnic community through the characters and similarities of the emotional experience. If they are re-echoed in the experience, experience itself has been recognised.

The rights of all people, families, and social groups to maintain, preserve, and renew the heritage of their own culture and language despite their territorial location can be comprehended by the notion 'identity of culture'. Culture aspects, which are included into the basic values, entail the traditions of applied art, social traditions (the traditions of clothes, cooking, home design, the methods of health care, etc.), music and arts (traditional dances, songs, folk applied arts, etc.). The rituals and symbols that are characteristic of a religion include the perspectives of ethnicity development. Their explanation, comprehension, maintenance, and further commitment have been implemented into education, communication, collaboration, and interactions in the context of the family, social and regional community.

The community of culture in time and society consists of several components, the most important of which are traditional or folk culture (historically inherited), mass culture (introduced by mass media), academic (formed system of education), elitist

(narrow range culture of professional indicators and supporters). These culture fields are not strictly separated from each other, they supplement one another, although there are also essential contradictions among them.

Representation of a region first of all reveals itself in the monuments of culture that preserve historical memory and are symbols important to the regional cultural identity. The data gained in interviews show that the most significant places of cultural memory for inhabitants of the region are related to the Catholic Church, regional language, and tradition. In Latgale, religion intermingling with locality has filled up not only spiritual life but has also created significant objects of art and architecture that still continue to influence Latgalian esthetical – artistic perception of life thus strengthening the sense of belonging and unity.

Interviews draw us to the conclusion that the most important symbol in Latgale is the sacred sight of Aglona. As the second the well-known monument dedicated to the unification of Latgale with the rest of Latvia – ‘Latgales Māra’ (Mary of Latgale) has been mentioned. The third place in importance is attributed by the respondents to regional folk songs. The fourth is roadside crucifix as the symbol of suffering Latgale has experienced. The fifth symbol is a specific form of music, which has developed in Latgalian musical culture under Jesuit influence, and is still kept in the countryside – singing of psalms or ‘officium’ of the deceased. It is not characteristic of other parts of Latvia. As the sixth important symbol, the journal ‘Katōļu Dzeive’ (Catholic Life) has been named that nowadays provides Latgalians of older generation with an opportunity to read in Latgalian.

Symbols just mentioned can be evaluated as mediators, as pillars in the process of preserving Latgalian social memory and passing it over to next generations. In the Latgalian cultural memory, these symbols representing regional culture sustain the idea of the common space of Latgalians; besides they help to preserve the criteria of regional identity and mechanisms of exclusion.

Key-words: Latgale, culture memory, identity, symbol

*

The issues of national and regional culture identity become more and more urgent under the impact of the processes of globalization and the development of information technologies in the contemporary world. The growth and improvement of communication and information technologies create beneficial grounds for merging of the culture elements of many nations; as a result of these processes, the human consciousness is deformed or there is a loss of the sense of belonging to a particular culture, thus creating a more or less conscious sense of insecurity and psychological discomfort. In the understanding of the traditional culture and national identity we cannot decline from the immediacy of our existential sensation or its flat denial. Pēteris Laķis pointed out some time ago that national identity is determined by a dominant of unity that has been formed during several cycles of development, an unconscious turn of archetype – the historical fate, temporally spatial relation, and contradictory political and economic developments of the order of the epoch¹.

This standpoint shows that the awareness of the past events and history is gradually developed in the modern human’s thinking, without being constantly present in the

circulation of knowledge. The notion of history as a cycle of spiritual past is usually perceived by the society in a mediated way. Its spiritual activities are focused on the present but are realized in a flow, in which the very experience gradually fades away sustaining a separate image of the reflection of the past in the individual consciousness². Hence, in the culture of the awareness of the reality structures of each identifiable social group, there is an interaction of the past (memory) and self-creation in the context of the regional culture symbols. According to the notion of the social memory, the memory subject is an individual or a social group (the historically changing principles of its identification in this case are secondary) but the very notion is directed towards explicating the researched processes³ in the context of the dynamics of the values of social unity. Thinking and remembering are in fact both individual, social, and even public – they naturally abide at homes, in the yards, on the market-place or town square, in an architectural ensemble, work of art, book, etc. Thinking and remembering take place not only as ‘the events in one’s head’ but as a circulation dominated by what J. George Herbert Meads calls significant symbols – words, gestures, sounds of music, equipment, mechanisms, natural objects – everything that is directly used to endow sense to the experience and memory⁴, sustain the continuity of the traditional culture.

The regional culture identity is determined by three major indicators: first, the geographical particularity of the region, its distinct marking off from other regions in space; second, the chronological particularity of the region, its distinct marking off from other regions in time; third, the scope of the problems to study that refer to the independence and individuality of the region in the particular period of time and territory, as problems are those that reflect and even form the cultural peculiarity of the region and its difference from other regions. Thus, the borders of the culture identity of a region may slightly shift both in time and space (in line with the evolution of the political and economic situation, administrative changes in its territory and closest vicinities).

The theoretical notion of the identity has been elaborated by the American philosopher Erich Fromm who, proceeding from the typology of human needs, proved that the sense of community is the first essential human need. He argues that in isolation a person loses culture standards as without mass information people lose the second essential need – creativity in transforming the world. The creative act means self-liberation and persistence⁵; there is a dormant experience of power in each person⁶, and in creative action a person reveals a new world for him/herself, realizes his or her inner strength that is present in each individual. In his or her creative moments, each person is a reconnoiter in the unknown present and future. By perceiving, sensing, anticipating what has not yet been materialized, the human spirit points out the direction of culture harmonization and healing. The third human need is his or her wish of knowing his or her roots – belonging to a family, community, that means by respecting culture traditions recognize each human’s intuitive wisdom for sustaining the values created by the people. It means to cultivate respect and lenience as a culture principle. The fourth essential need is related to the human strivings to cognize the world outside and inside oneself; the fifth one is the need of life orientation that is revealed in the wish to align with, adore, become similar to the generally recognized personified image. The more complex and shifting the culture reality in the society, the higher level of thinking and perception along with the change of the attitude system is required from the individual. Hence, the problem of identity and synergy is very important in culturology. It is understood that

a person looks for patterns in his or her closest milieu, simultaneously getting to know oneself. Yet it is only theoretically possible to imagine a person who has fully realized his or her subjective individuality, as in the real life the individual's notion about him or herself as well as about the world constantly changes – the reality is perceived in the context of the practical experience and value system of the individual. Each human being identifies him/herself with a social group: family, ethnos, nation, race, humankind; the act of identification is one of the most fundamental uniting forces of the humanity. In the development of humankind, culture forms a system of interactions that reacts to changes in the society and tries to balance the failings and satisfy the new needs; culture drives the person away from getting stuck in stereotypes, insensibility, or a primitive stage of the emotional development; culture creates the spiritual maturity, its sense is public⁷; culture develops the individual's ability to feel and emotionally check the functioning of the community becoming sure of his/her significant belonging to it. In turn, ethnic awareness is individual's identification with the historical past of a social group; it emphasizes the idea of one's 'roots' and forms the experience of the inheritance of traditional culture symbols, signs, personifications. According to Clifford Geertz, what the human being is like may be so closely intertwined with where s/he is, who s/he is and what s/he believes, that it is hard to disentangle these things⁸. The thinker regards that there is in truth no such a person who would not be affected by the customs of a particular location; there have never been such and it is in fact impossible for such people to come into being⁹. Hence, the mechanism of the understanding of the traditional culture is based on the retrospective understanding of the history of the ethnos. Reconstruction of the past events from the present perspective is the only option provided for the individual or a social group of acquiring the experience that is temporally located beyond the limits of the cycle of physical existence, gaining, according to Paul Ricoeur, the notion of one's own generation concerning the sense of what happened once¹⁰. The need for integrating the past into the collective experience becomes especially urgent at the time of consolidating new ideologies when the cultural values and social groups existing in a particular society are parallelly transformed.

In the cultural context, the notions *ethnic* and *national* are very often used as synonyms. Yet it must be noted that the ethnic in the everyday meaning is basically associated with language and other culture and psychological factors, whereas the national – also with the socio-economic ones. In a historical perspective, the notion of the ethnic is wider, entailing the whole ethnic history of the people from tribes to the modern nation, whereas in the present perspective the notion of the national is more extensive, entailing nation not only in the ethnic but also the economic and political aspects. Taking into consideration that an important factor in finding or regaining one's culture identity is sustaining its external features, in the cultural memory also the code of ethnic conduct is emphasized along with the symbolism of attire, marking of space, linguistic competence as well as presenting new cultural forms. It is stressed that the individual soul is specific and different from the world sensation of other peoples and the historical experience of symbol formation.

Jāzeps Brolišs in the 1990s pointed out that there was a lack of fundamental research in Latvia dealing with the problems and notions of the relations of the Latgalian and the Latvian, common Latvian, and the regional. The few existing articles or statements were marked by him as emotionally subjective because the external insignificant features

in them dominated the objectively existing, generalizations lacked persuasive argumentation. When comparing the regional to the common Latvian, the emphasis was usually placed not on the uniting but on insignificant differences, sometimes in total detachment from the context of the historical development¹¹.

At present we have an access to the voluminous research of the history of Latgalian culture by Pēteris Zeile where chapter 11 is dedicated to the relation between the Latgalian ethno-mentality and the regional culture. The author regards that culture is unthinkable without the embodiment of the features characteristic of a people, an ethnos in particular values:

Ja latgaliešu kultūru uzskatām par latviešu nacionālās kultūras savdabīgu variantu, nevis slāvu, – poļu, krievu, baltkrievu – vai kādu citu svešzemnieku konglomerātu (kā dažkārt tiek raksturots), tad šo kultūras izpratni neaizsniegsim bez latgaliešu etnomentālītātes skaidrojuma.¹²

[If we consider the Latgalian culture as a peculiar variant of the Latvian national culture, not of the Slavic – Polish, Russian, Belarusian – or other foreign conglomerate (as it is sometimes characterized), then we will not reach an understanding of this culture without an account of Latgalian ethno-mentality.]

He points out that ethno-mentality is formed by the peculiarities of the character, psychology, language, traditions, attitude towards the world and one another, characteristic of a certain human community. Referring to the former Daugavpils Pedagogical Institute, now Telaviv University (Israel) professor Joels Veinbergs' idea who relates mentality also with the totality of the intellectual peculiarities of an individual, Zeile notes that mentality is the spiritual tool of the human and his or her psychological equipment that makes it possible for the human to orientate in his or her natural and social environment, perceive it and oneself in it. Mentality is closely related to language as a human thinks in his/her native language and carries along the image and sensation of the native land. P. Zeile acknowledges that, due to ethno-mentality and the related culture traditions, the Latvians living in Latgale have turned down everything that is alien and unacceptable to their traditional culture:

Ja Vidzemē 19. gs. samērā plaši apvidi pieņēma carisma uzspiesto pareizticību, tad Latgalē neizdevās radīt nevienu – pat vismazāko – pareizticīgo draudzi. Latgalieši nepieņēma kirilicas rakstību piedāvāto drukas aizlieguma laikā, konsekventi palika uzticīgi latīņu rakstības kultūrai. Arī nevienu preses izdevumu neizdeva gotu burtiem.¹³

[If in Livland in the 19th century rather wide regions accepted Orthodoxy imposed by the tsarist regime, then in Latgale they failed to found a single – even the minutest – Orthodox parish. Latgalians did not accept the Cyrillic script that was offered to them during the ban on printing, remaining faithful to the culture of Latin script. Neither a single press publication was issued in Gothic script.]

Zeile has studied the process of the Latgalian culture history as profoundly as no one else in Latvia making sure of the following:

[..] neraugoties uz vairākus gadsimtus ilgo dzīvošanu līdzās vecticībniekiem, pareizticības ekspansijas, slavizācijas nemitīgiem centieniem, latgaļi tiecās sargāt savu etnosa tīrību, paglābties no asimilācijas. Viņi izvairījās no jauktām ģimenēm,

laulībām ar citu konfesiju un tautību piederīgajiem. Zemnieka samērā noslēgtā, ikdienišķajos ritmos esošā pasaule (sava sēta, lauks, mežs, upe, kaimiņi, pagasts, sava baznīca, zināmi cilvēki ar atpazīstamiem raksturiem utt.) veidojusi arī lielā mērā blīvu un koncentrētu etnomentālo jomu.¹⁴

[...] Notwithstanding the fact of living for centuries side by side with old-believers, the incessant strivings of the expansion of Orthodoxy and Slavianization, Latgalians tended to save the purity of their ethnos avoiding assimilation. They avoided mixed families, marriage with the representatives of other religious confessions and ethnicities. The rather closed world of a peasant living in the everyday rhythms (one's own homestead, field, wood, river, neighbours, parish, church, familiar people with well-known characters, etc.) has formed also a quite dense and concentrated ethno-mental sphere.]

The author points out that the emotional gain and support that Latgalians received from their community characterized by a stability of ethnic values and traditions was really profound and complete. In Latgale there were historically formed traditions of good relations with people of other nationalities due to the large amount of non-Latvians living in the region. The minority nationalities in Latgale were basically formed as historical communities that have existed along with Latgalians in the mosaic of regional culture sustaining their ethnic identity. As concerns Latgalians, Zeile indicates that they are a historically formed sub-ethnos characterized by its own culture, traditions, specific values that does not have any grounds for denying its own mentality¹⁵, the traditional Latgalian culture has a particular place, role, and significance in the contemporary national culture landscape of Latvia and its investigation is an important task of the research institutions in the region.

In this context, the philologists and historians of the Faculty of Humanities and Law of Rēzekne Higher Education Institution in cooperation with Milano University Languages Centre (Italy), Adam Mickiewicz University (Poland), Stockholm University (Sweden), and the Latvian Studies Centre of Vytautas Magnus University have been carrying out for the third year a voluminous research project *Regional Languages in the Contemporary Europe*, in the framework of which the researchers study the language use in Eastern Latvia, at the same time investigating the traditional culture and the basis and symbols supporting the regional identity in Latgale. In the framework of the second stage of the project, an expansive questionnaire of the inhabitants of Latgale was carried out (the total planned number of respondents being 13,000), the data are processed by the professionals of Milano University Languages Centre. The questionnaire results were presented at the international research conference *Ethnicity in Europe: Socio-political and Culture Processes* (24 – 26 May, 2007, Rēzekne). Participation in the project makes it possible for the author of the present article to refer to some positions of the questionnaire data that prove Joseph Rotchild's idea that the individual's spiritual needs or search for the sense and understanding of life are fulfilled by the sense of belonging to and identifying with an ethnic group¹⁶, at the same time revealing an essential feature of the traditional culture of the region – communication among the people belonging to different ethnic cultures. Figure 1 represents the replies of approximately 5,000 respondents (12 to 80 years of age) to the question Q 0205: **Do you consider yourself a Latvian, Russian, Latgalian, Belarusian, Polish, Jew, Soviet person?**

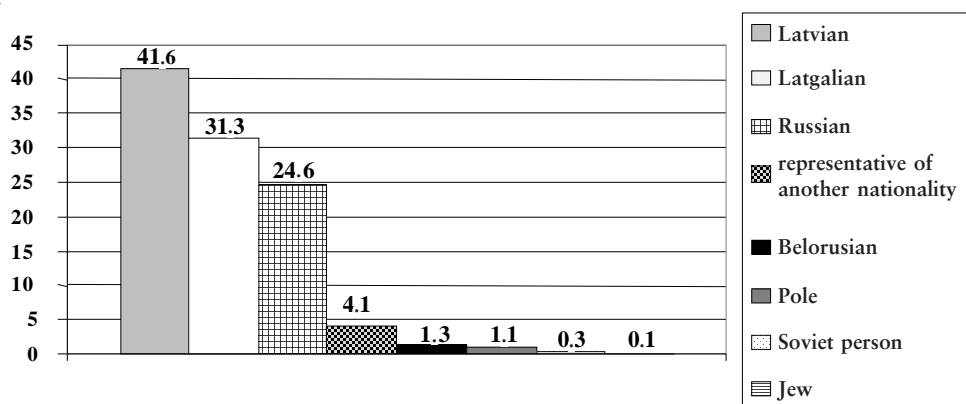


Figure 1

The emotional gain and support that the individual receives from the community characterized by a stability of ethnic values and traditions may be really profound and complete. Though the rate of non-Latvians in Latgale is high, the citizens of the Republic of Latvia entail 80.9% from the total number of the population in the region that is higher than in Riga (60.8%), Kurzeme (77.7%), and Zemgale (79.4%), but lower than in Vidzeme (89.3%). This may be accounted for by the fact that the ethnic minority communities living in Latgale have safeguarded the sustenance and inheritance of the collective memory by means of material images (memorials, gravestones, architecture objects, etc.) that both express and sustain and also form the national memory. It is certified by the sense of belonging to a particular community of the people living in Latgale represented in Figure 3. The non-Latvian communities in Latgale are basically formed by Slavic peoples, the largest of which is Russian. The questionnaire shows that among the people of Latvian nationality the elder people (over 50 years of age) identify themselves as Latgalians, whereas the representatives of the younger generation of the region as well as immigrants from other regions identify themselves as Latvians. These identifying values reveal the development of the national (Latvian) culture representing the central aspect of the ideological system of the Latvian state and the contemporary public opinion. Yet slightly more than one third of the inhabitants of the region who have participated in the survey still identify themselves as Latgalians grounding their position by referring to the culture roots that being inherited from generation to generation still sustain, support, and keep the elements of Latgalian traditional culture and Latgalian self-awareness.

Like a number of Latgalian émigrés, these respondents consider that Latgalian self-awareness was consolidated in the first half of the 20th century¹⁷ with the growing synthesis of the Latgalian and the Latvian in the society of a single country, yet that time was especially favourable for the exploration, preservation, and sustenance of the Latgalian culture. The most significant regional culture symbols mentioned by the respondents are the following: 1) **the written Latgalian language**, pointing out that Latgale is the only territory in the world where it is used, improved, and developed as a means of communication not only in the everyday life but also in mass media and fiction; 2) Latgalian mentality and regional culture is promoted by **observing the traditions of**

the Catholic church; 3) the Latgalian is preserved in family traditions and everyday life. It is undeniable that the triad of language, religion, and family is the spiritual base of each person and any culture, but the cultural identity entails the person's rights to keep, develop, regenerate the cultural legacy of his or her family and social community.

Interviews with the respondents prove that the strivings and encodings related to ethno-mentality have greatly contributed to sustaining Latgalian culture memory in a more or less homogeneous way organic to the ethnos, with the features of a certain style in particular kinds and manifestations of the spiritual and also material culture – traditions of crafts and everyday life (clothing, cuisine, interior decoration, health care, etc.), music and art (traditional dances, songs, folk applied art, etc.), religious rituals and symbols. This justifies Zeile's opinion that the phenomenon of ethno-mentality creates an antidote in the situation when alien forces break into the ethnic culture carrying along their own symbols, texts, patterns¹⁸, as in dangerous situations for the self-preservation of the ethnic culture forces are created that promote explaining, sustaining, and passing over, implementing it in education, communication, cooperation, interactions both in the context of the family and social or regional culture activities¹⁹. However, not all social groups of the society are capable of creating forces on the state level that facilitate the preservation of culture identity.

Part of the respondents emphasized that a significant role in sustaining and passing over the culture tradition is to be attributed to the political activities of the community members, as civic involvement facilitates the culture aspects present in the basic values (language, religion, family). Respondents indicated that the impact of the historical situation, i.e. the state ideology on the development of a particular people and its traditional culture is not always favourable for the preservation of the specific features of the region. Yet, according to Pierre Nora's idea of the acceleration of history²⁰, it is possible to argue that disappearance of particular social formations, processes, and traditions in the course of the modernization of the society at the same time facilitates new collective identity manifestations as was also testified by the respondents. The majority of them consider that the traditional culture of the region is flexible and manifold, but in the course of history it was often politicized. Respondents thus justify Rotchild's idea that politization emphasizes, ideologizes, materializes, modifies, and sometimes creates anew the seemingly unique legacy of the ethnic culture, especially at a time when these groups are subject to the impact of universal science and culture of technology:

[..] zinātnes, tehnikas un organiskās savstarpējās ekonomiskās atkarības globalizācija ir nelīdzens un nekārtīgs process, kas dažiem reģioniem un grupām sniedz priekšrocības un atvieglo tām šo priekšrocību un izdevīgo starta pozīciju strukturālo konsolidāciju, citus reģionus un grupas nododot marginalitātei un subordinācijai.²¹

[[..] Globalization of science, technology, and the naturally mutual economic dependence is a rough and disorderly process that for some regions and groups provides privileges and makes it easier for them to consolidate these privileges and the advantageous start positions, while marginalizing and subordinating other regions and groups.]

The majority of the respondents acknowledged that in the course of history the inhabitants of Latgale region have faced many times a different attitude arousing psychological discomfort. Yet a part of the respondents admitted that for some groups of the

population the historical conditions have been more favourable than they are at present. One may conclude that the sense of belonging is affected by the guarantees of the economic and culture possibilities as well as the political and social rights. This cultural factor is exemplified by some positions of the question Q 1901: **What is more important for you – to feel that you belong to a certain village/town, Latgale, Latvia, Russia, the former Soviet Union, the Baltic region, Europe, other territory?**

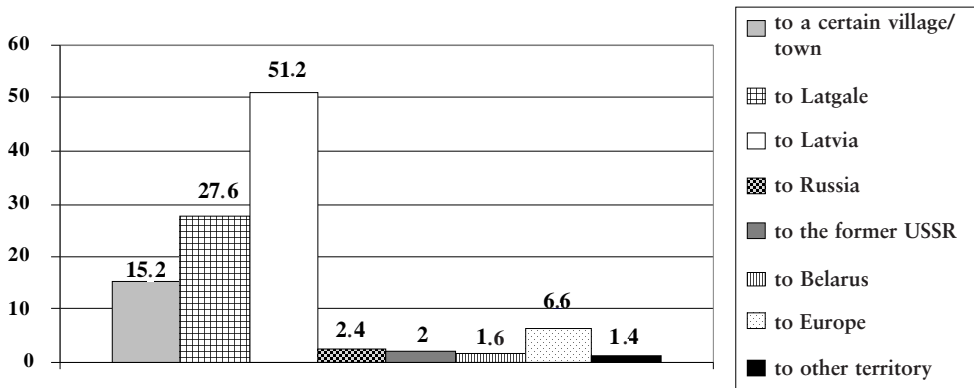


Figure 2

E.g. 2.0% of respondents (over 40 years of age – V. Č.) still consider themselves as belonging to the former USSR, i.e. they live according to the range of the past values, feeling nostalgic of the time when everyone was granted employment, old age pensions, free health care, etc. However, 6.6% of respondents indicated in this position that they felt as belonging to Europe. Those were young people²² who had related their education or employment with a location outside Latvia or were planning to do it.

Theories²³ emphasize that the features of a particular culture like language, religion, family belonging are primeval in the sense that people acquire them already before acquiring a more distinct economic and political identity, self-awareness, and loyalty.

Šīs iezīmes ir dzīvības un dzīves kultūras dāvātie dotumi, kas nav pašsaprotami (kaut arī nepieciešami), lai tos, kam tie piemīt, mobilizētu iekšēji saliedētās, pašapzinīgās, konkurētspējīgās nacionālās grupās.²⁴

[These features are the givens presented by life and living culture that are not self-evident (though necessary) to mobilize those who possess them in internally consolidated, self-aware, competitive national groups.]

The sense of territorial identity urges to analyze not only the culture processes but also the politico-economic regularities as from the socio-cultural standpoint the abstract notion of society characterizes a fixed state at a particular moment rather than a process, the life of society. Belonging that is based on personification determines the communion of people including the existence of nations as well as the quality of social relations and their development at a particular historical situation. This quality and trend of development are characterized by culture values, symbols, and norms that regulate both the interactions among individuals and those of material and non-material values and human relations with the natural environment²⁵. Belonging to a national community makes

human self-respect strong and enduring. Besides, this kind of deeply felt and profoundly rooted quite personal ethnic identity may be a politically and psychologically important factor for the mass society of the contemporary age that is often characterized by a shallow and irregular communication with chance acquaintances, unstable values and limited, functional interest groups. The individual's capability to accept the new and untraditional, his or her wish to be related and together with something or somebody characterizes culture tolerance – the ability of identification.

The American sociologist G. Abramson has worked out a typology of personifications that reveals several peculiar contemporary culture identity forms: a) *traditionalist type* (having integrated as culture minorities compensating their marginality and instability of their social status with creative activity); b) *'incomer' – neophyte type* (having adapted to an ethnic system, yet it does not form their spiritual world); c) *the expelled type* (having totally lost their primary social bonds and relation to their culture tradition); d) *eunuch type* (having lost memories of any culture past)²⁶. This typology focuses the researcher's attention on the contemporary culture phenomena and the causes facilitating or, on the contrary, impeding the preservation and sustenance of the ethnic culture of the region. For the older generation of Latgalians belonging to the Latgalian is a self-evident and essential part of their lives, whereas for the young people the Latgalian as a significant factor was mentioned in the questionnaires of those youths who were engaged in folklore groups or other creative communities (choirs, theatre, interest groups, etc.) or parish activities, thus proving that the dense Latgalian culture values having been created during centuries and generations long work and creativity must be discovered anew for each generation that starting its life can turn them into a part of their lives and activities. At the same time, the people who are new-comers to the particular settlement are rather indifferent to the culture values significant for Latgalians.

To make out the basic factors of belonging to a community, the question Q3101 was included in the questionnaire: *Do you think that language or adherence to a particular religious faith affects the formation of the community?*

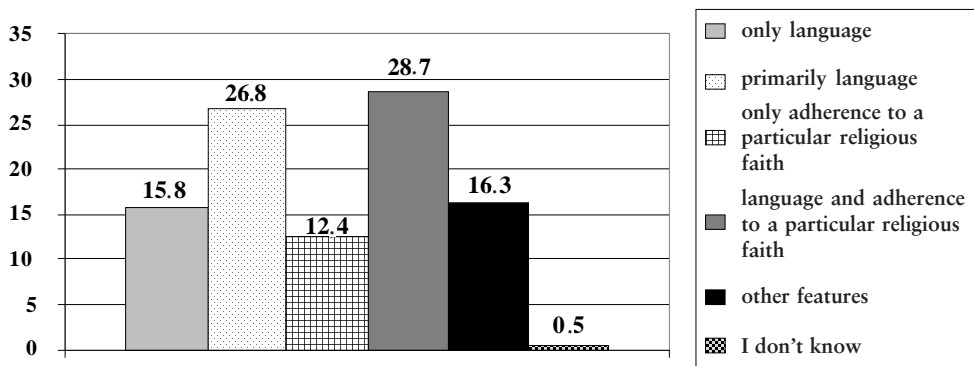


Figure 3

The replies to this question were provided by 4,540 respondents, 3,464 replies of them being feasible (according to the indicators of feasibility included in the questionnaires); 28.7% of respondents pointed out that the factors of language and adherence to a religious faith are inseparable and together they affect the formation of

social community. Respondents of older generation acknowledged that language as a major factor of culture identity is simultaneously a means of communication among the members of the community – language facilitates the mutual understanding of the individuals and groups for the sustenance of the common ‘life world’. The respondents of the younger generation pointed out the reduction of the significance of the native language in the conditions of globalization. For young people, mastering foreign languages is more important at present as the proficiency in foreign languages provides a possibility by means of EU projects to get into the international circulation and thus facilitate the social, economic, and culture development of the region. According to the younger respondents, the native language is significant basically for family and the local community culture traditions, the basic values of which form the culture identity of the region of Latgale. Discussing the notion of regional identity, the majority of the respondents interpreted it as the rights of all ethnic groups living in the region of Latgale to maintain, develop, regenerate, and sustain their national culture legacy (language as well as religious traditions), thus acknowledging the tradition of multiculturalism of Latgale. In turn, as concerns the major symbols of the Latgalian culture, the majority of respondents indicated that the image of the region is most distinctly manifested in the *cultural monuments* that keep the historical memory of the people. Notwithstanding the time of origin, material and the aim of creation, the past culture products having any historical, archeological, ethnographical or other value in their essence are significant symbols of the regional culture identity²⁷. This idea stated in the Latvian Conversation Dictionary (1936) is testified to by the students of history research supervised by the author of the present article on the individual and group social memory. Students within the framework of study courses *Social memory in history* and *Social memory in pupils’ research works* have carried out questionnaire surveys in their native districts and towns for many years in order to make out the notions of the people of symbols that sustain the understanding of the regional and culture identity. The data acquired in questionnaires, life-stories, interviews, memories and other narratives prove Boļeslavs Brežgo’s idea that the *Catholic church* is Latgalian culture symbol number one, followed by the *folk life-style and the practice of upbringing cultivating the virtue of labour, craft skills and the sense of beauty*²⁸, as well as Jānis Broks’ thought that

[..] visi svarīgie latgaļu dzīves brīži no dzimšanas līdz kapam ir saistīti un piepildīti ar reliģiskām tradīcijām un no tām izrietošiem svinību pārdzīvojumiem. Reliģiskais un nacionālais elements pa gadu simtiem ir tik cieši kopā saaudzis, ir atradis tik stipru sintēzi, ka viens bez otra ir nepilnīgs, mazākais – vairs nav Latgales ieraša.²⁹

[[..] all most important moments of Latgalian’s life from birth till the grave are related to and filled with religious traditions and the according experience of celebration. The religious and national elements have got so closely intertwined in the course of centuries and found so powerful synthesis that one is incomplete without another or at least loses its Latgalian character.]

One may thus conclude that, in the Latgalian traditional culture, the religious factor is the one that interacting with the regional has not only filled the spiritual life but also created significant architecture and art objects that from the present perspective are evaluated as the evidence of the common history, places of memory, symbols of the ethnic and culture identity.

The summary of the data acquired in questionnaires reveals the centrality of the religious dominant in Latgalian culture memory. *The sacred place of Aglona (Aglona basilica)* is considered the major symbol of Latgalian culture; during August pilgrimages it unites the Catholics not only from Latvia but also from many regions of Europe.

The second significant symbol is the monument dedicated to the uniting of Latgale with the rest of Latvia, the popular *Māra of Latgale – a young girl that has raised a cross against the free blue sky telling about the immortality of God and humanity as well as her ideals of freedom*³⁰ and who has nowadays become an integral part of wedding celebrations as well as presentations of various public events.

The third significant symbol of Latgalian traditional culture integrating both the religious and secular culture elements mentioned by the respondents is folk songs of the region of Latgale. Musicologists emphasize two features when analyzing them in the context of Latvian music: 1) *quantitatively extensive and manifold manifestations of the sacred component testifying to the presence of the religious views in the everyday life of the people*³¹, their polyphonic character reveals the particularity of the national art that the cosmopolitan culture has not yet managed to destroy³². The fourth symbol according to the respondents' opinion is the *symbol of suffering of Latgale – the roadside crucifix that has since long ago functioned as a place of halt where one has to take off a hat, cross oneself paying honour to the image of Christ*³³. As these crucifixes were mostly made by folk woodcarvers, they still demonstrate not only the aesthetic traditions of Latgalian folk woodcarving but also the religious traditions of Latgalians. In some rural places, e.g. Murmastiena, liturgy songs are still performed in honour of Virgin Mary by the roadside crucifixes in May. This tradition in Murmastiena is nowadays modernized by involving youth and adjusting the liturgical singing to the contemporary technological possibilities performing them with the accompaniment of the guitar or synthesizer. Discarding the traditional melodies of singing and adjusting them to the instrument technical rhythm deform the dynamics of the tradition, yet the tradition as such is preserved³⁴.

Like the roadside or village crucifix, the religious dominant in Latgalian culture is revealed by the fifth symbol – *psalm singing* that was introduced under the influence of Jesuit activities in the religious music culture of Latgale and is still preserved in rural areas and is not characteristic of other regions of Latvia. Psalm singing originated as a variety of prayer in the 8th century. In Catholic churches in Europe these singings were traditionally performed in Latin but in Latgale since the late 18th century Catholics have sung them in Latgalian. M. Boiko points out that the spread of the tradition was affected by the book of prayers *Nabożeństwo ku czci y chwale Boga w Trójcy Świętej Jedynego* (Book of Prayers for the Honour of God in the Holy Trinity, 1771) that was produced and published by Jesuits. It entailed both prayers and songs and admonitions of faith in Latgalian³⁵. Psalm singing as an integral part of praying for the dead and the living has been gradually folklorized in the traditional culture of Latgale becoming a part of folk music in the form of 'common prayers'.

The journal *Katōļu Dzeive* (Catholic Life) is mentioned as the sixth symbol of Latgalian identity that nowadays for the older generation people helps keeping literacy in Latgalian, but the seventh – Jānis Streičs' feature film *Cilvēka bērns* (The Child of Man) that is referred to by a number of respondents as an encyclopaedia of the Latgalian mentality, wisdom of life, and the religious upbringing in family.

These symbols on the whole are mediatory supports of the Latgalian social memory, its preservation, sustenance and passing over. In the Latgalian culture memory, these symbols represent the regional culture and facilitate the notion of the common territory of Latgalians as well as the inclusion and exclusion mechanisms of their identity.

Joseph Rotchild in his work *Ethnopolitics: Conceptual Standpoints* (1999)³⁶ indicates seven criteria of ethnic identification (race, kinship, religion, language, traditional lifestyle, regionalism, the political experience of individuals within the framework of political institutions), yet he considers that none of them individually is sufficient for the solidarity of the ethnic groups³⁷. The author argues that religion for many peoples has historically been the major sphere of solidarity and the initial ethnic consolidation that nowadays has given its role in national consolidation over to language. The data acquired within projects demonstrate that the Latgalian language still belongs to a particular social community and is one of the most significant criteria of ethnic identification. The Latgalian language in the region of Latgale performs two major functions: 1) language as a means of communication and 2) language as a potential symbol of ethnic and culture identity. The ethnic identification coexists with other forms of social identification, each social group (or individuals) have access to a range of identities. The individual may personify him/herself with a number of the features of the traditional culture and regional identity or not belong to any group. The research proves that the understanding of Latgalian traditional culture and also ethnicity is basically related with the *religious symbols* characteristic of the culture environment.

The religious symbols form the major evidence about Latgalians in the course of time, but the *culture memory* as the major factor of culture identity permeates the attitude of the participants of culture processes towards the dialogue of the local and the global that is obvious not only in the flow of culture products but also deeper – in the stream of the awareness of the society. According to Dace Bula, the modern human is marked by a growing awareness of the world as a united whole losing strict borders between the global and the local. It is both manifested in the communication and takes place in the form of communication³⁸, in the kinds (stereotypes) of communication and conduct, the priorities and value orientation that construct the regional identity.

Each constructed past envisaged for the account of the present events may be considered as a selective reconstruction. This peculiarity of the individual and collective memory is the basis for Jan Assmann's idea that the past as an objectively existing totality of past events does not exist but becomes such only when we refer to it³⁹. This idea leads to the conclusion that memories forming the content of the past are reflection of the urgent ideological needs of a particular epoch or *the present stretched in time*⁴⁰ and the starting point for the inheritance of culture identity and the sustenance of the symbols of the spiritual and material values created in the past.

The regions of Latvia undoubtedly have a history of their own. Latgale as a historicocultural region is characterized by the traditions of the tolerance of multicultural society that have contributed to the preservation of the identity of Latgalian traditional culture. The European Union that is being built as a contemporary super-community is also seeking its identity, yet to form it, just declaring political, economic, and military goals, is insufficient. To provide for the spirit of community, the awareness of the unity of the national culture is necessary sustained by the places and symbols of culture memory.

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- ¹⁰ Ricoeur P. Gedächtnis, Vergessen, Geschichte, in: Müller K., J. Rüsen (Hg) *Historische Sinnbildung*. Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1997. – S. 445.
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- ¹³ Ibid. – 292. lpp.
- ¹⁴ Ibid.
- ¹⁵ Ibid. – 286. lpp.
- ¹⁶ Rotčailds Dž. *Etnopolitika: konceptuālās aprises*. Rīga: ABG, 1999. – 16. lpp.
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- ²² In the district where the questionnaire was carried out by me – V. Č.
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Valdis Tēraudkalns

**ONE'S OWN PEOPLE OR STRANGERS:
LUTHERANISM IN LATGALE DURING THE PERIOD OF
FIRST INDEPENDENCE OF LATVIA (1918 – 1940)**

Summary

There is much less literature on Lutheranism in Latgale than on Judaists, Old-Believers and Orthodox existing side by side with Catholics in this region. Sometimes because of ideological reasons the role of the Catholic Church has been overstressed, but we cannot deny that Lutherans have a place in the regional history even if they remained a minority throughout the period analysed in this article. In the 19th century Lutherans after the period of re-catholization started to build churches again. There are several reasons for that: 1) placing of military forces in Latgale (especially in Daugavpils, among the personnel were German and Finnish Lutherans); 2) construction of railway lines going through Latgale that attracted labour from other parts of Latvia; 3) expansion of local bureaucracy, which also attracted people from other regions; 4) after the Polish revolt, some Polish nobles sold their property to avoid confiscation and land became the possession of the Baltic-German nobility and the rich middle class citizens of Riga.

In the inter-war period, the main activities undertaken by Lutherans in Latgale were as follows: 1) building new churches; 2) establishing new deanery to unite parishes that previously had been under different jurisdictions; 3) enlarging the number of pastors working in the region. Some problems remained: the small number of parish membership, large parish territories that made it difficult to organize the spiritual supervision of the scattered Lutherans and correct the dominant image of Lutheranism as the Other imported by 'Balts' (Latvians living in Vidzeme and Kurzeme) and therefore foreign to the local culture.

Contextualization of Lutheranism was and still is a challenge. In the 1920s, the Lutheran bishop Kārlis Irbe was among those who supported translation of Gospels in the Latgalian regional language (published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1924). However, the language used in liturgy and church publications remained the dominant form of the Latvian literary language. If we compare Latgale with other countries with the Catholic majority, Protestants here have not benefited from such sources of influence and growth as alliances with the political left (Italy) and separation of reformist groups from the Catholic Church (Portugal).

Key words: Latgale, Catholics, Lutherans, Protestants, Orthodox

*

There is much less literature on Lutheranism in Latgale than on Judaists, Old-Believers, and Orthodox in this region. The research sources often emphasize the fact that Latgalians have not accepted other trends of Christianity; however, not denying

the great role of Catholicism in the process of the formation of Latgalian identity, it must be noted that the spread of religious alternatives is often ignored without reason. This is exemplified in Pēteris Zeile's voluminous encyclopedic work *Latgales kultūras vēsture* (The History of Latgalian Culture) that has totally left out the history of Protestantism in Latgale while about the Orthodox P. Zeile writes: *Ja Vidzemē 19. gadsimtā samērā plaši apvidi pieņēma carisma uzspiesto pareizticību, tad Latgalē neizdevās radīt nevienu – pat vismazāko pareizticīgo draudzi!* [If in Livland in the 19th century rather vast regions accepted the Orthodox faith imposed by the tsarist regime, then in Latgale it turned out impossible to form a single – even the smallest Orthodox parish.]

Thus the author holds to the one-sided opinion, according to which the spread of the Orthodox faith in the Latvian environment is related exclusively to the russification policy, as well as ignores the historical evidence about Latvian Orthodox believers in Latgale². Hence, Sergei Sakharov writes that in the 1860s when a great number of Catholics passed over to the Orthodox faith, a new – Eržepole (at present Viļaka) parish was separated from Balvi Orthodox parish. At that period of time, the Latvian Orthodox priest Rodions Poišs who had graduated from Riga Theological Seminary worked in Balvi. In 1866, in Viļaka 882 people joined the Orthodox faith³. Even if we accept that the one who collected this information has intentionally wished to foreground the role of Orthodoxy and that many of those people accepted it under the impact of russification policy, it is still impossible to deny that Orthodoxy for a part of Latgalians became a stable religious identity and was sustained also during the period of the first independence of Latvia when there were no more obstacles to the change of religious adherence. In 1925, in Daugavpils Boris and Gleb's Cathedral a separate parish was formed for Latvians entailing about 100 people in 1938⁴. In Varakļāni, in the same year there were 400 parish members, all of them Latvians (in this region the spread of Orthodox religion was related to the migration of Latvians from Livland and Courland in the 1870 – 90s)⁵. The local historian Vladislavs Strods has made an interesting observation during an expedition to the border areas between Latvia and Russia in the 1930s: in Šavinci village of Purmala region he met people who communicated in Latvian but considered themselves Russians due to their *Russian*, i.e. Orthodox, *faith*⁶.

As concerns Lutherans, this trend of Christianity never had such a negative historical-cultural background as Orthodoxy did due to the forced russification, yet Lutherans in the time period regarded in this article are also classified as alien and other because they were identified with the 'Baltic' culture (that of Livland and Courland), in which religion has but a nominal significance. Francis Trasuns wrote about the impact of Protestantism, Germanism, and liberalism⁷ on the 'Baltic' culture, thus opposing the Latvians of Latgale to those of other regions of Latvia and pointing out the clash of two cultures and ideologies. The periodical *Jaunō Straume* (The New Current) wrote that Catholic priests spread the opinion about Lutherans as the greatest threat comparing them to wizards or witches and placing them in the range of the 'alien' lower than Jews, Gypsies, and Russians⁸. One must certainly keep in mind that this periodical represented the interests of the 'progressists' thus having a critical attitude to Catholicism as an institution; nevertheless it does not abolish the fact that Catholicism in the position of the majority often created a negative background for inter-confessional relations. At the same time it must be admitted that the 'Baltic' side also cultivated extreme opinions that may be even called racist. Thus, in 1928, the periodical *Burtnieks* published an article stating

that one may not cherish a high opinion about the racial biological features of the Latgalian population and the cultured part of the Latvian people are associated with Lutheran faith⁹. Such statements remind of the ideological streams known in the Italy of Mussolini time when the economic disparities between the rich northern regions and the poor south were explained by some of the fascist ideologues by means of the race purity theories¹⁰.

