

а, с другой стороны, показывает роль неустаревающих духовных и художественных ценностей в культуре нации. Роман Г.Робакидзе, написанный около века назад, становится все более актуальным и современным с точки зрения сегодняшних реалий, когда в обострившейся ситуации мировых катаклизмов и кризиса традиционной культуры вопрос самоопределения нации как единства самобытного и общечеловеческого становится одним из важнейших катализаторов прогресса.

Литература:

Робакидзе 2014: Робакидзе Гр. *Змеиняя рубашка*. Перевод и редакция Камиллы Коринтели. Тбилиси, 2014.

Робакидзе 1991: Робакидзе Гр. *Змеиняя рубашка*. „Лит.Грузия“, 1991, № 1-3 (пер. К.Коринтели). В дальнейшем цит. Г.Робакидзе по этому изданию с указанием номера журнала и страниц в тексте

Робакидзе 2004: Робакидзе Гр. *Стержень Грузии*. Дружба народов, 2004, №3. <https://magazines.gorky.media/druzhba/2004/3/sterzhen-gruzii>.: <https://magazines.gorky.media/druzhba/2004/3/sterzhen-gruzii.html>

Jurate Landsbergyte-Becher

Lithuania, Vilnius

Lithuanian Culture Research Institute

Literature in The Political Context of The 1990s: Return of The Non-occupied

After the 1990s, the creators from the *non*-occupied areas rejoined Lithuanian literature: writers, poets, partisan leaders and deportees who survived Gulag camps and cold Northern death zones. The literature of *non-occupied* managed to avoid a powerful ideological interception of distorted times–disinformation covering the Soviet narrative of a long post-war history. Disinformation as a powerful weapon of occupants was and still is very influential to intellectuals of the world and unique

to literature writers. The article explains this critical collision of history, politics and literature in Lithuanian literary field. The structure of disinformation and facts about the altered historical discourse is proven in the book *Disinformation* (2017) by Jon Pacepa and Roland Ryshlak. The Lithuanian literature of the *un-occupied* is based mostly in memoirs and diaries of deportation victims like Dalia Grinkevičiūtė (her book had a few titles *Lithuanians by the Laptev Sea*, 1988, and *Shadows on the Tundra*, 2018). Her and partisan writers' testimonies, published after 1990, created a paradigmatic turn in Lithuanian literature, cinema, and visual arts. This kind of exploration of the freedom of historicism is essential to Baltic Self in literature.

Key words: literature, occupation, disinformation, non-occupied, testimony, transcendentalism.

In the second half of the 20th-century Lithuanian literature suffered breakages of its identity: the transformation from the European Selfhood with the concept of modern Catholicism and the field of idealism into the Bolshevik victory apocalypse of Russian occupation, shockingly traumatic and forcing some the most talented writers and poets to become traitors or collaborators. It should be noted that the extraordinary impact on literature happened during the intentional era of disinformation: its refinement and closeness to literary, artistic wisdom cannot be denied. Though from a present-day perspective, this cultural factor must be looked at much more closely: the ingenuity of misinformation has inspired duality like a lurking shadow of the Endarkenment without dimension of the Self where the nation's Selfhood has to break free but is not allowed to. Politics and literature become integrated in a distorted negative way creating grotesque communistic nationalism (Putinaite 2019). Archetypal characters: partisan, priest, the nurturer of Christian values, and the protector of the national selfhood are rooted deeply into the Lithuanian resistance consciousness as a concept of the damage of

the Soviet occupation which is now called a *broken time*. However, the indescribable and immeasurable dimension of the falseness remained. It was the result of a particular method of constructing history, which had matured in the Soviet Empire and conjoined with the tendencies of occupation: **disinformation**. The power of this method is the long-term mental dependence on the particular emotional narrative, which paves the way for literature, cinema, and contemporary media, and especially it has flourished during the unstable postwar period.

1. Disinformation and disorder of the world

The nature of disinformation is a complicated, sophisticated, sustained, and multi-faceted campaign of pure lies and deprived mix between dirt and truth revealing the organic link between Nazism and communism as Ion Mihai Pacepa, a former intelligence general of Nicola Ceaușescu explains (Pacepa, Rychlak 2018: 85). In practice, no one has delved into the political anatomy of disinformation and its historic structure and the dimension of its impact on literature. Consequently, the literature finds itself in the void of anti-Self, the halfway between the charm of the terror (Schlögel 2013), degradation and kitsch. Writers happened to end their lives early and under unclear circumstances. Disinformation is particularly fond of the long-lasting post-war epochs, with the lingering echo of war where “everything will be signed off”. The archetypes of the past of the nations will be forgotten and mingled in the landfill of history, and only the narrative of victorious winners will remain. Also, it will be the only focus of the writers-literates, the overturned narrative of freedom. This blurring of boundaries between lies and truth is also characteristic of the creation and could metamorphose into purposeful actions of postmodern *nothingness*, conceptualising history and the present.

Sakartvelo is relatively resistant to the virus of disinformation as one of the oldest states in the world with a millennial history of Christian identity, endowed with the eagle’s insight and profound instinct to overcome enemy techniques in marginalising situations. Meanwhile, in this case in Lithuania, disinformation or the era of distorted time shows typical blurred boundaries between the truth and the lie, spiritual blindness of personalities of culture, excited by the “glory” and cheers of “being

great” in entire, possibly Russianised world. This is how the *literature of opposition–silence* emerges; its expression finds itself in the “un-occupied zone”. The current research evidenced the power and impact of the disinformation era on the creative path of personalities. R. James Woolsey, chairman of the Foundation for Defense of Democracies, referring to the book *Disinformation*, gives an excellent example that it “opens up to us a reality that many did not suspect to exist and hardly understand how we had underestimated its influence.” (Pacepa, Rychlak 2018: 13). It is impossible to estimate the crucial impact of confrontation of Lithuanian literature with disinformation or the methodology of the overturn of so-called distorted time, its intense all-encompassing structure, which one has tried to resist being “utterly alone”, respond with a “soft power” of calm resistance through ecology (life of nature), music (paradigm of the world wholeness without borders), and painting (the power of metaphors and visions). Literature also sought the origins of its identity tradition. Usually, it got confined to the human factor, the sadness of its decline without raising questions about historical responsibility, citizenship and the idea of statehood. This situation lasted until the 1990s.

The power of disinformation ruled not only the creative elite of Lithuania but Western Europe too. General Pacepa writes about this historical phenomenon, which is still actual today: “It was no accident that disinformation was born in Russia. In the 18th century, the French Marquis de Custine explained: ‘In Russia, everything is deceit, and the pleasant hospitality of the Tsar... is just another parody... Russian despotism not only treats ideas and feelings as nullity but also rewrites the facts, it fights with what is obvious and triumphantly celebrates victory’” (Pacepa, Rychlak 2018: 58).

“In post-war Russia, disinformation became a national policy, which played a huge role in over modelling the past and present, <...> everything that mattered until 1917. Nevertheless, the new Communist commanders with devotional respect saved the “science of disinformation”, realising that this historical Russian tool (with Potemkin villages dedicated to Yekaterina II on her journey to the newly acquired from the Turks Crimea, instaled by her lover Generalfeldmarschall Duke Potemkin) ideally fits their needs. After all, the essence of communism is to change the mindset.

<...> Even without communism, Russia and disinformation are the perfect couples” (Pacepa, Rychlak 2018: 58-59).

Disinformation has become a successful tool among revolutionary left-wing French intellectuals. So the Lithuanian writers, carriers and the cherishers of the Stalin’s sun, such talents like Petras Cvirka, Salomėja Neris, Antanas Venclova, Liudas Gira were no exception.

“At the top of the KGB, Jean-Paul Sartre was known to be used as an agent of influence. <...>The facts about Sartre’s collaboration with the KGB have already begun to come to light. <...> Here is one confirmation of Sartre’s links with the KGB. On June 15, 1972, West German police caught one of Sartre’s beloved pupils, German terrorist Ulrike Meinhof (a memorable German film about this group of red terror “Baader Meinhof Complex”, 2008), financially supported by the KGB. Soon after, she sent a letter to her ideological teacher Sartre, asking for his help. He granted that request. To comfort his pupil, Sartre arrived at Stamheim Prison in West Germany by car, driven by a German terrorist, Jens-Joachim Klein, a KGB agent who assisted in organising the tenth Abu-Nidal–Carlos terrorist attack in Vienna” (Pacepa, Rychlak 2018: 61-62).

These facts illustrate how KGB influenced the intellectual development of the world and its method of deformation. Pacepa states:

“The biggest and most irreparable damage to the free world has been done by the Kremlin’s disinformation operations aimed at **rewriting the past**. <...> “The transformation, which converted Stalin from a political assassin, who murdered 20 million innocent people only in the Soviet Union alone, into a political god in a third of the world has not only led to the forty years of the Cold War but has also become the greatest political scam in world’s history, for which the communism acquired the international respect, and the murderous communist leaders aroused fascination.” (Pacepa, Rychlak, 2018: 65).