Prehistory: Lutheranism in Latgale before World War I

Starting with the re-catholization of Latgale until the 19th century, the presence of Lutherans in Latgale was rather episodic. In 1792 in Bērzgale of Rēzekne district, baron Friedrich Nikolai Manteuffel (the Manteuffels were Lutherans till 1828) built a church for Lutherans, but by the end of the 19th century only ruins had remained of it¹¹. The situation slowly changed starting from the 1830s. In Daugavpils, a garrison was located having also Lutherans of German and Finnish nationality. In 1835, when Nikolai I visited Daugavpils, the Tsar was given the petition of the local Lutherans for the permit to found a parish and employ a garrison pastor who would provide spiritual service to the civil population as well. The petition was accepted and Lutheran services started to be conducted in the former Jesuit cloister hall. A pastor was appointed specially for Finns, who until 1841 was financed by the Senate of Finland. Later, in 1865, the parish acquired a plot of land where a school was built. In 1869, a house for prayer was erected there¹².

After the second Polish uprising in 1863, in which some squires of Latgale had been involved as well, a part of the estate owners for fear of property confiscation sold their property to Riga merchants and Baltic German squires who resettled here bringing along their religion¹³. However, this was not always the case, as some squires stayed in their new property rather irregularly and were not interested in the development of the local culture. Building of the railway in Latgale in the 1860s (St.Petersburg – Warsaw and Riga – Orlo lines) was another factor stimulating the spread of Lutheranism. This construction caused immigration of civil servants among whom there were a lot of Lutherans. As due to work conditions they often changed their place of living, the number of parish members was constantly changing. It has been written about the Lutheran parish of Rēzekne that the Lutheran inhabitants did not settle there for a long time, they came and left¹⁴. In 1862, in the statistics published by the General Consistory of the Lutherans of Russia about Lutheran parishes in Russia, 5 places where Lutherans lived in Latgale were mentioned – Rēzekne (30 people), Varakļāni (60 people), Viļāni (12 people), Krāslava (22 people), Ludza (31 people), those engaged in the military service in Daugavpils and its vicinities (812 people)¹⁵. Pokrova (later – Kacēni) must be mentioned as well where Latvians from the northern Livland settled in the mid-19th century. The local squire Sergey Nehlyudov who lived in St.Petersburg rented for 99 years an estate building and erected there a church¹⁶. In the 1870s, also in other places of Latgale Lutheran churches and houses for prayer started to be built (in 1870 in Ludza, in 1871 in Galēni (previously called Goļāni) estate, in 1873 in Stružāni a building was adapted for the church needs, in 1879 in Varakļāni, in 1888 in Rēzekne)¹⁷. Goļāni estate was bought in 1853 by the Lutheran Felden de Josephy. Around 1854 – 1855 a chapel was erected there that was later rebuilt into a church that served as a branch of Daugavpils parish¹⁸.

However, religious service in this and other mentioned places was conducted irregularly due to the lack of a permanent pastor and the parishes had to put up with the visits of the pastor from Lazdona. In 1892, the parish of Stružāni-Stirniene was founded but also then regular service took place only in Rēzekne where the pastor resided. In 1902, a branch of this parish was formed in Balvi where the majority of Lutherans were Latvians¹⁹. That was the most Latvian parish in Latgale because other parishes had mostly German members. It was hard to find a permanent pastor because the small parishes and long distances seemed discouraging for the potential candidates to the pastor's position. In 1912, it was informed about the parish of Stružāni-Stirniene that since 1909 it had existed without a pastor and some times a year it had been visited by its former pastor R. Hilde²⁰. At that time, the pastor Kārlis Irbe settled in Latgale but the beginning of his activities is also a characteristic example of the unpopularity of small parishes among clergy. He wrote later during the deportation in his memoirs that he could not find a job elsewhere and after having moved to Latgale he still hoped to continue his education abroad or find a pastor's position in another region²¹.

In 1893, a stone-built church was consecrated in Daugavpils that had been designed by the architect Wilhelm Neimanis who had also participated in the building of the art museum in Riga. The origin of Kārsava parish dates back to 1910 when K. Irbe started conducting service here – first in a shed, then in the sacristan's mills. The parish here was officially formed only after the war, in 1920 and the following two years it acquired the estate of Antonova as its property²².

Lutheran activities in Latgale in the *interbellum* period

During World War I, refugees from Livland and Courland settled in Latgale. They were served by J. Reinharde, the pastor who had left Jelgava and later became a dean²³. In 1922, the dean's precinct of Latgale was formed thus uniting parishes that previously belonged to different precincts in one administrative unit. Irbe became the dean of this precinct; he had been working in Latgale as a pastor since November, 1911. Irbe was famous in Latvia not only as a pastor but also as a social and political figure being the deputy of the Satversme assembly and the first Saeima, the deputy of Riga Municipal Council, actively participating in the White Cross of Latvia and Children's Assistance Union. Beside all these and other duties, for the whole period of the first independence of Latvia he was the pastor of Riga Holy Trinity parish²⁴. Since 1937, the position of the dean was taken by Daugavpils parish pastor A. Rumpēters.

Like in the tsarist period, many civil servants came to work in Latgale, the majority of them being Lutherans. The number of Lutherans was enlarged by the location of army troops in border regions resulting in the formation of new parishes. Hence, in Zilupe before World War I there were just a few Lutheran families but when the garrison and state administration bodies started functioning there the number of Lutherans grew and in 1924 a new parish was founded²⁵. Along with the formation of Jaunlatgale (later – Abrene), a new parish was founded here in 1925²⁶.

In the period regarded in the present article, Lutherans remained a minority in Latgale – in 1926 there were 19 parishes in Latgale precinct (a German parish belonging to the Zemgale German parishes precinct must be added to this number), in 1938 – 23 parishes, in 1943 – 22²⁷. The percentage of the members of this confession was very

small: in Ludza district – 1.96%, Rēzekne district – 2.39%, Daugavpils district – 12.25%, Jaunlatgale district – 12.57%, Ilūkste district – 19.60%²⁸. The religious services were not always regular. E.g. in Ludza in 1934 services took place approximately once a month²⁹. The ability of integrating Lutheranism in a wider community was negatively affected by the homogeneous social structure of the region, e.g. the report on Rēzekne parish states that it is constituted by civil servants alone³⁰. Catholics passed over to Lutheranism basically in cases of mixed marriages when the Catholic priests refused to marry a couple where only one of the newly weds was catholic³¹.

However, among Lutherans in Latgale there were well-known public figures of the region. E.g. the head of Viļaka Lutheran parish Kārlis Jozuus, upon whose initiative the parish church was built, was the teacher of music and choir conductor of the local State gymnasium as well as the head of the district agricultural society. He was awarded the Three-Star order³². The activist of Balvi parish Pēteris Lībietis was the participant of the First Latgale Congress and a founder of many public organizations³³.

In 1931, at the synod of Latgale precinct that took place in Rēzekne, an idea was expressed about electing two bishops of the Lutheran church³⁴. This idea was carried out only after several decades in 2007 when Daugavpils and Liepāja bishops were consecrated. In the 1920s, this idea was supported by the dean Kārlis Irbe who at first suggested the formation of even four bishoprics (in Livland, Courland, Zemgale and Latgale) with Riga bishop as an archbishop³⁵.

The chronological period regarded in the present article is the time of intensive construction of Lutheran churches in Latgale. Stone churches were built in Preiļi, Krāslava, Liepna, etc. Some of the buildings were finished shortly before the occupation of Latvia – one of such was Kārsava church, the construction of which was completed in 1939. The construction of Indra church was interrupted in 1941 when many parish members were deported; it was consecrated only in 1944. Donation from Sweden was received for building Rēzekne parish church. The construction of this church was indirectly related to the destruction of estate property that was another phenomenon of the independent Latvia. After nationalization, the estate buildings were often impossible to sustain in due order or their new owners were not interested in it and they perished. Rēzekne parish bought from the Ministry of Finance the estate dwelling building of Ozolmuiža and its stones were used for the construction works in Rēzekne³⁶.

The self-image of Lutherans of Latgale, their representation in Latgalian periodicals, relations with other churches

Lutherans were scarcely written about by the Catholic periodicals and secular press of Latgale. Lutherans in Latgale had their own periodicals *Gaisma un Spēks* (Light and Power), published with intermissions from 1925 to 1931, and *Latgales Draudžu Vēstnesis* (Latgale Parishes News, 1930 – 1940)³⁷ as well as other periodicals of individual parishes. Certainly, the information about Latgale appeared also in the periodicals issued outside the region. On the whole during the parliamentary period of the Republic of Latvia, the Catholic – Protestant debate in press was more direct and biting. In 1925, it was written in the official Lutheran newspaper *Svētdienas Rīts* (Sunday Morning) that Lutherans are a minority in Latgale and are often in the position of struggle with those belonging

to other confessions and nations³⁸. The theologian Voldemārs Maldonis stated during his presentation for the Lutheran pastors' conference in Riga in 1921 the following:

*Ar katoļiem evaņģēliskie nevar diemžēl pilnīgi saprasties. Katoļi cenšas Latvijā iegūt sevišķas priekšrocības un privilēģijas uz vairākuma, t.i., luterāņu konfesijas rēķina, kas nevar saskanēt ar taisnības principu demokrātiskā valstī.*³⁹

[Unfortunately Evangelicals cannot see eye to eye with Catholics. Catholics try to gain special priorities and privileges in Latvia at the expense of the majority, i.e. the Lutheran confession that does not correspond to the principle of justice in a democratic state.]

These statements appeared at the time of heated discussions about the concordat and the related issue of passing Riga Jēkaba church over to Catholics that certainly complicated the relations between Catholics and Lutherans. In 1931, *Latgales Ziņas* (Latgalian News) reporting on the procedure of the Latgale Lutheran parishes synod provided the following range of the degree of proximity of confessions articulated by the synod: the relations with the Orthodox are good though reserved, those with Roman Catholics are medium, standoff, and in three parishes even conflicting⁴⁰.

However, in the previously mentioned Lutheran periodicals of Latgale at least there was no anti-catholic debate and the word 'Catholic' was substituted by a more indirect denotation 'of other confessions'. Hence, it was informed that in Kaldabruņa parish one person has been taken over from another faith⁴¹. This kind of rhetoric was used also by Courland Catholics who unlike those of Latgale were a minority there. The report of Liepāja Catholic parish of 1939 deals with people of other faith. Just like Protestants from Latgale who complained about stereotypes existing about them, the Catholics from Courland complained that people of other faith living around them were so irresponsible that they did not realize that Catholics were also Latvian people⁴². Being in the position of minority affects the processes within a religious group facilitating the group solidarity and the sense of danger in their relations with others. Lutherans stated that their parishes in Latgale existed under specific circumstances and serving them demanded more intense activities⁴³. At the same time it was emphasized that, as compared to the rest of Latvia, Latgalians knew already before the war what the duty to the church meant⁴⁴. In turn, Catholic priests warned the people of their faith looking for work outside Latgale of the threat to their religious identity stating that in the milieu of other confessions each Catholic would face great danger, especially the catholic youth, the degree of which is unimaginable to their Latgalian mothers⁴⁵.

The period of Kārlis Ulmanis' authoritarian rule (1934 – 1940) was marked by reconciliation of the religious conflicts and disparities by subjecting the whole public life to the ideology of the unity of the society and its simplified scheme 'one nation – one leader'. According to the director of the Church and Confession Department E. Dimiņš who even did not try to veil the tasks of the religious organizations, the future tasks of Christian confessions were set by the ideology and strivings of the united Latvia⁴⁶. When in 1935 the dean K. Irbe during the celebration of 25 years of his being in office publicly reminded of passing over Jēkaba church to Catholics referring to it as a black spot, he was later asked to provide explanations of his statement⁴⁷. Irbe already before – in the parliamentary period – had political disagreement with the Peasant Union led by Ulmanis. Irbe referred to political pressure when accounting for the accusations addressed

to him for not living in his dean's precinct and allotting too little time to supervizing parishes that resulted in his resignation from the dean's position in 1936⁴⁸. Irbe himself rejected the accusations considering that in Riga he could provide more assistance to his precinct by attracting financing for church building and land acquisition as well as searching for pastors for various parishes.

In the official discourse, Ulmanis at least expressed support to diverse churches including Catholicism. In August, 1934, when visiting Latgale, he said in his speech in Dagda:

*Katoļu ticība un katoļu baznīca gādājušas un gādā par to, lai pie tās piederīgie tautas locekļi izaugtu un dzīvē ietu ar stingru, noteiktu pamatu. [..] Ja mums ir bijuši strīdi un naidi un ja vienā otrā vietā vēl šajā pavasarī izskanēja doma, ka, ja nāks pārgrozības, tad nu katrā ziņā valdīs luterticīgie un latgaļiem ies slikti, tad es uz to teikšu: "Tā nav taisnība." Mēs valdām un valdīsim priekš visas zemes un visas valsts, un mēs stiprināsim visas ticības, arī katoļu ticību.*⁴⁹

[The Catholic faith and the Catholic Church have always cared for their members to grow and live with a firm, certain base. [..] If we have had arguments and antagonism and if in some matters still in this spring an idea was expressed that in the case of changes Lutherans will rule by all means and Catholics will not do well, then I will reply to this: 'It's not true.' We rule and will rule for the whole country and the whole state and we will consolidate all faiths, also the Catholic one.]

In the following year, *Latgolas Vārds* (Latgalian Word) published a photograph on the front page, showing the minister of internal affairs, Vilis Gustavs Gulbis together with the archbishop Antonijs Springovičs and bishop Boļeslavs Sloškāns during the song festival of the Catholic youth in Aglona⁵⁰. The state tried to control belonging to confessions by administrative means – e.g. the minister of war Jānis Balodis passed the order that army officers and instructors must be parish members. The Christian periodicals commented on this order that it would be only desirable if the heads of other government bodies demanded the same from their subordinates⁵¹.

In practice, however, Lutherans, taking into account their closer relation with state structures as compared to other confessions, had additional options; they were manifested, e.g. in attraction of the financial and human resources belonging to the army and border guard⁵². Lutherans already in the parliamentary period took over the building of Daugavpils garrison (the former Catholic church that after the expulsion of Jesuits had been passed over to the Orthodox believers in 1821) that was analogous to taking over the Orthodox church of Liepāja Naval port for the needs of religious service. The construction of Kārsava church was financed by the participation of border guard brigade and army garrison⁵³. The report on the evangelization visit of Lutheran pastors to the border regions entails references to the support of the local government and border guard bodies. Lutheran clergy tried to relate its missionary activities to the promotion of patriotism proclaiming that their mission visits were organized to bring the message of Gospel to the people living in those regions and consolidate their national awareness⁵⁴. It was a possibility to demonstrate loyalty to Ulmanis' government simultaneously hinting at the dubiousness of the loyalty of the Catholic Church to the authoritarian regime. After a visit of one border region, the pastor Kārlis Briedis wrote that the local people knew very little of Latvia and Latvian national spirit stating that the Catholic Church

with its political orientation was still holding peasants under its impact⁵⁵. The supra-national character of Catholicism and its centralized global structure made it difficult to fit it into the limits of authoritarian ideology.

On the whole, after the coup of May 15, 1934, Christian churches publicly expressed neutral opinions about one another or stressed what they had in common. During the celebration of the centenary of Daugavpils Lutheran parish in 1935, the archbishop Teodors Grinbergs designed his public address in the greatest possible form of inclusion of everyone stating that the present representatives of diverse classes of faith have just one God and by serving the only God everybody can be a good citizen of Latvia⁵⁶. But also then the unsaid reveals quite a lot: *Latgales Vēstnesis* (Latgalian Newsletter) that was published since 1934 functioning as the mouthpiece of Ulmanis' idea of the united Latvia, regularly reflecting Lutheran activities in the region, during the celebration published both a historical review on Daugavpils parish and extended information on the procedure of the celebration. At the same time it is futile to look for it in *Latgalian Word*. This periodical in the parliamentary period represented the political forces associating themselves with Catholicism. Christian Peasant Union in its ideology closely related ethnicity to religiousness and this was reflected in the party programs and the expressions of its leaders. In 1920, before the elections to Sātversme, Francis Trasuns declared that his party would stand in for the needs of Old-Believers⁵⁷, but due to the fact that Old-Believers were mentioned together with Polish peasants it was obvious that they were treated as an ethno-religious group. Hence, it was not perceived as a threat to the Latgalian identity. A different attitude was cultivated towards the religious groups acting in the milieu of Latvians in Latgale, i.e. Lutherans and the Orthodox. Informing readers of the Orthodox congress in Riga, *Latgalian Word* wrote in 1920 that an Orthodox centre was being formed that would stretch its wings to Latgale⁵⁸. At the same time we can see that the editors of the newspaper did not perceive the culture space as homogeneous but discontinuously, where the Catholic milieu was of no great impact – Rēzekne was referred to by a correspondent of the paper as a Jewish village⁵⁹. Yet the otherness of Lutheranism is marked by linguistic means, using the word of German origin *kirka* to denote Lutheran churches⁶⁰.

The position of minority taken by Lutherans determined the range of confessions that were considered friendly. Hence, in the review of Ludza parish, special emphasis was placed on the friendly relations with the Orthodox⁶¹. In the early 1920s, the Orthodox, the same as Lutherans, conflicted with Catholics over the issue of property as the state handed over to Catholics Mary Magdalene church in Riga that previously had been the Orthodox church. As concerns the 'third force', i.e. groups classified at that time as sectarian (Baptists, Pentecostals, Seventh Day Adventists, etc.), it must be concluded that they were considered as combatable both by Catholics and Lutherans. In one of the reports on the activities of Balvi Lutheran parish it is concluded that the spiritual life in the parish has deteriorated and the void is filled by sectarians⁶². *Katoļu Dzeive* (Catholic Life) describing the baptism ceremony organized by sectarians in Krāslava does not conceal that police was called for securing the order because the organizers of the ceremony obviously feared that the event could be deranged⁶³.

As concerns the pomposity and attracting public attention, Lutherans tried to follow Catholics, as public events provided a possibility to raise their prestige and symbolically demonstrate their impact. During the Catholic archbishop A. Springovičs' visitations of

parishes, gates of honour were erected and he was accompanied by the village youth who were riding horses, the roadsides were decorated with birch-boughs⁶⁴. The Lutheran bishop Kārlis Irbe (the paternal uncle of the dean Kārlis Irbe) during his visitation to Ludza was met at the railway station by the leadership of the parish and municipality, gates of honour with floral garlands were erected, soldiers with lighted torches standing on the sides of the road⁶⁵. The Lutheran archbishop Teodors Grīnbergs' two-week long visitation of parishes in Latgale in 1935 is similarly described noting that everywhere gates of honour were erected, at which the head of the church was met and hailed by the leaders of the government and the church as well as all local public and church organizations⁶⁶.

Conclusion

Slightly sketching out the events after the Soviet occupation, it must be noted that the Soviet period for Lutheranism in Latgale was especially harmful due to the fact that the majority of churches were expropriated. During World War II, Daugavpils church was damaged; though it was partially reconstructed during the German occupation, after the war it was further damaged. In 1948, Rēzekne church was expropriated and turned into a warehouse. In 1949, there was an attempt on the part of Lutheran church to save Ilūkste church where a culture club was planned to be located but the intention failed. In the same year, Varakļāni church was expropriated and Preiļi parish was eradicated, though the church administration hoped to save it as a branch of Kalupe parish. A movie theatre was located in Preiļi church. In 1950, Kārsava church was expropriated, yet the parish continued to gather in the chapel⁶⁷. Lutheran parishes in the region could restart their activities only after regaining the independence of Latvia when they regained their property and gained a possibility to resume their action with a new impetus. Gradually the inter-confessional relations improved that was connected both with the good contacts of the leaders of Christian confessions and the fact that, under the conditions of secularization, religious groups focus on the sustenance of their place in the society, thus diminishing the significance of mutual conflicts.

Contextualization of Lutheranism in Latgale remains a challenge that is hard to resolve. The bishop Kārlis Irbe was among those who supported the publication of Gospels in Latgalian (the project was realized by the British and Foreign Bible society in 1924), yet this publication did not attract any significant attention. The literary Latvian language was still used for religious service and writing in Protestant parishes. Comparing Latgale to other countries where Catholics form the majority, it must be acknowledged that those additional factors (along with missionary activities and migration) that in other places facilitated the growth of the impact of Protestantism are not to be attributed to Latgale. Unlike Italy, the Protestants in Latgale have not created alliances with the politically left forces. In Latgale there has not been an active Catholic reformist movement, the limitation of which, e.g. in Portugal caused the birth of a new Protestant church (nowadays it is known as *Igreja Lusitana Católica Apostólica Evangélica*). However, both in the past and at present diverse motivation continues to exist making people join religious groups. Hence, these searches inevitably result in different offers that form niches in the public space for religious groups that represent an alternative to the dominating local culture.

- ¹ Zeile P. *Latgales kultūras vēsture*. Rēzekne: Latgales Kultūras centra izdevniecība, 2006. – 292. lpp.
- ² Tadeušs Puisāns can be mentioned as a positive example in this sense; he has mentioned in his writing the Orthodox along with Catholicism, noting Polock and Vitebsk bishop Alexandr [Alexandr Zaķis] (Puisāns T. *Vēstures mozaīka*. Rēzekne: Latgales Kultūras centra izdevniecība, 1997. – 415.– 418. lpp.
- ³ Сахаров С. П. *Православные церкви в Латгалии*. Rīga: autora izdevums, 1939. – c. 27; 35. In the cases of citing two different pages, they are separated by semicolon here and henceforth.
- ⁴ Ibid. – c. 59.
- ⁵ Ibid. – c. 133.
- ⁶ Strods V. Pōrtautōtī latvīši. / *Jaunais Vārds* Nr. 39, 14.10.1937. – 6. lpp.
- ⁷ Trasuns F. Jauno taktika pi baltīšim. / *Latgolas Vārds* Nr. 36, 14.09.1921. – 2. lpp.
- ⁸ Sakorā ar Latgolas vaicōjumu. / *Jaunō Straume* Nr. 8/9, 30.07.1921. – 4. lpp. Here and henceforth in the text, in cases when the author of a newspaper article is not known, the title of the periodical is given in references. If the title of the periodical is too long, an abbreviation is used that is deciphered at the end of the article.
- ⁹ Akermanis E. Apdraudēta latvju tauta. / *Burtnieks* Nr. 9, 1928. – 821; 825. lpp.
- ¹⁰ Bosworth R. J. B. *Mussolini's Italy: Life Under Dictatorship*. London, New York etc.: Penguin Books, 2006. – pp. 243–244.
- ¹¹ Ķiploks E. Luterāņu draudzes Latgalē. / *Latvijas ev. lut. baznīcas gada grāmata un kalendārs 1981. gadam*. [b.i.v.]: Baznīcas virsvalde. – 98. lpp. (year of publishing not mentioned)
- ¹² Rumpēteris A. Daugavpils baznīca. / *Ceļa Biedrs* Nr. 4, 1957, aprīlis. – 53. lpp; Daugavpils ev. luter. draudzes 100 g. jubileja. / *Latvijas Kareivis* Nr. 228, 06.10.1935. – 6. lpp; Apinis K. *Latvijas pilsētu vēsture*. Rīga: A. Gulbis, 1931. – 205. lpp.
- ¹³ Kramiņš F. Rēzeknes draudzes un pirmās baznīcas tapšana. / *Latgales Draudžu Vēstnesis* Nr. 7–8, 1938, jūlijs-augusts. – 12. lpp.
- ¹⁴ Provizors Jeannot Jaegermann +. / *Draudzes kalendārs Stružānu-Stirnieņu un Balvu draudzēm 1914. gadam*. Rēzekne, 1913. – 69. lpp.
- ¹⁵ Ķiploks E. Luterāņu draudzes Latgalē. / *Latvijas ev. lut. baznīcas gada grāmata un kalendārs 1981. gadam*. [b.i.v.]: Baznīcas virsvalde. – 101. lpp. (year of publishing not mentioned)
- ¹⁶ After World War II when this part of Latvia was given over to Russia, a shop warehouse was placed in the church building (Mednis E. Dievnamiņš ar īpatnējāko vēsturi. / *Ceļa Biedrs* Nr. 3, 1978, marts. – 43.–44. lpp.
- ¹⁷ Ķiploks E. Luterāņu draudzes Latgalē. / *Latvijas ev. lut. baznīcas gada grāmata un kalendārs 1981. gadam*. [b.i.v.]: Baznīcas virsvalde. – 101.–102. lpp. (year of publishing not mentioned)
- ¹⁸ Viksniņš A. Ziņas par Galēnu draudzi. / *Latgales Draudžu Vēstnesis* Nr. 9–10, 1939, septembris-oktobris. – 10.–11. lpp.
- ¹⁹ Ķiploks E. Luterāņu draudzes Latgalē. / *Latvijas ev. lut. baznīcas gada grāmata un kalendārs 1981. gadam*. [b.i.v.]: Baznīcas virsvalde. – 102. lpp. (year of publishing not mentioned)
- ²⁰ Provizors Jeannot Jaegermann +. / *Draudzes kalendārs Stružānu-Stirnieņu un Balvu draudzēm 1914. gadam*. Rēzekne, 1913. – 65. lpp.
- ²¹ Irbe K. *Ceļā uz svētību un mana dzīve*. [b.i.v., b.i.g.] – 211; 216. lpp.
- ²² Ķemers M. Kārsavas draudze. / *Latgales Draudžu Vēstnesis* Nr. 12, 1932, decembris. – 7. lpp.
- ²³ Ķiploks E. Luterāņu draudzes Latgalē. / *Latvijas ev. lut. baznīcas gada grāmata un kalendārs 1981. gadam*. [b.i.v.]: Baznīcas virsvalde. – 103. lpp. (year of publishing not mentioned)
- ²⁴ Mesters Ē. *Latvijas evaņģēliski luteriskās baznīcas vēsture 1944 – 1990*. Rīga: Klints, 2005. – 11.–12. lpp.
- ²⁵ No Zilupes. / *Latgales Draudžu Vēstnesis* Nr. 1, 1933, janvāris. – 10. lpp.
- ²⁶ Balvu draudzes dzīve. / *Gaisma un Spēks* Nr. 1, 1925, aprīlis. – 5. lpp.
- ²⁷ Luterāņu skaits aprīņķos. / *Baznīcas kalendārs 1927. gadam*. Rīga: Ev.-lut. baznīcas virsvalde, [1926]. – 141.–143. lpp; Statistikas ziņas par ev. lut. draudzēm. / *Baznīcas kalendārs 1940. gadam*. Rīga: Ev.-lut. baznīcas virsvalde, 1939. – 118.–119. lpp; Latgales prāvesta iecirknis. / *Baznīcas kalendārs 1944. gadam*. Rīga: Ev.-lut. baznīcas virsvalde, 1943. – 76.–77. lpp.

- ²⁸ Luterāņu skaits aprīņķos. / *Baznīcas kalendārs 1927. gadam*. Rīga: Ev.-lut. baznīcas virsvalde, [1926]. – 51. lpp.
- ²⁹ Ludzas draudze. / *Svētdienas Rīts* Nr. 16, 15.04.1934. – 126. lpp.
- ³⁰ No Rēzeknes draudzes. / *Svētdienas Rīts* Nr. 44, 26.10.1924. – 7. lpp.
- ³¹ Rokas nost no mūsu ticības! / *Latgales Ziņas* Nr. 2, 09.01.1931. – 1. lpp
- ³² Maksimova L. *Viļaka un tās ļaudis gadsimtu ceļos*. Rēzekne: Latgales Kultūras centra izdevniecība, 2001. – 136. lpp.
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Valentīna Liepa

LATGALE AND LITHUANIA: MEETING OF TRADITIONS IN ANTANAS RIMAVIČIUS' SACRED ART

Summary

Each nation brings its values and peculiarities into the common depository of the human cultural wealth. Latgale, as well as other Catholic countries, is characterized by an abundance of sacred art and sacred applied art objects. The character of Latgale sacred sculpture is determined by the Catholic Church with its demand of resplendent visual effects in the church interior. Such interior decorations have been widespread in South Germany and Austria; by mediation of Jesuit order they were spread in Poland and Lithuania, reaching Latgale.

Hence, the high quality of Latgalian architecture and its correspondence to the international catholic baroque architecture traditions can be regarded in the context of the European culture, realizing that those trends have been transformed in the likeness of folk and applied art traditions.

Crucifixes are an intrinsic part of the Latgalian historico-cultural landscape. In a similar manner, in Lithuania wooden sculptures and wood carvings by folk artists are found in each town and village both in the sacred art objects – churches, crucifixes, and memorial places and even modern buildings. However, the number and variety of form have always been much greater in Lithuania than in Latgale.

Due to the fact that many priests of Lithuanian origin have worked in Latgale (in the 19th century, 80% of Latgalian priests were Lithuanians), many Lithuanian traditions were passed over to Latgale.

One of such priests was Antanas Rimavičius (1865 – 1933). He was born in Šakyną, Lithuania, went to Siauliai gymnasium, then studied at St.Petersburg theological seminary. In 1890, he was sent to work as a priest in Latvia. He has worked at a number of churches in Latvia (Balvi, Bikova, Andrupene, Rudzāti, Svente, Grendze, Rubeņi), always leaving behind orderly churches decorated with sculptures, which he had made himself. His talent was revealed at the age of 32 when A. Rimavičius served at Balvi parish. He cultivated his talent in his further activities becoming a serious and original woodcarver. His work was influenced by the Lithuanian woodcarver Ananaitis, Lithuanian sacred wood sculpture, and the Latgalian church baroque sculpture and painting. His artistic work and thinking was developed in the context of these two influences. Yet, he made his own compositions independently, major attention paying to the monumentality of sculpture and the general interpretation of the theme. He disregarded the proportions of the human body and anatomy, producing expressive sculptures that are rich in rhythms.

Similar to crucifixes of Latgale and Lithuania, Rimavičius' work is marked by the importance of the image of Christ. He often produced cycles of works with repeated composition pattern, e.g. 'Pieta' sculptures. In many of his compositions, the image of

Our Lady with child in her arms or praying Lady recurs. In his legacy, it is possible to single out a specific group of the images of saints. Sculptures depicting praying saints kneeling down are of a special interest. Folk naïveté and artistry make these sculptures genuine and close to the audience. The stations of the Way of Cross made in relief, in which the artist depicts passion of Christ on his way to Golgotha, are very interesting and artistically expressive.

Rimavičius, the Latvian artist of Lithuanian origin, unites the Lithuanian, Latvian, Latgalian, European, providing a peculiar pearl of talent to our culture.

He willed his works of art to Siauliai museum 'Aušros' where the majority of his works are exhibited nowadays. Some of his works are exhibited at Rundāle palace, Latvian National Art museum, and the churches in Latvia.

Key-words: church sculpture, crucifix, church, wood-carver, sculpture, altar

*

Each nation, whether big or small, brings its values and peculiarities into the common depository of human cultural wealth. National culture is a totality of material and spiritual values that reflects the specific psychological structure of the people representing its ethnic peculiarities and character. Culture is neither static nor archaic. It is dynamic, changing, and constantly growing. Culture monuments reflect the level and process of culture development, public relations, contacts among diverse national cultures.

Latvian folk craftsmen – woodworkers who make wooden tools, instruments, wheelers, when creating angels, apostles, sculptures of Madonna and saints, embodied in them the features of their fellow workers. Taking a deeper insight into these images reveals heavy figures of the common working people with tired, naïvely cunning or sad faces. They have just changed their everyday clothes to cloaks of saints and taken the Bible or chalice in their callous hands.

As to the folk traditions of Latvian art, the founder of Latvian professional sculpture, Gustavs Šķilters has pointed out that woodcutting is 'an inborn passion' of the Latvian people.

The outstanding Latvian woodcutters have been mentioned in diverse historical sources of the 18th century. I. Brant wrote in 1763 about peasants of Courland (Kurzeme) who had made their native places famous by excellent woodcuttings: *Starp latviešiem ir daudz gaišu galvu, kuri bez speciālas apmācības apguva amatus un ar savu meistarību var pamācīt pat vāciešus*¹ [There are many enlightened people among Latvians who have mastered their craft without special training and with their artistry can even teach Germans].

The period of the 16th to the 18th century is an interesting time in the history of wooden sculpture, when architectonic church sculpture ensembles were created in Livland (Vidzeme), Courland, and Latgale. They were mostly performed in the Baroque style revealing not only the influence of different European schools but also specific folk traditions.

Latgale, as well as other Catholic countries, is characterized by an abundance of sacred art and craft objects. The statues of saints were placed in churches, chapels, cemeteries, but crosses with the image of Christ were erected in private houses, villages,

roadsides. Among them, there were both original creations and copies of a very different artistic value.

The character of Latgale sacred sculpture is determined by the Catholic Church with its demand of resplendent visual effects in the church interior, as worshippers are supposed to experience mystical devotion and excitement in the church space. Altars were decorated with sculptures, paintings, embroideries and churches had resplendent communion chalices, crucifixes, reliquaries, monstrances and other liturgy objects. Sculptures were made of wood and were often painted. The characteristics of wood as a material were essential – it is plastic, easy to create an ornament, and easy to paint.

Such interior decorations have been widespread in South Germany and Austria; by mediation of Jesuit order they were spread in Poland and Lithuania, reaching Latgale.

Hence, the high quality of Latgalian architecture and its correspondence to the international catholic baroque architecture traditions can be regarded in the context of the European culture, realizing that those trends have been transformed in the likeness of folk and applied art traditions.

According to Antons Rancāns:

Ticība, kā viena no garīgās kultūras sastāvdaļām nevar iztikt bez savas materiālās kultūras, ko veido gan arhitektūra, gan tēlotāja māksla un visbiežāk sakrālā koka tēlniecība.

Baznīcas iekārtojumā iztikt bez koka tēlniecības nav izdevies nevienā laikā: krēsli, durvis, altāris, svēto attēli, ērģeļu prospekts un krucifiksi – viss pārsvarā kokā griezts. Reizēm zeltīts, reizēm dabīgo koka faktūru, visdažādāko stilu un formu, noskaņu un rokkraksta kokgriezumi bija, ir un acīmredzot būs ar ticību saistītās mākslas realizācijas materiāls.²

[Faith as one of the elements of spiritual culture is unthinkable without its material culture that is provided by architecture, fine arts and most often by sacred woodcutting. Church interior has never done without wooden sculpture: chairs, doors, altar, images of saints, organ prospect and crucifixes are mostly carved in wood. Sometimes gilded, sometimes revealing the natural wooden texture, woodcuttings of diverse style and form, spirit and performance have always been and most probably will be the material of realizing a faith-related art.]

Crucifixes are an intrinsic part of the Latgalian historico-cultural landscape entailing more than a symbol of faith. Art historians define them as small but often complicated design forms – cross that is most often adorned by the image of Christ. These wooden images are expressive, they irradiate energy and are elevating. Cross in Latgalian understanding is a place where one can stop and pay devotion by crossing oneself; it is a place for everyday communication with God and thanksgiving in festive occasions. Rancāns, who has investigated and renovated crucifixes in Latgale, considers that there might have been around 2000 crucifixes in Latgale at the end of the 19th century. He notes that crucifixes were carved by the local people. According to Rancāns, each parish and even bigger village had their own crucifix carvers and there were something like schools or master workshops. Cross erection was initiated in Latgale in the 18th century and was particularly developed in the 1920 – 30s. The meaning of cross in the context of Christianity and world culture is well-known, the same as its place in the Catholic environment of Latgale. Recognizing and worshipping crucifix is the way of worshipping Christ; its presence grants blessing, mercy and saves from the evil.

The earlier crucifixes depict the image of Christ with a rather expressive head crowned with thorns and a disproportionate, primitive middle part of the body and legs. Later depictions are very harmonious; Christ's figure is often painted white with black hair, beard, and eye-brows. His side is usually marked with a spear stab and red colour imitating blood, his head crowned with thorns. Greater significance was attributed to the very existence of the crucifix, not the observance of canons.

Crucifixes in village and roadside are only one kind of crucifixes created in Latgale. Beside them there are crucifixes in the church interior and rituals, in living houses, public buildings, cemeteries, on the graves, in birth places of famous people, etc.

*Laika gaitā, spītējot visdažādākajiem nelabvēlīgiem apstākļiem, Latgales krucifiksi veido daudzveidīgu kompleksu – vietas sakralizētāju, ainavas un interjera bagātinātāju. [...] vērsot krucifiksu par nozīmīgu kultūras mantojuma sastāvdaļu un kristīgo tradīciju turpinājumu.*³

[In the course of time, in spite of diverse inimical conditions, crucifixes in Latgale have formed a manifold complex sacralizing the space and enriching the landscape and the interior. [...] making crucifix a significant part of the cultural legacy and continuation of Christian traditions.]

On the whole, the sacred art of Latgale is characterized by Boriss Vipers⁴ as emotional, mystical, and solemn. Statues in Latgale are more lyrical and tender than those in Courland. The form of Latgalian statues is not as expressive as that of Courland statues, but they are more emotional, with flowing rhythms that mark their specific character. This provides the grounds for B. Vipers to talk about typical Latgalian Baroque in architecture and woodcutting.

The fame and power of Lithuanian traditions of woodcutting and wooden sculpture have long exceeded the boundaries of that country. Wooden sculptures and woodcuttings by talented folk artisans are found in almost each Lithuanian settlement both in sacred objects – churches, crucifixes and memorial places, and even the contemporary house construction. In Lithuania, the sacred art practitioners were called *Goddoers* (Lith. – *dieudirbiai*).

In Catholic Lithuania, like in Latgale, crosses, chapels and other monuments were erected by roadsides, on the crossroads, in church gardens, villages, and farmsteads. However, their number and variety of form have been incomparably greater than in Latgale. The oldest of them were simple in form, but owing to the talented folk artisans, crosses became more and more complex, beautiful, and richly adorned.

Wooden grave monuments (Lith. – *krikštai*) were widespread in Lithuania. C. Kontrimas⁵ associates them with pillar-like wooden sculptures. Due to the spread of the cult of the dead, they became the signs of commemoration and later – honour. The oldest pillars were simple in form that was made more complex and manifold by the folk artisans of the following generations. Ornaments may have either a geometrically abstract form or they may depict motifs of flora and fauna taken over from heathen traditions. With the spread of Christianity, the relation of chapels and crosses exclusively to the remembrance of the dead grew weaker and the motivation for erecting them was diversified. They became the places of thanksgiving to God for good harvest or other signs of mercy.

Sculptures were placed in chapels and their authors were not preoccupied with their correspondence to iconographic models; it was more important to express their world vision associated with the actual surroundings of the woodcutters and the images of peasants living there.

Numberless images of saints revealing the Lithuanian woodcutting traditions are kept in Lithuanian churches and museum collections.

Due to the fact that many priests of Lithuanian origin have worked in Latgale (in the 19th century, 80% of Latgalian priests were Lithuanians)⁶, many Lithuanian traditions were passed over to Latgale.

Antanas Rimavičius (1865 – 1933) was one of such priests about whom we knew nothing for many decades. Just owing to the investigations of Lithuanian art scholars Vytenio Rimkus, Arūnas Vasiliauskas, Birutė Žymantienė, who gathered the scarce information about the artist (obituary in a newspaper, a letter, a description, correspondence concerning the inheritance), his name and art became known. The art works of this peculiar woodcarver, coming from God and the people, are kept in *Aušras* museum in Siauliai, Rundāle palace, Latvian National Art museum, and churches in Latvia.

Antanas Rimavičius was born in 1865 in Šakyną, Lithuania. He went to Siauliai gymnasium. He was not very good at learning but the idea of serving God came to him rather early. On Sundays he went to the church, especially enjoying the moments after the service when the church remained empty and he lingered there for a while. Birutė Žymantienė writes in her monograph *Testamentas*:

Po sumos bažnyčia ištuštėjo. Antanas apsidairė dar kartą: niekur, net šoninėse navose, nesimatė nė vieno žmogaus. Jis priėjo prie presbiterijos vartelių, pastūmė juos delnu. Varteliai švelniai virstelėjo. Antano kojos kilimu žengė minkštai, vieną žingsnį, dar vieną. Jis pamiršo, kad elgiasi ne visai tinkamai – kas žingsnis jaunuolį traukė kažkokios nenusakomos džiaugsmas. Širdis ėmė pašėlusiai daužytis. Trys laiptukai iki Dievo stalo... Du iš jų Antanas įveikė, ant trečiojo, ant paskutinio, iš lėto, tyliai atsiklaupė. Traukdamas į save švelnų, bet svaigų sumišusį žvakinių, kvėpalų ir kodylo dūmų kvapą, Antanas klūpėjo nieko negalvodamas ir negalėdamas atsiplėšti nuo altoriaus artumos. Galvoje buvo tuščia ir erdvi. Be paliovos sukosi viena vienintelė mintis: “Viešpatie, kaip čia gera...”⁷

[After the service the church remained empty, Antanas looked around, not a soul there, even in the side niches. He approached the presbytery gate and pushed it open with his hand. The gate quietly opened. Antanas' feet got softly entangled in the carpet, a step, another one. He forgot that he was not being very polite – with each step he was overcome by tremendous joy. His heart started pounding. Three steps to the Lord's table... Antanas made two of them, slowly kneeling down with the third. He inhaled the soft, intoxicating scent of candles and lavender. Antanas kept kneeling down, thinking of nothing, unable to distract himself from the proximity of the altar. His head was empty and spacious. He was aware of just one thought, 'Oh, God, how good it is here...']

In 1884, Rimavičius entered St.Petersburg theological seminary and graduated from it in 1890; after that he was sent to work as a priest in Latvia. Žymantienė writes that he worked for a year in Vārkava and Līvāni churches, then four years in Dukstīgals church, yet there is no evidence of this in other sources.

In 1897, he was transferred to work in Balvi church parish. Here he did an enormous work in decorating and organizing the church, taking care of the parish members, granting even living places as close to the church as possible; he also created new production units and work places. During 18 years of his service in Balvi, he did so much that his successor priest Benedikts Skrinda called Rimavičius the founder of Balvi, and he is still remembered by Balvi inhabitants even nowadays. At that time Rimavičius had a possibility to visit Rome and Pope Leon XIII from whom he received a letter of gratitude along with priesthood privileges and permits.