2. Resistance or to be not afraid of freedom:

“The Lie Cannot Overcome The Truth”

It is inconceivable that the abolition of the distinction between lies and truth determined the fate of Lithuania, its fighters for freedom, and its literature. The writer Eugenijus Ignatavičius, who began restoring the

memories of the fighters for freedom after 1990, states in his book *Not Afraid of Freedom* with the words of the partisan Vytautas Kluonis-Pėdas:

“Although we did not believe that the West could leave us occupied by the USSR, we were still wondering how to contribute to the liberation of Lithuania. <...> I joined the underground organisation “The Falcons of Freedom” in January or February 1946. After taking the oath, we give ourselves pseudonyms <...> but after the provocation of A. Neverauskas, V. Volteraitis, who did not endure torture, gave away other members of the organisation. <...> In spring 1948, when a verdict of a special meeting was announced: eight years in prison, I was ordered to sign. But I refused. <...> No one was worried about being sentenced to eight or ten years because **we didn’t believe it would last so long**; the conflict between the USSR and the West will happen much earlier. We were sure that the USSR would lose the war. We were convinced that **lies cannot win against the truth**” (Ignatavičius 2018: 37).

In Soviet Lithuania, disinformation activities were mostly directed against the Catholic Church, the main enemy of communism, the institution radiating eternal spiritual power, which influence transcends the boundaries of time and space defined by Sovietism. The terror against the Catholic Church continued until 1990 (Chronicle 1992: 9). This Lithuanian belief in Selfhood and national identity was tried to be crushed by a Stalinism bulldozer and poisoned using a well-known instrument of disinformation—a narcotic, so-called by the KGB, which distorts the picture of reality and, most importantly, historical events.

It could be named *Devil’s Aria in the Vault of Politics* comparable with the case of Sartre in actual Lithuanian discourse of values (Valiušaitis 2013). This was a crucial situation for Lithuanian literature, the tragedy, which woke up the self-awareness but in silence at first, which has changed after the political turn of the 1990s.

3. The vigils of truth. The opening.

In 1990, two collections of poetry appeared written by the unknown local Lithuanian poet Vytautas Dubrindis: *Vigils*, (1990), and well known American-Lithuanian poet Bernardas Brazdžionis: *I Call the Nation!* (1991).

These and other books are like the warriors being silenced for a long time, like David rising against the almighty Goliath—the established Russian influence over the world continually creating a system of disinformation on the discourse of war, e.g. about the Katyn massacre. Here, the Baltic archetypes and their transcendental breakthrough attempt to overcome a powerful block of disinformation. It is far more convenient for literature to exist in its field describing the lives and existential problems of rural people than to fight the block disinformation for Statehood, but it somehow finds its window of freedom and truth.

“Aš žinau, yra Tiesa pasauly
Ir keliauja ji vienui viena.
Pro melus, pro kerštą, pro apgaulę
Eina ji, tik vieną žodį nešdama. Vieną žodį – Meilę – nešdama

*I know there is Truth in the world
And it travels alone.
Through lies, through revenge, through deceit
She goes, carrying only one word. Carrying one word—Love”.*
(Brazdžionis, 1991: 120)

The vigil of Lithuania in the world of Endarkenment is also named by a poet who secretly wrote *non-Soviet* verses during the hegemonic Soviet period in 1950-70. It was a linguist scientist professor Dr Vytautas Ambrazas using the nickname Vytautas Dubrindis. Here is an extract of the poem “An inscription in the Market Square” from the collection *Vigils*, which reflects the facts about the desecration of partisan bodies by the NKVD by dropping them in the Market Square:

“Mes gulim ant gruoblėtų akmenų
Užkloti gedinėčio dangaus skalūnu,
Ir išlupti iš žalvario šarvų
Kaip sunkūs vaisiai noksta mūsų kūnai.

Nė vienas nežadėjom nugalėt,
Kai žemė atsivėrus mums po kojų degė.

Tai buvo neįmanoma! Kieno dabar eilė
Įsmeigt į juodą sostą savo špagą?

*We lie on the rough stones
Covered with a slate of mourning sky,
And stripped out of the brass armour
Like heavy fruits, our bodies mellow.*

*No one promised to win,
When the gapping earth burned under our feet.
It was impossible! Whose turn is now
To thrust rapier into a black throne?"*
(Dubrindis, 1990: 33)

These works like the silent gestures of Lithuanian Selfhood, reveal a wholeness of identity: the transcendental depth and height of pain, the unprecedented encounter with the irresistible cordon of installed violent cruelty and lies. They are able to create *other space* of Lithuanian identity dedicated to the non-occupied.

4. Dalia Grinkevičiūtė: returning the unreturned

The most significant change in literature was determined by the long-time experience of deportation expressed in words imprinted in memory, streaming from a memoir book "Shadows on the Tundra" by Dalia Grinkevičiūtė (1927-1987). She was the exile from childhood, later doctor and writer, who posthumously was included in the treasury of the 20th-century Lithuanian literature in 1990. Professor of literature Viktorija Daujotytė observes the fundamental tectonic fractures in the discourse of Lithuanian literary creation, which irreversibly changed the creative self-concept of literature:

"Dalia Grinkevičiūtė's texts about the first deportations of 1941, people's experiences and destinies, which appeared in the context of political and social changes in 1988, changed some moments of literature and the way of thinking about literature. Liberating itself from the grip of obligatory ideology, **Lithuanian literature was already moving towards non-committal modernist freedoms, when it was suddenly forced to**

turn toward the human destiny pushed into unfavourable historical circumstances, austere spiritual choices, and relentless documentary testimonies” (Daujotyte 2015: 6).

Here the essential divide of Lithuanian literature emerges out of an attempt to soften and humanise the Soviet ideology and the postmodern games jumping over the “void” of the creepy documentary thrillers or fantasy of horror films of finished history. The belief that truth would prevail, the anticipation for American help, and the raging apocalypse of death falling on the Baltic countries—such was the cost of the political betrayal of the world, but it strengthened the wish to carry on. Here, Dalia Grinkevičiūtė also recreates Sartre’s existentialism with another European dimension, imposed on the Baltic countries, pushed “into the marginal situations, to human ordeals not only through violence and suffering but also with the absurdity, into the ways to sacrifice and the necessity to survive.” (Daujotyte 2015: 7). Here the writer takes on a special truth-breaking mission. “In her exile texts, she persevered in writing to enable them ever to participate in the **cases of truth and justice**” (Daujotyte 2015:12). Its purpose was to seek “a particular monumental memory. Not to forget people, mention the names and surnames, document them” (ibid.). Here it becomes apparent how the mission of literature is changing and at the same time, its space is expanding. In contrast to postmodern forceful eviction, unmeaningness, belittling the truth, what creates the depression of *the emptiness* of individualism and marginalises the outcast as insignificant, *documentation of the meaning of events creates for them a universal space, the sound, vision, and archetypal witnessing the arising from oblivion*. This is the image of the total fortress of death, which stands out in the documentary projection of Grinkevičiūtė’s text.

“They went to those boxcars, not being guilty of anything, not knowing that they were being sentenced to their deaths; that at this moment they would be saying good-bye and hugging their children, wives, and parents for the last time.

They were deceived.

During that horrible week, tens of thousands were deported from Lithuania alone.

What the true scope of those deportations was meant to be is not known even today – it was unexpectedly stopped by the war. On June

22, 1941, when the war started, the NKVD organs were forced to stop the mass arrests and the deportation of innocent people to Siberia. <...>

Suddenly-silence. Then blast from the radio. War! War! <...> There is a joy on the trains from the three Baltic capitals. Can we be turning around? Going home? But why would we? The front is already behind us. <...> Our journey goes on. And on and on. Day five, day ten. <...>

The trip north took about three months. At first, they transported us in boxcars, in which there was no room to sit down; it was impossible to shift the position of one's body. Then they brought us up the Angara river in barges; later through the uninhabited forest from the Angara to Lena by truck; then again by barge from the Lena river straight north. Further and further north. We were now 800 kilometres beyond the polar circle. <...> The mouth of the Lena River. The Laptev sea.

We finally stop. In front of us on an uninhabited island. There is nothing. No footsteps, no houses, no yurts, no trees, no bushes or grass—just the icebound tundra eternally frozen and covered with a thin layer of moss and some Arctic expedition's wooden board with an inscription indicating that their island is called Trofimovsk.

We were left on an uninhabited island without shelter, without warm clothing, without food, completely unprepared to spend the winter in the Arctic.