Balvi is also the place where Rimavičius started his artistic activities. In cooperation with Lithuanian artisan Ananaitis, his talent was gradually revealed and he cultivated it in further work becoming a serious and original woodcarver. He produced the Grand altar for Balvi church following the pattern of Ostrobram altar in Vilnius, designed stations of the Way of the Cross as well as a number of sculptures of saints and ornament carvings. On March 14, 1914, he celebrated his last Mass in Balvi church and, having said farewell, with heavy heart moved on to his new place of work in Andrupe church where he served for eight years. He made a great contribution to the interior works of this church as well, erecting his own sculptures; two of them still decorate the sides of the Grand altar. After serving in Andrupene he went to Rudzāti parish where he worked from 1920 to 1926, taking the major part of his works with him, but careless workers threw his woodcarvings in the ditch and went home as they did not wish to go all the long way to Rudzāti. In Rudzāti church, one can still see the Grand wooden altar carved by Rimavičius.

Moving from Rudzāti to Bikova parish, the cart row carrying Rimavičius' art works was so long that it attracted the attention of people in those villages they went through, thus causing rumours of the new rich priest and attracting the attention of thieves and bandits who later caused damage to him. Bikova church was the seventh place of Rimavičius' service and the fourth one decorated by him. The stately white church building was new and easy and pleasant to decorate. Rimavičius decorated the church altars with his sculptures. Unfortunately the succeeding priest K. Gumpenbergs, transforming the church altars, replaced these figures by new ones made of plaster.

In February 1929, Rimavičius was transferred to Svente parish where he simultaneously served in Grendze church that was in a catastrophic state; he invested much of his own means in repairing the church, never regaining them back.

The closed altar niche of Grendze church still has the image of *the Crucified* with Apostle Peter and Paul figures by its sides, but Svente church is decorated by his sculpture *Ecce Homo* (or Christ in Passion).

However, the greatest dream of the artist was to return to Lithuania together with his works. In a letter from Svente he wrote:

Numanai, kad darbo tiek prisikrovęs, kad jo nepabaigti iki mirties, o juk gi noriu mirti savo Tėvynėj, brangioj Lietuvojė [..]. Nežinau, ar įvykdysiu savo užmanytą programą, ar neprisieis dar greičiau leistis į svečius pas tėvą Abraomą, o iš tenai nė vienas nebesugrįžta pabaigti užmanytą projektą. Kol dar nenukeliavau ten, labai norėčiau dar paviėšėti po Šakyną – tą brangią vietelę, kur tiek daug malonių minčių kūdikystės, jaunystės ir subrendusio amžiaus. Jūs, kvėpuodami ir alsuodami oru savo Tėvynės, ir nesaprantate, kaip malonus yra prigimtas kraštas. [..] kad ir vėjas, kad papučia nuo jūsų pusės, palieka ramiau ir linksmiau ant sielos.⁸

[I am so overburdened by work that it would be impossible to accomplish it all before death, but I long to die in my homeland, my dear Lithuania [..]. I am not sure whether I will complete my program, whether I would not have to start to father Abraham before that, but no one has returned from there to finish his planned projects. While I am still here, I desire to go to Šakyną – that dear place with so many memories of childhood, youth, and adulthood. You, who are breathing the air of homeland, do not realize how pleasant the native land is. [..] even the wind blowing from your side brings peace and joy into soul.]

The Christmas of 1931 Rimavičius celebrated in Rubeņi parish where he worked a little longer than a year. In the churchyard, he built four corner chapels for the Holy Sacrament procession days, two confessionals in the church, cement figures in the churchyard and cemetery gate, as well as frames and images for the Way of the Cross that have been replaced by large size paintings.

Last months of his life Rimavičius spent in Ilūkste old people's home and on July 6, 1933, died in Daugavpils Red Cross hospital. The devoted servant to God and artist was buried in Rubeņi churchyard, not far from the central gate.

He willed his works of art to Siauliai museum *Aušros* and his extensive library to Riga Theological seminary. 178 of his works went to Siauliai, the rest are kept in Latvian museums, churches, and private collections. During World War II when Germans occupied Siauliai museum *Aušros*, his works were hidden in the storeroom of *Gubernia* brewery. In 1944, there was a fire and 45 sculptures were destroyed. At present, in *Aušros* museum there are 132 works of the artist relating of his original talent. All in all he created more than 500 works of art.

The legacy of Rimavičius as a priest and a woodcarver reflects the culture contacts between Lithuania and Latvia. His work was influenced by the Lithuanian woodcarver Ananaitis, Lithuanian sacred wood sculpture, and undoubtedly by the Latgalian church baroque sculpture and painting. His artistic work and thinking got developed in the context of these two influences. Yet, he made his own compositions independently, major attention paying to the monumentality of sculpture and the general interpretation of the theme. Rimavičius was an autodidact, he had never learned at any art school, hence his art is closer to folk art but his professionalism and originality constitute a peculiar phenomenon of the Latvian and Lithuanian cultures of the late 19th and early 20th centuries. His art is a mediating stage between the official church sculpture and folk art of Northern Lithuania and Latgale. Despite the fact that Rimavičius had not received professional art education, he was an intellectual artist endowed with deep feeling; he had excellently mastered wood as a plastic material and felt its structure and texture. He disregarded the proportions of the human body and anatomy, producing expressive sculptures, rich in rhythms. No doubt, his sculptures are not equally excellent. There are poor works among them along with highly professional, emotional, and artistically expressive works.

Stichiškai prasiveržęs menininko talentas, nevaržomas jokių kanonų, jokio akademizmo, pasireiškė visapusiškai – nuo materialaus grubumo iki lyrinio subtilumo, nuo naivumo iki įmantrumo. Kurdamas skulptūrines grupes, Antanas Rimavičius laisvai keičia dydžių santykį, kuria sau reikalingas proporcijas – deformuoja, mažina, didina. Atgyjančių medžių menininkas perteikia mums savo džiaugsmą ir skausmą, rimtį ir veržlumą.⁹

[The spontaneously manifested artistic talent that is not bound by any canons or academic qualities revealed itself comprehensively – from material crudeness to lyrical fragility, from naïveté to exquisiteness. When creating groups of sculptures, Antanas Rimavičius freely changes the proportions of sizes deforming, enlarging, diminishing, till he gets the very proportions he needs. In the revived wood, the artist passes over to us his joys and sorrows, tranquility and strivings.]

Rimavičius learned from folk art. He had a collection of ancient Latvian sculptures that he studied to master the plasticity of form, borrowing motifs for his works. From baroque sculptures he learned the expression of the image and composition of figures. He did not shun these influences, neither did he copy them; he was always searching for his own original means of expression.

*Tokiu būdu menininkas, galbūt ir pats to nesuprasdamas, sakūrė naują, originalią ir įdomią plastinę atmainą.*¹⁰ [In this way the sculptor, most probably unawares, created a new, original and interesting plastic variety.] This specific synthesis of Baroque, folk art, and artist's own impression is present in his work *Woman*.

Like the crucifixes of Latgale and Lithuania, Rimavičius' work is marked by the importance of the image of Christ. *Neatmesdamas liaudies meno principų, skulptorius suteikia savo darbams profesinės meistrystės užmojų. Visose Kristaus figūrose ieškoma naujos plastinės išraiškos.*¹¹ [Without giving up the principles of folk art, the sculptor imparts a professional touch to his works. In all figures of Christ, he has found a new, plastic expression.]

Christ's face expression is tragic and conveys suffering; the expression of pain is emphasized by eye-brows and eyes depicted at diverse levels that are proportionally big in comparison to other facial details; his hands are usually heavy and large. All the images of Christ differ in modulation and psychological expression, yet they convey the same meaning – atonement of human sins through Christ's suffering and death. Christ's figures are usually of big size, some of them reaching two metres. Though the figures are exquisitely elaborated in some places, whereas in others they are just sketched, they make an impression of a united, expressive work of art. The large sculptures are interesting for the rhythm of their lines created by the lines of folds in Christ's clothing. In crucifixes, Christ's image is more primitive and closer to the traditions of folk art.

Rimavičius often produced cycles of works with a repeated compositional pattern, e.g. *Pietą* sculptures. The theme of weeping over Christ has been widespread in the history of art at all times. It is the same plot, yet Rimavičius diversifies its psychological expression, varying it by the way of depicting the figures of Christ and Our Lady. In some sculptures (especially those that, apart from maternal suffering, deal with the issues of life and death), Christ's image is in equal proportions to that of Our Lady. Sometimes the figure of Christ is filled with suffering and pain, yet in other cases it is numb and overtaken by death. The image of Our Lady is also depicted in many ways – sometimes it is tender, filled with lyrical sadness, sometimes still and tragic, sometimes dynamic and filled with hope.

Pietà groups reveal one particular feature characteristic exclusively of Rimavičius: Christ's head is resting on Our Lady's left hand, while we know from art history that Christ is always supported by her right hand. Why such a change? One can but make guesses.

In many of his compositions, the image of Our Lady with the child in her arms or praying Lady recurs. Folk naïveté and artistry make these sculptures genuine and close to the audience. The face of Our Lady is manifold, sometimes being lyrical and tender, sometimes sad and distressed, sometimes stern and dramatic. The Gothic-like vertical folds of her clothing, that emphasize the reclining head, form musical rhythm. The heavy, rhythmically cut curls frame her face as an altar arc that provides an even greater emphasis to her facial expression. The child on her arm is childishly sincere, depicted in a slightly more primitive way, but in combination with the drapery rhythm it creates a total unity.

There are two kinds of Our Lady in praying: one of them discloses the true, interesting, and original manner of Rimavičius' woodcarving; another resembles the baroque sacred sculptures that are emotionally appealing but less attractive from the artistic point of view.

The images of Our Lady on the whole arouse a peculiar sense of reality and the transcendental. Her bare feet that are firmly placed on the ground emphasize Our Lady's relation to the existence of this world but the total emotional colouring of her image irradiates energy that elevates her to the space of the transcendental.

In Rimavičius' legacy, it is possible to single out a specific group of the images of saints. The artist freely operates with the anatomic proportions; their seeming inadequacy emphasizes the expression and originality of the image, without interfering with the artistic form and emotional perception. The images are most often vertically protruding that is made more distinct by the rhythmical falling of their clothing in vertical folds; other saints are dressed in flapping, supple, dynamically folded robes, thus creating the sense of diversity in the depiction of saints. These sculptures are very different both in stylistic performance and artistic design, as well as in combining monumentality with reality. The sculpture of St. Kazimir who is the patron of Lithuania stands out among other saint images by the elaborate details in its design: the face with a high forehead, straight nose, distinct jaw forms an image of a ruler that is emphasized by the crown on his head; his clothing is rather ornamented bringing out the decorous and baroque-like character of the sculpture.

Rimavičius has created large size sculptures as well. In the collection of *Aušras* museum there are mostly smaller size sculptures up to one metre, but photomaterials show sculptures up to three metres that unfortunately have been destroyed during World War II.

Sculptures depicting praying saints kneeling down are of a special interest. They are especially expressive when observed from the side silhouette that is dynamically expressive and characterizes movement, bringing out the sense of praying power and striving for God. The front view of these figures is no less interesting for expressivity revealing the facial expression of the praying saint.

The stations of the Way of Cross made in relief, in which the artist depicts passion of Christ on his way to Golgotha, are very interesting and artistically expressive. Two sets of these wood-carved stations are located in churches where Rimavičius served and two – in *Aušras* museum. One of these sets is small in size (50x38) and was probably made at the early stage of his artistic work that was dominated by the impact of folk art, and the artist's performance was not so brilliant yet. However, the station has been

made with such concentration, piety, precision and wish to tell about what is happening that it is difficult to draw away from them without 'reading' and enjoying their message.

The bigger stations (130 to 153 cm in width and 86 to 94 cm in height) have also been carved in relief but they address the viewer in a more direct and harsh way, with greater artistic power, as the images in several stations are distinctly expressive, even slightly grotesque, revealing the cruelty of the persecutors, pain and sympathy as well as Christ's passion, thus bearing the emotional load of the depicted situation. The power of expression is emphasized by the simultaneous use of go-relief and bas-relief that creates a spatial play that at some places is suppressed, while at others – despotically intruding.

Rimavičius has felt the peculiarities of wood as a material, its expressivity very well. The sculptures and reliefs in the collection of *Aušras* museum are even more attractive because they convey the feeling of a dialogue between the artist and wood. Unfortunately, the wooden sculptures in churches were most often painted. This made the church interiors lively, light, colourful, baroque-like in correspondence with the polychrome church environment; painted sculptures seemed closer to the parish people but they lost much of the artistic expressivity of wood as a material; hence, the images got more primitive. A rich collection of Rimavičius' painted sculptures is kept in Rundāle palace museum. It must be taken into account that the author had created those works not for the museum collection but for church decoration in line with the interests of the people who were related to that environment. Thus sculpture painting does not directly express the artist's understanding of the aesthetic.

Rimavičius is a Lithuanian who has always carried in his heart the warmth of his homeland and longing for it. He had imbibed the cultural riches of Lithuania since his childhood, so he must have unconsciously loved wood as was the case with many talented Lithuanian folk artisans. Were this not so, would his original, God-given talent have been revealed at the age of thirty-two that the artist discovered not only for us but also for himself?

Rimavičius is a Latvian priest who worked for long years in Latvia and found his last abode in Rubeņi churchyard. Having lived all his life in the Latvian culture environment, this talented person with a sensitive heart could not have missed the impact of the riches of the Latvian culture, Latgale folk art, without drawing inspiration and enriching his talent with this legacy.

The European culture entered Latvia (including Latgale) and Lithuania also through the manifestations of Baroque art. Both Latgale and Lithuania are rich in baroque art monuments, especially in the sacred art legacy.

Rimavičius – Lithuanian by his nationality and a Latvian artist – was closely related to this sacred baroque art environment that had made a strong impact on him when producing his images.

Hence, this person united the Lithuanian, Latvian, Latgalian, European that produced a peculiar pearl of his talent that had been unknown for a long time, but now the Phoenix has started rising from the ashes and telling about himself to those who would listen.

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- ¹ Карклинь Г. *Латышская деревянная скульптура*. Москва: Изобразительное искусство, 1969. – с. 3.
- ² Rancāns A. Latgales sakrālā koka tēlniecība. / *Mōras Zeme* Nr. 7 (14), 18.05.1990.
- ³ Zeile P. *Latgales kultūras vēsture*. Rēzekne: LKC, 2006. – 322. lpp.
- ⁴ Vīpers B. *Latvijas māksla baroka laikmetā*. Rīga: Valters un Rapa, 1937.
- ⁵ Kontrimas Č. *Lietuvos geležiniai kryžiai*. Vilnius: Mintis, 1991.
- ⁶ Pettere I. *Daugavpils novada krucifiksi*. Daugavpils: Latgales Pētniecības institūta izdevniecība, 1998. – 30. lpp.
- ⁷ Žymantienė B. *Testamentas: kunigo ir skulptoriaus Antano Rimavičiaus gyvenimo ir darbų pėdsakais*. Šiauliai: Saulės Delta, 1998. – p. 10.
- ⁸ Ibid. – p. 36.
- ⁹ Ibid. – p. 73.
- ¹⁰ Ibid. – p. 74.
- ¹¹ Ibid.

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Alina Romanovska

LITHUANIA AND LITHUANIANS IN THE CONTEMPORARY LATVIAN FICTION AND CULTURE PERIODICALS

Summary

Images of diverse nations and states they represent are formed in another national consciousness collectively and their process of formation is complex and contradictory. Notions of one nation about another are greatly determined by the tendency of the human consciousness to differentiate the surrounding world into 'one's own and alien', the familiar and unfamiliar, acceptable and unacceptable. This stereotype of human perception concerns the notions of one nation about others; they may be subjective, fictional or objective, true or false. Nowadays these notions are determined by a number of other factors: socio-political, economic, cultural, etc. The interaction of these manifold factors gives rise to a complex image of a state or nation in the collective consciousness of another nation. This image is formed as a mosaic consisting of separate bright notions and it often lacks unity.

Notion of Lithuanians in the contemporary Latvian perception has been basically formed during the Soviet period; however, it contains older layers and the stereotypes formed in the period of independence. This factor has greatly determined the complexity and the contradictory character of the created image. The opposition one's 'own – alien' in relation to Lithuanians in the collective perception of Latvians is not to be interpreted unanimously, as in some situations Lithuanians are perceived as alien, others, strange, whereas in other situations the unity of Latvian and Lithuanian nations is emphasized due to the common Baltic origin pointing to the spiritual affinity.

In literary and scientific works, the collective stereotype is closely related to the notions of individual authors formed as a result of their personal life experience. Besides, both fiction and culture publications have their own specific character that influences the peculiarities of the Lithuanian image. As a result of these two factors, the collective stereotype of Lithuania and perception of Lithuanians is transformed, losing certain peculiarities, foregrounding other features, on the whole creating a fragmented image of Lithuania and Lithuanians. The present research focuses on the Latvian fiction and culture periodicals of the 21st century that is basically, with few exceptions, aimed at familiarizing and analyzing the literary processes.

It must be noted that the Latvian fiction of this period contains very few references of Lithuania and Lithuanians. This peculiarity especially stands out as compared to the characteristics of other nations, e.g. Russians, Americans, etc. The minimum interest of Lithuanians has been probably determined by the fact that they are not always perceived as others; Lithuanians lack distinctly different features in comparison to Latvians either externally or internally, from the spiritual, cultural aspect. Lithuanian hero can attract Latvian reader's attention only due to some distinctly individual features, whereas representatives of other nations, e.g. Russians, French or Americans, arouse interest

just by mentioning their national affinity, thus attracting reader's attention and reanimating distinct stereotypes of collective perception.

Notwithstanding the sense of unity of Latvians and Lithuanians, there are many features that are different for our nations and they stand out distinctly as stereotypes of the collective consciousness. Hence, Lithuanians are proud and more expressive. However, the collective stereotypes and the corresponding features of behaviour cannot be accounted for rationally. If some nations have common features it does not mean that these nations will be able to successfully coexist and perceive each other as one's own. Neither the geographical proximity nor history, origin, even religious faith are determining factors in international relations. Dislike of one nation to another is irrational, often unaccountable, in diverse periods of history it is determined by one or several seemingly insignificant factors. It is important that globalization may even enhance the mutual hatred of nations, instead of reducing it.

In Latvian culture periodicals that reflect Latvian and Lithuanian literary contacts, images of Lithuanians appear much more regularly than in fiction and are more manifold and comprehensive. In order to clarify the major features of the image of Lithuania and Lithuanians in the contemporary Latvian culture publications, the following periodicals were regarded – 'Karogs' (Banner), 'Kentaurs' (Centaurus), 'Kultūras Forums' (Culture Forum), etc. Depiction of national stereotypes in culture periodicals is not determined by artistic criteria the way it is in fiction, e.g. plot construction, characteristics of heroes, overall conception, etc. However, it is also marked by subjectivity as each article depicting to a greater or lesser degree the stereotypes of collective consciousness is written by a particular author with his or her individual system of views. It must be noted that the image of Lithuania and Lithuanians in periodicals is presented to the Latvian reader both directly and indirectly. Indirectly in the sense that a Latvian author provides his or her own vision of a certain phenomenon in Lithuania, e.g. reviews of particular works, evaluations of the general literary process, review of Lithuanian days of poetry, reflections of travels, etc. Directly in the sense of presenting a certain Lithuanian author's opinion, e.g. interviews where the interviewee is usually asked to evaluate the literary situation in his or her country or express the views about his or her nation on the whole, fiction fragments in Latvian translation as well as fragments of popular science works. Yet the layers of Latvian individual or collective consciousness are manifested also in translations and interviews due to the subjective principle of selecting the material. Hence, the reader is presented information that has been processed, yet a possibility of forming one's own position is offered as well.

Key-words: Lithuania, Lithuanians, images of diverse nations and states, Latvian fiction, Latvian culture periodical, Latvian and Lithuanian literary contacts

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The images of diverse nations and the countries they represent are formed collectively in the national consciousness and the process of their formation is rather complex and contradictory. The notions of one nation about another are greatly determined by an ancient tendency of human consciousness to categorize the external world into 'one's own' and 'alien', thus into 'familiar' and 'unfamiliar', 'acceptable' and 'unacceptable'.

This stereotype of human perception is related to the notions of one nation about another; they may be subjective, imaginary or objective, true, and actual. Nowadays the notions of one nation about another are determined by a number of other factors: socio-political, economic, cultural, etc. The interaction of these diverse factors gives rise to a manifold and heterogeneous image of a state or nation in the collective consciousness of another nation. This image is formed as a mosaic consisting of individual distinct notions that very often lacks unity.

The notion about Lithuanians in the contemporary Latvian consciousness has been basically formed in the Soviet period, yet there are also older strata and the stereotypes that appeared in the years of independence. This factor has greatly determined the heterogeneity and contradictoriness of the created image including the opposition 'one's own – alien' in relation to Lithuanians in the collective consciousness of Latvians that is rather debatable as in some situations Lithuanians are perceived as alien, others, unfamiliar, whereas in others the unity of Latvian and Lithuanian peoples is emphasized due to the common Baltic identity and the spiritual relatedness determined by the common origin.

The collective stereotype in literary and publicist works is closely associated with the author's individual notion formed as a result of his or her personal life experience. Besides, both the literary works and culture periodicals have a certain specificity that influences the peculiarities of the depiction of the image of Lithuanians. As a result of the impact of these two factors, the collective stereotype of Lithuania and Lithuanians has been transformed, some of its peculiarities disappearing, others foregrounded, thus creating a fragmented image of Lithuanians and Lithuania. The present research is focused on the 21st century Latvian fiction and culture periodicals aiming at the analysis of literary processes (with just a few exceptions).

It should be noted that Lithuanians and Lithuania are seldom mentioned in the Latvian fiction of this period. This peculiarity becomes obvious if compared to the characteristics of the representatives of other nations, e.g. Russians, Americans, etc. Possibly the minimal interest to Lithuanians has been determined by the fact that they are not always perceived as alien; Lithuanians lack any distinct differences from Latvians either in the external or the internal, spiritual cultural context. The Lithuanian hero can attract and hold the Latvian readers' attention just due to some kind of distinct individual peculiarities, readers' attention being a significant prerequisite of the existence of literature in the contemporary consumerist society. At the same time, the representatives of other nations, e.g. Russians, French, or Americans are interesting due to their ability to arouse in the readers' awareness bright collective perception stereotypes. Jānis Vēveris' novel *Spoguļu vīns* (The Mirror Wine) provides very interesting characteristics of the representatives of another nationality and the respective country. The author depicts Russians providing a distinct and analytical description of the stereotypes of perceiving Russians in the Latvian consciousness by pure mention of the word *krievs* (Russian).

Patiešām, patiešām, šī nolemtība, kas piemīt ainavai un tātad arī tās apdzīvotājiem – gurķu un kāpostu mucas aizdurvē te iederas neizbēgami, tāpat Leonīda tēva vai kāda viņa pēcteča ģimētnē un gurdenie mušu pārlidojumi, un politbirojs, kas dziļās sērās paziņo, un šis ātrvilciens, kas tomēr apliecina, ka iespējama vismaz citādāka dzīves telpa, bez gurķiem un kāpostu mucām, taču robeža ir tikai šķitums, atšķirība ir tikai šķitums, būtība paliek nemainīga: ermoņikas un balalaika, šie

instrumenti, kas tik labi raksturo pašus muzicētājus: formas un skaņas un motīvi, visas šī tautas melodijas, kuras K. nespēj iedomāties rakstītas vijolei vai, teiksim vēl pārgalvīgāk, klavesīnam. Tad vēl nacionālie našķi: saulpuķu sēklas, piemēram, kuru zelēšana jau pati par sevi rosina uz apcerīgumu un ainavas plašumu, kur pārieties skatam, domīgi izspļaujot kārtējās čaumalas un ieklausoties tautas melodijās; šīs saulpuķu sēklas taču ir gluži vai filozofiska kategorija, produkts, kas iegūts bez jebkādas tehnoloģijas, atšķirībā no kukurūzas pārslām, košļājamgumijas vai čipsiem, teiksim; šis produkts, kas visu dzīvi pārvērš nepārejošās ilgās pēc gaišākas nākotnes, kraukšķīgāka gurķa un sulīgākiem kāpostiem, un dāsnāka Leonīda tēva, tad vēl ksenofobija, kas gluži pašsaprotami izriet no visa augšminētā, un, saprotams, izredzētības apziņa, kas liek alkt pēc ermoņikām, balalaikas un saulpuķsēklām visur, kur vien sper kāju šī Dieva atstātā tauta, kas tomēr nav tikai sauleņsēklu zelētāju kopums...¹

[Really, really, this fatality characteristic of landscape and those living in it – casks with pickled cucumbers and cabbage behind the door are integral here as well as the portrait of Leonid's father or one of his offspring and the languid flights of flies, and the politburo that announces with grief, and this fast train that makes one think of the possibility of existence of a different space of living, without cucumbers and cabbage casks, but the border is just an illusion, difference is an illusion, the essence remaining unchanged: the harmonics and 'balalaika', these instruments that characterize their players so well: forms and sound motifs, all these folk melodies that K. cannot imagine written for the violin or, to be even more daring, for the harpsichord. And the national goodies: sun-flower seeds, for instance, chewing which incites one to become meditative reflecting on the vastness of the landscape where the sight wanders freely while pensively spitting out the current shells and listening to the folk tunes; these sun-flower seeds are almost a philosophical category, a product acquired without any technology unlike, say, cornflakes, chewing gum, or crisps; this product that turns the whole life into constant longing for a brighter future, crispier cucumber, and more succulent cabbage, more generous Leonid's father, then xenophobia that self-evidently follows all the above-said, and undoubtedly the sense of predestination that makes one long for the harmonics, 'balalaika', and sun-flower seeds everywhere this God's forsaken people treads that nevertheless is not only a body of people chewing sun-flower seeds...]

This citation reveals a whole range of stereotypes about Russians that are so bright that cannot leave the reader indifferent; these stereotypes are deeply rooted in the consciousness and by reading this characteristics in the novel gains an even deeper impact. Unfortunately there are no such distinct characteristics of Lithuanians in Latvian fiction as such notions are not represented in the Latvian national awareness.

The notion that spiritual kinship between Lithuanians and Latvians has been sustained until nowadays being very significant in the formation of their mutual relations is represented in Gundega Repše's *Ludovika zemes* (Ludovik's Lands, 2004). Mindaugs here is perceived as a Latvian and Lithuanian at the same time:

Jā, Mindaugs. Kā jau pie latviešiem, visa dzimta, priekšas un pakaļas bērni, dzimst caur vīrieti, kurš pats nočab, mirstot vai bēgot, bet aiz sevis atstājot matriarhāta ķekarus. Garus kā rožukroņus – tik kreļļu vietā cilvēku galvas. Kvaņķi, no dzimtas vientuļnieki, galvā slimie vai neorganizēti talantīgie. Un vēl kašķīgie. Radi, apšņorējušies ar pretenzijām un pasacījām par dzimtas godu, vārdu un kopā turēšanos. Rēgi.²

[Yes, Mindaugs. As usual for Latvians, the whole kin, children of the front and the bottom, are born through the male who vanishes into the thin air by dying or escaping but leaving behind matriarchate clusters. As long as rosaries – just with human heads instead of beads. Shorties, those lonely from the kin, soft in the head, or spontaneously talented. And the squabbling. Relatives girded with claims and tales of the family honour, name, and holding together. Ghosts.]

The writer indicates the equal attitude of Latvians and Lithuanians towards family and the peculiarities of its formation, thus regarding these nations as united.

A similar idea is unequivocally expressed by Laima Muktupāvela in her novel *Šampinjonu derība* (The Champignon Testament, 2002). She shrewdly emphasizes the fact that the problems of the relations between one's own and alien people are very acute and concrete in the contemporary human awareness as well. Characterizing the sensations of migrant workers in the alien land and the local Irish attitude towards them, L. Muktupāvela describes in the sample of a concrete situation familiar to many Latvians how the ancient peculiarity of the human consciousness influences human relations in the contemporary civilized world. *Te pēkšņi īri ieraudzījuši pie viena galdiņa sēdam ne tā saģērbtus, ne tādā valodā runājošus citādākos. Kas tiem citādākiem savādāks? Nekas – tie bijuši leišu puīši, kuri strādā vietējā kautuvē.*³ [Suddenly Irish noticed at one table differently dressed people speaking a different language. What is so different about those differences? Nothing – those were Lithuanian guys working at the local slaughterhouse.] In this example, within three sentences the writer confronts the Irish awareness (in the first sentence, representing the perception of Lithuanians as alien) with the Latvian one (in the second and third sentences, representing the perception of Lithuanians as our own people).

The writer points to another peculiarity uniting Latvians and Lithuanians – the appearance and conduct in the alien land in a situation of crisis. She writes:

Nav miera man šais istabās, jo ar skaļu troksni durvis tiek atdarītas vēlreiz un noteikti, bet bezcerīgi maigi tiek ieģrūdināta gara melnmate, kurai nav pat jāsaka, kas viņa ir. Baltiete. Nu sitiet mani nost – var atšķirt, var! Pēc acīm. Viņa vēl saceļas pret karceri iestūmēju, bet kad durvis noklaudz, atslēga nožvadz, viņa noplāta rokas kā gūlbis spārnus un nolamājas skaidrā latgaliešu valodā: “Rupucs!..”⁴

[I find no peace in these rooms as the door opens once more with a loud bang and in a determined yet hopelessly soft way a tall woman with black hair is pushed into the room. One needs not guess who she is. A Baltic woman. Do what you will but one can tell the difference, one really can! By her eyes. She tries to fight back to the one pushing her into the icebox but, when the door bangs and the key jingles, she spreads her hands like a swan its wings and curses in a clear Latgalian: ‘Toad!’]

In the situation described, the sense of unity of Latvians and Lithuanians is revealed in critical moments, thus the Baltic people are perceived as an inseparable totality with similar ethnic features. The expression that the Baltic people are recognized by their eyes seems to be used here metaphorically as in the description of person's appearance eyes almost always characterize the inner world being the soul's mirror. It must be noted that in this particular case there are two Latvian women and that makes one think even harder why the author has called the girl a ‘Baltic’ woman. Is it a mistake or a coincidence? Probably not. This is revealed by both the plot of the novel, in which

there are Lithuanian characters as well and the subtitle of the novel *Melnie balti ķeltos* (The Black Baltic People Among the Celtic). The novel relates of the Baltic people who go to work abroad. In a foreign land, usually without the knowledge of the language, the individual and national features of people stand out as a way of resisting the unpleasant reality. In such a situation, the Baltic people feel united that unfortunately may not always be stated about the relations among Latvians. It is a common knowledge that this is the model of our national conduct – splitting and disparities, foregrounding the individual interests. Against this background, the feature of Lithuanians emphasized by the author becomes even more distinct – it is a sense of unity and ability to support each other. It must be added that the stereotype of Latvian national conduct here is revealed from inside, i.e. as one's own, well-known and frequently experienced, whereas the conduct of Lithuanians is evaluated from outside, as a feature of a close yet unfamiliar culture. Therefore these evaluations are subjective, though to a great extent they convey the notions of the Latvian collective awareness concerning the neighbouring people.

Notwithstanding the sense of unity of Latvians and Lithuanians, there are many features that differ for our nations and they appear as stereotypes of the collective awareness. Hence, Lithuanians are prouder, more expressive. Yet it is not possible to provide a rational explanation of the collective awareness stereotypes and the corresponding features of conduct. Common features characteristic of some peoples do not mean that these peoples will get on with each other and perceive each other as their own people. Neither the geographical proximity nor the history or origin, or even the religious identity are determining factors in relations of different nations. One nation's dislike for another is irrational, very often unaccountable and in different historical periods it is determined by one or several seemingly unimportant factors. It is obvious that the overall globalization does not diminish the mutual hatred of different nations but, on the contrary, even facilitates it. Mukstupāvela provides the following comment on the problem of national intolerance nowadays:

Mūsu saimniece centās mūs aizstāvēt, kā māc, bet tas bija tik nepatīkami. Sa-prast, ka normāli vietējie mūs, iebraucējus, melno darbaspēku, neieredz. Leiši bija ģērbušies Īrijā pirktās drēbēs, viņi pat runāja angļiski un galvenais – viņi tāpat kā īri, ir dedzīgi katolī – johaidī! Leišus saņem kā slīcināmus kaķēnus un izsviež laukā.

Un no kurienes?! Varētu vēl pielaut, ka īriem nepatīk, ja svešie lien īru pabā. Nu, kaut vai slēgtos klubos, bet ne jau izmest no amerikāņu kosmopolītiskās ēstuves! Taču šie īri bija godīgi pret sevi un lauciniecišķi tieši. Nepatīk, un bāc pa aci!

Nu nepatīk nevienam svešie, ai, nepatīk! Nebūs, kungi, nekādas integrācijas! Nekāda vienlaidu tautu draudzības mikšļa nebūs vēl ilgi, bet valstī, kuras ekonomiku ceļ iebraucis lēts cittautiešu darbaspēks, tautu sadzīvošana pēc pasaules piegriezuma diktētās ekonomisko nosacījumu formas ar nacionālā satura piešprici ir... absurda.⁵

[Our landlady did her best trying to stand in for us but it was so unpleasant. To realize that the ordinary local people hate us, the immigrants, the black labour force. Lithuanians were dressed in clothes bought in Ireland, they even spoke English and the main thing is that they like Irish are ardent Catholics, for Christ's sake! Lithuanians are met as kittens to be drowned and kicked out.

And from where?! One might suppose that Irish do not like that aliens go to Irish pubs. Or at least closed clubs but to kick people out from the cosmopolitan American place! But these Irish were honest to themselves and provincially direct. They do not like someone and bang on the eye!

Well, no one likes alien people, oh, no one does. No, gentlemen, no integration! No homogeneous mixture of friendly nations is due in the nearest future but in the country, the economy of which is being raised by a cheap foreign labour force, getting along of nations according to the economic conditions form dictated by the world cut with a shot of national content is... just absurd.]

In Latvian culture periodicals reflecting the literary contacts of Latvia and Lithuania, the image of Lithuanians appears much more regularly than it does in fiction and it is more diverse and complete. To identify the most essential features of the image of Lithuania and Lithuanians in the contemporary Latvian culture periodicals, such publications as *Karogs* (Banner), *Kentaurs* (Centaurus), *Kultūras Forums* (Culture Forum), etc. were regarded. The depiction of national perception stereotypes in culture periodicals is not affected by artistic criteria as is the case in fiction, e.g. plot development, means of characters' depiction, the overall conception, etc. Yet also here subjective perspective may be discerned as each article depicting the stereotypes of collective awareness to a greater or lesser extent is written by a particular author with his or her system of individual views. It must be noted that in periodicals the image of Lithuanians and Lithuania is offered to the Latvian reader both indirectly and directly. Indirectly – when a Latvian author provides his or her vision of a particular literary phenomenon in Lithuania, e.g. in reviews on concrete works, evaluations of the common literary process, reviews of the days of poetry in Lithuania, travel reflections, etc. Directly – when a Lithuanian author's point of view is presented, e.g. in interviews where one of the questions is usually about the situation in the Lithuanian literature or the interviewee is asked to comment on his or her people in general, fragments of fiction in Latvian translation as well as excerpts from popular science texts. However, layers of the Latvian individual or collective awareness appear also in translations and interviews due to the principle of the subjective selection of the material. Readers are offered already filtered information, yet they have a possibility to form their own position.

The most extensive information about literary processes in Lithuania is provided in the journal *Banner*. Since 2000, almost each issue of the journal has translations of Lithuanian literature, reviews, interviews, etc. This information is formed with a deliberate regularity and aim of providing more news about the literature of the neighbouring countries. On the whole, these works not only form a minimal notion of the image of Lithuanian culture and literature environment in the awareness of Latvians but also depict everyday life scenes showing the image of Lithuanian and Lithuania.

The Lithuanian and Latvian authors' vision of the representatives of the Lithuanian nation and their stereotypical images is rather similar, yet each author emphasizes something of his or her own that is characteristic of their individual identity and opinions. Hence, the translator of Latvian poetry into Lithuanian Erika Drungytė writes:

Runājot par latviešiem un lietuviešiem, salīdzinājumā ar pārējām mākslām dzeja ir vēl komplicētāka. Jo tajā ir ļoti dziļi iespaidies gan arhaiskais slānis, kas patiesi vieno mūsu tautas, gan arī viss jaunais, kas atspoguļo katras tautas savdabīgo ceļu. Un, kad tu, lasīdams dzejoli, iedomājies, ka visi arhetipi ir līdzīgi, pasaules uztvere ir identiska, stilistiskas figūras lietojamas līdzīgos nolūkos, arī abu tautu dzejas simboliskā rodama paralēles, tu iemaldies tiklos, no kuriem izkļūt vari tikai tad, kad pats sāpīgi atzīsti – tu nevari saprast, kāpēc atdzejotais variants manai tautai nespēj izteikt to, kas saskatāms oriģināltekstā.⁶

[As to Latvians and Lithuanians, as compared to other arts, poetry is even more complicated. Because it bears an imprint of both the archaic layer that truly unites our nations and everything new that reflects the original way of each nation. And when you imagine while reading a poem that all archetypes are similar, the world perception is identical, stylistic figures are used with similar intentions, there are parallels in the symbolism of the poetry of both nations, you get lost in the network, from which you can escape only when you are able to admit with pain that you cannot understand why the translated variant is unable to express to my people what is seen in the original text.]

On the basis of the characteristics of the specificity of poetry, E. Drungytė provides her conclusions about the national awareness of Latvians and Lithuanians. Translating poetry is an integral part of her identity and consciousness and from this point of view Drungytė regards the mutual relations of the Latvian and Lithuanian nations. Hence, she provides an untraditional and persuasive idea about the original proximity of Latvians and Lithuanians.

A deeper insight into the Lithuanian and Latvian national perception stereotypes makes it possible for authors to discern both similar and different features. Similar features form the basis of opposing the Baltic peoples to others. Hence, the popular Lithuanian writer Sigitas Parulskis characterizing one of his works and answering the question why he writes so much on booze states: *We are northerners and we need to get some light. When drinking for a moment it gets very light, it's a pity that this moment is so short. You drink and drink, everything is so light but then the light blinds you and that is all, darkness ensues...*⁷ S. Parulskis expresses an individual opinion instead of a national stereotype, yet he generalizes his ideas and relates the issues of drinking with both of the Baltic nations associating it with the geographical position of our states. In his novel *Tris sekundes debesu* (Three Seconds of the Sky), this idea is artistically expressed and the ideas conveyed in the form of fiction are deeply rooted in the readers' consciousness remaining there for good.

One of the most successful ways of getting to know Lithuania in Latvian culture periodicals seems to be the *Lithuanian project* organized by the journal *Banner* in 2004. Within it, almost the whole issue seven was dedicated to the literary situation in Lithuania presenting both the Latvian and Lithuanian perspective on Lithuania. Within the project, short reviews by Lithuanian authors on the literary situation in general (Laura Laurušaitė) and studies of particular problems of literature (Erika Drungytė) have been published as well as fragments of translations of Lithuanian authors' works (e.g. Sigita Parulskis *Three seconds of the sky*) and interviews with Sigitas Parulskis and Vladas Braziūnas. Even an idea of a common Latvian-Lithuanian culture periodical publication came up, yet unfortunately it has not been realized. This project seems to have a long-term impact as it aroused interest about Lithuanian literature also in the following issues of the journal *Banner*. Initiating the project, Pauls Bankovskis provided very precise characteristics of Lithuania and Lithuanians mentioning among the most essential features the catholic faith, the common origin of Latvians and Lithuanians, pointing out the rather affluent situation of Lithuania in the Soviet period as compared to that of Latvia, also a better situation in the sphere of literature and culture. In the article *Lietuviešu projekts: tālu prom tik tuvu* (The Lithuanian Project: Far Away so Close) he writes:

Jocīgā kārtā citādi es droši vien nevienu lietuvieti personiski nepazītu, taču šādi, sastopoties pie zviedru galda vai kafijas pauzes laikā liknējot gar drupenu smilšu miklas cepumu šķīvjiem, esmu pat iegaumējis vairākus vārdus, sejas, līdz ar to nākamajās reizēs varam uzvesties jau kā paziņas. Jocīgi tas ir tāpēc, ka Lietuva ir tik tuvu. Tik tuvu, ka pa zemes ceļu patiesībā nav iespējams nokļūt nevienā no Vakareiropas valstīm, nešķērsojot Lietuvu. Tik tuvu, ka, vasarā aizbraucot uz laukiem Eglaines pusē, Lietuva ir tur tas krūmājs maķenīt tālāk aiz kapu bērzu birzs un paugurs sēņotāja pusstundas gājiena attālumā, dzelzceļa un purva viņā pusē. Tepat blakus. Tik tuvu, ka teju ikkatrs ārzemnieks, ja vien ir dzirdējis par Lietuvu vai Latvijū, vieglu roku mēdz abas sajaukt vai uzskatīt par vienas medaļas divām pusēm.⁸

[Funny as it may be, I would probably not know any Lithuanian in person but in this way, meeting at receptions or during a coffee break bending over trays with crumbly cookies, I have even memorized some names and faces so that next time we may meet as acquaintances. It is funny because Lithuania is so close. So close that it is impossible to drive to any Western country without crossing Lithuania. So close that in summer going to the countryside near Eglaine Lithuania is in that bush a bit further behind the cemetery birch grove and the hill in the distance of half an hour of a mushroom picker's walk, across the railway and the marsh. Just by side. So close that almost every foreigner if only she or he has heard of Lithuania or Latvia easily mixes them and considers two sides of the medal.]

Bet citādi atšķirību nav nemaz tik daudz. Es zinu, ka nākamajā pasākumā atkal kādu no viņiem satikšu. Pamanīšu mīnājamies rindā pēc vīna vai siltajiem ēdieniem un nodomāšu – paskat, atšķirībā no tiem igauņiem, kas izceļas jau pa gabalu – katrs sataisījies kā rokzvaigzne –, lietuviešu rakstnieks ir tieši tāds pats kā mēs. Drusku saburzījies, mazliet apaudzis, nedaudz iedzēris, smēķējošs un precīgs parunāties. Par to, kāpēc alnis jāsauc par briedi un otrādi. Jau pēc iedomāšos, cik tas tomēr savādi, ka šī saruna nenotiks nedz Rīgā, nedz Viļņā, pat ne aizaugušā plaviņā pie Eglaines, bet gan Mančestrā, Berlīnē, varbūt par Ņujorkā. Es būšu ieradies no valsts, kuras laikrakstu privātsludinājumu lappuses, uzrādot cenas ASV dolāros un eiro, tiek pārdoti “Lietuviešu projekta” dzīvokļi. Bet viņš vai viņa nāks no valsts, kurā šis projekts pirms daudziem gadiem dzimis.⁹

[But otherwise there are not so many differences. I know that in the next event I will meet some of them. I will notice them in the line for wine or food and think – see, unlike those Estonians who stand out in the distance – everyone dressed up like rock stars – the Lithuanian writer is just like us. Slightly wrinkly, somewhat unshaven, a bit tipsy, smoking, and glad to talk. About the question why elk should be called deer and vice versa. A thought will cross my mind how weird that this talk will not take place in Riga or Vilnius, or even in an overgrown meadow near Eglaine but in Manchester, Berlin, or even in New York. I would have come from a country where in the classified ads in newspapers indicating prices in US dollars and Euro ‘Lithuanian project’ apartments are sold. But he or she would come from a country where this project was born a long time ago.]

In these citations, the writer hits off the peculiarities of the opposition of ‘one’s own and alien’ in the Latvian collective awareness concerning Lithuanians. Lithuanians are both close, similar, friendly, and alien – other.

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- ¹ Vēveris J. *Spoguļu vīns*. Rīga: Daugava, 1995. – 17.–18. lpp.
² Repše G. *Ludovika zemes*. Rīga: Pētergailis, 2004. – 17. lpp.
³ Muktupāvela L. *Šampinjonu derība. Melnie balti ķeltos*. Rīga: Daugava, 2002. – 151. lpp.
⁴ Ibid. – 45. lpp.
⁵ Ibid. – 152. lpp.
⁶ Druņģīte Ē. Dzejas valoda – saprast un iztulkot. / *Karogs* Nr. 7, 2004. – 23.–24. lpp.
⁷ *Tu nemaz neizskaties pēc rakstnieka*. Ar Sigitu Paruļski sarunājas Guntis Berelis. / *Karogs* Nr. 7, 2004. – 29. lpp.
⁸ Bankovskis P. Lietuviešu projekts: tālu prom tik tuvu. / *Karogs* Nr. 7, 2004. – 19. lpp.
⁹ Ibid. – 21. lpp.

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Džiuljeta Maskuliūniene

SOME ASPECTS OF REPRESENTING BELARUS AND LATVIA IN LITHUANIAN CULTURE PERIODICALS IN 1997 – 2007

Summary

The present article discusses the more important aspects of depiction of Belarus and Latvia in Lithuanian press on culture of 1997/2007. Lithuanian neighbour states are being reflected in both universal and specialised Lithuanian press on culture – Lithuanian culture newspapers ‘Literatūra ir menas’ (Literature and Art) and ‘Šiaurės Atėnai’ (Northern Athens), journals ‘Metai’ (Years), ‘Kultūros barai’ (Cultural Fields), ‘Nemunas’ (The Nemunas), ‘Liaudies kultūra’ (Folk Culture), etc.

While depicting Belarus, a two-fold perspective is observed: Belarus is depicted against the background of its political life (it is rather often attempted to view Belarus in one or another relation to the European Union, a lot of attention is paid to disclosing the metonymy image of Minsk, the capital of Belarus, the topic of the president is important, etc.). Another perspective in depiction of Belarus concerns Belarusian cultural horizons. Articles on Belarusian mythology, folklore as well as translations of fiction, etc. are published.

The field of seeing Latvia, Lithuanian northern neighbour, encompasses focusing on various culture problems. Translations of fiction, reviews, and analytical articles on similarities and differences of Latvian and Lithuanian cultures are published. However, there are more publications of a chronicle type as well as informational and occasional ones. In general, quite a lot of attention is paid to Belarusian and Latvian cultures in Lithuanian press on culture; however, a more state-like, systematic viewpoint would be desirable.

Key words: Lithuanian press on culture, aspects of depiction of Belarus, aspects of depiction of Latvia, informational, chronicle publications, analytical publications, state policy on culture

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Belarus and Latvia are the neighbouring states of Lithuania, thus it is only natural to be interested in the cultural life of neighbouring countries that is manifested in, e.g. comparative works dealing with Lithuanian and Latvian, Lithuanian and Belarusian literary contacts. Alma Lapinskienė and Adam Maldzis in their monograph *Lietuvių-baltarusių literatūriniai ryšiai* (Lithuanian-Belarusian Literary Links, 1989) have presented the development of Lithuanian-Belarusian literary relations in a chronological order since the 16th century until 1980, while Kęstutis Nastopka’s monograph *Lietuvių ir latvių literatūrų ryšiai* (Lithuanian and Latvian Literary Links, 1971) analyses various forms of literary connections between the two countries – personal contacts of literary figures of both countries, reception of Lithuanian literature in Latvia, Lithuanian themes in

Latvian literature and vice versa, etc. Both neighbouring countries are also reflected in periodical publications – not only in national daily papers (e.g. *Lietuvos Rytas* (The Lithuanian Morning), *Respublika* (The Republic), but also in general and specialised culture periodicals. In Lithuania there are many culture periodicals of various types; the present article deals with publications on Latvian and Belarusian topics in culture newspapers *Literatūra ir menas* (Literature and Art) and *Šiaurės Atėnai* (Northern Athens), journals *Metai* (Years), *Kultūros barai* (Cultural Fields), *Nemunas* (The Nemunas), *Liaudies kultūra* (Folk Culture) in the recent decade, i.e. between 1997 and 2007. All analysed newspapers and journals are presentable publications of modern Lithuanian culture media, also paying attention to the culture of the above-mentioned neighbouring countries. Our aim is to discuss the topics and problems that have become the object of representation as well as the way things are presented to the readers of these culture publications.

Historico-cultural approach, descriptive and interpretative methods are employed in the present study.

Belarus: a Picture of the Country against the Background of the Political Life

Browsing through the general culture publications *Literature and Art*, *Northern Athens*, *Cultural Fields*, one notices a politicised image of the contemporary Belarus. The titles of essays, analytical and survey articles speak for themselves: *Stopped Time: or in the Kingdom of Broken Mirrors*¹, *Media in the Country of Stagnant Time*², *Belarusian Pen Centre is Crying for Help*³, *Old Peripheries in the New Europe*, *Minsk Type Draughts or Wind of Change*⁴, *Belarus – the Eve of Non-Velvet Revolution?*⁵, *Belarus: Dictatorship is not a Sensation*⁶ (publications in *Northern Athens*). It is obvious that the political and ideological situation in Belarus is emphasised to the Lithuanian reader irrespective of what is being described – student theatre festival, the Day of World Poetry in Minsk, presidential elections, referendum, or something else. It seems that the authors are most concerned with presenting the reader with coordinates of the modern social and political life in Belarus, and only when the ground is ready, speak about art and culture. Thus Laimantas Jonušys comes up with a rhetoric question: *Does Europe end 30 km from the Centre of Europe? No, it is only European Union that ends in 30 km, and Belarus starts*⁷. On the whole, quite often attempts are made to see Belarus in a certain relation to the EU. Consider the following: *Lukashenko is not eternal, and maybe at some point Belarus will become a member of the European Union*⁸, *The meagreness of thinking of politicians and social canvassers is revealed by the limited EU vocabulary, dominated by just a few clichés, declaring [...], that we are going to stay on the outskirts of Europe together with Belarus*⁹, *Belarus – the Eternal Periphery between the East and the West*¹⁰. Even in poetry similar intonations can be heard; e.g. in the verses of Belarusian poet Alesis Paškevičius:

*Šimtąkart nurijau žodžius,
Kur dabartės išklot rengiuosi,
Aš Europai – žentas kuklus,
Baltarusijai – trenktas posūnis.*¹¹

[I swallowed the words for a hundred times
The words that I am going to spill now
I am a modest son-in-law to Europe
To Belarus I am a mad stepson.]

The well-known Lithuanian writer and essayist Gintarė Adomaitytė speaks in a poetic, subjective, and personal way:

*Every morning I wake up and see: on my map of Europe, Gudija (Belarus) is at its bluest, bluer than all the seas and oceans. Precisely Gudija, this is how it is written, not Belarus. It is as if the compiler of the map pleads with the neighbours:
– Swim out. Take off, relatives, strongly from the bottom of our river Gauja-Houja. Take off. And surface.¹²*

A lot of attention is paid to the metonymy of the Belarusian capital Minsk. This is how Almantas Samalavičius describes it:

*The first impression upon reaching Minsk is strange and very forceful reminiscences of the past times. As soon as you get off at the railway station you feel as if you were back in the Soviet environment. Involuntarily one experiences a disquieting feeling of *déjà vu*. Miserable surroundings, tired faces of the people, grey and uniform facades – we think we forgot all this long ago. And the city itself, the visual embodiment of pompous and at the same time banal to the point of sickness triumph of soviet modernism makes one unconsciously think how much effort had been put in order to demolish historical memory at any cost, to form a mass of grey ‘future’ people, fed by the Communist Party.¹³*

Ridas Viskauskas also starts his essay about the 3rd International Student Theatre festival with a description of Minsk:

The ‘space’ of Minsk is peculiar: post-war ‘monolith’ architecture, a lot of building going on in the city centre, – the ambition of the city fathers to make the city more important by high risers, to unite its dwellers by propaganda slogans is felt. [...] ‘To Happy Belarus!’, ‘Everywhere and Always – We Are Together!’ – such and similar calls make one smile, but the streets of Minsk are clean (one yard is being swept by almost two people!), and that makes us envious. If citizens of Minsk saw the colourful faces of some people living on Kalvarijų or Savanorių streets in Vilnius, their habits and manners, piles of rubbish at the end of the day, they wouldn’t understand our contrasts, the contrasts of those living in the EU...¹⁴

Marius Ivaškevičius paints a wider panorama of Belarus, he describes provincial towns Borisovo, Logoisk; however, the image of Minsk is a compulsory fragment in the picture of Belarus:

Minsk, in comparison to Vilnius, is a very spacious city. No traffic jams, wide avenues. Lenin and other Soviet attributes are still in fashion here, although at the same time the city is trying to be modern, European. The citizens of Minsk have a perfect sense of humour and self-irony. Almost every street or building in Minsk has a funny story connected with it, while the president is the most popular character of these jokes.¹⁵

The first person of the country, its president, is no less popular in culture media than in Minsk. Thus, while discussing TV programs (among them a program about preparation for the presidential elections), Skirmantas Valiulis states: *The country is*

ruled by a dictator, while its people are still walking in the Soviet-style boots¹⁶. It is pointed out elsewhere: *It is not for nothing that Lukashenko states that Belarus is going to become spiritual leader of the region*¹⁷, still in another place we read:

*Belarus [...] has stopped, being cut by a voluntarily, democratically elected president Alexander Lukashenko. This energetic chairman of the collective farm, unfortunately, hasn't become a state level politician, and remained a representative of local authorities with a mentality of a local knight, who had become a dictator of the whole country on a whim of fate.*¹⁸

In general, the metaphor of the time stopped, of stagnation, of the past times is often repeated: *The time has stopped there, while the time of Europe leaps headlong ahead*¹⁹.

Thus Lithuanian culture media have created a vivid image of Belarus stopped in time. However, it is suggested that stereotypes are not always right. Hence, Živilė Dambrauskaitė warns:

*When talking about Belarus, you'd better be careful with jokes. I have met people who talk about Gudija (Belarusia) with a light mocking as about 'European theme park of the Soviet times'. I wonder if people who talk like that ever think about the fact that the 'exhibits' of this park are alive, while caretakers don't come back to their cosy homes in the evening but stay for the night in the same park*²⁰

Thus the socio-political exposition in the above mentioned publications often follows an article raising or analysing cultural problems. This is an understandable and natural process. Belarus is very close to Lithuania geographically, while its social and political status is special in the context of the whole Europe. Politics in Belarus affects culture and art to a great extent, that is why it cannot be unnoticed, concealed, and 'forces' itself into the articles.

Belarus: Cultural Horizons

A different situation is observed in specialised culture publications. Thus, e.g. in the journal *Years* most attention is paid to literature itself. Here priorities are with literary texts, more precisely – publication of their translations. Translations of poems are published as well. Henaundz Buraukin, Alesis Pismiankon, Aleh Nikulin, Nilas Hilievčius and other poets' verses reach Lithuanian readers through these publications²¹. Prose, especially short prose, is also published: Vasyl Bykav's story *Velykų kiaušiniai* (Easter Eggs), Alesis Žukas' *Sielą tyrame lauke* (The Soul in the Bare Field), etc. Some articles on various urgent themes can also be found, e.g. E. Ignatavičius' article *Plunksnos broliai šaukiasi pagalbos* (Pen Brothers are Crying for Help), etc. Some deeper analytical articles can be found in the journal *Cultural Fields*, e.g. David Riach, a Scottish Canadian's article *Gudai ir jų tautiniai simboliai bei tradicijos* (The *Gudai* (Belarusians) and their National Symbols and Traditions, 1998), Aleksejus Dzermantas and Sergejus Sanko's article *Gudų etnogenezė: mokslas ir ideologija* (The Ethno Genesis of the *Gudai* (Belarusians): Science and Ideology, 2007).

The journal *Folk Culture* has published a number of interesting articles on Belarusian culture (thirteen articles during the last six years). By the way, quite a few of them have been written by Belarusian authors: L. Dushicas' *Kulto akmenys Baltarusijoje* (The

Cult Stones in Belarus, 2000), *Senovės Baltarusijos kostiumas* (The Ancient Belarusian Costume, 1995), A. Dziermantas', *Baltarusiai: genealogija iki trisdešimos kartos* (Belarusians: Genealogy up to the Thirtieth Generation, 2006), L. Dushicas, I. Klimovich's *Baltarusijos legendiniai ežerai* (Legendary Belarusian Lakes), M. Ramaniuk's *Baltarusių apžadų kryžiai* (Belarusian Crosses), etc. Lithuanian authors also publish their articles: L. Giedraitis presents *Kas yra baltarusiai ir kuo čia dėti mes* (Who are Belarusians and what do We have to do with Them, 1993), V. Kaributas – *Lietuviškosios baltarusių liaudies kostiumo šaknys* (Lithuanian Roots of Belarusian National Costume), etc. It has to be noted that these articles are academic, thorough, without wider essayistic insertions, objective in style, while the spectrum of topics, as can be seen, is rather wide.

It can be stated that Lithuanian culture media often touch upon various aspects of Belarus and its culture. However, a more systematic approach to the neighbouring country and its culture, probably even a separate column, a special issue dedicated to the neighbours are desirable and such cases have been recorded in the past. At present, the look of Lithuanian culture media is cast towards Europe and other, even farther regions. The Lithuanian writer Marius Ivaškevičius talks about this more symptomatically in his essay *Buvau Baltarusijoje, arba Bandymas prakalbinti kraują* (I Was in Belarus or an Attempt at Making Blood Talk):

I was in Belarus. This answer to the question about where I had disappeared brought some animation to the faces of my Lithuanian friends. The reaction would have been different had I said I was in London, Paris, or New York. Although from Vilnius to New York there are eight thousand kilometres, and to the Belarusian border – only thirty.²²

Latvia: a Search for the Singularity of the more Northern Country

Latvia is the northern neighbour of Lithuania; these neighbouring relations have been subtly described by the Latvian poet Jānis Baltvilks in his poem *Apie smilgas* (About Bent Grasses), published in the cultural journal *The Nemunas*:

*Apie smilgas, Latvijos smilgas,
Žiemvėjy
Lietuvą liečiančias,
Apie smilgas,
Pietvėjy
Latviją liečiančias.
Apie smilgas, mūsų smilgas
Žvilgantį
Šiaurės sodą.²³*

[About bent grasses, Latvian bent grasses
In the winter wind
Touching Lithuania
About bent grasses
In the summer wind
Touching Latvia.
About bent grasses, our bent grasses –
Glittering
Northern garden.]

In 2000, an interesting article by Mārtiņš Krūmiņš *Latviai panašēni j žemaičius* (The Latvians are more Similar to Samogitins) published in the journal *Folk Fields*, reads:

Everything that we don't understand about each other is caused by one simple reason – by ignorance. The situation is rather absurd: we are separated only by a large forest, but more than one, if asked about the distance between Latvia and Lithuania, would start counting the distance from Riga. Neither Lithuanians nor Latvians pay any special attention to the similarity of our languages. Nobody in general is inclined to have a special interest in anything. [...] There is no strategy or special politics.²⁴

The political life in Latvia is much less reflected in Lithuanian culture press in comparison to that of Belarus, and this is quite understandable having in mind the peculiarity of political and social situation in Belarus. Latvian route is similar to the Lithuanian one; however, some specific differences also exist. This is obvious, for example, in the translations of the essay of Gundega Repše published in *Northern Athens*. E.g. in the essay *Be abejonēs* (Without a Doubt) she writes:

It is more than obvious to anyone that aggressive and belligerent groups of Russian-speaking youths on their way to the rally against the Latvian language at school are not going to love Latvia, the Latvians and the Latvian language, that the politicians' oratory is a reality show of the tapestry of their Cabinet, and not the reality under the lindens of Čaka Street.²⁵

However, it is most important for the Lithuanian culture press to present the culture and art of the Northern neighbour to the Lithuanian reader. In the period under discussion, a number of valuable publications appeared on various themes. Thus Erika Drungytė in her article *Latvijoje poety yra* (Poets do Exist in Latvia), having stated that *Latvian poetry is little known to Lithuanians²⁶*, presents a wide and exhaustive review of Latvian poetry by introducing the main trends of the modern Latvian poetry. Another article *Akligatviai, skersgatviai, tranzitas* (Dead-Ends, Alleys and Transit, 2003) familiarizes the Lithuanian reader with Latvian policy on literature, the importance of the Culture Capital Foundation, the publishing situation, culture publications *Literatūra un māksla* (Literature and Art), *Karogs* (Banner), literary almanac *Luna*, Latvian literary prizes and contests²⁷. The appearance of such extensive reviews would be an invaluable contribution to the pool of knowledge about Latvian culture (the same could also be said about the strategy of presenting Belarusian culture). It has to be emphasised that the quoted profound articles by Mārtiņš Krūmiņš and Erika Drungytė were sponsored by the Open Lithuania Fund, thus support or coordination from a certain institution for those toiling in the sphere of enlightenment would be very welcome. Here we could quote E. Drungytė again: *Well, at some point we will probably recover from Europe-mania and America-mania, which have unscrewed us bolt after bolt²⁸*. The author of the article emphasises the necessity first of all to get acquainted with the culture of one's neighbours, the nearest contexts, and only after that look further. It is analytical and survey articles, critical reflection, that our culture press lacks most of all.

Chronicles, information and occasional publications occur much more often. Let the titles of the articles (often quite short ones) speak for themselves: *Vienintelė lietuvių ir latvių diena Jelgavoje* (The Only Day of Lithuanians and Latvians in Jelgava) – about Maironis' 140th anniversary celebrated in Jelgava, *Juozas Grušas Latvijos teatro scenoje*

(Juozas Grušas on the Stage of Latvian Theatre), *Jaunas latvių dailininkas lyginamas su Mikalojumi Konstantinu Čiurlioniu* (A Young Latvian Artist is Compared to Mikalojus Konstantinas Čiurlionis) – about Latvian artist Jānis Avotiņš; *Kaimynų nepriklausomybės diena – su Kristijono Donelaičio ‘Metais’* (The Neighbours’ Day of Independence – with Kristijonas Donelaitis’ *Metai*) – about the new translation of Kristijonas Donelaitis’ poem; *‘A la prima’: Latvija lietuvių akimis: (A la prima: Latvia in the Eyes of Lithuania)* – about the symposium of Lithuanian and Latvian artists in Ludza, *umpapa umpapa... pas leišius* (Umpapa umpapa... to Latvians) – about Latvian poet Knuts Skujenieks’ book in Lithuanian, etc. (all these articles were published in the journal *Nemunas*). The last one points out:

It has already become a tradition to introduce modern Latvian poets in Lithuania by a bilingual publication. The first successful attempt was Uldis Bērziņš’, the laureate of the Baltic Assembly, book ‘Vabzdžių žingsniai’ (Insects’ Steps) published in 1997.

Marija Macijauskienė’s article *Vertėjas, grojęs smuiku* (A Translator who Played the Violin) is also valuable; it introduces the translator Kazis Dumcis. As can be seen, various Latvian motifs dominate in Lithuanian media and vice versa, i.e. a comparative, contrastive angle is obvious in these publications, which is quite natural in the history of communication between the neighbouring countries.

However, the most objective and truest point of interest is probably revealed by the published material that attracts publishers’ attention in itself, irrespective of the comparison of cultures, owing to its distinction and self-value, not because it is important due to some specifically Lithuanian motives. Latvian writers and poets are frequent guests of Lithuanian culture publications (more frequent than Belarusian). Classical and modern Latvian writers are being published. Thus above-mentioned *Nemunas* introduces poetry by the Latvian authors Hermanis Marģers Majeviskis, Jānis Rokpelnis, and Jānis Baltvilks (together with the famous quoted poem *Apie smilgas* (About Bent Grasses)), Anna Rancāne’s essay *Tarp zvaigždēs ir skruzdēs* (Between the Star and the Ant), Regīna Ezera’s prose. Sometimes the reaction is quite quick, like in the case with the exile author Guntis Zariņš’ short story cycle *Septyni kryčiai* (Seven Falls) (translated by A. Valionis), which appeared in Latvia just a few years ago. In 2006, this work was published in Lithuania, in *Nemunas*.

The journal *The Folk Culture* published as many as 34 articles on the topics of Latvian folk culture in six recent years. Quite a few works here are comparative in nature, e.g. S. Matulevičienė’s articles *Lietuvių ir latvių kalendorinis folkloras: sąsajos ir skirtumai* (Lithuanian and Latvian Calendar Folklore: Links and Differences), *Apie lietuvių ir latvių darbo dainas* (About Lithuanian and Latvian Work Songs), J. Vaiškūnas’ *Apie žvaigždžių simboliką baltų pasaulėžiūroje* (About the Symbolism of the Stars in Baltic World-Outlook), R. Šimonytė-Žarskienė’s *Baltijos tautų kanklių ornamentika* (The Ornaments of the *Kanklės* of the Baltic Nations), D. Račiūnaitė-Vyčiniene’s *Beieškant lietuvių ir latvių daugiabalsių dainų bendrybės* (In Search of the Commonality between Lithuanian and Latvian Multi-Voice Songs), etc. There are articles dedicated to Latvian studies: P. Šmits’ *Latvių mitologija* (Latvian Mythology) was published in a number of issues, the works by other authors – Janina Kursiute’s *Kertės (kampo) simbolinė reikšmė latvių tautosakoje* (The Symbolic Meaning of the Corner in Latvian Folklore),

S. Rižakova's *Akmens įvaizdis latvių mitologijoje* (The Image of the Stone in Latvian Mythology), B. Reidzāne's *Saulės medis latvių liaudies dainose* (The Sun Tree in Latvian Folk Songs), G. Žemytis' *Apie ką pasakoja latvių ornamentas?* (What does the Latvian Ornament tell Us?), etc. The authors of these studies are Lithuanian and Latvian researchers. Folklore, mythology, related problems, e.g. concerned with organising Song festivals, persuasively reveal the community of our cultures. Here it would be suitable to quote Mārtiņš Krūmiņš: *This would not be the case if we were really different, if we did not have the same roots, almost identical mythology and similar languages. The only thing we need is to know more about each other.*

In conclusion it should be said that the mission of culture publications (both specialised and general ones) is to educate the reader and open new intellectual prospects. The 'neighbourly' mission is no less important: to know the neighbours' culture, to understand it is more than ever important for the citizens of the globalised world.

Marius Ivaškevičius finishes his essay about Belarus, another neighbour of Lithuania, with such words: *I do not want to make jokes about Belarus and its nation under the cover of prose. Belarusia is balancing on the rope over the precipice. It will either survive or disappear altogether*²⁹. This is the voice of an anxious man of culture. Maybe culture press should be exactly the same – anxious, attentive, reflective, and favourable? In most cases it is exactly this way; however, a more state-like, systematic, and purposeful approach would be welcome.

¹ Urbutis B. Sustojęs laikas, arba įskilusių veidrodžių karalystėje. / *Literatūra ir menas* No. 1 (2931), 2003. – p. 15.

² Samalavičius A. Žiniasklaida sustingusio laiko šalyje / *Literatūra ir menas* No. 44 (2923), 2002. – pp. 2, 15.

³ Ignatavičius E. Baltarusių PEN centras šaukiasi pagalbos. / *Literatūra ir menas* No. 16 (2740), 1999. – pp. 3, 13.

⁴ Dambrauskaitė Ž. Minskietiški skersvėjai ar 'Wind of change' / *Literatūra ir menas* No. 41 (3022), 2004. – p. 20.

⁵ Evans J. Baltarusija – neaksominės revoliucijos išvakarėse? / *Šiaurės Atėnai* No. 26 (756), 2005. – p. 8.

⁶ [Pociūtė R.] Baltarusija: diktatūra nėra sensacija. / *Šiaurės Atėnai* No. 36 (477), 1999. – pp. 1, 11.

⁷ Jonušys L. Už trisdešimties kilometrų. / *Literatūra ir menas* No. 21 (3050), 2005. – p. 2.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Samalavičius A. Europos vaizdiniai be reklaminio blizgesio. / *Literatūra ir menas* No. 17 (2947), 2003. – p. 2.

¹⁰ Martysevič M. Užklasinis skaitymas. / *Literatūra ir menas* No. 9 (3132), 2007. – p. 19.

¹¹ Paškevičius A. [Šimtąkart nurijau žodžius]. / *Literatūra ir menas* No. 40 (2970), 2003. – p. 6. (Translated into Lithuanian by Vladas Braziūnas)

¹² Adomaitytė 2004: 2. Here and henceforth translation mine – Dž. M.

¹³ Samalavičius A. Žiniasklaida sustingusio laiko šalyje / *Literatūra ir menas* No. 44 (2923), 2002. – p. 2.

¹⁴ Viskauskas R. Teatrinė 'kvėpavimo technika' Minske: linksmai ir bučiuojantis / *Literatūra ir menas* No. 37 (3113), 2006. – p. 7.

¹⁵ Ivaškevičius M. Buvau Baltarusijoje, arba Bandydas prakalbinti kraują. / *Šiaurės Atėnai* No. 2 (828), 2007. – p. 1.

¹⁶ Valiulis S. Tuštybių mugė. / *Literatūra ir menas* No. 12 (3088), 2006. – p. 10.

¹⁷ Žilinskas R. Baublių ir baubų kultūra. / *Šiaurės Atėnai* No. 13 (647), 2003. – p. 11.

- ¹⁸ Urbutis B. Sustojęs laikas, arba įskilusių veidrodžių karalystėje. / *Literatūra ir menas* No. 1 (2931), 2003. – p. 13.
- ¹⁹ Ibid. – p. 15.
- ²⁰ Dambrauskaitė Ž. Minskietiški skersvėjai ar ‘Wind of change’ / *Literatūra ir menas* No. 41 (3022), 2004. – p. 20.
- ²¹ Quite a few of them are translated by the famous Lithuanian poet Vladas Braziūnas.
- ²² Ivaškevičius M. Buvau Baltarusijoje, arba Bandymas prakalbinti kraują. / *Šiaurės Atėnai* No. 2 (828), 2007. – p. 1
- ²³ Baltvilkas J. Apie smilgas. / *Nemunas* No. 16, 2004. – p. 6. Translated into Lithuanian by Arvydas Valionis.
- ²⁴ Krūminis M. Latviai panašesni į Žemaičius. / *Nemunas* No. 3, 2000. – p. 37.
- ²⁵ Repše G. Be abejonės. / *Šiaurės Atėnai*. No. 43 (869), 2007. – p. 10.
- ²⁶ Drungytė E. Latvijoje poetų yra. / *Nemunas* No. 4–5, 2000. – p. 33.
- ²⁷ Drungytė E. Akligatviai, skersgatviai, tranzitas. / *Nemunas* No. 2–3, 2003. – pp. 33–35.
- ²⁸ Ibid. – p. 23.
- ²⁹ Ivaškevičius M. Buvau Baltarusijoje, arba Bandymas prakalbinti kraują. / *Šiaurės Atėnai* No. 2 (828), 2007. – p. 4.

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Maija Burima

THE MENTAL TOPOCHROME OF LATGALE IN THE RECENT LATVIAN LITERATURE

Summary

The present article marks the dominant tendencies in the Latvian literature of the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries, particularly emphasizing the specific features of spatial depiction in it. The cultural space of Latgale has a specific place among the depictions of the space of Latvia. The mental toponym of Latgale in a number of Latvian writers' works is featured as a specific religious and national historico-cultural zone. This kind of representation of Latgale is marked in the works of three Latvian writers of the early 21st century.

Inga Ābele in her travel description 'Austrumos no saules un ziemeļos no zemes. Dienasgrāmata un ceļojumu apraksti' (To the East from the Sun and the North from the Earth. Diaries and Travel Descriptions, 2005) takes up the subjective representation of Rēzekne, Dagda, and Daugavpils. Pauls Bankovskis' novel 'Sekreti. Pierobežas romance' (Secrets. A Borderland Romance, 2003) depicts an old-believer family of Latgale against the background of the historico-cultural border zone of Latvia, its people and their life-stories in the course of history. Andris Bergmanis' novel 'Kaili uz Mēnesceļu. Poēma. Ne tikai erotiska' (Naked on the Moon Road. Poem. Not Only Erotic, 2000) sketches the tradition of Aglona pilgrimage and its experiences of facing an 'other', 'different' culture space, profanated by the author in opposition to the canonized notions.

The novels with the inherent toponym of Latgale analyzed in the present article reveal that Latgale in the recent Latvian literature is most often depicted as a multinational, multilingual, multireligious culture zone, 'the otherness', 'strangeness', 'unfamiliarity' of which embarrasses, scares, or surprises Latvian writers and readers.

Key-words: historico-cultural zone, toponym, Latgalian culture zones, Latvian literature, regional discourse in literature, Old-Believers, otherness

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The early 1990s is an important turning point for the former Soviet countries. Regaining of the independence of Latvia is associated in the people's consciousness with a distinct border situation entailing the evaluation of the previous life, its review, and simultaneously a hopeful and questioning outlook is directed to the future. Latvian literature of the post-awakening period is marked by several tendencies that have continued up to the turn of the 20th and the 21st centuries. They may be divided into two basic streams:

1. Reviewing the past:

- return of the émigré and *inter-bellum* period authors' writing who were banned in the Soviet period;

- actualization of the memoir literature on the Soviet period and *interbellum* time experience.
2. Adapting the recent literary experience of the world:
- postmodernist experiments;
 - manifold use of the feminist literary criticism widespread in the preceding decades in other countries.

The dominance of both tendencies gradually diminished and Latvian writers recovered from inertia changing their rather uniform literary palette to a much more fragmented scope of problems and phenomena as well as ways of their depiction. In the 21st century, Latvian writers are more focused on the creation of their individual style. The depictions of collective experiences are substituted by the descriptions of specific perceptions of individuals. Literature has become more intimate, personal, turning from the external depiction to minute dissections of the inner world of the human. Writers turn their attention to the individual memory that is opposed to the collective memory or supplements it, also physical and physiological processes as phenomena of description, resonance of social issues (supermarkets, internet), and extension of the public sphere by narrowing the private sphere of the individual. Readers desire books that make a radical impact on the literary situation; they desire authors who change the literary scene by means of a blow, a sensation – authors who *have made the rather dull Latvian prose landscape pleasantly lively and versatile*, according to the literary critic Guntis Berelis on Laima Muktupāvela's novel *Šampinjonu derība* (The Champignon Testament) and Dace Rukšāne's novels *Romāniņš* (A Novel) and *Beatrises gultas stāsti* (Beatrise's Bed Stories), all of them published in 2002¹. Many prose books of the 21st century *strip down the Soviet myth of the happy childhood drawing tragicomic lines there*², e.g. Dace Rukšāne, Agita Draguna, Andra Manfelde, Jānis Kalve. Pauls Bankovskis in his works *Skola* (School), *Ofšors* (Offshore) focuses on the positioning in the present, considering the past experiences of shame, guilt, embarrassment, and awkwardness.

The relations with time – a closer or more distant past, particular historical events – have been considered in the recent Latvian literature quite extensively, whereas depictions of Latvian topoi as well as the differences among Latvian regions as the determining background of plot and character formation are rather scarce.

Literature like any kind of art may be the material for regional research in a wider sense, by considering region as a historico-cultural zone. The issue of historico-cultural zone has been considered in a number of investigations by G. Lebedyev who has suggested its universal definitions. According to them, the historico-cultural zone is formed by correlating the iso-lines of many nations and languages. To describe a historico-cultural zone on one plane that may conditionally be called a map, there is a need to set boundaries that are acquired as a result of synthesis of all scientific disciplines. In the typological research of areas, the operative category of topochrone is used, which means the type of artifact culture in particular temporal and spatial coordinates. Culture archetypes are materialized in the archetypes of the historico-cultural zone that determine the chronotopes of behaviour and the stereotypes of the social mentality. The individual consciousness in a situation like this becomes a hierarchy of consciousnesses. Regional consciousness appears as one of its segments, characterized by the attitude towards other regions and the positioning of 'one's own' region in relation to 'alien' or 'other' regions.

What kinds of toponyms have been actualized in the recent Latvian literature?

The toponym of the Siberia depicted in the recent Latvian memoir literature and travel descriptions is related to the historical memory. It is revealed both in a historically expressive and historically neutral manner.

The new economic conditions determine the appearance of new toponyms in Latvian literature. Ireland is one of the most significant ones depicted in Laima Muktupāvela's novel *The Champignon Testament* as a home country of a number of Latvian economic emigrants.

The recent Latvian literature does not have many toponymic depictions that would actualize diverse historico-cultural zones of Latvia or use them as the setting in the works of fiction. Two tendencies stand out distinctly among them: foregrounding of the toponym of Riga and depicting the provincial or regional toponym.

The toponym of the present-day Riga appears in the novel *Rīgas siltums* (Riga Heat, 2003) by Alise Tifentāle. The author provides indirect characteristics of the bohemian life of the capital city regarding the voyages of the representatives of the art world of Riga through the vicious circle of art and life. Elita Franciska Cimare's prose work *Sarkanie ūdeņi* (Red Waters, 2001) depicts the Sarkandaugava area of Riga in the 1930s from the historico-cultural perspective. The notion of regionalism acquires a deeper, mythological dimension here. Egils Venters' novel *Āgenskalns* (2004) is associated with another area of Riga. The image of Riga is sketched in Nora Ikstena's novel *Jaunavas mācība* (Maiden's Teaching, 2001), Laima Muktupāvela's *Mīla. Benjamiņa* (Love. Benjamina, 2005), and Jānis Einfelds' *Veči* (The Old Men, 1999).

Among the few depictions of particular Latvian towns or regions, culture zones, Egils Venters' story *Radio Luxenburg* (2007) and Ilze Graudiņa's novel *Bēgošais krasts* (The Receding Shore, 2001) must be mentioned; the former is set in Saulkrasti, whereas the latter – in a village on the coast of Kurzeme.

Latgale, Latgalian towns or particular Latgalian culture zones are not much present in the recent Latvian literature. However, the few examples that have appeared are distinct enough to be able to judge of certain tendencies or regularities.

Depicting travel impressions in a travel description or diary is one of the most traditional ways of turning to 'other', 'alien' space for writers. From this perspective, Latgale has been represented in Inga Ābele's work *Austrumos no saules un ziemeļos no zemes. Dienasgrāmatas un ceļojumu apraksti* (To the East from the Sun and the North from the Earth. Diaries and Travel Descriptions)³. One of the four chapters titled *Dagda* has been dedicated to Latgale, although this chapter entails also impressions from Rēzekne and Daugavpils.

I. Ābele's Latgalian tour started in Rēzekne where she was impressed by the historico-cultural objects as remnants of their former might. Visiting the Old-Believer church is depicted as a small adventure with specific attire, rituals; the compulsory head covering kerchief triggers off the writer's reflections and makes her regard herself from the perspective of an unfamiliar religion. Similar associations arise in a catholic church:

[...] sieviņa lai arī aizrādīja man skaidrā latgaliešu valodā, ka pa baznīcu drīkst iet tikai ar rokām uz krūtīm vai gar sāniem (jo agrāk čekisti un komunisti pa baznīcām staigājuši ar rokām, saņemtām aiz muguras, pētīdami, kuru varētu nodot). Nēmu to vērā.⁴

[...] the woman remarked in clear Latgalian that one may enter the church only with one's hands on chest or along the sides (because previously 'chekists' and communists walked around churches with their hands behind them, searching for someone to commit). I took it into consideration.]

Ābele accepts this otherness without marking it as 'alien'. She observes otherness also when visiting the graveyard where skulls are depicted on all tombstones and old merchant families are mentioned there⁵.

Feelings of strangeness are triggered off in the topochrone of Rēzekne by the elements of the everyday life culture: [...] *skaisti skati pavērās uz Rēzekni. Cilvēki dzīvoja pagalmos savu dzīvi, ziedēja puķes. Mēs sajūtām no katra pagalma pretī tvanam citādas* [izc. M. B.] *smaržas*⁶ [nice views of Rēzekne were visible. The people led their lives in the yards, flowers bloomed. From each yard we felt different odour].

Ābele was overcome by two opposite associations in this town of Latgale – feeling of the natural, trust and, on the other hand, abandonment, insecurity: the abandoned culture house, the dilapidated look of the Rēzekne hillfort, 'mafia' or sense of the presence of the local criminal structures.

However, in perceiving Dagda, Ābele synthesizes the perception of the urban historico-cultural and everyday life objects, emphasizing the beautiful and retouching the ugly and the ravages of time in both of them. She and her companions treat Latgalian people with positive feelings: *Tas bija kaifīgi – saulains, spirts rīts; kafija un tēja; laipnā un mierīgā latgaliete*⁷ [It was groovy – the bright sunny morning; coffee and tea; the kind and quiet Latgalian woman]. Ābele experiences the specific character of Latgale when trying to sing Latgalian folk songs. When the travel route leads to Daugavpils, the writer is warned that it is a bandit town. In Daugavpils, the same as in Dagda, Ābele discerns the elements of urban culture zone:

Uz ielām dažas skaistas jūgendstila ēkas. Un zaļā skvērā pēkšņi ieslēpusies lādītes lieluma baznīca ar olas lieluma kupolu.

*Jā. Skvērā baznīciņa, piemēram. Tā bija Daugavpils spēle: Atrodi baznīcu! Baznīcas iznira pēkšņi un visādos veidos no gluži nepiemērotām vietām un bieži vien šķita kā mākslas objekti vai mirāžas.*⁸

[Some beautiful art nouveau buildings in the streets. A church of a size of a small box with an egg-size cupola suddenly appearing from the green square.

Yes. A small church in the square. It was the game of Daugavpils: find a church! Churches appeared suddenly and in all ways from most inappropriate places and often seemed as art objects or mirages.]

The suburbs of Daugavpils are associated with Russia: *Tādas mājeles varēja būt cara laiku pilsētās – ar augstiem, slēgtiem pagalmiem krievu stilā un izrakstītiem slēgiem*⁹ [There might have been such shanties in the towns of the tsarist times – with high closed yards in the Russian style and painted shutters].

Daugavpils is perceived by the writer with certain suspicion. The reasons for this kind of attitude are not revealed, yet they may be guessed from the episodes emphasizing and even artificially making up the national character, clothes, manners, conspicuous orientation towards the Russian pop-culture characteristic of Daugavpils inhabitants that is different from that of Latvians. In fact this kind of positioning of the people of Daugavpils is nothing new in the dominant history of perceiving Latgale by Latvians. A. Bergs indicated in the newspaper *Latvis* (The Latvian) already in 1921 that

Latgales lielākā īpatnība ir viņas kultūras trūkums. Zudīs šis trūkums, tad līdz ar to zudīs arī daudz, kas tagad it kā šķir Latgali no pārējās Latvijas. Modīsies Latgales tieksmes pēc kultūras un tas viņu gluži dabiski tuvinās Baltijas latviešiem, kuri viņai ir tuvākais un dabiskākais kultūras avots. Latgalei ir tikai viena izvēle: kultūras ceļš, t.i. “pie sava vecākā brāļa”, vai arī prom no tā. Bet tas nozīmē nost no kultūras un svešos apkampienos.¹⁰

[The biggest peculiarity of Latgale is its lack of culture. When this lack is gone, much of what at present separates Latgale from the rest of Latvia will be gone, too. Latgale's striving for culture will be awakened and this will approximate this region to the Baltic Latvia that is its closest and most natural source of culture. Latgale has only one option: the way to culture, i.e. to its elder brother, or away from him. But then it means also away from culture and into alien arms.]

Ābele's associative perception testifies to the stability of this stereotype also nowadays. She writes, *Tiešām savāda pilsēta – spilgta un reizē drūma*¹¹ [Really, such a strange town – bright and at the same time grim]. The simultaneously provided characteristics of the towns of Latgale is her own subjective vision that is not imposed on others. Everybody has his or her own story of Dagda or Daugavpils – the writer concludes by the end of her trip around Latgale¹².