The barracks became a huge grave of ice; the ceiling was covered with ice, the walls and floor as well. Often while people were lying on the planks, their hair would freeze to the wall.

Almost at the same time, they brought several hundred Finns from the Leningrad area to the island. They were exiled because of their national heritage, although their parents and forefathers had inhabited those areas since time immemorial. Death started to pick them off first.

In November the polar nights began. People started to freeze to death, die of starvation, scurvy and other diseases. At that point, it was still possible to save everyone. At the mouth of the Lena river, on the shores of the Laptev sea 100 kilometres away on the islands of Tumato, Bobrovsko and Sasilacko lived Evenks who survived by fishing and hunting polar foxes. They could help, and they wanted to help. They had provisions of fish and enough dog sledges to bring us to their heated yurts. But our supervisors would not allow it and in this way condemned us to death.

A group of about fifteen young Finns and Lithuanians tried to get out of Trofimovsk and go on foot over the glaciers to the Evenks, but along the way, every single last one of them died. They got lost in a blizzard and froze to death. Out of the fifteen I remember only one man's last name – Zobiela.

In Bobrovsk, there were several hundred tons of frozen fish. It would have been enough to save all of the Lithuanian and Finnish exiles in Trofimovsk from dying of starvation. But the supervisor wouldn't give it to the people; they felt it was better to let it rot. In the summer of 1943, they dumped it into the Laptev sea.

When parents died, their children were taken into a separate orphans' barrack in the same ice grave. The conditions were just as horrible, and the death rate even higher. The starving children would scrape snow off the icy windows with their little hands and eat it. One after the other children died. The corpse collectors often found sacks containing the children's small corpse-skeletons placed outside on the snow in front of the barracks. No one knew how many were in a sack because the sacks were placed into the collective pile without untying them.

Two Finnish boys, twelve and thirteen years old, hanged themselves in this orphans' barrack. Thirteen-year-old Juzė Lukminaitė from Kėdainiai, who was put in the barrack after deaths of her parents and two older brothers, witnessed the suicide. Little Juzė constantly cried, remembering her parents and especially her sixteen-year-old brother's death. Dying of starvation, her brother kept waiting for his promised portion of bread. He died waiting with his hand stretched out. They put the bread into his hand when he was already dead.

In the winter of 1942-1943, the death rate on the island was higher than in Leningrad under siege, during the blockade. Every second exile died, having been exiled without having committed any crime or having had the right to a trial.<...>

The dead still live in my heart. Many years have passed but I still see them, condemned and feeble, young and old, children and young people. <...> It is my duty to tell about them. <...> They wanted to live too, and one cannot forget them amongst millions of other brutally tortured victims. All the more because their executioners went unpunished. Not a single hair on their heads was touched" (Grinkevičiūtė 2018:3, 5, 25, 78).

The grim documentary of Grinkevičiūtė's memoirs, penetrating with ironic insight, led into the literature the apocalyptic sense of exile like meeting the eternity. It could not be denied nor overshadowed by the Soviet literary discourse on the "super grandeur" of the man who conquered the world. Here, Soviet literature narratives suffered an icy puncture into the heart from this previously unknown to their experience truth. Discourse has changed. The return process continued. Then even stronger intersection happened in literature and film genre regarding the partisan war. The collision between Self and Hybrid Anti-Self has become the central theme and criticism of recent works of Lithuanian creators (director Saulius Balandis, films *The Price of Freedom. Partisans*, *The Price of Freedom. Dissidents*, *The Price of Freedom. Sąjūdis*, 2018, director Audrius Juzėnas *Excursionist*, 2013 and *Vilnius Ghetto*, 2006, *Purple Fog*, 2018 directed by R. Banionis, research books by Dr N. Putinaitė). "The silence of Gulags was broken... I am convinced that the testimony of Dalia Grinkevičiūtė's songs will remain alongside famous works of Alexander Solzhenycin, Varlam Shalamov" (Venclova 2018: 203).

It should be noted that the theme of deportations has become the most developed and consolidating post-Soviet societies, on the other hand, has become significant on a global scale with the involvement of American Lithuanians, indirectly affected by this terrible experience. Inspired by Grinkevičiūtė's memoirs and her grandmother's destiny, American-Lithuanian writer Rūta Šepetytė composed the novel "Between Shades of Gray" (2011, the original in English, which later was translated into Lithuanian). Thanks to the relevance of the topic in terms of understanding history, the book "Between Shades of Gray" became a worldwide novelty, and the recounted story of the author's grandmother's exile inspired her attention to this dimension of history, which was under the longlasting blockade inflicted by the 20th-centuries disinformation. In 2018, US cinematographers created the film "Ashes in the Snow" (directed by the American-Lithuanian Marius Markevičius) based on this book. However, it is especially important that Grinkevičiūtė's book opened up the identity of Baltic resistance transcendentalism, which was on watch both in the "vigils" of Soviet-era and in music in minimalism "prayers for the homeland" as in silent defence of Baltic "Mannerheim line" for the freedom of their states.

The return of Archetypes and Selfhood is therefore slow and complicated. It can be argued that the intellectual backbone of literature has been and is still “broken” by the powerful wave of disinformation, which has swept the world, and to which almost every progressive thinker slowly surrenders. However, the nurturers of the Lithuanian literary Selfhood are well aware of its misleading essence, which uses humanitarian motives and a direction, and is impossible to resist. In fact, the only real source for the Selfhood remains the science of history, the documentary revealing the horrible secrets of communist crimes (Katyn, Rainiai), which, nevertheless, now and again become the inspiration and support for contemporary, based on documents literature and films.

Such “ghost” of the 20th century became *Marxism* according to French philosopher J. Derrida (Lechte 2001: 143) and the *eternal charm of terrorism* (Pacepa, Rychlak 2018: 201). Meanwhile, Moscow *nourished* the world with images of the greatness of the Soviet Union, which fascinated many Western intellectuals. German historian Karl Schlögel writes:

“In Moscow, the (fourth) branch of government—the media is a machine for synthesis and homogenisation. <...> At every step, you were assured that the Soviet Union was a “state of nations“ (references to the decades of a culture of different republics) but not an old-fashioned empire or a nationalistic state. <...> Its vast space became visible, the land of magnificent imagery. <...> By the way, the Gulag, the labour camps, which prisoners had built, and so many large objects in Stalin’s epoch (literaly “on the bones of the dead”) left **no trace** on the public maps of those territories. Large areas of officially uninhabited land were in fact filled with prisoners. However, these areas were the “secret areas”, uncharted on any map, **invisible**.

On the outskirts of Moscow, there was the Butovo firing range, the central arena of terror. In 1937-1938, about 21,000 people perished there for 15 months. <...> However, even in the early 1990s (and after 1990), neither the Butovo nor Kommunarka shooting grounds was mentioned” (Schlögel 2013: 525).

However, the 1990s brought back this notion of post-war illegality in Lithuania and its reorientation into a concept of a paradigmatic line.

5. The present and the Baltic narrative of exile: the legacy of the 1990s.

The opening up of spaces of statehood translated the literature function into a significant political one. Dr Gintarė Bernotienė points out that literature without historical perspective lost its cultural values based on national self-awareness (Bernotienė 2017: 52). Now only the factual writing exited the liberated and intellectually hungry society.

Due to documentary and literary influence, “in the post-occupation period, Grinkevičiūtė’s testimony became very important restoring national self-perception, in which the concept of statehood took the central position” (Gutauskas/ Bernotienė 2016: 31, 32).

The painter, poet, writer and a son of a Gulag prisoner who returned from Vorkuta camps, Leonard Gutauskas (*1938) has a special connection with this space. His texts develop Grinkevičiūtė’s factual prose (Grinkevičiūtė 2018) into the *transcendental landscapes* of poetry, creating the Baltic-Lithuanian niches of Selfhood in the Cathedral of Eternity. Here, nationality acquires the inherent Baltic sacrality—the connection with the Supreme space, transcending the boundaries of temporality and existential fragility into different *Baltic providential existentialism*... It is marked by the death’s breath of ice and snow, the howl of the wind, and the immeasurable dimension of already painless destruction, and the lamentation psalm of the dying children of the nation outside of all boundaries of civilisation beyond the iron wall in the second half of the 20th century. Proximity to religious and philosophical contexts becomes the essence of this discourse of literature depths, but it is also the height of the artistic mentality, to which the Baltic Selfhood emerges after touching the darkness (analogy to the C. G. Jung *Self and Shadow*).

Gutauskas transposes Grinkevičiūtė’s text into the present transcendental-interdisciplinary (political-geographical with unnamed legal responsibility) mental field. The literary transformation of icy images restores and liberates a long-blocked wholeness:

“Viešpatie, jeigu norėtum, –
jū upes paverstum į kraują;
jeigu norėtum, – užleistum skėrius
ir rupūžes ant kruvina staltiese

padengto jų puotos stalo;
jeigu norėtum,
jeigu nebūtum toks gailėstingas.