This idea is also revealed by another exquisite novel, a pearl of the 21st century Latvian prose – Paul Bankovskis' novel *Sekreti. Pierobežas romance* (Secrets. A Borderland Romance, 2003). It focuses on a Latgalian Old-Believers' family depicted against the background of Latvian borderland as a historico-cultural zone, its people and their fates in the course of history. Borderland is associated with a number of peculiar details: there is a mention of Belarusian radio murmuring softly in the room of the family house depicted in the novel¹³, Lithuanian train whistling at the distant railway station¹⁴. Borderland Old-Believers' homes and the fates of several generations of their inhabitants are regarded through a realistically mystical angle of vision, i.e. a typical view characteristic of the rest of the Latvian population on the religious, national, linguistic diversity of the mystical, rationally unaccountable Latgale with its 'strangeness' and 'otherness' that are manifested in the denotations of a place forsaken by God, nowhere:

*Otrajā bija makaroni flotes gaumē.
– Forši. Vot tagad aukstu aliņu, – gurdeni izstaiņājās turpat līdzās uz paneļiem sēdošais Egils.
[..] – Nekā nebūs, – pienāca jau iepriekš satiktais gaišmatis, apsēdās līdzās un aizsmēķēja. – Un ja būs, atkal izrādīsies saskābis. Nesaprotu, kas šitā par vietu. Točna, riktīga čuhņa, īsta glubinka.¹⁵*

[For the second course, macaroni in 'navy style' were served.
– Cool. Well, now some cold beer, – Egils sitting nearby on the panels stretched himself languidly.
[..] – None of that, – the previously encountered blond approached, sat by side and started smoking. – And if there is some, it will turn out sour. I don't understand what kind of a place this is. Real god-forsaken place, a true nowhere.]

One of the reasons for perceiving the 'otherness' of Latgale is its being different from the mentality characteristic of the majority of the territory of Latvia, by mentality meaning a world perception determined by the process of cognition in the categories

and forms of the native language that relates the intellectual, spiritual and voluntary features of the national character in their typical forms of expression.¹⁶

The Old-Believers' family featured in the novel is greatly opposed to the Latvian mentality, in line with the traditional position of the Latvian community concerning this religious community of people. According to Nadezhda Pazuhina, Old-Believers of Latvia are usually identified by the rest of the community as a rather closed religious group that avoids too close contacts with other people and represent themselves publicly as those who sustain the ancient spiritual values¹⁷.

Pauls Bankovskis in creating the Old-Believers' family saga has used the contrast principle as one of the means of narrative formation emphasizing the distinct religious, linguistic, personal name, place name, world perception and event interpretation differences of the Latgalian Old-Believer topochrone, e.g. peculiarities of clothing, mentioning the long Russian shirt tied with a string that was worn by men, long beard, etc.¹⁸.

The inability of Latvians to integrate in the Old-Believer environment is manifested in the episode of Juris' death by getting drowned after having been deadly wounded as he hit the monument to Stalin sunk in the lake while swimming. Stalin's monument is an icon of the Stalinist authoritarianism bringing death to the new-comer, not to somebody from the old-believers' family. Juris is a Latvian who had married the Old-Believer woman Lena. The local people know about the monument sunk into the lake but for Juris it proved to be fatal. *Tā jau tur nav nemaz tik sekls, bet tas piemineklis. Redz, savējie [izc. – M.B.] jau zina.*¹⁹ [It is not so shallow there at all, but for the monument. You see, **our own people** know that.]

The novel foregrounds the leitmotif of the Old-Believers' superstition as they consider in all generations that devils appear at the turning points of life. N. Pazuhina notes in her research on the socio-cultural experience of Latvian Old-Believers of the 20th century that, as compared to other Christian confessions, this faith is probably more oriented towards the example of the predecessors' way of living not only in the issues of the dogmatic content of their faith but also in the practice of everyday life and attitude towards the surrounding world (to believe the way the ancestors did means being similar to them in the firmness of faith, everyday life behaviour and private life affairs). It is determined by the specific understanding of religiousness rooted in the Old-Believer faith that might be denoted as complete in the sense that it does not provide for semantic differences between ritualized action in the practice of religious service and ritualized order of everyday life²⁰.

The fascinating motif of the devil, werewolf, or Satan permeates the whole novel. By means of that the author marks the strong synthesis of the mythical and Christian notions characteristic of the Old-Believer faith. It is revealed by, e.g. Eg'ik's visions as he comes to the country-side from the city:

*Krietnu tiesu iepakaļ ceļam žigli pārskrēja tramīga ēna – no latvāņu audzes kreisajā pusē uz brikšņiem labajā aizlavījās prāvs dzīvnieks. Jo nekas cits tas taču nevarēja būt. Pirmajā izbīlī Eg'ikam gan likās, ka redz salikušu māžu, kas pārvietojās uz divām kājām. Bailēm lielas acis. Droši vien zaķis, viņš sevi mierenāja un nogrozīja galvu, jo itin labi zināja, ka tik lielu zaķu nav. Pat šeit.*²¹

[A good while behind a flighty shadow quickly crossed the road – a big animal stole to the undergrowth on the right side from the wood on the left. Because it

could have been nothing else. In the first fright, though, it seemed to Eg'ik that he saw a bent spook who was walking on two feet. Fear breeds terror. It must have been a rabbit, he comforted himself and shook his head as he was well aware that rabbits are not of such a big size. Even here.]

At the same time, many essential generally human and universal features **unite** the Latvian and Latgalian Old-Believer topochrones depicted in Bankovskis' novel. We will further mark five of them.

1. Political motifs and the common location in the Soviet space are most important among other uniting features. Like other Latvian citizens, the Old-Believers' family depicted in the novel suffer from having avoided the compulsory military service in the German army during World War II, though the reasons of Old-Believers differ from those of others.

– *Uz kurieni, kurieni jūs viņu vedīsiet? – Aksjona atkal pietrausās kājās. – Serjoža, bīsties Dieva, uz kurieni, uz kurieni?*
 – *Viņš ir arestēts. Par izvairīšanos no dienesta.*
 – *Karps neizvairās, – Aksjona atkal tuvojās. – Ticība neatļauj.*
 – *Gan jau visu noskaidrosim, – Serjoža noteica.*
Ierūcās motors, un mašīna aizlīgoja aiz kūts stūra [..].²²

[– Where are you taking him, where? – Aksyona jumped to her feet again. – Seryozha, for God's sake, where, where?
 – He has been arrested. For avoiding the military service.
 – Karps is not avoiding it, – Aksyona approached again. – His faith does not allow it.
 – We will make everything clear, – Seryozha said.
 The engine roared and the car wound away around the corner of the shed [..].]

2. The characteristic Soviet element of publicly ignoring the religious tolerance. This kind of episode is formed when Karps gets the notice of being called up in the Soviet army.

– *Pavēste, – viņš drūmi sacīja. – Armijā iesauc tavu Karpu.*
 – *Bet Karps nedrīkst...*
 – *Labs ir, – Rodions noteica [..].*
 – *Pagaidi, – Kirjaks satvēra viņa apmetņa malu.*
 – *Nu, kas ir? – pastnieks pikti atskatījās. – Es taču tikai atnesu.*
 – *Bet viņš nedrīkst, ticība...*
 – *To gan labāk tagad nevienam nesakiet, Kirjak Mitrofanovič, – noklaudzēja durvis, un prom viņš bija.²³*

[– Notice, – he grimly said. – Your Karps is called up in the army.
 – But he must not...
 – All right, – Rodions said [..].
 – Wait, – Kiryaks caught him by the cloak edge.
 – Well, what is it? – the postman looked back crossly. – I just brought it.
 – But he must not, his faith...
 – You better never tell it anybody, Kiryak Mitrofanovich, – the door banged and he was gone.]

3. Another factor uniting the mental topochrones of Old-Believers of Latvia and Latgale is repressions in the Nazi concentration camps during World War II. Karps, the

representative of the second generation of the depicted Old-Believer family, has been in Salaspils concentration camp where he saved some convicts, fled from the camp, and unexpectedly survived.

One of the episodes also marks the characteristic tendency of the representatives of both compared topochrones to take a neutral stand in the time of historical changes, i.e. World War II that was the collision of two super-powers, in which people of small nations and diasporas suffered gravely.

4. The mental topochrones of the Old-Believers of Latvia and Latgale are united by their attitude toward the universal spatial opposition 'rural – urban'. The offspring of the Old-Believer family Lena tries hard to break away from her parents' home and the rural environment in favour of the life in town: *Juris aizvedīs Ļenu prom no šīs čuhņas. No nolāpītās mājas. Prom no šiem tumsonīgajiem, baznīcas māņticību apsēstajiem ļautiņiem [...]*²⁴ [Yuris will take Lena away from this backwater. From the damned house. Away from these backward people plagued by the superstitions of the church.]. [...] *negribu palikt te. Man te riebjas. Kolīdz pabeigšu skolu, braukšu prom. Ja kas, es nevaru sagaidīt to dienu...*²⁵ [I don't wanna stay here. It's disgusting here. As soon as I leave school I'm gone. You bet, I cannot wait for that day.]. However, town does not bring the promised fulfillment and peace. Lena and other Latgalian émigrés feel there as strangers whose external calm and composure is contrasted to the stylishness of urban 'beatniks' in its manifold expressions:

*Tie pie lielā galda i nedomāja iet prom. Viņi atkal un atkal atgriežas pie letes, pirka kafiju un dzērienus, skaļi smējās, un vispār – likās, ka viņi te bezmaz dzīvo. Viņu drēbes bija nevēriģi sasviestas lielā grēdā, meitenēm bija gari, tieši pa vidu celiņā izšķirti mati, puīši – bārdaini un pinkaini kā bitli. Īpaši izcēlās viens – jocīgā adītā džemperī ar juceklīgi raibu rakstu. Tie ir īstie pilsētnieki, Ļenai pazibēja prātā. Bet viņa un Egīks [...] vēl arvien bija laucinieki. Un tad droši vien paliks visu mūžu.*²⁶

[Those at the big table did not intend to leave at all. They return to the bar again and again buying coffee and drinks, laughing loud and in general – it seemed that they lived here. Their clothes were thrown carelessly in a huge heap, girls wearing long hair parted right in the middle, guys were bearded and disheveled as the beatles. One of them in a funny sweater with chaotic motley design stood out most of all. These are the true town-dwellers, Lena thought. But she and Eg'ik [...] were still rustic. And will probably remain such for the whole life.]

By the end of the novel, Lena returns to the country-side that is not acceptable to her children any more. The bond with the family has been broken.

Her husband Yuris who comes from Riga is of an opposite opinion; he considers that the future belongs to the country-side. Yet exactly his imagined idyll proves destructive later on. The topochrone of Latgalian Old-Believers is a closed space having no room for the new or the new gets adapted there with great difficulties.

5. Reverence for home. Home in the consciousness of Latvians as well as the representatives of the many ethnicities and religions living in Latgale is the centre of their micro-world reflecting those small and significant processes that have affected each individual and the whole nation, country.

Kaut sapostīta un caurvēju varā, tā tomēr bija īsta, dzīva māja. Tāda pati kā viņējā. Ar sīkām puķītēm uz sadzeltējušām tapetēm, kas mēmi glabāja sen aizgājušo paaudžu nopūtas un sapņus, lāstus un cerības, lūgšanas un klusuma slogu. Ar rūpīgi savītiem elektrības vadiem, pa kuriem skrienošā strāva reiz barojusi i spuldzes, i radiouztvērējus, i priekus, i bēdas. Ar čikstošiem grīdas dēļiem, kuru starpās gadu simtiem krājušies mājinieku pišli un drupačas. Ar nomelnējušiem griestiem, kas kāri uzsūkuši še vārīto maltīšu tvaikus un smaržas. Ar logu rūtīm, kas ieplaisājušas un nemazgātas, neviena neievērotas stāvējušas starp aizgājējiem un palicējiem, mājiniekiem un viesiem, vēju un istabas siltumu, nakts tumsu un lampas gaišumu. Ar sliekšņiem, kurus gājēju soļi nograuzuši kā kamieļu kuprus. Jēziņ, ikviena māja taču ir dzīva.²⁷

[Though damaged and left to all winds, it was still a real living house. The same as his own. With tiny flowers on the yellow wall-paper that silently kept the sighs and dreams, curses and hopes, prayers and the weight of silence of the long gone generations. With carefully warped electric wires that have once held the electric power feeding bulbs, radio-sets, joys and sorrows. With screeching floor boards in the spaces between which dust and crumbs of the household people have been accumulated for centuries. With blackened ceilings that have greedily taken in the vapours and aroma of the meals cooked here. With window panes that have cracked and remained unwashed staying unnoticed among those who left and those who remained, the household members and visitors, wind and the warmth of the rooms, the dark of night and the light of lamps. With thresholds gnawed off by the people's steps like the camels' humps. Jesus, each house is living.]

Pauls Bankovskis' novel *Secrets* provides an extensive panorama of the Old-Believer family of Latgale bringing out the historically uniting motifs of Latvians and Old-Believers of Latgale, yet a more profound understanding of the Old-Believer faith has not been foregrounded as the dominant of the textual content. This faith is rather interpreted as 'exotic', 'strange' – alien, acceptable, but not completely understandable.

Andris Bergmanis' novel *Kaili uz Mēnesceļa. Poēma. Ne tikai erotiska* (Naked on the Moon Road. Poem. Not Only Erotic, 2000) is based on the tradition of Aglona pilgrimage and feelings aroused by encountering 'other', 'different' cultural space:

Pirmajā naktī apmetāmiešs dažus kilometrus pirms Preiļiem. Atradām siena zārdus pie vecticībnieku sādžas Moskvino. Viņpus ceļam kapsēta, bet mazliet attālāk sādža, kādu Latvijā biju redzējusi tikai Brīvdabas muzejā, ar tikpat eksotisku koka baznīciņu. Nogurusi spēlēju flautu ne mazāk nogurušajiem ceļa gājējiem un jutos mazliet sirreāli...

... Es, neticīgā latvietē, starp svētceļniekiem, starp sev attālas ticības sādžu un kapsētu, ar Dārziņa "Melanholisko valsi", ar grūtajā gājienā sev par tuviem kļuvušiem cilvēkiem. Es šajā laikā, kuru tik daudz lād un tikpat daudz mīl.²⁸

[During the first night we put up some kilometers before Preiļi. We found hay stacks near the old-believer village Moskvino. Across the road there is a cemetery but a little further lies a village, similar to which I have seen only in the Open-Air museum, with similarly exotic wooden church. Tired I played the flute to no less tired companions and felt myself somewhat surreal...

... Me, unbelieving Latvian, among pilgrims, between a village of distant faith and a cemetery, with Emīls Dārziņš' 'Melancholic Waltz', with the people who have become close during the hard walk. Me in this time that is cursed by so many and by as many loved.]

On the whole the pilgrimage to Aglona is profaned in the novel:

Tiekot tuvāk pie durvīm, vairs ne iekšējs spēks, bet pūlis mani velk uz priekšu. Sasvīduši cilvēki ar apgarotām sejām, dažās kaut kas ziņkārīgi vienaldzīgs. Es kā kaķēns esmu iemesta manu gribu varmācīgi pakļaujošajā straumē un nevaru no tās izpeldēt. Vienīgā savas pašcieņas saglabāšanas iespēja – peldēt pret straumi...²⁹

[Getting closer to the door, no longer my inner strength but the crowd pulls me forward. Sweating people with enlightened faces, some of them showing something curiously indifferent. I am thrown as a kitten into the stream violently subduing my will and I cannot swim out of it. The only option of sustaining my self-respect is swimming against the stream...]

The text reveals the intimate experience of Lauma, Klaidis and other characters, leaving the sacred category of Aglona in the background.

14. augustā mūsu moteli un visu Aglonu apstāja kaut kāda man neizprotama varza. Nāca ļautiņi ar karogiem un svētbildēm, noguruši cilvēki, kuri mēģina izskatīties mundri un apgaroti³⁰ [On August 14 our motel and the whole Aglona was filled by a kind of crowd I could not make out. Guys with banners and icons arrived, tired people who tried to look energetic and enlightened]. Aglona as the pride of Latgale and the features of the ‘crowd party’ discerned in Aglona festival, in which people participate not because of their faith but under the influence of mass psychosis, bring out desacralization depicted in the novel.

It must be concluded that the regional discourse in the recent Latgalian literature is not widely represented and its interpretations mostly reveal the features produced by the previous traditions, instead of trying to provide a new, unexpected characteristic or find new angles of vision. Latgale in the recent Latvian fiction is most often revealed as a multinational, multilingual, multireligious culture zone, the ‘otherness’, ‘strangeness’, ‘unrecognizability’ of which embarrasses, scares, or surprises Latvian writers and readers.

¹ Nagle G. Grāmatas, kas izmainīja šo gadu. / *Diena*. 21.12.2002.

² Kalve M. Padomju mītu izģērbšana. / *Kultūras Forums* Nr. 29, 4.–11.08.2006. – 9. lpp.

³ Ābele I. *Austrumos no saules un ziemeļos no zemes. Dienasgrāmatas un ceļojumu apraksti*. Rīga: Atēna, 2005.

⁴ Ibid. – 70. lpp.

⁵ Ibid. – 69. lpp.

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid. – 74. lpp.

⁸ Ibid. – 79. lpp.

⁹ Ibid. – 80. lpp.

¹⁰ Bergs A. Latgale. / *Latvis* Nr. 7, 8.09.1921.

¹¹ Ābele I. *Austrumos no saules un ziemeļos no zemes. Dienasgrāmatas un ceļojumu apraksti*. Rīga: Atēna, 2005. – 80. lpp.

¹² Ibid. – 92. lpp.

¹³ Bankovskis P. *Sekreti. Pierobežas romance*. Rīga: Valters un Rapa, 2003. – 23. lpp.

¹⁴ Ibid. – 26. lpp.

¹⁵ Ibid. – 89. lpp.

¹⁶ *Мирозерцание в категориях и формах родного языка в процессе познания соединяющее интеллектуальные, духовные и волевые качества национального характера в типичных его проявлениях*. (Колесов В. В. *Язык и ментальность*. Санкт-Петербург, 2004. – с. 15) [World perception

in the categories and forms of the native language in the process of cognition binding together the intellectual, spiritual, and volitional qualities of the national character in its typical manifestations.]

¹⁷ Pazuhina N. Cita citādība: Latvijas vecticībnieku kultūrsociālā pieredze 20. gadsimtā, in: *Reliģiskā dažādība Latgalē: mērojot ceļu uz dialogu*. Rīga: Latvijas Bībeles biedrība, 2007. – 133. lpp.

¹⁸ Bankovskis P. *Sekreti. Pierobežas romance*. Rīga: Valters un Rapa, 2003. – 42. lpp.

¹⁹ Ibid. – 46. lpp.

²⁰ Pazuhina N. Cita citādība: Latvijas vecticībnieku kultūrsociālā pieredze 20. gadsimtā, in: *Reliģiskā dažādība Latgalē: mērojot ceļu uz dialogu*. Rīga: Latvijas Bībeles biedrība, 2007. – 144. lpp.

²¹ Bankovskis P. *Sekreti. Pierobežas romance*. Rīga: Valters un Rapa, 2003. – 170. lpp.

²² Ibid. – 43. lpp.

²³ Ibid. – 94. lpp.

²⁴ Ibid. – 69. lpp.

²⁵ Ibid. – 90. lpp.

²⁶ Ibid. – 102. lpp.

²⁷ Ibid. – 138. lpp.

²⁸ Bergmanis A. *Kaili uz Mēnesceļa. Poēma. Ne tikai erotiska*. Rīga: Elpa, 2000. – 4. lpp.

²⁹ Ibid. – 8. lpp.

³⁰ Ibid. – 14. lpp.

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LINGUISTICS

Bronius Maskuliūnas

THE EARLY LITHUANIAN AND LATVIAN WRITING: LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL CONTEXT

Summary

The appearance of the first printed books both in Lithuania and Latvia was determined by an almost universal phenomenon in Europe of that time – Reformation and subsequent Counter-Reformation. In Lithuania Minor, Lithuanian books were published by the Reformers, while in the Great Duchy of Lithuania this was mostly connected with Counter-Reformation activities. The first known book published in Latvian is Catholic, published in Vilnius.

Both first Lithuanian and first Latvian books were catechisms, i.e. they were meant not so much for priests and the clergy, but for the religious community, to meet the needs of the local population.

The key difference in the situation of the beginning of Lithuanian and Latvian writing is that the compilers of the first Lithuanian books were Lithuanians, while those of Latvian books were Germans who knew some basic Latvian. This has led to the creation of two varieties of the Latvian language – spoken and written. Latvians joined these activities much later.

The appearance of the first Lithuanian and Latvian writing was the beginning of written linguistic communication in these languages. The written texts in the national languages became much more accessible to a wider audience; writing has become the basis for international links and communication and paved the ways for the communication of cultures.

Key-words: Reformation, Counter-Reformation, printed books, written communication

*

The 16th century is exceptional in the history of Baltic writing. This is the time of appearance of the first printed books in Prussian, Lithuanian, and Latvian that have survived until the present.

There are various opinions concerning the time of appearance of the first Lithuanian and Latvian books: some think that they appeared much earlier; however, there is not enough evidence so far to support such claims. On the other hand, it is obvious that both Lithuanian and Latvian writing did not originate from the void. Lithuania is *here* treated as an example to describe the situation, drawing certain parallels with Latvian writing later.

One of the essential differences of Lithuania could be connected with the fact that Lithuanians were the only Balts who had their own state in the Middle Ages. Since the very beginning of the Lithuanian state – the Grand Duchy of Lithuania – in the 13th

century, the situation has been specific in that several languages have been used there, each of them for a different purpose. There were two written languages: Latin for communicating with the West and clerical Slavonic for dealing with Slavonic lands of the Grand Duchy. Lithuanian was also used at that time, and not only as the language of private and domestic life. It was also used in the public life of the state, but only as a spoken, and not a written language¹.

In the 13th century, Lithuanians were the only pagans in Europe. All their neighbours were Christian. With the appearance of the Lithuanian state, the necessity of taking up Christianity became obvious for the Lithuanian rulers. It is likely that after Christianization there was a need for religious texts in Lithuanian as they were indispensable for the church in order to perform liturgical rituals in the vernacular language². Later the number of religious texts that have been translated into Lithuanian was likely to increase until the development of printing when manuscripts lost their importance. Soon they became scarce and in the long run completely disappeared as an unnecessary ballast, with the exception of some rare fragments which survived having got among the documents to be preserved, or, like in the case of the oldest known text of Lithuanian prayers, which survived as an inscription on the margins of a Latin book³.

Attention should also be drawn to the important fact that, at the time of the appearance of the Lithuanian writing, Lithuanian was used in two states – the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, or Lithuania Proper, and in Prussia, or Lithuania Minor. It is East Prussia, or Lithuania Minor, that the appearance of the first printed Lithuanian book is connected to. It was caused by the widespread phenomenon in Europe of that time – Reformation and the following Counter-Reformation.

It was due to historical conditions that Lithuanian books were published by the Reformers in Lithuania Minor, while in Lithuania Proper, where Reformation has never prevailed, publishing was more related with Counter-Reformation activities. However, publishers in Lithuania Minor were much ahead of those in the Grand Duchy both chronologically (the first Lithuanian book in the Grand Duchy appeared only 48 years after the appearance of the first Lithuanian book in Lithuania Minor) and in quantitative terms – out of the 16 Lithuanian books published in the 16th century, as many as 12 were published in Karaliaučius, i.e. Lithuania Minor. Besides, 2 books out of 4 that appeared in the Grand Duchy were published by the local Reformers. Thus only 2 books – Mikalojus Daukša's *Katekizmas* and *Postilė* – were Catholic.

Attention should also be paid to the fact that the number of compilers of Lithuanian books (they cannot be called 'authors', as almost all the books were translations) in the 16th century was almost half of the number of the books. Most of the early compilers prepared more than just one book.

As concerns the first Lithuanian book – Mažvydas' *Katekizmas* – it should be noted that it was a response to the catechisms which started to be published in many countries in vernacular languages. It was a universal book: a catechism, a primer, and a prayer book. It means that the compilers of the first Lithuanian books pinned their faith on the self-action of the Lithuanian community and linked the future of the language with it. At that time, realistic possibilities of teaching writing and making it the basis of communication were already considered⁴.

The Reformation caused joining of the two novelties: text reproduction technologies and the need for normative texts in spoken languages. First books in Lithuanian started dismantling the stereotypical situation of bilingualism between the spoken and written languages, which had existed for several centuries, when foreign languages were used for writing. Books produced in the native language promoted the attitude that Lithuanian could become the language of writing, suitable for the public use⁵.

Such was the context of the early Lithuanian writing. In order to provide a brief comparison of the situation with the beginning of the Latvian writing, a few similarities and differences should be mentioned.

Both nations have in common the fact that the appearance of the first Latvian book was also essentially linked with the ideological struggles between the partisans of Reformation and Counter-Reformation: for both of them the book was an important means of religious propaganda. Until the beginning of the 20th century it was thought that the first Latvian book, the same as the first Lithuanian book, was a Lutheran publication – the translation of Martin Luther's *Der kleine Catechismus*, which appeared in Karaliaučius in 1586⁶. It is likely that books in Latvian, which had appeared even earlier, in 1525 and 1530, but which had not survived were also Lutheran⁷. However, in 1911 *Katoļu katechisms*, published in 1585, was found in the library of Uppsala University⁸. This book is closely connected with Lithuania, as it was published in Vilnius. This happened due to the fact that in 1561 a part of Livonia and the city of Riga belonged to the Lithuanian-Polish state, while publishing houses appeared in Latvia much later than in Lithuania or Eastern Prussia – in 1588 in Riga⁹. Thus the first published book in Latvian known today is Catholic. It is also interesting that the publisher of this book, Danielius Lenčickis, originally from Poland, changed his faith several times by joining either the Reformers or the Catholics, that is why during his lifetime he published both Protestant and Catholic books and the above mentioned Kanizijus' catechism appeared in various vernacular languages¹⁰. On the whole, the links of the Latvian book with Vilnius were not limited by the activities of Lenčickis. A new impetus to this connection was given in the second half of the 17th century.

Another common feature is that the first (as well as the second) Latvian book, the same as the Lithuanian one, was catechism, i.e. a book meant not so much for the clergy as for needs of the local population. At that time in general, catechisms, primers, hymn and prayer books, parts of the Bible – Gospels and complete texts of the Bible were those that were published most often. *Postil* or *Postilla*, a collection of sermons, the bible of every clergyman, was also a very important book. However, the compilers of first Lithuanian and Latvian books considered publishing catechisms, and not postils, their main objective; i.e. they were geared, first of all, not towards clergy (because postils were primarily meant for them) but towards the national community of the believers. Farmers were encouraged to learn reading and writing¹¹.

Another matter that essentially differs in the situation of the beginning of the Lithuanian and Latvian writing is the fact that the compilers of the first Lithuanian books were Lithuanians, while in Latvia they were Germans who knew some Latvian (Latvians joined these activities much later). This formed two varieties of Latvian – spoken and written¹². Besides, this also greatly contributed to the modernisation of Latvian, because written Latvian, especially its syntax, was strongly influenced by the German language.

Besides, as concerns the compilers and translators of first Latvian books, the translator of the first Latvian book has not been established so far. For a long time Ertmanis Tolksdorfs, a German or a germanised Prussian, originally from Varmija, was considered to be the one¹³. However, later the fact started to be doubted, and the local Latvian Jakovas Kaulenelas, who was studying at the translators' seminar organised in Tartu by Possevin, Pope's legate, was brought to the fore¹⁴. The analysis of the language of the Latvian *Katoļu katechisms* published in 1585 makes it possible to assume that the translation of this book is the outcome of collective work, for some parts of the catechism manuscript texts were borrowed from those which had been functioning before (most probably written by non-Latvians); while some parts were written especially for that book. This can also account for the dialect differences of the book¹⁵.

Thus the translator of the book has not been agreed upon so far. It is worth reminding here that the authorship of the compiler of the first Lithuanian book was unanimously established only in the late 1930s (1938), when Jan Safarevič by chance found an acrostic in the rhymed introduction to the Lithuanian catechism.

To conclude, it can be said that the 16th century marks the beginning of Lithuanian and Latvian linguistic written communication. The written texts in national languages became more accessible to a much wider audience. Written communication in foreign languages used before was meant only for the gentry and noblemen. Since then writing has become the basis of national cohesion and communication and opened ways for the communication of cultures.

¹ Cf. Zinkevičius Z. Lietuvių kalba XV – XVII amžiuje, in: *Rinktiniai straipsniai I*. Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos institutas, 2002. – pp. 508–512.

² Ibid.

³ Zinkevičius Z. *Lietuvių poteriai*. Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos institutas, 2000. – pp. 71–80; cf. Jonikas P. *Lietuvių tauta ir kalba amžių būvyje. Visuomeniniai lietuvių kalbos istorijos bruožai*. Chicago: Lituaniistikos instituto leidykla, 1987. – p. 87.

⁴ Lukšaitė I. *Reformacija Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje ir Mažojoje Lietuvoje. XVI a. trečias dešimtmetis – XVII a. pirmas dešimtmetis*. Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 1999. – p. 576.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Viksninš N. The early history of Latvian books. / *Lituanus* 1973, 19–3. – p. 20.

⁷ See Karulis K. *Latviešu grāmata gadsimtu gaitā*. Rīgā: Liesma, 1967. – 38.–43. lpp.

⁸ See Вольгер Э. А. Первый латышский катехизисъ 1585 года, in: *Латышский катехизисъ 1585 года*, переизданный Э. А. Вольгером. Петродрадъ, 1915. – с. 1–47.

⁹ See Vladimirovas L. *Knygos istorija*. Vilnius: Mokslas, 1979. – p. 368.

¹⁰ Ibid. – p. 459.

¹¹ Lukšaitė I. *Reformacija Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje ir Mažojoje Lietuvoje. XVI a. trečias dešimtmetis – XVII a. pirmas dešimtmetis*. Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 1999. – p. 576.

¹² Dini P. U. *Baltų kalbos. Lyginamoji istorija*. Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidybos institutas, 2000. – p. 300.

¹³ For more about him see Kučinskis St. Sirmais kungs, Latvijas tēvs Ertmanis Tolgsdorfs 1550–1620. I daļa, in: *Dzimtenes kalendārs 1984. gadam*. 1983. – 45.–86. lpp; Bukšs M. Katōļu go-reigi roksti malenīckajā volūdā, in: Bukšs M. *Latgaļu literatūras vēsture*. Stokholma: P/s Latgaļu izdevniecība, 1957. – 100.–102. lpp.

¹⁴ See Карулис К. 400 лет латышскому катехизису, in: *Балто-славянские исследования 1984*. Москва: Наука, 1986. – с. 229.

¹⁵ For more see Blese E. Mūsu rakstniecības pirmo pieminekļu valoda. / *Izglītības Ministrijas Mēnešraksts* Nr. 8, 1925. – 183.–194. lpp; Endzelīns J. Piezīmes par 1585. gada katechismu, in:

Endzelīns J. *Darbu izlase*. Rīga, 1979, III sēj. 1. d. – 565.–570. lpp; Augstkalns A. Mūsu vecie raksti, in: *Filoloģijas materiāli*. Rīgā, 1933. – 41.–50. lpp; Augstkalns A. Pirmie latviešu teksti un grāmatas, in: *Latviešu literatūras vēsture*, 2 d. Rīgā, 1935. – 25.–28. lpp; Карулис К. 400 лет латышскому катехизису, in: *Балто-славянские исследования 1984*. Москва: Наука, 1986. – с. 231.

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Anna Stafecka

LATGALIAN WRITING THROUGHOUT CENTURIES

Summary

For more than 250 years Latgale, the eastern region of Latvia, has had its own writing tradition.

The first book printed in High Latvian or Latgalian to survive to the present day is the translation of the Gospels 'Evangelia Toto Anno..' (Gospels for the Whole Year), published in Vilnius in 1753. The book 'Evangelia Toto Anno..' is considered to be the foundation of the Latgalian orthography until the beginning of the 20th century. It has influenced the development of the contemporary Latgalian orthography norms.

A similar writing appeared in other books published at the turn of the 18th and the 19th centuries. In the 1930s, some Latgalian authors began to keep to the new Polish orthography, e.g. to mark the second component of the diphthongs [ai, ei] with the letter j. It should be admitted that the use of the letter j was not consequent, due to the strong tradition of the already existing written language.

In the second half of the 19th century, there was printing prohibition of Latin alphabet. At that time, hand-written books were quite widespread in Latgale. In most cases, the authors of these books have not taken into account the Polish writing reform.

At the end of the 19th century, materials of the Latgalian folklore and ethnography were gathered and published for scientific purposes. These materials show that gatherers have tried to reflect the local pronunciation with greater precision.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the standardization of the Latgalian written tradition began. In the 1920 – 30s, discussions on further standardization of the Latgalian writing went on.

In 1927, the Ministry of Education established the Orthography Committee, which developed and then adopted new orthography standards of the Latgalian written language. These standards, officially confirmed in 1929, were published by Pēteris Strods in 1933 in the orthography dictionary titled 'Pareizraksteibas vōrdneica'. On the whole, this orthography should be evaluated positively and this could be considered as an essential step towards the Latgalian language standard. However, these rules did not solve all the problems of writing.

In 2003, the Subcommission of the Orthography of the Latgalian Standard Language was established to supplement the work of the Latvian Language Experts Board with the task of completing the orthography reform. The commission elaborated new standards of the Latgalian written language that were published in 'Latvijas Vēstnesis' (Latvian Newsletter) on October 18, 2007. These rules comprise the orthography of words and forms of grammar.

Key-words: history of the Latvian language, history of Latgalian writing, Latgalian orthography

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The year of 2008 is historically significant for Latvia as the centenary of transition to writing in Latin letters in the Latvian language adopted by the Orthography Commission in June, 1908. 2007 was the year of another anniversary in the history of Latgalian writing – the centenary of the first meeting of Latgalian orthography commission initiating the standardization of Latgalian orthography.

The eastern region of Latvia, Latgale has had its own writing tradition for more than 250 years; the first book that has been preserved until nowadays, *Evangelia toto anno*..¹ (Gospels for the Whole Year) was published in Vilnius in 1753. The origin of the writing was historically determined as Latgale had been separated from the rest of the ethnic Latvian territory and was under the rule of Poland.

The complicated process of the search for the improvement of Latgalian orthography and the solutions of the issues of Latgalian writing and orthography from 1904 till 1929 have been regarded in detail by Līga Cirša, therefore we will have a short survey of the oldest period of Latgalian writing and then pass over to the problems of standardization of the contemporary Latgalian writing and the rules of Latgalian orthography published this year in the paper *Latvijas Vēstnesis* (Latvian Newsletter), elaborated by the sub-commission of Latgalian orthography of the expert commission of the Latvian language of the State Language Centre of the Ministry of Justice.

To form the notion of Latgalian writing more than 250 years ago, let us have a look in the first Latgalian book that has been preserved until nowadays, *Evangelia toto anno*.. that is the basis of Latgalian writing and the tradition of writing and language expression initiated by it determined Latgalian writing for more than 150 years.

The translations of gospels and some prayers added to them published in 1753 constitute a small book printed in the antique according to the Polish orthography pattern of that time. Diacritic marks ` and ^ have been used in the text. The commentary at the end of the book (*Informatio de accentu*) states that *grave has been placed above the vocal that is pronounced as stretched, e.g. tàws, sàta*. However, grave has been used also with short vowels, e.g. *mùns, àtit*, also above the first component of a diphthong, e.g. *gàysa*. Circumflex indicates that the vowel is pronounced softly, e.g. *dêwe* must be pronounced as *diwe*. Circumflex is almost always used in the ending of the locative case, e.g. *tresâ, sowâ teyrumâ*. However, the use of diacritical marks in the text is not always consistent (*mèyta* and *mêyta, sàta* and *sata*).

The second component of diphthongs [ai], [ei], [oi], [ui] is spelt as y, e.g. *ayz* (24), *bayle* (64), *gayfme* (47), *teyri* (33), *žeymes* (49), *Moyzeŝzam* (26), *muytniki* (51), *puyś* (64), *uycieis* (33).

Diphthongs [iu] and [yu] are separated in writing, e.g. *jiures* (18), *iudienia* (91), but *byuŝi* (65), *gryuds* ‘corn’ (93), *ŝyutiti* (8).

Diphthong [ie] is spelt as *ie*, e.g. *čiertumus* ‘wounds’ (60), *džierdeja* (12), *džieríns* (50); *izdzierda* (68), *mierifit* (49), *pierka* (34), *pierŝtu* (39), *ŝpriež* ‘spin’ (63), though not always consistently.

Diphthong [uo] is usually designated with one letter o, e.g. *goja* (60), *gromotu* (57), *mójas* (45), *zoles* (29).

Sometimes diphthong [ei] is replaced by letter *i* or *y* denoting long or short vowel, especially in the suffix together with the ending: *dariit* (60), *liidz* (10), *liidzibu* (20), *facyja* (57), *tayfnybas* (42), bet: *tayfnyeba* (85), *licieybu* (45), *wareygs* (35).

Consonants are softened as in Polish either with a special softening mark or the letter *i* used after a consonant letter: *aćś* (49), *dźeyws* (69), *izey* (51), *mań* (48) and *bruniots* (27), *ganieybu* (48), *tiewi* (65).

Separated soft *l* and hard *l* as in Polish: *ćelim* (68), *kliidze* (32), *laužu* (22) un *gołwu* (33), *gultas* (33), *paktoja* (32), *słymim* (28).

Consonant [š] is denoted by *sz* or *fz*: *apgayšmošzonas* (81), *šze* (81), *škàparš* ‘superintendent’ (56), *wuszkas* ‘sheep’ (40), but [č] – with *cz*: *czyuszkas* (44), *ołgoczš* (40).

On the whole the translation of gospels, despite the numerous inconsistencies of the usage of spelling and grammatical forms, has been done in the language corresponding to the local dialects and with the orthography that is rather precise for that time. The correction of mistakes at the end of the book (*Errata sic corrige*) also leads to the conclusion that translators have treated their work with great responsibility; moreover, it must be taken into account that they were foreigners who most probably had diverse competence of the Latvian language.

This kind of writing occurs also in the rest of Latgalian books of the end of the 18th and the first half of the 20th century.

However, when the reform of the written language was introduced in Poland in the 1830s, some Latgalian authors joined it in their writing as well. The essential change of this reform was replacing *y* by *j* to denote the second component of diphthong. This is obvious in Gustav Manteuffel’s works, e.g. his popular poem *Asmu zemniķš laimeigš* (I am a Happy Peasant):

*Kormi glejti, trauki tiejry,
Drebiu tiejmia pylna,
Stali zyrgi kaj komuli
Dzielža roti jauni.*

Similar writing (however, much more inconsistent) is observed in Jezups Maciļevičš’ extended collection of practical advice *Pawujciejšzona un wyssajdi sposobi diel’ ziemniku Łatwiszu*² (Instruction and Different Ways for Latvian Peasants) as well as Jans Kurdmīns’ dictionary³.

However, on the whole it must be admitted that this novelty is not always consistently observed, probably due to the powerful influence of the existing written language tradition. In some books of the mid-19th century *j* is used only for the second component of the diphthong *ei*, while other diphthongs are spelt with *y*.

In the second half of the 19th century in Latgale, the same as in Lithuania, there was a ban on print in Latin alphabet. The language of the few books of prayers that at this time were reprinted abroad was erroneous and it is impossible to speak of any definite writing tradition. However, manuscript circulation initiated by the Latvian peasants of Latgale was rather widespread in Latgale at that time. Studies of the preserved manuscripts lead to the conclusion that in most cases their authors have not observed the reform of Polish orthography. This is obvious in Andrivs Jūrdžš’ manuscripts, also in the patrimonial book of the Svilāni family. However, in the department of manuscripts

and rarities of the National Library there is a book where *j* is consistently used to spell the second component of diphthongs.

In the late 19th century, Latgalian folklore and ethnographic materials were collected and published for scientific purposes. They were collected by both Latvians themselves and foreigners. Pīters Smelters' *Tautas dzīsmu, posoku, meiklu un ģarunu woceleite* (A Bast-basket of Folk Songs, Tales, Riddles and Sayings) published in Riga, 1899, Jānis Pliekšāns' *Dinaburgas aprīņķa Višķu pagasta kāzu ieražu apraksts* (Description of Wedding Habits of Višķi Region of Dinaburg District) are most important among them along with other folklore and ethnographic materials included in Eduards Volters' compiled collection *Материалы для этнографии латышскаго племени Витебской губернии* (Materials for Ethnography of the Latvian Tribe of Vitebsk Province) published in St. Petersburg, 1890. Besides, folk songs, tales and diverse other kinds of folklore and ethnographic materials have been registered in the vicinity of Rēzekne and Viļāni by Stefānija Uļanovska, commissioned by the Academy of Science of Krakow. They were published under the title *Łotysze Inflant Polskich* in the edition of the Academy of Science of Krakow *Zbiór wiadomości do antropologii krajowej* in 1892.

On the whole it must be stated that in these materials the recorders have tried to represent the local pronunciation in a simpler spelling. This may be illustrated by the lines from folklore recordings by S. Uļanovska:

*Dīwień, dūd' ar gūdru bōrtiś, ar stypru wiējktiś.
Soūas motis malna putra loboka kaj pamotis bohta.
Klusyjs jūdiņs dzilos moļas izraun.*

First three decades of the 20th century was the time of search and discussions in Latgalian writing. This period is regarded in detail in Līga Cirša's book *Latgaliešu ortogrāfijas jautājumu risinājums no 1904. līdz 1929. gadam* (Issues of Latgalian Orthography from 1904 to 1929) (Rēzekne, 1999). We will just remind that the issues of orthography were treated at that period of time in the meetings of 1907, 1918, 1921, 1923, and 1927.