Ar jums teko matyti lavonus ant ledo,
virš jų juodaplunksnių paukščių pulkus?
ar sapnavote plaukus mergaitės,
lyg voratinkliai vėjuos pakibusius
ant spygliuotų vielų?
piktžodžiautojų duslų kriokimą
ar jums teko girdėti?”

(Gutauskas, 2016: 25)

*“Lord, if Thou didst desire –
Thou couldst turn their rivers to blood,
if Thou didst wish, Thou wouldst set locusts
and toads on their bloody tablecloth –
covered banquet table,
if Thou so desired,
if Thou wert not so merciful.*

*Have you ever seen corpses on ice,
black-feathered flocks of birds above them?
have you dreamt the hair of a girl,
like a spider web in the wind,
caught on a barbed-wire fence?
the blasphemers’ dull roar
have you ever heard?”*

(Gutauskas, 2016: 49, translated by Eglė Juodvalkė).

Gutauskas’s visions are the embodiment of the Baltic Selfhood, the high-altitude phase of the archetype of archetypes in Lithuanian literature. Here, this text emerging from the literary canon of Dalia Grinkevičiūtė’s memoirs, which has become a high threshold for floating disinformation of the Soviet history, goes even further up the path of prayer, oaths, mergers with the “other space”, the Jungian dimension, into a new model of the *transcendental landscape* centred on the transformations and contexts of

the Baltic Selfhood. Thus Grinkevičiūtė's testimonies, as well as partisan poetry, evolve into the representation of intellectual, contemporary Lithuanian literature. They are given the meaning by moving the text to a "different space" or to a level of transcendence as if looking at the world from a bird's eye view and through the prism of Christianity. Poetry acquires the style of psalm recitation, sacred symbolism, gestures of influence, which connect it with the eternal spirit of Lithuanian history, its apocalyptic fractures and openings. Although such traits already indicated the fate of Lithuania in the poetry of emigrants in the creative work of the fifth-sixth-seventh decades but in the occupied state their hour came after the bell of freedom rang in the 1990s... With the legalisation of partisan and exile diaries, documentaries (Ignatavičius 2018), cutting off a powerful disinformation machine, the eruption of testimonies of historical truth and "trials" of the self-consciousness, the Baltic Selfhood absorbed the Northern dimension as an exile experience and a spiritual alternative to self-defense—the quiet internal *Mannerheim line*, which the *non-occupied* Lithuanians always possessed. Here, we see the world of ice—the infinite Northern transcendence absorbed by contemporary literature, the psalm lamenting the Christian sacrifice and suffering, God's mercy, and the need for truth and the right to humanism stretching in the silence of *Bloodlands* (Snyder 2010). Leonardas Gutauskas contributes to the topic in *Giesmių Giesmė* (Song of Songs) as well:

"Pabusk, medžiu, mano siela,
pabuskite skambūs žolynai ir pievų varpeliai,
ir stygos nendrynų, pabusk ir paragink mane,
kad pažadinčiau miegančią aušrą.

<...>

Žinojau, jog būsiu iširta,
kaip tiria sidabrą, būsiu
varoma per ugnį, kaip plaukas
būsiu laikoma virš liepsnos
laukiant, kada išnyksiu, bet aš
tik giliau į save susigūžiau,
pasislėpiau savyje – nesurandama,
nepasiekiamo, laisvesnė už laisvę.

Dievui sniegynuos ne žvaigždynus aukojau –
duonos trupinius, nes žinojau,
kad juo surinks angelai ir subers
į ledinę mėnulio skrynelę, užrakins,
o raktelį išmes, kad jo nesurastų
šautuvų durklais raguota piktojo šutvė.”
(Gutauskas 2016: 20-21)

*“Awake, I pray, my soul,
awaken, ringing grasslands with meadows of ladybells,
and chords of reed thickets, bestir yourselves and urge me
to rouse the sleeping dawn.*

<...>

*I knew I would be tested,
as silver is tested, I would be
driven through fire, like a hair
I would be held over flames,
while they waited for me to vanish, but I
only cowered deeper within myself,
I hid inside myself, not to be found,
Unreachable, freer than freedom.*