In 1929 the spelling rules worked out by the commission headed by theologian Pēteris Strods were adopted by the Ministry of Education and they have been valid until nowadays. This was a large step forward in standardization of Latgalian orthography and writing; however these rules did not provide a solution for all problems of spelling. Both Pēteris Strods⁴ himself and the member of this commission, Francis Zeps, who died in 2000, have written about these problems.

Let us look into Zeps' article *Napabeigta latgaļu ortogrāfijas reforma* (Incomplete Reform of Latgalian Orthography) that was published in magazine *Dzeive*, No. 161, and reprinted in *Tāvu zemes kalendars 1996*⁵. According to F. Zeps, Dr. P. Strod's commission had a possibility just to begin the orthography reform before the coup of 1934. Zeps mentions also several unresolved issues by the commission headed by Strods that need an urgent solution, namely:

- 1) spelling the diphthong [uo] as *uo*, instead of *ō* (*muote, svuorks, pļuoviejs*),
- 2) spelling the diphthong [ie] as *ie*, instead of *ē* (*pierstis, dzierdēt*, instead of *pērstis, dzērdēt*),
- 3) observing the *rule of coordination* (*zyrgs – zyrgy* or *zirgi* ?),
- 4) the use of letters *i* and *y*.

Along with the rebirth of Latgalian periodicals and literature, orthography commission under the guidance of Antons Breidaks was formed in 1989 that elaborated the standards of Latgalian orthography according to the above-mentioned principles. It was also planned to work out the grammar of the written Latgalian and then supplement and specify the rules of spelling according to grammar rules. Unfortunately, this was interrupted by professor Breidaks' death in 2002.

In February, 2003, Latgale Student Centre organized discussion of Latgalian intelligentsia and church representatives about the completion of the reform of Latgalian orthography. As a result of this, the sub-commission of Latgalian orthography was founded by the expert commission of the Latvian language of the State Language Centre of the Ministry of Justice; it worked out the rules of Latgalian orthography that were published in *Latvian Newsletter* on October 18, 2007⁶. These rules concern the spelling of words and also grammatical forms, thus entailing a summary of the grammar of written Latgalian.

The most debated issue that aroused rather contradictory reactions towards the project of the rules of Latgalian orthography was the suggestion to spell the diphthong [uo] as *uo* instead of *ō*, that some (especially people of medium and older generation) even associated with the loss of Latgalian identity; yet those who actually write in Latgalian, and especially those who use computer, will not deny the priority of *uo*. However, taking into consideration the wide scope of users of the orthography elaborated by the commission under the guidance of Pēteris Strods and adopted in 1929 and the significant legacy of Latgalian writing produced with it, further use of *ō* to spell the diphthong [uo] is considered to be acceptable.

The rules of Latgalian writing are based on a thorough analysis of the spread of the variations of grammar forms in Latgalian dialects, in individual cases permitting parallel usage of some grammar forms.

Let us compare some positions of the orthography of 2007 to the so-called Strods' orthography adopted in 1929.

In the introduction to the rules of orthography of 2007 it is emphasized that the phonological system of written Latgalian is based on the system of Aizkalne, Vārkava, Galēni, Viļāni, Sakstagals, Ozolaine, Makašāni, Dricāni, Gaigalava, Bērzpils, Tilža, and Nautrāni patois that has best preserved the features characteristic of Latgalian dialects. The most widespread features of other Latgalian patois have also been taken into consideration in spelling of morphological forms. In some cases, parallel variants of accepted norms are admitted that are printed in the text of the rules in smaller case.

The rules of Latgalian orthography consist of two parts:

- sounds and letters;
- word and form spelling.

Sounds and letters

This part is concerned with the correspondences between sounds and letters. Let us mention some of them:

1. Letters *a, e, i, y, o, u* denote short vowels *a, e, i, y, o, u*: *art, mežs, tikt, cyts, ols, kubuls*.

2. Letters *ā, ē, ī, ū* denote long vowels *ā, ē, ī, ū*: *dāls, dzēst, īva, ūga*.
The narrow and wide vowels *e, ē* are denoted by letters *e, ē*: *padebess, svešs, mes, zeme, plēst*.
3. The letter *ē* denotes only the long vowel *e*: *ēst, vēļ*.
4. The letter *y* denotes the hard vowel *i*: *vysod, zyrgs*.
5. Diphthongs are spelt with letter combinations *ai, au, ei, ie, iu, yu, ou, ui, uo*:
maīze, saule, zeīle, sierms, niule, lyugt, klouga, puika, suoļs.
The diphthong *uo* may be denoted also with *ō* (*sōļs*).
6. Differentiated spelling of vowels *i, y*, diphthongs *iu, yu*:
At the beginning of the word spelling *iu*: *Iubuļs, iudiņs, iudris*.
After *g, j, k* spelling *i* or *iu*: *giva, jimt, kimūss; giut, jiura, kiuļs*.
After *č, r, š, ž* spelling *y* or *yu*: *čyguons, čyvynuot, grybu, ryka, šys, šyvums, Žykars; gryuds, šyut, žyžuot*, except the cases when there is a softening sound in the following syllable: *čivinēt, gribēt, riceņa, šivieja, žideņš*.

Word and form spelling

This part in fact entails a concise course of the grammar of written Latgalian. Let us consider the most essential differences from the rules of 1929 reflected also in Pēteris Strods' *Pareizraksteibas vōrdneica* (The Dictionary of Spelling) of 1933.

According to the rules of 1929	According to the rules of 2007
Noun	
Suffix with ending <i>-ija</i> (<i>Latvija</i>)	Suffix with ending <i>-eja</i> (<i>Latveja</i>) Suffix with ending <i>-ija</i> (<i>Marija, Valerija</i>) is admitted in person names
After a hard consonant in the genitive case, singular, the nominative and accusative cases, plural, the ending <i>-as</i> : <i>golvas, lopas</i> ; after a soft consonant – ending <i>-es</i> : <i>vacaines</i> . Endings <i>-is, -ys</i> are also admitted.	After a hard consonant in the genitive case, singular, the nominative and accusative cases, plural, the ending <i>-ys</i> : <i>golvys, lopys</i> ; after a soft consonant – ending <i>-is</i> : <i>dalis, kuojis, vacainis</i> . Spelling with the ending <i>-as</i> (<i>golvas, lopas</i>) is also admitted.

Verb

Conjugation of verbs with *-uot* in the infinitive totally corresponds to P. Strods' *The Dictionary of Spelling*; yet the novelty is admitting the use of a variation, i.e. 2nd person plural present forms with *-te* (*dūmojte*), past forms with *-ov-* (*skolovu, dūmovu, ratynovu*). The latter were admitted in 1929, yet were not reflected in *The Dictionary of Spelling*. Conjugation of 2nd and 3rd conjugation verbs with *-eit* (e.g. *laseit, peļneit*) in the infinitive also corresponds to Strods' *The Dictionary of Spelling*, yet parallel forms are also admitted: *peļnieju, peļnieji, peļnēja, peļnējam, peļnējat*; future forms *peļnēs, peļnēsīm, peļnēsīt* and *lasieju, lasieji, lasēja, lasējam, lasējat*; future forms *lasēs, lasēsīm, lasēsīt*.

Spelling of 2nd and 3rd conjugation verbs with *-ēt* (e.g. *kavēt, redzēt*) differs as well.

<i>kavēt, redzēt in Pareizraksteības vōrdneica of 1933</i>			
1 st person singular	<i>kaveju, radzu</i>	<i>kavēju, redzēju</i>	<i>kavēšu, redzēšu</i>
2 nd person singular	<i>kavej, redzi</i>	<i>kavēji, redzēji</i>	<i>kavēsi, redzēsi</i>
3 rd person	<i>kavej, redz</i>	<i>kavēja, redzēja</i>	<i>kavēs, redzēs</i>
1 st person plural	<i>kavejam, redzim</i>	<i>kavējom, redzējom</i>	<i>kavēsīm, redzēsīm</i>
2 nd person plural	<i>kavejat, redzit</i>	<i>kavējot, redzējot</i>	<i>kavēsīt, redzēsīt</i>

<i>kavēt, redzēt according to the rules of 2007</i>			
1 st person singular	<i>kaveju, radzu</i>	<i>kavieju, redzieju</i>	<i>kaviešu, redziešu</i>
2 nd person singular	<i>kavej, redzi</i>	<i>kavieji, redzieji</i>	<i>kaviesi, redziesi</i>
3 rd person	<i>kavej, redz</i>	<i>kavēja, redzēja</i>	<i>kavēs, redzēs</i>
1 st person plural	<i>kavejam, redzim</i>	<i>kaviejom, redziejom</i>	<i>kavēsīm, redzēsīm</i>
2 nd person plural	<i>kavejat, redzit</i>	<i>kaviejot, redziejot</i>	<i>kavēsīt, redzēsīt</i>

Acceptable are also the forms of the past: *kavēja, kavējam, kavējat*; forms of future: *kaveišu, kaveisi*, as well as *redzēja, redzējam, redzējat*; forms of future: *redzeišu, redzeisi*.

In the rules of 2007, a wider use of participles is admitted as well as the rules of spelling other parts of speech are explained in detail.

The time will show whether the new rules of Latgalian orthography will get rooted in the people's speech. Possibly, some issues will still demand more precise definitions.

¹ Its full title is as follows: *Evangelia Toto Anno singulis Dominicis & festis diebus juxta antiquam Ecclesie consuetudinem in Livonia Lothavis prælegi Solita, cum precibus et precatiunculis nonnullis, curâ quorundum ex Clero Livonico recentissimè juxta usitatioem loquendi modum Lothavicum versa et translata, Ac in lucem Edita, Anno, quo æternum Patris Verbum per Angelos terris evangelizatum est 1753.* – VILNÆ: Typis S. R. M. Academ. Societ. Jezu, 1753; repeated edition: *Evangelia toto anno..* (1753). The first book in Latgalian. The compiler of the index, the author of the review and the manging editor Anna Stafecka. Riga: LU La VI, 2004, 354 p.

² Its full title: *Pawujciejszona un wyssajdi sposobi diel' ziemniku Łatwiszu. Łasieja, nu wyssajdu Gromotu Leszysku, rakstieja un iz-diewia Bazniejckungs Jezups Macilewicz, Wiersiniks Bazniejcas Kaunatas. A Wilna, pi kunga Marcinowska izdrukawota Goda pidzimszona Kunga Jezu Chrysta 1850.*

³ *Słownik polsko-łacinsko-łotewski, ułożony i napisany przez xiędzą Jana Kurmina.* Wilno, 1858.

⁴ See, e.g.: Strods P. Latgaļu dialekta ortografijas problēmas, in: *Rokstu krōjums latgaļu drukas aizlīguma atceļšonas 40 godu atcerei.* Daugavpiļš, 1944. – 365.–372. lpp.

⁵ See: Zeps F. Napabeigta latgaļu ortografijas reforma / *Dzeive* Nr. 161, 1987. – 19.–20. lpp.; *Tāvu zemes kalendars* 1996. Rēzekne: LKC izdevniecība, 1995. – 258.–261. lpp.

⁶ Latgaliešu rakstības noteikumi / Latgališu raksteības nūsacejumi / *Latvijas Vēstnesis* No. 168, 2007. 18. oktobris. – 27.–30. lpp.

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Natalya Ananiewa

BALTIC BORROWINGS IN THE POLISH PATOIS OF THE BALTIC-SLAVONIC BORDER AREAS

Summary

The article regards the usage of the Baltic elements in the modern Polish patois in the so-called 'Smolvy' region (after the name of the village of Smolvy) in Lithuania and Belarus.

*The Baltic borrowings can be observed at all language levels of these patois: phonetic, morphological, word-building, syntactical, and lexical ones. Some borrowings are recessive (for example, such phonetic features as *i* and *k* instead of *y* and *h*, or the words *pad'in*ka 'a pot', *raug'en'a* 'kind of food') and some of them are rather stable (for example, the words denoting animals and plants).*

Some phenomena at each language level are analyzed in the article. More thorough attention is paid to some lexical borrowings found in a number of lexical-semantic groups.

Key-words: Baltic borrowings, the Polish patois, lexical group, lexical borrowings, recessive, stable

*

The Polish language in the territory of the south-eastern part of the contemporary Latvia and adjacent regions of Lithuania and Belarus has been formed as a consequence of the history of this area and related interactions between Poles and the local population of the former Grand Duchy of the Lithuanian and Polish Inflantia. Originally (especially after the Lyublinsk Union of 1569) spreading among the upper classes of the local population (the first wave of Polonization), the Polish language became the means of everyday communication also of the middle and lower classes of the autochthonic population (the local *shlyachta*, townspeople and peasants) constituting the second wave of Polonization. Polonization did not diminish even after the loss of the state independence of *Recha Pospolita*. On the contrary, at that time (since the mid-19th century) there was a process of the formation of a great number of Polish towns on the territory of the former western provinces of the Russian Empire that grew in force as a result of entrance of a part of this area in the reborn Polish state after World War I (in the period of the so-called *interbellum* decades of 1918 – 1939).

The evidence of the fact that Polish was a language of communication in the towns of Latgale in the 19th century is provided by the memories of the famous French writer and art historian Theophil Gautier who upon the return from his first trip to Russia through Dvinsk (the present-day Daugavpils) noted that there were many Jews in the town who spoke Polish (Sic!) and German (i.e. Yiddish). This note of the French traveler

points to the fact that Polish was at least one of the languages of everyday communication in the town of Dvinsk in the 19th century.

Out of the three compact regions of Polish patois having arisen on the territory of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania that were differentiated by the pre-war researcher of the local Polish patois Halina Turska – Wilno, Kovno, and Smalvos¹, the latter (Smalvos) encompasses the territory that today belongs to three states: Latvia (in particular, Polish patois around Daugavpils, the former Dinaburg (Dvinsk), in Krāslava region and farther to the south-eastern part of Latvia in Madona region), Lithuania (the Polish patois in the vicinity of Zarasai), and Belarus (the Polish patois in the vicinity of Vidzi near Braslav). Some time ago the research activities of the author of the present article started with the investigation of the remnants of the Polish patois in the village Peski near Krāslava. Already in the 1970s the Polish patois existed there in a rudimentary state spoken only by the older generation of people, besides the major part of the Polish lexis that had been collected according to the four-part lexical questionnaire in Vitold Doroshevski's edition² had already been lost. As our aim at that time was collecting the material for a monographic description of the Polish kresowian patois of the north-eastern sub-type, after some days of work in Peski according to the advice of the leader of the dialectological expedition Vyacheslav Verenich, we went to Lithuania, to the village Meišagola of Vilnius region, the phonetic and phonology of which became the subject of our graduation paper. We did not have another chance of collecting Polish patois material in Latvia, though it is well known that Polish patois exist on the territory of Latvia up to this time³.

Yet a part of Smalvos patois existing on the territory of Lithuania and Belarus (particularly those around Zarasai and Vidzi) is rather well-known to us due to the dialectological expeditions there in the 1970 – 90s including the leadership of the dialectological field-work of students of Polonistics of Moscow State University. We suppose that systemic Baltic borrowings (phonetic and grammatical) function also in the Polish patois of the towns in Latvia, though as concerns the lexical Baltic borrowings, their number may vary in diverse positions. In fact, there are poly-dialectal lexical Baltic borrowings, especially ancient ones, that have entered the Polish patois from Belarusian idioms familiar with them since the times immemorial (of the type *dyrvan* or *odryn'a* – the latter occurs also in the Old Russian language having been noted in *Повесту временных лет* (The Story of the Years of Old Times) relating of duchess Olga's revenge for Igor's death by burning down Yoskorosten'.

Baltic borrowings function in the Polish patois in Latvia, Lithuania, and Belarus at all levels of the system of language: phonetic, morphological, word-building, syntactic, lexical. A certain phonetic phenomenon (sometimes of a recessive nature) may be morphologized and lexicalized. Hence, the lack in Lithuanian of the sound *y* caused difficulty in pronouncing it for Polonized autochthones. In the contemporary local Polish patois, *i* ≤ *y* are marked only sporadically (*r'iba*), *i* having been morphologized in the 1st person plural forms of the verbs of *am*- and *em*- declensions. If the corresponding literary *e*- and *i*-/*y*- declensions in the 1st person plural present forms have the ending *-m* (*n'es'im*, *xodz'im*) that is an archaism kept due to the eastern-slavic correspondences, then in the 1st person plural verbs of *am*- and *em*- declensions everywhere in the Polish patois of Lithuania and Belarus the ending *-mi* (*gadam'i*, *mam'i*, *v'em'i* – literary Polish *gadamy*, *mamy*, *wiemy*) is recorded. Blending of *i* and *y* leads to the appearance of sporadic

nominal forms of the accusative case in plural with a ‘super-correct’ *y* (*nogamy* – literary Polish *nogami*).

An example of the lexicalization of the phonetic peculiarity originating in Lithuanian borrowings (substituting Polish *ch* to *k*) sporadically recorded in the contemporary patois spoken by the people of older generation saying *naša ojcy l’itv’iny byl’i* (of the type *káala* ‘*chciala*’) is the use of *k* in the verb *kścić* ‘*chrzcić*’ (*kšče* // *kščem*, *kściš*, *ks’t’i*, etc.) and the derived noun *kściny* ‘*chrzciny*’.

An example of Baltic borrowing in the sphere of substantive word change occurs in the inflexion of dative case singular nouns of feminine gender with *-a*: *-aj*, *-ej*, etc. (of the type *dz’efčynk’ej*, *d’aškaj*, *pxlej*).

The absence of the category of neuter gender (*ta okna*, *ta dno* – *ona*) also refers to the systemic Baltic borrowings of the Polish patois of the north-eastern subtype.

Another case of the Baltic borrowing in the sphere of syntax is the use of the productive instrument of action with the preposition *z(e)*: *jez’’dz’’il’ s kol’asko*, *jes’c’ s łyško* (Vidzi)⁴. Similar constructions have been marked by Juzef Parshuta in the patois of the Darvinieki village (Madona region, Latvia): *z renkom’i tak’i jest sčesš; jestec’e v’idz’awšy tak’i z renkom’i dz’e češon*⁵.

The polyfunctional predicate with *-wšy* (as well as with *-šy*) used in the latter context referring to the most characteristic systemic grammatical features of the north-eastern Polish patois according to Valery Chekman and Irena Elzhbieta Adomaviciute is also a Baltic borrowing, loan from Lithuanian correspondences.

Svetlana Prokhorova has noted the constructions of the type *копать землю с лопатой* (to dig the ground with a spade) in the transitional Russian-Belarusian zone of Smolenschina relating this phenomenon to syntactical Baltic borrowings under the influence of the Latvian language⁶.

Now let us turn to the basic topic of this article – lexical Baltic borrowings. The lexis of Baltic origin in the Polish and Belarusian patois has been studied by researchers Jan Otremskiy, Halina Turskaya, Tadeush Zdancevich, Elzhbieta Smulkova, Kshishtof Tekelski, Elena Grinaveckiene, Valery Chekman, Irena Adomaviciute, etc.

The words of Baltic origin are represented in diverse thematic and lexico-semantic groups⁷ of the lexis of the local Polish patois⁸. It should be noted that many of these borrowings were recorded in the north-western Belarusian patois⁹.

Baltic borrowings have been singled out in the following lexical groups.

1) Flora: the names of plants and their parts

Examples: *g’ig’el’*, diminutive *g’ig’el’ók* ‘horse-tail’ (cf. Lithuanian *gigēlis*): *g’ig’el’ jiny*; *g’ig’el’e na dyrvanax*; *napodob’ije g’ig’el’a*, *v drug’im fason’e – v’idočn’e g’ig’el’¹⁰*; *g’ig’el’ók* Taleniški, the vicinity of Vidzi, 1990, cf. Belarusian *gigěl’*, *gigěl’*, *gigel’ek*, *gigyl’ek*, *gigel’ki*, *gigel’nik*¹¹;

vengery’kšta ‘meadow-sweet’ (cf. Lith. *vingiórykštė*): *paxn’oncy vengery’kšta*¹²; corrupt form *vengel’ikščy* was recorded in the village Gaide near Ignalina in 1972;

s’’m’’il’ga ‘bent-grass’¹³ Cf. Belar. *смільга*, *сміл’га*¹⁴

stambur ‘stem’ (cf. Lithuan. *stuobrŷs*, *stambas*, *stúobas*). Cf. Belar. *стамбы*, *стаўбун*, *сталбун*, *стаўбур*¹⁵.

Cf. also such phytonyms and their parts as *g’irsa* ‘bonfire’, *skujna* ‘needle’ (Lithuan. *skujà*), *v’iksva* ‘sedge’ (Lith. *viksvà*), *pučuryna* // *pumčuryna* (Lithuan. *pumčurŷnas*)

‘buttercup’, *žyl’v’ica* // *žyl’v’it’i* ‘rod, vine’ (Lithuan. *žilvītis*), *ronkul’i* // *runkl’i* ‘mangel’ (Lithuan. *rūkliai*), *ramul’ki* ‘daisies’ (Lithuan. *ramūnė*) and many others.

2) Physiographical characteristics of place

polydialectal *dyrvan* (cf. Lithuan. *dirvonas*) ‘fallow land’ and *rojsty* ‘overgrown marsh’, singular *rojst* (Lithuan. *raīstas*). The latter lexical unit is widely used in Polish fiction as a characteristic kresowian formation¹⁶;

saman’ica ‘a place grown with moss’ (Lithuan. *sāmana*, *sāmanos* ‘moss’);

l’un ‘quagmire’ (Lithuan. *liūnas*): *okny tak’e na l’un’e*¹⁷;

darmy ‘bog’ (Lithuan. *dārymas* ‘quagmire’);

k’imsa (Lithuan. *kėmsas*, *kīmsas* ‘hummock’, *kīmsa* ‘moss’), a part of a number of micro-toponyms (names of particular marshes and meadows).

3) Fauna. Wild and domestic animals

Widely known in Polish and Belarusian patois are *šašók* along with a closer to the original form *šeška* (Lithuan. *šėškas* ‘polecat’), *bebra*, plural *bebry* ‘бобер, бобры’ (Lithuan. *bėbras*).

Common kresowian and Belarusian *žyv’oly*, *žyv’ola* diminutive *žyv’olka* ‘cattle’ (Lithuan. *gyvuliai*): *žyv’oty – na krovyy, c’el’ak’i, pros’ak’i, s’v’in’i*¹⁸.

Cf. also *kukt’a* // *kukuta* (Lithuan. *kūkūtis*, *kūkūtė* ‘piglet’) and the form of calling pigs *kukut’-kukut’*¹⁹.

It is possible that the word denoting a plump woman *kuxta*²⁰ is also related to the word denoting pig (*kt* → *xt*, cf. *doxtur*, *xto*).

The names given to animals refer to this as well, e.g. a widespread name given to cow Marguta ‘the motley’ (Lithuan. *mārgis* ‘motley’).

A group of words denoting insects stands out especially: *patal’iška* ‘butterfly’ (Lithuan. *peteliškė*), *b’izdelka* ‘gadfly’ (Lithuan. *byzdėlė*): *b’izdelka – z rabyim’i skšydlam’i*²¹. Cf. Belarus. *бізаўка, бызаўка, бізгаўка*²². Cf. also *vosva*, *osvy* (with the combination *sv*, as in Lithuan. *vapsvā* ‘oca’), *kam’enujka* ‘bumblebee’ (Lithuan. *kamanė*).

4) Lexis related to food; names of dishes

dešry, *dėšery* ‘home-made sausage made from large intestines stuffed with grotas and blood and baked in the oven’ (Lithuan. *dešrā* ‘sausage’): *dešry p’ekt*²³. Cf. Belarus. *дзяшар, дзяшара, дзяшары, дэшры*²⁴;

ragošy (Lithuan. *ragaišis* ‘white bread from coarse grained flour’). Cf. Belar. *рагойш, рагойж*²⁵;

raug’en’a, *reug’en’a* ‘malt brew’ (Lithuan. *rāugti* ‘to pickle’, *raugiėnė* ‘malt brew’): *reug’en’a – saladuška*²⁶;

skv’erstuv’i ‘fresh pork; pig slaughter’ (Lithuan. *skerstuvė* 1. pig slaughter. 2. feast to this event). Cf. Belar. *сквэрты, сквірстуны, сквярста, скарстўлі, сквярстўля, сквярсты*²⁷;

kvašel’ina ‘jellied meat’ (Lithuan. *košeliena*). Cf. Belar. *квашенина, квашэлина*²⁸.

5) Parts of human and animal body

kosa ‘spleen’ (Lithuan. *kasā* ‘pancreas’): *s’el’iz’onka – kosa*²⁹. Cf. Belar. *каса* III³⁰.

Polydialectal *kupra* ‘hunch’ and *kupraty* ‘hunch-backed’ (Lithuan. *kuprà* ‘hunch’), *kump’ák* ‘hip (human), ham (pig)’ (Lithuan. *kuñpis* ‘ham’). Cf. Belar. *кўпра, кўпрó, кўпраты, кўправаты, кўпράч*³¹.

bumbul'k'i 'eyes, pupils' (Lithuan. *bumbùliaĩ*, *bamblỹs*, dial. *bumblỹs*): *bumbul'ki vydaršy*³².

An interesting euphemism *dukšty* 'bottom' has been recorded in Vidzi region. (Cf. toponym *Dukšty*).

6) Lexis related to household economy and agricultural labour

a) agricultural lexis: *kupetka* 'stack' (Lithuan. *kùpeta*): *v kupetk'i s'ano kladl'i*³³; *odryna*, *odryn'ka*, *adryn'a*, *šv'iren* 'shed' (Lithuan. *sviřnas* 'shed, barn'): *do jednego s'v'irma*³⁴, etc;

b) transport: *atosy* 'axle of carriage keeping it steady' (Lithuan. *atāsaja*). Cf. Belar. literary *amóca* and dialectal *amóca*, *zamóca*, *amacá*, *oměca*³⁵;

c) house building: *škl'aust – koncy daxu – dva šklausty*³⁶ (Lithuan. *skliaūtas* 'arch', *skliaūsti* 'to make an arch').

Dialectal Belarusian and polydialectal for north-eastern peripheral Polish patois *grab'asta* singular, *grab'asty* plural 'grating places across rafters' (Lithuan. *grebēstas*): *na krokvox grab'asty*³⁷. Cf. Belar. *зрэбечы, зрэбязд* and other variants³⁸;

d) household objects: *pastka* 'mousetrap' (Lithuan. *spāštai* 'trap'): *pastk'i postav'ila*³⁹. Cf. Belar. *нацмка*⁴⁰.

Widespread word in Polish north-eastern patois for 'pot' – *pad'inika* (Lithuan. *pūodŷnė*): *čšyma s'e pad'in'k'i*⁴¹.

klaptuk 'hammer'⁴² – Lithuan. *plaktukas* with transposition as in other patois forms: *kordla 'koldra', opsac 'obcas', korovlot 'kołowrot'*.

7) Lexis related to rituals, especially those of wedding

krejcy 'dowry' (Lithuan. *kraĩtis*)⁴³;

gog'isy 'uninvited guest in wedding': *gog'isy – n'eprošony gos'c'i zb'oron s'a*⁴⁴;

kubel'n'ik'i 'round wooden chests for dowry'⁴⁵ (possible relation with Lithuan. *kūbilas* 'vat', *kubilėlis* 'tub').

8) Clothing and footwear

Example: *khump'ak'i – z dževa*⁴⁶ (Lithuan. *klūmpė*).

9) Human character traits and actions

l'ajza 'chatterbox' (cf. Lithuan. *liežūvias*, *lėidinti* 'chat up, rumour'). Cf. Belar. *ляўда* 'gossiper', *ляўдзиць, ляўзиць*⁴⁷;

vepsa – 3rd person singular present verb form: *vepsa – n'epotšebn'e muv'i*⁴⁸ (cf. Lithuan. *vėpsóti* 'yawn, gape'; *vyvepsa*;

n'eorymsta, *n'eurým* 'busybody' (Lithuan. *nenúoram* 'busybody, restless person'): *n'eorymsta – narvovy, v'ert'ip'enta*⁴⁹.

10) Profession names

g'irn'ik 'forester' (Lithuan. *gìrininkas*): *jest xtura, vo – Kuz'al'is – g'irn'ik'im*⁵⁰;

battušn'ik 'furrier' (Polish *bołtusznik* – from Lithuan. *baltušnykas*, *baltušninkas*).

Cf. Belar. *балтушник* with 4 meanings including 'furrier'⁵¹.

11) Names of administrative bodies

g'irn'ik'ija 'forestry' (Lithuan. *gìrininkijà*), *apėlinka* 'village council'.

12) A wide range of microtoponymy

names of meadows, forests, marshes. A great number of microtoponyms have the root *kaln-* (Lithuan. *kálnas* ‘hill’), *saman-*, *kims-* (see above as to the meanings of the latter). Combinations *-yn’a*, *-in’a* (Lithuan. *-ŷnė*, *-inė*) are also widespread. E.g. *Dob’el’in’a* (Lithuan. *dobilaĩ*, *dóbilas* ‘clover’), *Varp’in’a* (Lithuan. *vaĩpinė* ‘belfry’), *Kro“p’in’e* (Lithuan. *kruõpinė* ‘peeling mill’)⁵².

Let us make some conclusions.

First, Baltic borrowings of diverse time of adoption into Slavic idioms function in the Polish patois in the territory of Latvia, Lithuania, and Belarus, that determines the different ways these borrowings came into the respective patois. The youngest stratum entails Baltic borrowings that originated during the time of appearance of compact Polonic language masses of peasant patois in this territory. The oldest one entails the common eastern Slavic borrowings that came into the Polish patois from Belarusian idioms (*odryn’a*, *atosa*, *dyrvan*). As a rule, lexical Baltic borrowings functioning in the Polish patois are marked also in the Belarusian north-western ones.

Second, systemic lexical (as well as those of other levels) Baltic borrowings should be distinguished from the individual (occasional) phenomena of Lithuanian-Polish bilingualism. E.g. the lexical unit *kambarúk* ‘room’ (Lith. *kambarỹs*) was registered by us just once. To clarify whether this is a systemic or occasional phenomenon, further investigation is needed. When the informant qualifies the lexeme mentioned by him or her as belonging to a foreign language (‘Lithuanian’), there is no doubt that it is not a Baltic borrowing in the Polish patois but is to be considered a citation from the foreign system of the Polish language. Hence, an informant having provided the Polish lexeme *ług* ‘alkaline solution’ with the double *šarmys* (Lith. *šármas*) qualifies it in the following way: *šarmys – po l’itesku*.

Third, among the Baltic borrowings of all levels there are recessional and stable phenomena. Hence, substitution of the Polish *ch* (*h*) to *k*, *y* to *i* (except the position after *r*: *r’iba*, *gr’ika*) refers to recessional phenomena in the sphere of phonetics. It is curious that under the conditions of the growing influence of the Russian language (until the 1990s), the conditions of fixating *r’* have grown even wider in the children’s subsystem of Polish patois (in particular in the village Gaide of Ignalina district in Lithuania): it was fixed also before *e* (forms without alternation of the type *na žebr’e* – cf. Russian *на ребре* ‘on the rib’). We do not have the information as to what is the situation like at present.

It is possible that rather stable sustenance of two gender system of nouns under the influence of active acculturation action carried out by the teachers of Polish (especially in Lithuania) may also be violated.

In the sphere of lexis, naturally, the greatest stability is observed with nominations related to the surrounding flora and fauna as well as relief. At the same time microtoponymy is getting lost; only the people of older generation still remember it. Some nominations related to the former way of housekeeping and domestic objects are getting lost as well. Nobody any longer prepares *raug’en’i* or wears *khump’ax*, and even *pad’ink’i* have got out of use. Hence, a range of lexical units of Baltic origin now belong to the archaic layer of lexis.

Fourth, the functioning of Baltic borrowings along with Polish nominations and genetic Belarusian borrowings for denoting the same object determines the high degree of variability in Polish patois. Cf. variants related to fauna: ‘gadfly’ – *bonka* // *b’izdelka* // *šeršon*, *šeršun*; ‘butterfly’ – *patal’iška* // *motylka*; ‘wasp’ – *osva* // *osa*; ‘pole-cat’ – *txoš* // *šeška*, *šašók*. Besides, the variants may not only be the components of the respective phenomenon (i.e. varying within the limits of the whole given Polish language area) but also be registered within the dialect of the same settlement.

Fifth, the given language territory including Polish, Belarusian, and Baltic idioms, evidently represents a beneficial ground for typological investigation of the area using the notion ‘linguistic union’. At the same time many peculiarities common to an area, in our opinion, are conditioned by the Baltic substratum.

¹ Turska H. O powstaniu polskich obszarów językowych na Wileńszczyźnie, in: *Studia nad polszczyzną kresową*, t. I. Wrocław etc.: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1982. – S. 20–121; Turska H. O powstaniu polskich obszarów językowych na Wileńszczyźnie. Турска Г. О проученні польскаязычных ареалов в Вильнюсском крае. Vilnius: Mintis, 1995.

² *Kwestionariusz do badań słownictwa ludowego*. Zeszyt I. Hodowla i świat zwierzęcy, Zeszyt II Świat roślinny, Zeszyt III Technika ludowa, Zeszyt IV Kultura społeczna i ludowa. Redaktor – W. Doroszewski. Wrocław, 1958.

³ See works by Yuzef Parshuta about the Polish patois in the village of Darvenieki in Madona region, works by Malgozhata Ostruvka about the Polish patois in Latvia, etc.

⁴ See more in: Ананьева Н. Е. О некоторых особенностях глагола в польских говорах окрестностей Видз., in: *Dialektologia Slavica*. Сб. к 85-летию Самуила Борисовича Бернштейна. Москва: Индрик, 1995. – с. 125–132.

⁵ *Польские говоры в СССР*. Часть I. Исследования и материалы 1967 – 1969 гг. Минск: Наука и техника, 1973. – с. 214–215.

⁶ Прохорова С. М. *Синтаксис переходной русско-белорусской зоны: ареально-типологическое исследование*. Минск: Минский гос. ун-т, 1991.

⁷ Henceforth LSG.

⁸ The examples of lexical Baltic borrowings are given without pointing out their chronology and direct source of borrowing to the Polish patois; the exemplification in some LSG is not exhaustive.

⁹ Further in references marked as СБГ.

¹⁰ Smalvos, recorded in 1984.

¹¹ СБГ 1 1979. – с. 442.

¹² Smalvos, 1984.

¹³ Smalvos, 1984, Taleniški, 1990.

¹⁴ СБГ 4 1984. – с. 504.

¹⁵ Ibid. – с. 580.

¹⁶ Cf. the title of T. Kownicki’s short story *Rojsty*.

¹⁷ Gaile, 1972.

¹⁸ Taleniški, 1991.

¹⁹ Cf. Belarus. *кўхця-кўхця* – СБГ 2 1980. – с. 592.

²⁰ Gaide, 1972.

²¹ Pakulnya, 1990.

²² СБГ 1 1979. – с. 185.

²³ Pakulnya, 1990.

²⁴ СБГ 2 1980. – с. 74, 117.

²⁵ СБГ 4 1984. – с. 238.

²⁶ Pakulnya, 1990.

²⁷ СБГ 4 1984. – с. 446.

- ²⁸ СБГ 2 1980. — с. 453.
²⁹ Pakulnya, 1991.
³⁰ СБГ 2 1980. — с. 430.
³¹ Ibid. — с. 575.
³² Gaide, 1982.
³³ Vidzi, 1992.
³⁴ Talenishki, 1991.
³⁵ СБГ 1 1979. — с. 122–123.
³⁶ Gaide, 1972.
³⁷ Ibid.
³⁸ СБГ 1 1979. — с. 492.
³⁹ Pakulnya, 1990.
⁴⁰ СБГ 3 1982. — с. 435.
⁴¹ Gaide, 1972.
⁴² Meišagola, 1969.
⁴³ Pakulnya, 1990.
⁴⁴ Ibid.
⁴⁵ Ibid.
⁴⁶ Smalvos, 1991.
⁴⁷ СБГ 2 1980. — с. 714.
⁴⁸ Gaide, 1972.
⁴⁹ Ibid.
⁵⁰ Kukutani, in the vicinity of Gaide, 1972.
⁵¹ СБГ 1 1979. — с. 160.
⁵² See more about microtoponymy in: Ananiewa N. Mikrotoponimia w gwarach polskich pogranicza słowiańsko-bałtyckiego, in: *Rozprawy Slavistyczne* 7. Lublin: UMCS, 1993. — S. 39–48.

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ABBREVIATIONS OF SOURCES

СБГ — *Слоўнік беларускіх гаворак паўночна-заходняй Беларусі і яе пагранічча у пяці тамах*. Мінск: Навука і тэхніка, 1979 — 1986.

Vilma Šaudiņa

ETHNO-LINGUISTIC RELATIONS OF THE SOUTHEASTERN SUBDIALECTS OF LATVIA

Summary

Southeastern subdialects are the subdialects of Lithuanian border that have formed both an external and internal contact with the Lithuanian language. The language situation of the investigated area is not homogeneous; one may observe contacts of more than two Baltic languages there. In fact, it is marked by an interaction of a number of languages (mostly Baltic and Slavic) and their dialects. The present article regards the ethnic and linguistic relations of the Baltic peoples, i.e. some aspects of functioning of the Latvian and Lithuanian languages.

In case of language contacts, situations may occur when the native language might lose its function of the basic means of communication, being substituted by another language. The analysis of the linguistic situation shows that previously the southeastern area of Latvia has been marked by Latvian and Lithuanian bilingualism, yet its intensity has differed in diverse periods of time. Nowadays this situation has been changed; Latvian – Lithuanian bilingualism has generally disappeared, though in some cases it is still existent.

Ethnic aspect and linguistic situation are the research objects not only for linguists but also for historians. The article focuses on two recent research cases. Both of them state that teaching Lithuanian at school was a crucial factor of sustaining the national self-awareness of Lithuanians between the two world wars. The contribution of Lithuanian intelligentsia to the foundation of public organizations, societies, supporting Lithuanian schools, etc. has also been of great importance. Lithuanian nationality or origin is not always related to speaking the Lithuanian language. Nowadays family has the major role in sustaining the Lithuanian language in the culture environment of another ethnic community. Lithuanian TV is also significant for sustaining the Lithuanian language, while radio is of less importance. Newspapers and magazines have practically no significance in sustaining the Lithuanian ethnic identity. According to the respondents of the research, contacts with Lithuania have started to subside.

The investigation of Lithuanian subdialects brings out interaction of both languages in lexis, yet the state of the language is determined by the conditions of its existence: state affiliation of inhabitants, language policy, education policy, geography of the language area, competence and usage of other languages.

There are no clear-cut criteria for determining Latvian and Lithuanian borrowings and commonly borrowed words in both languages. However, as regards words of Lithuanian origin in Latvian subdialects, it must be taken into account that lexical parallelisms have been preserved in subdialects due to the impact of the Lithuanian language. We agree to Elga Kagaine's argument that geo-linguistic characteristics in the study of borrowings are still topical. The cooperation of researchers in gathering the material (expeditions) and research would also be important.

There is much work to be done in studying border subdialects, as the disappearance of bilingualism and realia as well as the impact of common national language produce changes in subdialects, and the number of dialect borrowings is rapidly decreasing.

Key-words: border subdialect, language contact, interaction of languages, ethnic aspect, linguistic situation, borrowing, lexical parallelism

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Southeastern subdialects are those of the Lithuanian border area having with the Lithuanian language both an external contact due to the centuries long neighbourhood of Latvian and Lithuanian people and an internal one that has been formed under the conditions of both peoples living in the same area. The language situation of the researched area is not homogeneous; apart from two Baltic language contacts, it is affected by the interaction of several (basically Baltic and Slavic) languages and their dialects. The present article regards the ethnic and linguistic relations of the Baltic peoples, i.e. some aspects of the functioning of the Latvian and Lithuanian languages.

In case of language contacts, there are situations when the native language loses its significance of the basic means of communication and is substituted by another language. The analysis of the linguistic situation shows that previously in the area of southeastern Latvia there was Latvian and Lithuanian bilingualism, yet its intensity in different time periods has varied. Nowadays this situation has changed and Latvian – Lithuanian bilingualism has basically ceased to exist, though in individual cases it is still observed.

The ethnic aspect. The ethnic aspect and the linguistic situation related to it is an object of investigation not only of linguists but also historians. We will regard the latest research in this sphere – the Latvian historian Ēriks Jēkabsons' work *Lietuvieši Latvijā* (Lithuanians in Latvia) and the monograph by 4 researchers of the Institute of Lithuanian History *Pietryčių Latvijos lietuviai: Tapatumo išraiška. Etninės ir kultūrinės orientacijos* (Lithuanians of the Southeastern Latvia: Manifestation of Identity. Ethnic and Culture Orientations) that has been elaborated within the institute programme *Atlas of Lithuanian Habits: the 2nd part of the 20th century*.

Ē. Jēkabsons' book has been created on the basis of written sources, whereas the monograph by the Lithuanian historians Irena Regina Merkienė, Rasa Paukštytė-Šaknienė, Vida Savoniakaitė, and Žilvytis Bernardas Šaknys is based on the field research produced during the expeditions of 1996, 1997, and 1998 as well as the published demographic, ethnographic, historical materials about Lithuanians living in Latvia (especially in the southeastern part of Latvia).

In his historical and chronological review, Jēkabsons investigates the issues of the political activities (since the late 19th century), public activities (including culture work), and education as well as the role of the Catholic Church. During the first independence period of Latvia, religious service in Lithuanian was conducted in Nereta, Viesīte, Subate, Aknīste, Eglaine, Medumi, Laucese, Grīva, etc. In the early 1930s there was even an opinion that some of these priests facilitated Lithuanization¹.

The monograph by Lithuanian historians is devoted to the problem of the manifestation of the marginal person's ethnic and culture identity in the situation of economic and political change. Its aim is to reveal how the national awareness and perception of

the Lithuanian culture of the immigrant Lithuanian minority were affected by living in a multinational environment in the border area of southeastern Latvia that is marked by cultural diversity².

Jēkabsons characterizes this period of time emphasizing the varied contacts among the Baltic tribes already till the 12 – 13th century when the lands populated by the tribes of Zemgaļi and Kurši reached into the territory of the present-day Lithuania. He admits the idea that the Selonian or other territories as a result of raids, inter-tribe agreements, or other events were populated by Žemaiši. However, this did not cause any considerable consequence for the development of these peoples in the following centuries. According to Jēkabsons, Lithuanian immigration to the territory of Latvia since the 16th century when the Courland Duchy had been formed, the duke of which was the liege of the Polish king and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, is much more significant³.

Both studies state that teaching Lithuanian at school was of a crucial importance for the sustenance of Lithuanian national self-awareness in the *inter-bellum* period. Lithuanian intelligentsia made a significant contribution also to the foundation of public organizations and societies, supporting Lithuanian schools, periodicals, etc. Irena Regina Merkienė characterizes it as a contradictory process as the multifunctional environment facilitated ethnically heterogeneous marriages that promoted Lithuanian assimilation. During the Soviet period, the consequence of the heterogeneous marriages was a layer of persons of Lithuanian origin with a double ethnic and culture identity. In 1991, along with the change of the political situation, the orientation towards Latvian nationality (and acquiring Latvian citizenship) was facilitated by the common belonging to the Catholic faith; yet the language spoken at home did not always correspond to the citizenship and nationality. Lithuanians still retained their marginal status⁴.

Special attention in the monograph by Lithuanian historians is attributed to the group of young people (15 – 39 years of age). The research shows that Lithuanian nationality or origin is not always related to the proficiency of the Lithuanian language. The major role in sustaining the Lithuanian language in the environment of another ethnic community is attributed to family. Lithuanian TV and, to a lesser degree radio, has a great significance for the language sustenance, while newspapers and magazines have practically no importance in sustaining the Lithuanian ethnic identity. The respondents of the research acknowledge that their contacts with Lithuania are gradually reducing⁵.

The analysis of forms of youth's communication reveals a gross difference of the lives of Lithuanian and Latvian youth, Latvian youth having fewer contacts among themselves as compared to Lithuanians. In turn, during time of the first independent Latvian state, youth in the border area spoke both the Latvian and Lithuanian languages, that was a rather rare case in other marginal border regions⁶.

According to Vida Savoniakaitė, in the process of culture assimilation, production of traditional textiles exceeds in viability language. Those who do not speak Latvian still know and observe Lithuanian traditions in textile production⁷.

Those are the essential features of the ethnic situation in southeastern dialects of the Lithuanian border at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries.

The linguistic aspect. Border dialects in south-east of Latvia should be regarded both from the point of view of research and language contacts. From the research point of view, we will deal with the major studies of Latvian and Lithuanian dialects.

Most extensive research on southeastern dialects of Latvia entails Krišjānis Ancītis' monograph *Aknīstes izloksne* (Aknīste Subdialect), Irma Indāne's work *Dignājas izloksne* (Dignāja Subdialect), Alberts Sarkanis' doctoral thesis *Latviešu valodas augšzemes sēlisko izlokšņu prosodija un vokālisms: eksperimentālie pētījumi* (Prosody and Vocalism of the Selonian Subdialects of the Latvian Language: Experimental Study), and Vilma Šaudiņa's doctoral thesis *Lituānismi Lietuvas pierobežas sēliskajās izloksnēs (Aknīste, Gārsene, Laši, Prode)* (Lithuanianisms in Some Selonian Subdialects near Lithuanian Border (in Aknīste, Gārsene, Laši, Prode)), as well as articles, e.g. Anna Stafecka's *Sēļu novada leksika ģeolingvistiskā skatījumā* (Lexis of the Selonian Region in a Geo-linguistic Perspective), etc.

Lithuanian subdialects of Latvia have been investigated by Lithuanian researchers, e.g. Elena Grinaveckienė's research on the peculiarities of Lithuanian subdialects in Daugavpils and its vicinities, however the greatest contribution is Kazimiras Garšva's numerous publications on Lithuanian subdialects and Lithuanian language islands in Latvia, Lithuanian subdialects and their contacts in Latvia, and his monograph *Lietuvių kalbos paribio šnektas. Fonologija* published in 2005. Chapter 2 of the monograph analyzes Lithuanian subdialects of Latvia (subdialect variations), including Kupiškų subdialect in Nereta, Utena subdialects in Aknīste, Subate, Gārsene, Daugavpils-Laucece and Medumi subdialects as well as those of Eglaine and Vilnius in Rēzekne region (Ciskādi) and Krāslava region (Vodiģēni, Indrica).

Since the 18th century, there have existed nine villages in the vicinity of Ciskādi populated by Lithuanians. Around 1895, a small Lithuanian colony was formed in Indrica estate of Skaista region where the land was bought by Lithuanians from the vicinity of Daugeliškiai of Vilnius district⁸.

The research of the Latvian or Lithuanian subdialects in the border area reveals the interaction of both languages in lexis; however there are also structural changes, as, according to K. Garšva, the fate of the language is determined by the conditions of its existence: the national adherence of the population (respectively, the language prestige), language policy, education policy, the geography of the language area, knowledge and use of other languages, and other extra-linguistic factors. These conditions transform also the language composition⁹.

Yet the economic, culture, historical, and kinship contacts of Latvians and Lithuanians are most extensively embodied in lexis¹⁰. The extension of these contacts as well as the number of mutual borrowings can be regarded only relatively due to both linguistic and extra-linguistic influences. Krišjānis Ancītis in his research on Aknīste subdialect since the early 1930s has observed that previously there were thousands of Lithuanian borrowings, yet he doubts whether they characterize the dialect as such¹¹. It may be admitted that part of them were just the facts of the speech. Garšva notes that in Aknīste Lithuanian subdialect (records produced from 1977 to 2001) there were probably much fewer Latvianisms¹².

According to Garšva, in Aknīste Lithuanian subdialect that has been rather well preserved, the words different from the common national Lithuanian language are basically lexical borrowings, calques, less often – Lithuanian subdialect words, e.g. nouns *kūgis* 'laivas'; *laīkas* 'metas, laikotarpis'; *mākas* 'piniginė'; *mūlkyba* 'kvailumas'; verbs *atataisyti* 'atidaryti'; *apšmaukti* 'apsukti'; adjectives *lēnas* 'letas'; *mitrūs* 'dregnas'.

Slavonic borrowings are also mentioned, e.g. *kvōšlena* ‘šaltiena’, *nedēlia* ‘savaitē’, *zvānas* ‘varpas’, *pravōrnas* ‘geras’, *merkavóti* ‘meginti’.

A similar situation is observed in the Aknīste Latvian subdialect where Lithuanian borrowings are recorded, e.g. *čuži* ‘gruži, siena pabiras’; *dvirači* ‘divriči’; *pašale*, *pašele* ‘nojume, neliela piebūve; arī – maza pieliekamais pažobelē’; *pažaga*, *-s* ‘maizes krāsns slaukāmā slotā; more seldom – maizes lize’; *unteža*, *untežmala* ‘eža, ežmala’; *žlaukts* ‘alus darāmais trauks’; *župsnis* ‘šķipsna; neliels daudzums’¹³.

Also in the Lithuanian language island in Vodiģēni subdialect, according to Garša, there are a number of Latvian borrowings, e.g. *beržlapis* ‘umēdē’, *bizē* ‘plauku kasa’, *kiaurumas* ‘skylē’, *pažagas* ‘šluota pečiui šluoti’, *veīskupas* ‘vyskupas’, *znūtas* ‘žentas’. Some of the borrowings are evident in their origin, e.g. *mūlkyba*, *atataisýti*, *mitrūs*, yet the adherence of the borrowings to the Latvian (e.g. *pažaga*) or Slavic languages (e.g. *zvānas*) might be debatable; the possible presence of a mediating language must be considered.

In one of his articles, Garšva studies the borrowings of the vicinity of Nereta and mentions among them Lithuanian borrowings in Jānis Jaunsudrabiņš’ *Baltā grāmata* (The White Book)¹⁴. He mentions as Lithuanianisms words with the prefix *pa-*: *paklēte* and *paskandināt* as well as derivatives with suffixes and endings *-ele*, *-elis*, *-ēls*: *galveļi* (*galvele*), *maišeļa* (*maišelis*), *lakatēls*.

A similar phenomenon with the suffix *-el/-ēl-* is observed also in other Latvian subdialects on the Lithuanian border. Lithuanian suffixes *-ēl-*, *-ēl-* correspond to the following ones in Latvian subdialects: *-ēl-* or *-ēl-*. Cf. Lithuanian *padēg-ēlis* – *padeģ-ēls* in Gārsene, Nereta; *višt-ēle* – *višt-ēlē* in Aknīste; but *netik-ēlis*, *panīk-ēlis* – *netiķ-ēls* in Laši and *paniķ-ēls* in Gārsene¹⁵.

The phonetic peculiarities do not always provide safe grounds for determining the language of the origin of the word and whether it is a borrowing at all. It is a common knowledge that the source of borrowing may be made out in case it is supported not only by a single feature but a totality of features (the phonetic, derivative, semantic, linguo-geographical criterion).

When making out the origin of the prefixed and suffixed borrowings, U. Weinreich’s argument should be taken into consideration that there are relations between genetically associated systems that may be characterized as automatic conversion, i.e. an urge to substitute one form for another on the similarity basis¹⁶.

Hence, a sporadic use of the adverb *kungiškai* ‘kundziski’ has been registered in Dviete that may possibly be the result of automatic conversion. Yet in the process of borrowing contamination occurs as well.

The lexical units *dirža*, *prapultine*, etc. that occur in the Latvian border dialects are quite problematic from the point of view of their origin, as they may be considered either as borrowings or lexical parallelisms (common borrowings). There are no clear-cut criteria for telling the difference between borrowings and common borrowings in the Latvian and Lithuanian languages. However, as concerns Lithuanian borrowings in the Latvian dialects, it should be taken into account that the sustenance of lexical parallelisms in dialects has been supported by the Lithuanian language¹⁷.

Conclusions

1. We agree to Elga Kagaine's argument that geo-linguistic characteristics are still topical in the research of borrowings¹⁸.
2. There is a need for the cooperation of Latvian and Lithuanian researchers both in the process of collecting the material on dialects (expeditions) and during its investigation and analysis.
3. There is still much to be done in the research of border area dialects as, due to the disappearance of Latvian – Lithuanian bilingualism and realia, consolidation of the impact of the common national language and dialect changes, synonymically used Lithuanianisms are first to vanish; and generally the number of Lithuanian borrowings in Latvian dialects is rapidly decreasing.

¹ Jēkabsons E. *Lietuvieši Latvijā*. Rīga: Elpa, 2003. – 87. lpp.

² Merkienė I. R., Paukštytė-Šaknienė R., Savoniakaitė V., Šaknys Ž. B. *Pietryčių Latvijos lietuviai: Tapatumo išraiška. Etninės ir kultūrinės orientacijos*. Lietuvos istorijos institutas: Versus Aureus, 2005. – p. 265.

³ Jēkabsons E. *Lietuvieši Latvijā*. Rīga: Elpa, 2003. – 7. lpp.

⁴ Merkienė I. R., Paukštytė-Šaknienė R., Savoniakaitė V., Šaknys Ž. B. *Pietryčių Latvijos lietuviai: Tapatumo išraiška. Etninės ir kultūrinės orientacijos*. Lietuvos istorijos institutas: Versus Aureus, 2005. – p. 267.

⁵ A similar socio-linguistic situation was observed in the 1990s in the Selonian subdialects of the Lithuanian border.

Merkienė I. R., Paukštytė-Šaknienė R., Savoniakaitė V., Šaknys Ž. B. *Pietryčių Latvijos lietuviai: Tapatumo išraiška. Etninės ir kultūrinės orientacijos*. Lietuvos istorijos institutas: Versus Aureus, 2005. – pp. 268, 269.

⁶ Ibid. – p. 274.

⁷ Ibid. – p. 278.

⁸ Jēkabsons E. *Lietuvieši Latvijā*. Rīga: Elpa, 2003. – 12. lpp.

⁹ Garšva K. *Lietuvių kalbos paribio šnektas. Fonologija*. Vilnius, 2005. – 15. lpp.

¹⁰ Ibid. – 27. lpp.

¹¹ Ancītis K. *Aknīstes izloksne. Izloksnes statika un dinamika. Ievads, fonētika, morfoloģija*. Rīga: Zinātne, 1977. – 19. lpp.

¹² Garšva K. *Lietuvių kalbos paribio šnektas. Fonologija*. Vilnius, 2005. – 28. lpp.

¹³ Šaudiņa V. Aizgūtie mājsaimniecības jēdzienu nosaukumi Lietuvas pierobežas sēliskajās izloksnes. / *Humanitāro Zinātņu Vēstnesis* Nr. 6, 2004. – 61.–68. lpp.

¹⁴ Garšva K. Lietuvių ir latvių kalbų ryšiai. / *Lituanistica* Nr. 4, 1996. – pp. 27–28.

¹⁵ See also Šaudiņa V. *Lituānismi Lietuvas pierobežas sēliskajās izloksnes (Aknīste, Gārsene, Laši, Prode)*. Disertācija filoloģijas doktora grāda iegūšanai. Rīga, 1994. – 89. lpp. (Manuskripts)

¹⁶ Вайнрайх У. *Языковые контакты. Состояние и проблемы исследования*. Киев: Вища школа, 1979. – с. 264; see also Хауген Э. Процесс заимствования, in: *Новое в лингвистике*, вып. 6, 1972. – с. 349–351.

E. Haugens offers to consider every borrowing as a process entailing both the importation and substitution of the word elements.

¹⁷ See also Šaudiņa V. Aizgūvums vai mantots vārds? in: *Valoda – 2003. Valoda dažādu kultūru kontekstā. XIII*. Daugavpils Universitāte: Saule, 2003. – 107.–112. lpp.

¹⁸ Kagaine E. *Lokālie somugrismi latviešu valodas Ziemeļrietumvidzemes izloksnes*. Rīga: LU Latviešu valodas institūts, 2004. – 20. lpp.

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THE PROBLEMS OF PRESERVATION OF PERIPHERY LEXIS: THE CASE OF THE DICTIONARY OF JONIŠKIS SUBDIALECTS

Summary

Recent attempts of speeding up the publication of the material on dialects testify to the great amount of the accumulated material on dialects and strivings to preserve it by various publications: dictionaries, text books, manuals including tasks, monographs, etc. This process involves both individual dialectologists and research and higher education institutions. This work is promoted on the state level by linguistic programmes; one of these is entitled ‘The Programme of Preservation of Dialects and Ethnical Place-names in 2001/2010’.

In order to promote and develop this kind of research at Šiauliai University, the scientific Dialectology Centre was established in 1996; it aims at accumulation of lexis of Jonikis subdialects called Peripheral Western Aukštaiciai Šiauliai subdialect as well as preparation of the ‘Dictionary of Joniškis Subdialects’. The aim of the present article is to reveal one stage of the preparation of the dialect dictionary – selection of written sources of lexis and the point of view on folklore collections compiled by Matas Slančiauskas (21 February, 1850 – 11 March, 1924; he has recorded over 4,500 folklore units), a collector of folklore from Joniškis, as well as different attitudes of Lithuanian linguists towards (ex-)inclusion of lexis from this source in the dictionary. Traditionally, while compiling dictionaries of dialects or subdialects, a certain hierarchy of lexis presentation is being followed: first, the entry of a word is illustrated by the material from the existing lexis of dialects and subdialects, afterwards, examples from various other sources are presented including the ‘Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language’ (20 volumes), other dictionaries of dialects, collections of folklore, fiction and even publicistics.

The material for this article was selected from M. Slančiauskas’ folklore examples which were prepared for publication in the ‘Dictionary of Joniškis Subdialects’. After the opinions of linguists regarding this source of lexis have differed, it may happen that the material from this source will not be included into the dictionary under preparation. The authors of the present article express their opinion on the importance of including the dialect lexis recorded more than a hundred years ago by Slančiauskas in the ‘Dictionary of Joniškis Subdialects’. This includes also periphery – Latvian – lexis which has not been previously recorded.

Key-words: dictionary of a dialect, peripheral linguistic expression, selection of lexis, localisation, linguistic identity

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1. Prolegomena. The growing number of publications on dialectal material in Lithuania in recent years indicate a sufficient amount of studies of Lithuanian dialects and a fair amount of accumulated material. The accumulated dialectal material is being published in various forms: dictionaries¹, textbooks², schoolbooks³, monographs or summary dialect descriptions⁴, CDs containing recorded dialects⁵, etc. Apart from individual dialectologists the work is also being done by research and higher education institutions; dialectal studies are one of the priority tasks in *The Programme of Preservation of Dialects and Ethnical Place-names in 2001/2010* prepared by the State Commission of the Lithuanian Language and certified by the government of the Republic of Lithuania.

Dialectologists of Šiauliai University also participated in this programme; in 1996 the Dialectology Centre was established at the university and one of its aims was the accumulation of lexis of Joniškis subdialects⁶ and preparation of the *Dictionary of Joniškis Subdialects*. The accumulation of the material and work on the dictionary gave rise to the question as to the way and principles of choosing sources of lexis.

There was a disagreement concerning the presentation of the lexis recorded in narrative folklore collections⁷ compiled by the local folklorist Matas Slančiauskas (1850 – 1924) in the *Dictionary of Joniškis Subdialects* under preparation. The compilers of the dictionary (Dialectology Centre at Šiauliai University) and its publishers (State Commission of the Lithuanian Language) had a different attitude: the compilers would have preferred to include the subdialectal lexis recorded by M. Slančiauskas in the dictionary, whereas the publishers insisted on discarding these examples due to the increased costs and volume of the publication. Further we will take a brief look at the publication policy of lexis that is (or was) applied in preceding lexicographical publications of the Lithuanian language.

2. Structure of dictionaries of subdialects. Examination of the published dictionaries of dialects and subdialects of the Lithuanian language reveals several sources of lexis selection. Dictionaries have arranged them in the following order:

- lexis of dialects and subdialects,
- lexis of the *Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language* (20 volumes),
- lexis of other dictionaries of dialects,
- lexis of folklore compilations,
- lexis of works of regional studies,
- lexis of fiction⁸.

Dictionaries contain the material collected and recorded by collectors of different linguistic experience including professional linguists, students, pupils, and other heritage preservers (folklorists, researchers of regional studies).

Notable linguists, whose papers or archives contain dialectal material published in dictionaries of dialects, include Eduards Volters⁹, Christian Stang¹⁰, Peeter Arumaa¹¹, Jurgis Gerulis¹², Kazimieras Būga¹³, Tamara Sudnik¹⁴, Janas Rozvadovskis¹⁵, Jonas Jablonskis¹⁶, Jonas Paulauskas¹⁷, Juozas Balčikonis¹⁸, Vladas Grinaveckis¹⁹, Juozas Senkus²⁰, Elena Grinaveckienė²¹, Juozas Pikčilingis²², Aleksas Girdenis²³ and others.

Lexis of the *Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language* collected and published for almost a century did not avoid various shifts of political and editing attitudes, however it is still undoubtedly the cornerstone all compilers of dialect dictionaries refer to when describing word meanings, determining accentuation classes or comparing dialectal words with the ones provided in the *Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language*. Dictionaries of closely related dialects or subdialects may have a reference to lexical units used in peripheries of dialects or subdialects.

A fair amount of lexical units are from folklore collections, a part of which is already published and many more manuscripts are being kept in the manuscript bank of the Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore. It has to be emphasized that collecting of folklore was an encouraged activity in the 19th–20th century Lithuania and it reached a pretty large scale at that time (it even earned an international recognition by winning medals in exhibitions). The most important fact is that folklore collectors were peasants surrounded by a natural dialect or subdialect, therefore they could write down a text exactly the way they had heard it. Many folklore examples are provided by the *Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language* and other dialectal dictionaries. Jonas Basanavičius²⁴ and the talented linguist, lexicographer, and cultural figure, Jurgis Šlapelis²⁵ are highly respected in their field of action. Examples of narrative folklore collected in North Lithuania by Jonas Basanavičius' assistant Matas Slančiauskas²⁶, the inclusion of dialectal variants of which into the *Dictionary of Joniškis Subdialects* is still being discussed, were used as a factual material in the *Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language*.

Dialectal dictionaries provide examples from fiction as well. Among them are publications by Albinas Bernotas²⁷, Juozas Lozoraitis²⁸, Petronėlė Orintaitė²⁹, Antanas Tatarė³⁰, Pranas Vaičaitis³¹ and other authors.

Here, the review of the origins of dialectal dictionaries shows that Lithuanian dialectologists tend to include not only the currently used lexis but also the one that was used some time ago, found in publications or manuscripts, allowing a reader or a user of the dictionary to step into the shoes of a dialect researcher who should check the existence of the word used both synchronically and diachronically as well as set up the picture of volatility and natural continuity of lexis.

3. Material of the *Dictionary of Joniškis Subdialects*. The same method of preserving the national identity was traditionally followed by the compilers of the *Dictionary of Joniškis Subdialects* as well. While compiling the *Dictionary of Joniškis Subdialects*, they included into it words selected from the aforementioned published collections of M. Slančiauskas – *Šiaurės Lietuvos pasakos* (1974) and *Šiaurės Lietuvos sakmės ir anekdotai* (1975). However, though the work was already partly done, this conception was criticised for a couple of reasons:

- 1) examples from Slančiauskas' folklore collections (together with examples of subdialects) would enlarge the scope of the dictionary under preparation,
- 2) repetition of lexis would not bring much benefit (as it has already been mentioned, Slančiauskas' examples can be found in the *Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language* (further – DLL)),
- 3) word meanings are described and illustrated,
- 4) it would be possible to publish a separate dictionary of Slančiauskas' lexis in the future.

Without going deeper into reasons number one and four, it might be useful to consider whether the *Dictionary of Joniškis Subdialects* would barely repeat the material available in the DLL and whether it is really true that the DLL contains descriptions and illustrations of all meanings of words used in Slančiauskas' works.

For this purpose we have selected 130 random lexis units that have the Sln (Matas Slančiauskas) abbreviation from various parts of the *Dictionary of Joniškis Subdialects* (letters A–K and N) and compared them to analogous material of the DLL. The results surpassed all expectations.

4. Loanwords from Latvian in periphery subdialects. Since Slančiauskas' folklore was collected in a region which is close to Latvian border and his collections contain a lot of peripheral lexis – loanwords from Latvian, we would like touch upon this distinctive layer of lexis. It is obvious from the selected examples that the DLL contains anything but all loanwords from Latvian recorded in Slančiauskas' papers as well as derivatives based on them. For example:

buodė a small shop: *Viens kupčius, vardu Jokūbas, milijončiks buvęs: turėjęs daug buodžių, daug gižų, dvylika parminių. Paržiūrėjęs buodėse taborus ir kaso pinigų, vis gerai radęs. Brolis teip ir padarė: ėmė šviesas, vedins slūgas parėjo visas buodes – vis gerai rado.* la. bode šnek. 'nedidelė parduotuvė, krautuvė'.

kruogelis an innkeeper: *Saugokis kruogelio rudabarzdžio ir pono plikakaklio. Nu, tai jie teip sušnekę ir padarę tuoj: viens išsiėmęs akį, antras – ranką, trečiasis – širdį ir visaką padavę tam kruogeliui pakavot. Tas sūnus, norėdams išmėginti tuos tėvo žodžius, tyčia nuėjęs pas kruogelį rudabarzdį ir paprašęs valgyt mėsos. Nuėjęs ant pajomarko į tą patį miestą ir pas tris savo pažįstamus žydus kruogelius užmokėjęs po dešimt rublių ir teip susitaręs su jais.* la. krogs 'smuklė, užėiga'.

kruogelys an innkeeper: *Tas kruogelys nusigandęs ir pasisakęs, kad teip ir teip padaręs.* la. krogs 'smuklė, užėiga'.

kuikelė a small mare: *Ans turėjęs tokią blogą kuikelę. Nu, jiedu ir im derėt tą kuikelę.* la. kuika 'prasta kumelė'.

brali a parenthesis: *Teip, brali, aš jau buvau del mergos striošytas.* la. brālis 'brolis'.

Some words have additional information of their locality because the DLL does not mention that they are used in periphery. The added reference would better reflect the linguistic status of the end of the 19th century and the geographical spread of loanwords from Latvian.

Sln abbreviation should be added to the following words:

banka a bank: *Toliau atsitikę karaliui, kad iš karališkos bankos pavogę pinigų antaliką raudonųjų.* la. banka 'bankas'.

kipė a scoop with handle: *Gaspadinė, jo negalėdama atsikratyti, padavė kailiarangių kipę prisėmus.* la. kipsis 'semiamas indas su rankena'.

kuika a small mare: *Leisk savo kuiką į krūmus ir še, kinkyk tą arklį ir ark. Senelis vedėsis tą arklį par balas, par krūmus ir atradęs vieną biedną žmogelį su nusproglė kuika beariant.* (DLL: Jnš, Žg, bet nėra Sln)

Even though some loanwords from Latvian are present in the DLL, they do not reflect their paradigm in full. Slančiauskas' examples would enable to show these paradigms in the dictionary of subdialects under preparation at the moment:

kruogas an inn:

Už miško to buvęs kruogs, – arti to kruogo prapuolęs. Kruogo pons, kad nebuvo privažiavusių keleivių, liepė sargui kasti sklepą, parodęs jam vietą. Iš to kruogo visi žmonys ant nakties kraustęsis lauka. Kitą kartą susivažiavę trys daktarai ant nakvynės į vieną kruogą. Kur jis prijoj kruogą, apsistojęs pavalgęs, atsigerięs ir vėl jojęs. Tas bernis iškūlęs prasivėtęs kokį sieką, nunešęs į kruogą pas žydą ir gaunęs tai dienai pavalgyt. Kai prijosime šitą kruogą – karčemą, nusėdę nuo arklių, mudu sumušim rankas ir sušuksim ‘lyko’, daugiau išgersime magaryčias, įėję į kruogą. Dieno ardams, jaučius palikęs, nuėjo į ten pat esantį kruogą ir išsišneko su kruogeliu. Pas kruogą sustoję, ir priėjęs prė jų žmogus nepažįstams. Kruoge magaryčias išgėrę, ein prė arklių – cigons ir imąs to žmogaus arklių. Tas kruoge atsigėręs, pavalgęs, eidams namo, sakęs: „Dabar asu aš teip tvirts, kad ir su pačiu velniu galėčiau ristic“. Kruoge jėdu vis eidavę šokti, ale, giltinei pasisukus, berniukas miręs, ir kapuose pakavoje. (DLL: Nepratink vaiko į kruogą, geriaus pratink žvejoti, tai, gilū radęs, nebris).

5. Matas Slančiauskas’ substantives. Many substantives used in Slančiauskas’ collections are missing in the DLL.

Nouns. E.g. the DLL is completely missing derivatives with the suffix *-uitis* widespread in these subdialects, denoting an offspring of an animal. Examples of Slančiauskas show that it used to be even more functional, i.e. it was also used to name children. See the following examples:

apyšiaulė Šiauliai surroundings: *Šiauliai užtai Šiauliais vadinas, kad ten kitą kartą Šiaulys gyvenęs, o apylinkis buvo Šiaulio valsčius. Užtai žemaičiai visos apyšiaulės žmonis gyventojus vadin šiauliškiais, šiaulyčiais.*

atžangai magic: *Žali, raudoni, mėlyni siūlai, ant takų padraikyti, tai buvę senovės ragany padarai. Toji jam tuos atžangus ir pataisius, jis ir užėjęs ant tų. Tai jis nuo to laiko tap, tap, tap tap ir nusibėgęs visą savo amžių.*

ereza a fuss: *Visi svečiai pritilo savo erezose.*

bambalienė a wife of a hind: *Viena bambalienė, atėjus nuo Vilniaus, patarė rožančių į vandenį pamirkyti ir tą paršą aprinti, ir būsiąs sveiks. Man sakė Kelpšyčia Ona Paulauskienė, Beržynų dvaro bambalienė, o jai sakius jos motinos nabašninkė, o tai motinai ta pati mergelka sakiusis.*

dėvinys something to wear, a cloth: *Prisako jam pasidėt savo dėvinius lig paskutinio.*

ilgliežiuvis a talebearer: *–Tu ilgliežiuvi! Aš negaliu čia nė pasirodyt, tu tuoj sakinėji ir neduodi man pakajaus!*

knikpalaikė a shoddy, small mare: *Šiedu ir einą (žiūrėti). Žiūrią – bloga knikpalaikė, kūlys užėdžių.*

algamistruitis a child of an organist: *Algamistruitis ir kiti keli vyriškiai susitarę eiti piningus kast. „Katrą čia dabar smeigsme?“ Jie patys atsakę: „Algamistruitį!“ Tas algamistruitis bėgt, daugiau ir kiti visi paskui jo.*

gegužuitis a cuckoo fledgeling: *Bet gegužuitis beaugdams sulasęs to paukštelio vaikus, o ir tą patį paukštelį pagreibęs praryjęs. Ir nuo to laiko gegužė prisided savo kiaušį prė bel kokio paukštelio į jo lizdelį – tas ir išper gegužuitį su savo vaikais kartu ir užaugin.*

geniuitis a woodpecker fledgeling: *Preinu prė apušės medžio – išgirdau berėkiant genuičius. Ilindau visas ir radau šešius genuičius.*

juodvarnuitis a raven fledgeling: *Tai senis varnas, nenorėdams to matyti, susiieškos tokio akminėlio, ir atnešęs įspraus tam savo vaikui į gerklą, kad jis jo nebematytų,*

ir tas juodvarnuitis nebebus matomas. Atradęs išimk iš gerklės to juodvarnuičio tą akminėlį.

karaluitis a child of a king: *Pareinęs namo – jau jo pati karalienė, vaikai karalūčiai ir šis pats jau karaliumi bėsąs. Obelaitė nuvirtus, o tie visi – karalius, karalienė ir karalūčiai – pavirtę į šunis.*

Other nouns. Some adjectives or adjectival participles are also missing in the DLL, cf.:

atvapas, -a open, unclosed: *Užtai daugumas, pinigų išėmę, vis palieka tą vietą atvapa.*

guliamas a bedroom: *Suėjusios į vidų, nusirėdė, pavalgė ir visos trys suėjo į guliamą kambarį ir, jiems nieko nesakydamos, nusivilko lig vienu marškinių ir visos trys į tas lovas pas šiuos atsigulo.*

6. Matas Slančiauskas' verbs and adverbs. Some of Slančiauskas' verbs and adverbs are also missing in the DLL:

apsisavinti to recognize smb as one's own: *Tai eiškiai supratęs, kad ta mergiška jį apsisavino netyčiom.*

atsisudievyti to say goodbye to smb: *Atsisudievyjo, išein Rastinis. Išlydėjęs atsisudievyjo su broliu ir išėjo tiesiai par laukus į mišką. Sulig tuo regėjimu atsisudievyjo, ir Alena išėjo par miškus prieš vėją namo, o jie nubėgo savo takais.*

atgaliau backwards: *Dienai prašvitus, ėjo atgaliau Rastininks, ir ta kartu sekė, jo išvaduojoji no raguočiaus. O tos karalaitės, kur ein apė kalną, kaip tik jaunas mėnuo stos, tegul atsisukie atgaliau, – apeis triskart ir ras savo taką įeit. Augenija parsigandus atšoko atgaliau. Kaip stos jauns mėnuo, atsisukit atgaliau eit – ir raste savo taką įeit.*

užgultinai insistently: *Nu, tai kaip jau ji numirus, tai tas tėvs ir motina užgultinai prašę ir prašę, kad jis eitų ir eitų jos apgiedot.*

kryžmum criss-cross: *Kad kas tą pargrobtėlį kryžmum sumegztų kertes ir uždėtų man ant kaktos ir su taja spilga į ausį mano įsmeigtų, tai aš tuoj nugramėčia į prapultį. Surišk kertes kryžmum ir paduok man – turėsiu aš rankose pargrobtėlį ir spilgą, lauksiu pareinant. Jam besakant savo darbus, tuoj ta moteriška blinkt užmetė tą pargrobtėlį, surištą kryžmum, jam ant kaktos ir su spilga dūrė į ausį.*

7. Matas Slančiauskas' phraseological units. Some of Slančiauskas' phraseological units are missing in the DLL as well:

paleisti bėkštą to run quickly smarkiai bėgti: *Teip tas, ir kits, vieną ir kitą kart gavę (per ausį), ir palaidž bėkštą, šiaip teip naktį ir išbėgdavę.*

kad tave balaitė a curse: *O kad tave balaitė: vieną pupelą tuoj atėjus laužt, įsidėjau į dantis, mirkiau, mirkiau, buvau atmirkus, žadėjau valgyt – dabar iš burnos kasžin kur iškrito.*

8. Matas Slančiauskas' onomatopoeic interjections. The DLL is also missing onomatopoeic interjections with various endings rarely used in other Lithuanian subdialects. There are exceptionally many adverbial twin onomatopoeic interjections that were frequent a hundred years ago and are still used in these subdialects today:

alu to denote a noise: *Tas tuoj ant pirties, kojom barškėdavo į sieną, o šunys par naktį alu...alu...*

brings to denote a sudden action: *Tuojau po to jų sušnekimo visi viens po kito brings brings ir išvirtę.*

čykš to denote an unclear sound: *Daugiau vaiks su šaukštu kaukš tam žalčiui par kaktą, tas ir vilkdavėsis – čykš, čykš čypdams atgal po pėčka.*

čvink to denote cutting: *Tas tuoj apicierius jam čvinkt galvą ir nukirtęs. Vėžys priėjęs, čvinkt ir antrą pusę nukirpęs su savo žnyplėm.*

fort to denote a sudden action: *Lapė akyla pamatė, greitai, kad su štanga puol ant jos, – tą tuoj fort į mišką. Surijęs (pinigus) tuoj fort lauka iš tos skrynės ir parlėkęs pas tą savo senį. Velns, pasigreibęs tą savo kūjį, fort į peklą, ir gana. Dabar par patį pakylėjimą, kai pakėlė kunigs ostiją, tuoj tam ponui visi drabužiai lig vienos skiautelės fort žemėn.*

gyrkš to indicate squeak: *Ką tik jau buvo beužmiegas, tiktai gyrkš duris klojimo sugirgždino.*

kaukš to indicate a sound: *Daugiaus vaiks su šaukštu kaukš tam žalčiui par kaktą, tas ir vilkdavėsis – čykš, čykš čypdams atgal po pėčka.*

keverkšt bang: *Ta pastumta keverkšt iš tų rūtelių ir išvirtus.*

baldu baldais with great noise: *Daugiaus šit jau apė devintą adyną iš po bažnyčios iš sklepo baldu baldais didžiausia krūva velnių įsinešę į vidurį bažnyčios grabą, atvožę ir palaidę tą paną.*

baldu baldu baldais with great noise: *Nu, jeū geros išvakaros – šit baldu baldu baldais, ir jeinąs toks raguots.*

brazda brazdais quickly: *Tuoj subėgę į trobelę, brazda brazdais išsinėrę iš kailių, sumetę į kertę ir palikę žmonim.*

bruzdu bruzdais loudly: *„Tai tu čia pas mus, ilgai bebūdams, visus priraišiosi“, – ir išmetę bruzdu bruzdais laukan.*

grabų grabais gropingly: *Šis rytą atsikėlęs, grabu grabais atsidaręs duris ir šaukinąs tas savo avis lauka.*

kabarų kabarais balkingly: *Kai lindęs, su tom savo kojom kabaru kabarais besispardydams, ir nukrapštęs žemes (šuniukas).*

kliunkų kliunkais gurglingly: *O velniuks iškliuvęs bėgo vandeniū par balą kliunkų kliunkais.*

kriukų kriukais confusedly: *Bet kad kriku kriukais susimaišiusios buvo, tai tikos pridėti moteriška galva prė velnio kūno, o velnio galva – prė moteriško kūno.*

Our randomly selected material contains 36.92 % of such and similar cases.

9. Words with changed termination of the stem. Various Lithuanian dialects contain plenty of words that have a historically changed termination of the stem. They are also common in Joniškis subdialects. The DLL is missing the following variants recorded by Slančiauskas:

aplankiai a stay, a visit: *O to pono sūnus buvęs kito gubernijo par gubernatorių ir ant to būrio buvęs atvažiavęs pas tėvą į aplankius. (DLL: aplankai)*

derėtojus kas derisi, lygsta: *Derėtojus teduod pusantro šimto. (DLL: derėtojas)*

gynėjis one who pursues: *O jos ginėjis kaip įbėgęs, tai tuoj nabašninks stojėsis ir giebęs į glėbį. O tiem ginėjam pasakęs: „Kai tuos rugius sėjau, tai tada, mačiau, nubėgo“. (DLL: gynėjas)*

klausėjys a questioner: *O tai tas pats klausėjys buvęs vilktaks, jis tuos visus ginklus, kurių vardus suprato, visus pakėrėjo. (DLL: klausėjas)*

niektauzys somebody talking nonsense: *Eik tu, niektauzy, ką ten padarysi: vieni kelmai ir šaknys, sakai, padirbėme lauką. (DLL: niektauzis ir nuoroda į niektauzą).*

10. Other examples without Sln abbreviation in the DLL. Sln abbreviation is missing in the DLL for the following words:

aplankis a visit, a stay: *O kai kitą kartą labai ilgai slūžydavau maskoliuose – po 25 metus, ir retai kas nepareidavai atsislūžiję, o kai ant aplankio tai su visu iš maskolių tada nelaisdavę. O to pono sūnus buvęs kito gubernijo par gubernatorių ir ant to būrio buvęs atvažiuavęs pas tėvą į aplankius.*

atlaikos what is left after meal, leavings: *Kad pavalgius padedant šaukštus ant stalo atsiverčia aukštiekninkas, tai turėk atlaikų, nes kas nors ateina pas tave nevalgęs.*

ašaris somebody crying: *Tas turtingasis jiems apsakė visą teisybę: kad vasaris ašaris, gruodžius nugrubėlis, gyvuoliai, tuose mėnesiuose turėti, yra apsišaroję, nugrubę, nesveiki.*

brantas pendants of a cock: *Vakare sutemus nuėjęs, atvožęs (uždengtą žvakę), apšvietęs ir radęs tokį juodą gaidą raudonais brantais iš to aruodo grūdus belasantį.*

bikis a grown-up, strong lad: *Jaunikisabras bikis, vakaro sulaukęs, kaip tik jau tamsu, ejęs žiūrėt, ar bus padėtas dėl jo atsakymas.*

bitis a bee: *Į dešimtą adyną bitys atlėkė ir susispietė į medį. Tos bitys teip geros, medingos – prinešė medaus. Cigons atsigavęs, apsilaižęs, sakęs: „Velnio bitys, velnio medus“.*

bubis a bogeyman: *Tas vaiks su kūjekliu į galvą: „Ar tai tu bubis?“ – apdaužęs, apdaužęs. Žegnokis, ot bubis, bubis išlįs, pagaus! Bijau, ui bijau – bubis!*

delna a palm: *Aš tada mislijau, kad mes visi po akim ponudievo teip kaip ant delnos. Nusipirkęs Petras tos mosties apščiai, kaip galėjo užtekti trim pasitept į delnas. Sulaukę dešimtos adynos, apsirėdę visi trys baltais rūbais, pasitepę mosčia į delnas, paėmę kningas, ėjo pas Liudameriją pravodyt į dangų.*

gyvuois a being: *Dzidorius, pavirtęs į gužą, ir šiandien tebegaudė po laukus, po balas savo paleistuosius gyvuonius.*

iskaptė a single-handed scythe: *Kol rugius pjaudavai su iskaptėm, t.y. striugukočiais, pas mus, tei sakydavai: „Toli nuėjęs su batu (baru)“.*

jaukytinis, jaukintinis a lover: *Pats numiręs, nešą į kapus. Bet viens nešęs ir tos pačios jaukytinis. Tas jaukytinis užpuolęs į užpečkį, o ta gaspadinė tiktai griebianti nuo stalo valgymus. Jaukintinis, nieko nelaukdamas, tuoj ir įsimovė į tą skrynę ant anglių. Jaukintinis strioke ko belaukdams – stojos to skrynė ir šoko lauka.*

kabavojimas hooking: *Adjutantus ant arklių išstampė už kabavojimą karalienės.*

kalčia a fault: *Pone dieve, dovanok kalčias.*

kepenos a liver: *Liokajus pasakė tuoj kukuriui, idant išvirtų paukščiuką ir jam kepenas, širdį ir plaučius įneštų į trobą.*

kiaulienas a pig: *Vargingo žmogaus kiaulienai turtingo žmogaus šuva nutraukęs uodegą. O teip, kad aš būčia kiauliens, o tamsta, pon sūdžia, būtum šuva ir tamsta imtum man uodegą ir nutrauktum.*

klumpis an old, lean horse: *Daugiaus poni, pamačiusi tokį nusususį arklių savo kopūstuose, liepus greitai mergoms bėgti tą klumpį išvaryt iš kopūstų. Jis ėmė už tuos pinigėlius apsipirko savo reikalus, ir tai dar už likusius pinigings du klumpiu, stervienos, liesus arklius.*

koptos a ladder: *Nulipęs nuo koptų, ein į stacijas pas seserį. Brolis, įvažiuavęs į kiemą, netikėdamas, kad teip būtų, kaip sargas sakė, liepęs pastatyti koptas iš lauko pusės.*

gėrėjis somebody drinking: *Daugiaus tas gėrėjis palikęs šventu, o tas palikęs prakeiktu, kad pasikėlė į didystę. Pats buvęs didelis gėrėjis, pati niekaip jo negalėjus užtūrėti nuo to.*

baldu to knock: *Baldu baldu baisesiausiai subeldė ir ėmė šaukt už durių: „Laiskit į vidų! Atiduokit mano obelį!“*

bic flop: *Avins, nuo kalno pasišokdams, kai davęs vilkui į kaktą – vilks tuoj ant šono bic ir nuvirtęs. Arklys su paskutine koja spyręs, taukš į kaktą – šuva bic ant šonų ir guliąs.*

bimpt denotes a sound: *Šiam antsnukis išsitraukė, ir bimpt ant vokietėlių. Tie ką tik norėjo draskyti, kaip šit gaidys „kakaryko!“, ir vokietėliai iš jaujos lauka, o raganiūtė bimpt į grabą ir vėl negyva.*

blūst expresses flaming: *Tuoj blūst liepsna iš po to akmino, kur jis gulėjęs galvą pasidėjęs, ir pradėję degt.*

braz signifies a continuous action: *Šis vel tą savo skūrelą braz braz braz. Ir vel ta skūrela braz braz braz.*

bru indicates a collapse: *Tik aniedu drinkt duris atmušo, nevet siena sudrėbėjo, tutu tutais lanka, bru bru bru suvirto ant slenkščio priepirčio!*

bruzdu to make a noise: *Tas žmogus iš už kūlių bruzdu bruzdu, sakąs: „Kad jau gyvatės gyvos, tai ir man reikals keltis“.*

čyku indicates a squeak: *To kryžiaus barškaliukai bo čyku, čyku, čyku.*

dreks whack: *O kad negerai supdavusios žydelkos ar negražiai liūliuodavusios, tai pažinioks gulėdams su savo kančiuuku tuoj dreks par pečius kirsdavęs.*

keverkš boom: *Daugiau tas žmogus tiktai pasisukęs, su spragilu kaukš lapei par antausę – ši keverkš nuo to kelmo ir nuvirtus. Vaikis, kano arklys buvo, iš už kūlyno paukš iš muškietos – vagis keverkš ir nusistibiriauo. Tie užpylė – tuoj keverkš ir nuvirtus.*

apykalėdžiais around Christmas: *Žiemos laike apykalėdžiais keli vyrai, pasikinkę arklį į tam pritaisytas roges, pasiėmę paršą su savim ir, ant ilgos virvės prisirišę žirnių virkščių, ir važiuoja par tą mišką.*

aptamsiais at dark: *Su šunim įėjo į seklyčią vakare aptamsiais, po pasuole kremt kaulus.*

bildu bildais lumbering: *Gi ant karto tos sakyklos dugnas bildu bildais ir iškritęs, o pati poni grafienė smukt ir išsmukus į apačią, tiktai už pažastų užsikabinus sakykloj, kabarojantys, kabarojantys su savo plikom kinkom apačioj sakyklos.*

kryžkryžiais criss-cross: *Kad mane, įdėję į grabą, su šermukšninėmis vytimis kryžkryžiais surište, ir yra toks medis miške driūts su tuščiu viduriu, ir par aukštą pro drevę ten įkište, tai aš ir nebegalėsiu pareiti namo. Kai kada žaibai kryžkryžiais supliek, tai tada perkūns tuoj spir.*

kryžkryžium criss-cross: *Šermukšnij kryžkryžium pardėję ir paliko.*

bliežti, -ia, -ė to throw: *Greibęs tuoj už kojų, bliežęs.*

degutduobė a pit for burning tar: *Padarykim taip: traukiam lauka iš degutduobės tą žmogų, pakavokiam kitur. Sugriebę įmurdė į maišą, nešė visi sukibę į namus pas savi, parnešę įkišo į degutduobę ir apmėtė velėnum.*

gyvplaukis a hear of human skin: *Tu gatavai pasidėk po galvų britvą, o naktįj, kai jis užmigs, nuskusk jam nuo pagerklio gyvplaukius.*

dybsturiuoti, -iuoja, -iavo to grin: *Vel ten besidybsturiuodams, ėmęs tą savo raktą su pirštais patryniojęs.*

Examples that do not have a reference to Joniškis region, i.e. abbreviated by Sln, constitute 33.1 % of all the examples analysed in the treatise.

Slančiauskas' examples could complement the entries of the following words present in the DLL as well:

gant despite: *Gant arklus ir mušę, ir ką darę – arkliai piestu stojęsi, kriokę, ale iš vietos nė pėdos.* (LKŽ: gana)

atlaida an uncultivated land, an unbroken soil: *Gangreit nuo pusė rėžių visos galulaukės stovėjo atlaidomis.* (LKŽ: pievos sklypas, ypač netoli namų).

gyvuonis a creature: *Dzidorius, pavirtęs į gužą, ir šiandien tebegauda po laukus, po balas savo paleistuosius gyvuonius.* (LKŽ: nago vidurinė dalis, geluonis, gyvatės liežuvis, voties vidurinė dalis, gyvybė, prk. skaudžioji dalis).

Such words constitute 2.3 % of our examples.

11. Short findings. It can be seen from the considered material that the *DLL* is missing the following:

- 1) some loanwords from Latvian of northern periphery of Lithuania,
- 2) quite many words or their meanings characteristic of the region are missing,
- 3) word localisation is not specified,
- 4) Slančiauskas' folklore that is a protected source of language of the end of the 19th century, which fits nicely into the current material of subdialects, would substantially add to the examples of live lexis of subdialects and would show their change during the century³²,
- 5) the *Dictionary of Joniškis Subdialects* should include dialectal examples by other distinguished literati and cultural figures of the region (especially by the writer Marius Katiliškis) as well, as it was done in other dictionaries of Lithuanian dialects and subdialects³³,
- 6) as concerns the preparation of the *Dictionary of Joniškis Subdialects*, which encompasses the lexis of an enormous peripheral area, the object of discussion between its compilers and publishers should be the value of dialectal material in question and its preservation as opposed to its publishing costs.

¹ *Dictionary of Zanavykai Subdialect 1–3* (comp. J. Švambarytė and others), 2003 – 2005; Labutis V. *Dictionary of Daukšiai Region*, 2002; *Dictionary of Dieveniškiai Subdialect A–M* (comp. L. Grumadienė and others), 2005; Vidugiris A. *Dictionary of Zietela Subdialect*, 1998 and others.

² Cf.: Girdenis A. *Taip šneka tirkšliškiai*, 1996; Markevičienė Ž. *Aukštaičių tarmių tekstai* D. 1, 1999; D. 2, 2001; *Švėkšnos šnektos tekstai* (comp. A. Judeikienė), 2005; Kazlauskaitė R. *Šiauliškių patarmės pietinių šnektų tekstai ir komentarai*, 2005; Mikulėnienė D. and others. *Dieveniškių šnektos tekstai*, 1997; *Mielagėnų apylinkių tekstai* (comp. V. Kardelis), 2006; *Šakių šnektos tekstai* (comp. R. Bacevičiūtė), 2006; *Zietelos šnektos tekstai* vol. 1. (comp. A. Vidugiris and others), 2005; Vitkauskas V. *Šiaurės rytų dūnininkų šnektų žodynas*, 1976 and others.

³ *Joniškio šnektų pratimai ir tekstai* (comp. N. Bartkutė and others), 2001; *Vakarų aukštaičiai kauniškiai ir Klaipėdos krašto aukštaičiai* (comp. R. Bacevičiūtė and others), 2005 and others.

⁴ *Lietuvių kalbos tarmių chrestomatija and CD* (comp. R. Bacevičiūtė and others) 2004; Atkočaitytė D. *Pietų žemaičių raseiškių prozodija ir vokalizmas*, 2002; Bacevičiūtė R. *Šakių šnektos prozodija ir vokalizmas*, 2004; Kačiušienė G. *Šiaurės panevėžiškių tarmės fonologijos bruožai*, 2006 and many others.

⁵ *Lietuvių tarmės I, II* (comp. D. Atkočaitytė and others; R. Bacevičiūtė and others) 2000; 2005; *Joniškio šnektų pratimai ir tekstai* (comp. J. Švambarytė and others), 2005; *Aukštaičių tarmių tekstai* (4 CDs; comp. Ž. Markevičienė and others), 2005; *Centrinė šiaurės žemaičių kretingiškių tarmė* (comp. Z. Babickienė and others), 2007 and others.

⁶ In other words, peripheral western aukštaičiai šiauliškiai subdialect. It has been thought about the preparation and publication of such a dictionary since 1978.

⁷ *Šiaurės Lietuvos pasakos*, 1974; *Šiaurės Lietuvos sakmės ir anekdotai*, 1975.

⁸ Cf. Švambarytė-Valužienė J. Išsamusis tarmės žodynas: leksikos pateikimo problemos, in: *Prace Baltystyczne 3. Język. Literatura. Kultura*. 2006. – pp. 259–269; Vitkauskas V. Tarmiųjų žodynų tipai ir sudarymo principai / *Lietuvos Mokslų akademijos darbai. A serija*. 2 (23), 1970. – pp. 157–170.

⁹ Authors and works cited in the section are taken from encyclopaedic publications *Encyclopaedia of the Lithuanian Language*, Vilnius, 1999 and *Encyclopaedia of Soviet Lithuania 4*, Vilnius, 1988.

¹⁰ He went to Zietela surroundings, Zasėčiai village, to study local Lithuanian dialects. In 1931 he studied the dialect of the local fishermen in Mažoji Lietuva, later together with Jurgis Gerulis wrote the book *Dialect of Lithuanian Fishermen in Prussia* (Das Fischerlitauisch in Preussen, 1933), helped to publish the work of his teacher Olaf Broch on the now-extinct Lithuanian dialect of Žirmūnai and Bastūnai surroundings.

¹¹ His work *Lithuanian Dialectal Texts from Vilnius Surroundings* (Litauische mundartliche Texte aus der Wilnaer Gegend, Dorpat, 1930), which includes texts in Gervėčiai, Lazūnai, Zietela (Belarus), Dieveniškiai dialects, is of major importance to dialectology.

¹² His *Studies of Lithuanian Dialectology* (Litauischen Dialektstudien Leipzig, 1930). He has also published dialectal texts, together with Ch. Stang studied the Zietela dialect.

¹³ The compiler of the *Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language*; in 1902 he started collecting material for it, in 1924 he prepared the 1st fascicle of the dictionary and the 2nd in 1925, which was published posthumously. He collected personal names, place-names and even very narrowly used loanwords, explaining the origin and history of words.

¹⁴ Author of the monograph *Lithuanian and Slavic Peripheral Dialects* (Диалекты литовско-славянского пограничья. Москва, 1975), in which he presented descriptions of phonological systems of Dieveniškiai subdialect spread in Lithuania as well as of Lazūnai, Gervėčiai, and Zietela subdialects, currently spread in the territory of Belarus.

¹⁵ Studied the Zietela dialect, wrote texts in the dialect, which were published in a separate book *Lithuanian Dialects of Zietela Surroundings of Naugardas Region* (Litewska gwara okolic Zdzięciola na Nowogródzcyżne, Kraków, 1995).

¹⁶ Editor of Antanas Juška dictionary, letters E to J, reviewed almost all manuscripts of the dictionary, added 2000 new words. It is evident from the report proposed to St. Petersburg Science Academy in 1898 that Jablonskis was a very distinguished dialectologist.

¹⁷ Lexicographer, one of the compilers of the 2nd edition of the *Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language*, volumes 1–2 (1968 – 1969) and 3–18 (1956 – 1997), a phraseology researcher, collector of material for the *Atlas of the Lithuanian Language* (1–3, 1977 – 1991) – studied 16 locations.

¹⁸ Lexicographer, the editor-in-chief of the *Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language* in 1930 – 1952, organized systematic collection of words from printed and manuscript records of the Lithuanian language. Paid a special attention to the collection of words from a living language, edited the 1st (1941), the 2nd (1947) and partially the 3rd volumes of the *Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language*, recorded more than ten thousand words of his native and other dialects, encouraged others to collect words. He started collecting folklore when he was only a student, his *Songs of Druskininkai* (1972) recorded from one singer is of special importance.

¹⁹ The object of his studies – samogitian dialects and their phonetics. His publications include: *Pietų žemaičių tekstai 1: Raseišiskiai* (1984); *Pietų žemaičių tekstai 2: Varnišiskiai* (1986); *Pietų žemaičių tekstai: Šiauduva* (1987); *Žemaičių leksikos pagrindai* (1985) and others.

²⁰ In 1933 he finished dialectology courses organized by Jurgis Gerulis, in 1931 – 1933, 1936 – 1937, 1939 – 1944 he was working at the editorial office of the *Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language*, was one of the compilers of the material collection for the *Atlas of the Lithuanian Language* programme (1951, 1956), was a leader of the first dialectologist expeditions collecting data for the atlas, collected material for the atlas from more than thirty locations, he was the first postwar linguist who defended doctoral thesis in dialectology *Dialect of Pazanavykis, or Northwest Kapsai*, assisted with the preparation of the *Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language*, was one of the editors of the new edition of the dictionary (1–2, 1968 – 1969).

²¹ Defended doctoral thesis *Dialect of Mituva River-Basin*, prepared and edited the *Dialects of the Lithuanian Language* (1970), was one of the authors of the *Atlas of the Lithuanian Language* (1–3, 1977 – 1991), collected material for the work from more than thirty locations, in 1994 the work of hers was awarded a Science Award of the Republic of Lithuania, one of the compilers and editors of the *Dictionary of Belarus Dialects of Northwest Belorussia and its Periphery* (1–5, 1979 – 1986), prepared the corpora of dialectal texts: *Texts of Lithuanian Dialects 1: Balatna* (1994); *Texts of Lithuanian Dialects 2: Subdialect of the Old Citizens of Vilnius* (1997, together with Vytautas Vitkauskas), published treatises on dialects of Belorussian and Latvian Lithuanians, as well as on contacts of Lithuanian and Slavic dialects, added over 20,000 words to the DLL.

²² Stylist, for whom spoken language and folklore form the basis of style, collected over 5000 unique figurative expressions from his native places and handed them to the compilers of the dictionary *Zanavykų šnektos žodynas*.

²³ Researcher of dialect phonetics and phonology, defended doctoral thesis *Mažeikių tarmės fonologinė sistema*, published articles on this subject, published *Taip šneka tirkšliškiai. Šiaurės žemaičių telšiškių tarmės tekstai su komentarais* (1996), leader and organizer of dialectological expeditions, conductor of many dialectological research works.

²⁴ Activist of the Lithuanian National Movement, cultural figure and scholar, doctor who wrote linguistic treatises and studies as well. The most valuable folklore collections of his, used as a factual material by researchers of the Lithuanian language, include: *Lithuanian Tales* (1–2, 1898 – 1902), *Songs of Ožkabaliai* (1–2, 1902), *From Life Manes and Devils* (1903), *Miscellaneous Lithuanian Tales* (1–4, 1903 – 1905).

²⁵ In addition to all lexicographical works, he had also collected many live language words, which were used in preparation of the *Dictionary of the Lithuanian Language*.

²⁶ Collector of folklore since 1866, an educator. Recorded over 4,500 folklore works (around 900 songs, 660 narrative folklore works, over 700 proverbs and sayings, over 200 riddles, around 400 incantations, 550 superstitious beliefs and other folklore units), collected many language facts, folk clothing drawings, memoirs. In 1907 he was elected a correspondent member of Lithuanian Science Association. Folklore collected by Matas Slančiauskas was published in Jonas Basanavičius' folklore collections and successive publications (*Lithuanian Nation*, 1923, book 3, vol. 2). Much of M. Slančiauskas' folklore heritage is currently kept in the manuscript-bank of Central Library of Science Academy and Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore.

²⁷ Born in 1934, Griškabūdis region, Urviniai village. The dictionary contains his autobiographical prose, poems, essays.

²⁸ (1871 – 1920), Šakiai district, Baltrušiai village. Was living at Pilviškiai. The dictionary contains dialectal lexis of his poems, stories and publicist articles.

²⁹ Janutienė (1905 – 1999). Born at Liepalotai, Šakiai district. The dictionary contains dialectal lexis of her stories, novels and poems.

³⁰ Totoraitis (1805 – 1889), born at Rygiškiai village, Šakiai district. A priest, writer, one of the pioneers of the Lithuanian fiction. The dictionary contains dialectal lexis of his stories and fables.

³¹ Vaičaitis (1876 – 1901), poet, born at Santakos village, Šakiai district.

³² The surroundings where Slančiauskas began recording folklore in 1866. One century later – in 1998 – the same locations were used as a source of dictionary material.

³³ During the first Latgale Congress (12–14 November, 2007) the idea of dictionary compilers was supported by the well-known Latvian dialectologists, LU professor Lidija Leikuma and DU professor Vilma Šaudiņa.

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Anna Vulāne

EXPRESSION OF FEATURE INTENSITY IN EAST LATVIAN DIALECT

Summary

Feature is one of the essential characterizing elements of an object, action, or conditions; it is an important component of folk view of the world as well. Verbal characteristics of feature intensity interprets both prejudiced estimation of a sender, an attitude to some fact of reality, and unprejudiced characteristic mark and environment of action, conditions, or feature expression, where this characteristic feature or action comes into effect.

Gained material of patois demonstrates a wide range of feature intensity characterizing means or intensifier that is little studied in Latvian linguistics.

In the dialect of the Eastern part of Latvia, feature intensity can be expressed lexically, as well as in the Latvian standard language and other dialects, e.g., lēls – milžēiķs, lops – tēicāms, iscūls, morphologically – by derivative affixes and formative affixes, e.g., zālš – zaļks, zaļgoņeīks, pazālš, gōrdai – gōrduōk – vysugōrduōk, syntactically – by forming compounds or forming word combinations, e.g., zylūmzūls, tuōl i tuōl i, cīs šeneju lāiku, dyžān styprys, čut rōndōnc, skrīšnīm skrā, etc.

As shown in the collected language material, the most extensive opportunities of expressing feature intensity exist in adjective and adverb systems, and more limited options – in verb system. Feature possession and expression can be characterized by two aspects: uttering direct comparison (gradation), e.g. eīss – eīsuōks – vysueīsuōkīs; jāutri – jāutruōk – vysujāutruōk, and estimating feature intensity from the point of view of the intensification or abatement, e.g., paeīss, čut eīsuōks, cīs eīss, pār dāuž eīss, eīss kù eīss; drusku patuōl i, cīs tuōl i, cik tuōl i!; mudri it, skrītīn skrā, skrīn kaī troks, etc.

Abatement, intensification, raising, possession, or expression of feature intensity, conditions, and action can be expressed by mediation of different gradients (adverbs, particles, prepositions, as well as comparison, repetition) to a very great (or little) extent; it depends on the speaker's prejudiced attitude. Using adverbs, feature intensity of presentive world, both feature intensification and abatement, is expressed most extensively and diversely. The usage of gradients (adverbs) briesmīgi, brīnīgi, cieši, galīgi, labi, pavisam, par daudz, stipri, tīri, traki includes a wider area of expressing intensification and excess; and usage of gradients drusku, čut – in order to characterize abatement, lack of feature. The usage of adverbs aumaši, aumašīgi, makten, maktīgi, varen, varīgi, dižen is recorded only in separate patois (mostly non-deep).

Gradients are used more restrictedly for characterization of feature intensity of conditions; limitation is related both to a little amount of graduated features and to usage of gradients.

Quite a great activity and diversity of gradients are observed for characterization of action intensity; however the number of gradients is limited.

In the aspect of functional range, gradients and models of intensification can be divided into those used with adjectives, adverbs as well as verbs, and those which function only with words belonging to one part of speech.

Methods and means for expressing action intensity and features of conditions are not studied in the Latvian language; therefore it should be investigated further.

Key-words: feature intensity, East Latvian dialect, gradients, adjective, adverb

*

Feature is an essential element of characterizing object, action, conditions and a significant component of the folk vision of the world as well. It is the common knowledge that the verbal characteristics of feature intensity reveals both the subjective evaluation or attitude of the addressee towards a fact of reality and objective features of the way action, conditions, or characteristics are manifested as well as the means of their manifestation.

In the Latvian language, the feature intensity may be expressed by lexical means, e.g. *liels – milzīgs, labs – teicams, izcils, lielisks*, morphologically – by derivative and formative affixes, e.g. *gardī – gardāk – visgardāk, zaļš – zaļgs, zaļganīgs, pazaļš*, syntactically – by forming compounds or word combinations, e.g. *sensens, tālumtālu, pārāk jauna, skrietin skrien*, etc.

The collected patois materials reveal an extremely rich scope of feature intensity characterizing means or intensifiers that have been little studied in Latvian linguistics.

As shown by the collected language material, the widest possibilities for expressing feature intensity are within the system of adjective and adverb, whereas those in the system of verb are more limited. The presence of a feature and its manifestations may be characterized in two aspects – by direct comparison (gradation), e.g. *īss – īsāks – visīsākais; jautri – jautrāk – visjautrāk*, and regarding the feature intensity from the point of view of its amplification or weakening, e.g. *paīss, samērā īss, ļoti īss, pārāk īss, īss jo īss; diezgan jautri, ārkārtīgi jautri, cik jautri; ātri skriet, skrietin skriet, skriet kā trakam*, etc.

The means of feature gradation have been regarded both in the works by Jānis Endzelīns¹ and the grammar of the contemporary Latvian standard language² as well as the studies of the morphological system of the Latvian language in works by Daina Nītiņa³, Vilma Kalme and Gunta Smiltņiece⁴, Dzintra Paegle⁵, individual articles⁶ as well as grammars of the Latvian standard language and Latgalian written language.

Collected patois materials reveal a wide range of feature intensity characterizing means or intensifiers that will be further regarded in the present article focusing on the syntactical means of expressing intensity. The characteristics of the intensity of adjective and adverb features will be produced only within the principal degree.

Feature gradation in Latvian is usually expressed by grammar means – the corresponding affixes (the suffix *-āk-* and prefix *vis-*) are added to the qualitative adjective stem or a syntactical construction with pronouns *pats, visu* is used to express the meaning of the comparative and superlative degree within the forms of adjective, adverb or, sometimes, participial forms of verb.

Depending on the speaker's subjective attitude, weakening, amplification, increase, presence or manifestation of the intensity of quality, conditions, and action can be

expressed by means of different gradients (repetition of adverbs, particles, prepositions as well as comparisons) to a great (or little) degree.

Expressing the amplification of feature intensity

In East Latvian dialect the feature expressed by adjectives and adverbs or the action denoted by verbs and participles are mostly characterized by diverse adverbs and their morphological variations. The adverb *cieši* or *cieš* has been registered in the whole investigated area; it indicates the presence of the particular feature and action intensity of a very high degree. This adverb functions as the equivalent of the adverb *ļoti*, e.g. *aptārps⁷ – cīži vaca nūžēmā* (Naurāni); *mūosenā mān cīži styma* (Dricāni); *cīš šeneju lāiku napimeņu* (Višķi); *cīži gāuži aizraūdūo* (Gaigalava); *cīži jāu gribā Antēti* (Viļāni). The gradient is usually placed before the graduated lexical unit; however, cases when the gradient is distanced and may be placed not only before but also after the graded unit have been registered as well, e.g. *cīš bīe bedni, i nūsāucā tū vītu pār Bockoktu* (Kalupe); *nabīe tāīdu kā patmaļu lelu cīš* (Asūne).

To express emotionally very strong amplification, the gradient is often repeated, e.g. *sūoleja* (zupa) *cīš, cīš* (Ružina); *ūzūls īr cīš, cīš styprys kūks* (Rudzāti); as *cīži, cīži gribieju vūcātīš* (Sakstagals). In combination with other gradients, big feature amplification is reached, e.g. *cīš možīnks telenč* (Viļāni); *nu nāsi jāu cik cīži pūorzastrūdūos* (Dricāni).

The use of the adverb *smagi* to express amplification is specific for the patois of East Latvian dialect. It is not used in patois of other regions of Latvia and in the Latvian standard language. However, it has been registered sporadically and does not encompass as compact an area as the aforementioned gradient, besides it is not used together with verb to express the intensity of action. It expresses the feature of an object marked by a very high degree of presence, e.g. *mūms smagi dusmēiks avīnc* (Sauka), *sāudēklāi vajak bjuut smagi gludāi i viglāi* (Likсна), *smagi grūyc dorps* (Kalupe), *smagi loba zupa ar pupām* (Kaplava), *smagi lāmēks* (Dignāja), *smagi solc lāīks* (Bebri). The collected material testifies to the fact that the aforementioned gradient is used with verb only in its direct meaning. In the patois of Western Latvia and the Latvian standard language, this kind of use of the de-semantized adverb *smagi* is totally absent.

Adverbs *aumaši, aumašigi, aplam, bailīgi, briesmīgi, brīnīgi, dižen, galīgi, īsti, labi, makten, maktīgi, milzīgi, pavisam, pārāk, sevišķi, stipri, tīri, traki, varen, varīgi, strašna, čista*, etc. are used to express the nuances of the intensity of the manifestation of a quality and conditions.

To characterize the intensity of the speed of action, activity, process, only some of these gradients are used, e.g. *briesmīgi, galīgi, milzīgi, pavisam, pārāk, stipri, traki*. It should be pointed out that the use of gradients together with verb is semantically limited, i.e. it is possible to intensify only such an action or process, the activity and intensity of which is changeable. E.g. the following constructions are characteristic of the patois of Dricāni, Viļāni, Gaigalava, Sakstagals, etc.: *brīsmēīgi skrā, galeīgi nūsālš, pavysām izmierēs, stypri prosolu, ka tik nabyūtu kořtumu, trokāi nūzamūcieju*.

Depending on the context, the intensity of the quality denoted by the same adverb may be stronger or weaker. This is characteristic of the intensity expressed by adverbs *tīri, čista*; e.g. in the contexts *kūdes saādušas tēiri jāunu driebi* (Stāmeriena), *tūr aiz*

koĶla vĶns lāuks tēiri zāltāns nu pārĶunenēm (Alūksne), the gradients express the feature that the objects possess in full and are used with the meaning ‘pavisam jaunu’ (totally new), ‘pĶlnĶgi dzeltens’ (totally yellow). In turn, in the sentences: *tys pūisĶisks tēiri smuks nū gēimja* (Anna); *itāi mātāi tēiri smuks gēimeĶc, bet slinka gon* (Alūksne), the gradient functions with the meaning ‘diezgan’ (sufficiently), i.e. the feature expressed by adjective is present to a lesser degree as compared to the previous examples – its intensity is weaker. The above mentioned adverbs are also used to characterize the manifestation intensity of conditions, indicating its weakening, e.g. *dāls jāu tēiri labi losa* (Gaigalava). These nuances show that different lexico-semantic variants of the adverb *tĶri/Ķista* may be used in adjective and adverb constructions. In verb constructions the corresponding adverb functions without expressing the intensity of action.

The adverb *labi* together with an adjective or adverb indicates a rather complete manifestation of the feature, e.g. *pŶrĶmuĶk nūzavāĶk labi rupys pokoĶys* (VarakĶāni); *nūlĶc labi tuĶli* (Dricāni). This kind of use of the adverb *labi* has been registered in a very wide area of the Latvian language including the literary language area.

A greater degree of intensity is revealed by the combination of the adverb *maktēn* (in some patois – *Ķuoti*) and the collocation of the respective adjective, e.g. *maktēn slĶnks* (Anna), *BoluĶž Kārlis bijs Ķuoti Ŷmuks* (Sinole), *Ķis beja Ķuti lēls Ŷn dyĶts (=stĶprs)* (Skaista).

Adverbs *aumaŶĶgi, aplam, bailĶgi, brĶnum, brĶnĶgi, bezgala, diŶen, galĶgi, Ķsti, milzĶgi, pavisam, pārāĶ, seviŶĶi, varen* help express an especially great amplification of a feature, e.g. *āumaŶi, āumaŶĶgi smuks* (Jaunlaicene), *opĶlĶm lēls* (Dricāni), *opĶlĶm dāuž doĶba* (Dricāni), *jāu opĶlĶm nūzaskrieŶā asu* (ViĶĶāni), *bāilēĶgi lēls* (Nautrāni), *bāilēĶgi guĶžā lēĶc* (Gaigalava), *bāilēĶg grŶuŶi beja ŶēĶvuĶt* (Sakstagals), *brēĶnūm bĶĶta* (Aglona), *brēĶnēĶg skāista* (Aizkalne), *brēĶnēĶgi smūordeĶgys puĶis* (Dricāni), *bezgola mēĶls* (Gaigalava), *dyŶān styĶrys* (Pilda), *galēĶgi Ŷvaki ap Ŷirdi* (VarakĶāni), *brĶsmēĶgi soĶc ĶiudĶnĶ* (Izvalta), *troĶai prosolu* (Sakstagals).

The collected material does not reveal the functioning of the aforementioned constructions only in a wider area of the East Latvian dialect; they basically appear sporadically in different patois and patois groups. This does not mean that a wider functioning area of one and the same gradient is impossible, as the material collection is not exhaustive enough.

The use of the adverb *Ķik* in the function of gradient has been registered in a wide scope of patois of East Latvian dialect (also in other patois of Latvian and the Latvian standard language), more often – in diverse exclamation constructions expressing the intensity of quality and conditions, e.g. *eĶvu, Ķik Ķūda gūŶ – Ķuo spruogums!* (Kalupe), *a, Ķik smuka!* (Bērzgale), *vūi, Ķik es navāĶēga!* (Dignāja), *Ķik zamāi vāg Ķrist...* (MakaŶāni); *Ķik tuĶli jāu apsalaĶŶt, ka sata kaĶ Ķyukāi* (Dricāni).

The synonymy of the adverb *Ķik* with the particle *tĶk* is a typically dialectal phenomenon observed in a number of patois of the East Latvian dialect, e.g. *ŶmilĶĶ Ķik (=tĶk) ĶorŶta, ĶoĶ ŶĶys Ķāp* (Sakstagals); *mām, Ķām Ŷud ĶĶ Ķik gara dĶna?* (Bērzgale); *kas tū bie dūmūoŶ, ka mām jāu Ķik lēls pĶemĶnĶks!* (Bērzgale), *Ķik vaca jāu nagriĶ turāĶt* (VarakĶāni); *tu skrĶn Ķik Ŷotri, ka navaru daŶĶēt* (Dricāni). The use of *Ķik* together with the finite forms of verbs has not been registered.

The use of *Ķik* is characteristic of Latgalian, whereas *tĶk* – of the Selonian patois, especially those bordering on those of the middle dialect, e.g. *ār tĶk mozĶm rūceĶĶm*

nīkūo napadareīsi (Līvāni), *saīmenica duô tyk sūru goļu, ka tok navar âst* (Prauliena, Jaungulbene, Jaunlaicene, Kurcums, Lazdona, Lizums u.c.).

Very often the particularization of the intensity of a quality is done by means of a subordinate clause if in the independent part of the sentence the adjective is used together with *tik, cik*, e.g. *ùorâ tik tỳms;*, *ka na'kù narāž* (Anna); *nakè cik tỳmsa – koč acī dūr* (Viļāni).

Constructions with *tik* occur also in the Western Latvian patois and the Latvian standard language, whereas constructions with *cik* are rather scarce there.

Certain tinge of the amplification of intensity is produced by the preposition *par* that performs a twofold function:

1. Together with the pronoun *kas* reflecting the speaker's surprise, delight, or dislike about a certain quality of the object, e.g. *kas pâr garu b'izi!* (Izvalta); *pâr tuôli tys irâ* (Viļāni);
2. Together with an indefinite adjective characterizing the feature of the object or action that is manifested to an inadequately great degree that does not correspond to the usual norm, e.g. *gurčis par skōbu* (Zasa); *zupa pâr sōura* (Laši); *pâr tūli istatēji* (Dricāni).

In several patois, for the expression of the excessiveness of a feature, the preposition *par* is used together with the adverb *daudz/daudzi*, e.g. *supš pâr dâuc sùolejs* (Ezernieki); *pâr dâuc ùotri runòi* (Sakstagals). The linguist Daina Nītiņa points out as follows: *As the indicators of an evaluative attitude, constructions where preposition is combined with adverb or adjective since the first written monuments have expressed disproportion or excessiveness*⁸.

To express the amplification of the intensity of quality, feature, action, repetition of the respective adjective, adverb, verb or its derivative is used, e.g. *gudra, gudra uòvereitē* (Skaista); *piēc garu, garu tolkavuðõnu* (Dricāni), *mudri, mudri aizdypyniò* (Dricāni); *mỳud' i mỳud' tēi gùš* (Viļāni).

Particular amplification of the intensity of a quality is produced by the use before the respective adjective of:

- its plural genitive adverbial or derived adverb, e.g. *šeņu šeņejis* (Andrupene) *mālnai mālnai* (Birži);
- reduced instrumental forms of noun, e.g. *zylum zyls, vacum vacs* (Gaigalava). This construction may be extended by the particle *to*, e.g. *vacum to vacs, no vâl styprys; lēlum to lēls, a prūota pamos* (Dricāni); or the pronoun *kas*, its accusative form *kuo*, e.g. *glups kas glups; grýuši kù grýuši* (Viļāni);
- adverb that has been reduced from older adjectives with the suffix *-in-*, e.g. *tēirīn tēirs; svešyn sveš cylvaks* (Kalupe). This kind of adverb is also used to express the intensity of action, e.g. *raūtīn izruðvâ nu rūku* (Makašāni). Jānis Endzelīns pointed out in his time: *in Lithuanian, adjectives with -inas are formed also from adjectives, [...] These adjectives are probably the origin of Latvian adverbs with -in that is used for the amplification of the adjective of the same root, e.g. bālin bāls,..*⁹.

At some places the construction has been registered in which the increase of a quality is expressed by a prepositional construction where the noun in the dative case denotes the highest degree of the quality, e.g. *glups lēiz trokumām* (Aknīste); *miētēls*

gàrs da pāpīžu. (Dricāni). The existence of this kind of constructions in the Latvian standard language testifies to their wider spread, though only a few samples occur in the collected material.

The feature intensity characteristics is based on comparison that belongs to essential operations of thinking and constitutes an important component of the world picture of an ethnos, as it is the common knowledge that a human learns about the world by comparing the familiar to the unfamiliar. The value system is also based on comparison that is consolidated by the experience: useful – useless, good – bad. To create a complete verbal model of the Latvian world picture, it is essential to clarify how comparison functions in patois, what objects, actions, and features are actually compared. We will just sketch out this aspect in the context of the present article, as the range of the comparative constructions used to express the intensity of a quality and action is very wide, therefore it is a topic of a separate research. Rather often comparative constructions have acquired the status of phraseological units. The object demonstrating a typical quality or action intensity is usually selected for comparison. The following constructions occur in many deep patois of the East Latvian dialect: *moss kā eīkšš, rāips kā puņu žīc, ryūkc kā mālñš ruduks, opola mutä kā mēnešš pūnatāš; àizanäsä kā čorc ar tōrbu, bļain kā jārs iz kaušonys, smejas kā ķitynuôc*, etc. The meaning ‘very much, extremely’ is expressed in these comparisons, sometimes also the meaning of the perfection, completeness of the quality manifestation, e.g. *tāisneīks kuô spīgeļš* (Likсна); *izgūo plūocīneīc meīksc kā pūyupiēdēīc* (Viļāni).

In their turn, the constructions *tukšš da poša dybyna* (Dricāni), *da goļa pūlnc* (Ezernieki), *da čēlu sāuss* (Istra), etc. indicate not only the intensity of a quality but also, using the limiting object of its manifestation, the limit in space up to which the respective quality is manifested. In the Selonian patois we meet similar constructions with the preposition *līdz*.

Constructions with adjectives *bāls, gudrs, (ne)glīts, (ne)smuks, bailīgs, garš, netīrīgs, mazs, resns, sarkans, stiprs, tievs, viltīgs* where the case form of prepositional substantive denotes an object with a quality of great intensity, to a certain extent, possess an element of comparison, e.g. *piēc vātņa styprys* (Dricāni); so: *erķeni pēc vēžiem* (Lazdona); *pēc nāeves bāla* (Prauliena).

As shown by the collected patois materials, these constructions are more widespread in the Selonian patois, less – in Latgalian ones; the latter usually have a direct comparison, e.g. *sorkōnc kā viēšš* (Makašāni); *gàrs kā slīka* (Varakļāni).

Expressing the weakening of feature intensity

There are much fewer means of expressing the limiting, insufficiency, or weakening of feature intensity. Three kinds of such means prevail in the patois:

- 1) with prefixes *ie-*, *ne-*, *pa-* that are added to an adjective, or *ie-*, *pa-* together with a verb, e.g. *iopòls, pagārs, napalēls; izapēikštāt, pakužynuôt*. Adjectives and adverbs with the prefix *pa-* may express both the meaning of the weakening of feature intensity (*jis tāic paglups palicš* (Gaigalava); *patuôli tu žēivò, mùošēn* (Dricāni)) and that of excessiveness of a quality, e.g. *ituôs kūrpiš na pa kùojai – palēlys* (Makašāni);

- 2) with suffixes *-an-*, *-g-*, *-gan-*, *-eņ-*, *-iņ-*, *-iņk-* (only in the system of adjectives), e.g. *grèizònc* (Zvirgzdene), *rupònc* (Makašāni), *rèndènc* (Kraukļi), *zylks*, *bryungònc*, *řivēņč* (Aglona), *skuòbēņč* (Krāslava); *meikstēņks* (Preiļi), *tukļiņks* (Bērzgale);
- 3) with word combinations Adv – Adj; Adv – Adv; Adv – V.

The meaning of feature insufficiency, weakening, slowness of an action in the East Latvian dialect is usually expressed with a combined use of adverbs *biškeņ*, *biški*, *bišku*, *čut*, *diezgan*, *diezcik*, *knapi* and adjectives, e.g. *yūdīnc čut ròndònc* (Bērzgale). The meaning of the weakening of feature intensity is reinforced by repetition or using two different gradients, e.g. *řinc čut čut ròndònc*, *màizā čut drusku skorbona izgūošā* (Nautrāni); *jām taīdi čut isořkoņi moti* (Gaigalava); *drusku parunūom* (Sakstagals); *taī drusku pašvaki beja* (Dricāni).

Hence, it is possible to conclude that to express feature intensity in the East Latvian dialect, several gradients – morphological, syntactical, lexical – are used as well as their combinations. The intensity of the qualities of the world of objects – both its amplification and weakening – is expressed in the widest and most manifold way by adverbs. The most actively functioning adverbs are *cīši/ciž*, *stypri*, *breineig*, that, probably, is related to desemantization of these lexical units, and *drusku*, *čut* that clearly express the meaning of incompleteness. They may be combined with adjective as well as with adverb and verb.

A wider area is covered by the use of gradients (adverbs) *briesmīgi*, *brīnīgi*, *cieši*, *galīgi*, *labi*, *pavisam*, *par daudz*, *stipri*, *tīri*, *traki* that express the amplification or even excessiveness of the feature and gradients *drusku*, *čut* to denote the weakening and insufficiency of the feature. Only in some (mostly non-deep) patois, the use of adverbs *aumaši*, *aumašīgi*, *makten*, *maktīgi*, *varen*, *varīgi*, *dižen* has been registered.

The use of gradients to characterize the intensity of the feature of conditions is limited; it is related both to the small number of these features and the use of gradients.

There is a rather great activity and diversity in characterizing the intensity of action, yet the number of gradients is limited.

In the aspect of the functional range, we can divide gradients and models of intensification into those that are used with adjective as well as adverb and verb and those that function only with the words of one part of speech.

The means of expressing the intensity of the feature of conditions and action have not been investigated in the Latvian language; this work remains for further studies.

¹ Endzelins J. *Latviešu valodas gramatika*. Rīga: Latvijas Valsts izdevniecība, 1951; Endzelins J. *Lettische Komparativbildungen*. Darbu izlase 4 sēj., 1. sēj. Rīga: Zinātne, 1971. – 243.–246. lpp.; Endzelins J. *Kāpēc zudušas senās gradācijas formas*. Darbu izlase 4 sēj., 3. sēj. 2. d. Rīga: Zinātne, 1980. – 269. lpp.; Endzelins J. *Latviešu valodas skaņas un formas*. Darbu izlase 4 sēj., 4. sēj. 1. d. Rīga: Zinātne, 1981. – 303.–525. lpp.

² *Mūsdienu latviešu literārās valodas gramatika*. I. d. Fonētika un morfoloģija. Rīga: LPSR ZA izdevniecība, 1959; *Mūsdienu latviešu literārās valodas gramatika*. II. d. Sintakse. Rīga: LPSR ZA izdevniecība, 1962.

³ Nitiņa D. *Latviešu valodas morfoloģija (konspektivs lokāmo vārdšķiru apskats)*. Mācību līdzeklis. Rīga: RTU, 2001.

⁴ Kalme V., Smiltneiece G. *Latviešu literārās valodas vārddarināšana un morfoloģija*. Liepāja: LiePA, 2001.

⁵ Paegle Dz. *Latviešu literārās valodas morfoloģija*. I daļa. Rīga: Zinātne, 2003.

⁶ Блинкена А. Положительная степень имени прилагательного в перифрастическом выражении градации, in: *Балтийские языки и их взаимосвязь со славянскими, финно-угорскими и германскими языками*. Тез. докладов. Рига, 1973. – с. 114–118; Grabis R. Kādas senākas izteiksmes pēdas vecākajās latviešu valodas gramatikās un dažos citos rakstu avotos. / *LPSR ZA Vēstis* Nr. 8, 1986. – 49.–59. lpp.; Fennell T. G. Comparatives and superlatives in early Latvian Grammars, in: *Linguistica Baltica*. 1997. Vol. 5–6. – pp. 115–127; Vulāne A. Īpašības intensitātes izteikšana augšzemnieku dialektā. / *LPSR ZA Vēstis* Nr. 12, 1986. – 9.–102. lpp.

⁷ The stretched and falling intonation coincide in the east Latvian dialect – ¹².

⁸ Nītiņa D. *Prievārdu sistēma latviešu rakstu valodā*. Rīga: Zinātne, 1978. – 122. lpp

⁹ Endzelīns J. *Latviešu valodas gramatika*. Rīga: Latvijas Valsts izdevniecība, 1951. – 309. lpp.

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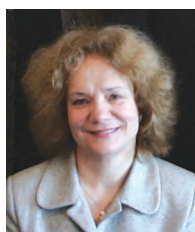
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