*In snowfields I offered to God not constellations,
but bread crumbs, because I knew
that angeles would gather and pour them
into an icy coffer of the moon, lock it,
and discard the key, so the evil one’s
bayonet-horned gang would not find it.”*

(Gutauskas 2016: 44-45, translated by Eglė Juodvalkė)

The Lithuanian sense of Selfhood not blocked by the discourse of the Soviet narrative and its legitimate fields (village, social exclusion, Marxist proletariat inclusions, satire on Christian and patriotic values, the emphasised dominance of the Russian world, the human face of the Soviets inspired by winners’ heroism, etc.) purifies in amalgamation with ice, death and the echoes of the inaccessible symbols of Christianity, meanings that nourish Lithuanian literature with the *Mannerheim Line* from their

sources of springs. In the work of the artist and poet L. Gutauskas, it awakens literature to eternity through the “incomprehensible” sense of exile fatalism:

“Tamsoj po ledu, po žeme
gulédama visa žinojau: miršta išminčiai,
pražūva kvailiai ir karaliai;
man tundros pelynas brangesnis
už purpuro Rožę Paryžiaus bažnyčioj;
ne turtais svajoju rytoj išsipirkti,–
tik mirtis nustatys išpirkos dydį.

Mirtis neištars: man reikia aukos,
nes ji niekada negers ožių kraujo,
ji minta papločiais iš dulkių
ir troškulį savo malšina ašarų vynu.

Nuplauki mane,
ir aš būsiu baltesnė už sniegą.”
(Gutauskas 2016:28-29).

*“Lying in the dark under ice, under earth,
I knew everything: wise men die,
fools and kings perish;
the wormwood of the tundra is dearer to me
than the Purple Rose of the Parisian Church;
not with riches do I dream of buying myself out tomorrow,
only death will decide the size of my ransom.*

*Death will not pronounce: I need sacrifice,
for it will never drink goat’s blood.
It subsists on wafers of dust
and slakes its thirst with the wine of tears.*

*Wash me,
and I shall be whiter than snow.”*

(Gutauskas 2016: 52-53, translated by Eglė Juodvalkė).

The motifs of Christianity here undergo an apocalyptic transformation, shifted by ice-death to another dimension, and *locked* in codes of Lithuanian-Baltic identity. They are those new *cyphers of transcendence* (Karl Jaspers), creative phenomena, generalised for the Baltic historical experience to purify the Northern landscapes—stars, snow, ice, blood, sky, teardrop wine, way of the Cross, throne, and the crown. Text acquires the musical totality of these visions and the depths of the eternal frost looking at the present in a different way, marked by the nation and sacredness, but the ghastly face of death accompanied by disinformation appears in crucial way here:

“Piktųjų kalba nei pelai sklaidomi vėjo,
kaip molio indai sudūžta jų širdys,
nuo žaibo smūgių trupa jų žiaunos,
lyg akliai jie rankomis šiaurės viesulus gaudo,
saldžiarūgštis jų melas
ir gerklės – kaip šachtų atviros žiotys.”
(Gutauskas 2016: 12)

*“Voices of evil are chaff scattered by wind,
hearts, like clay pots, shatter, lightning strikes pulverize gills,
blind, they clutch at northern blizzards with hands;
sweet and sour their lies
from the throats, like open jaws of mines.”*
(Gutauskas 2016: 36, translated by Eglė Juodvalkė)

The poetry of the transcendental transformation, a psalm of religious nature from the depths of polar circles, can only be explained as a fruit of an infinite fight with the inhumane, anti-cultural era of Soviet cruelty and absurdity, the rage of barbarism. The mythical resistance of nature and spirit against evil is the result of the unification of the European Christian and Baltic Selfhood, which can only overcome the grip of totalitarianism at the particular time of total stagnation. This catastrophe—collision between Soviet ideology and national archetype is described as a transcendental landscape of *Mannerheim line* of the present cultural consciousness.

Conclusions

It can be stated that after 1990s Lithuanian literature experienced a breakthrough in Selfhood truthfulness, saw its archetypes, the repelled, and hidden in the darkness warriors for righteousness in history, who stood up like trees for the restoration of statehood (which was not typical of prominent Soviet writers). Although it is only three decades later the unimaginable extent of this mental blockade of history and artistic creation becomes clear, identified as disinformation, which could and is able to change the destinies of nations and states, philosophical discourses, and literary canons. So only the creators who have experienced the greatest apocalyptic shocks of life are able to create the signs, which could appropriately name this apocalypse—the *transcendental cyphers of the Bloodlands*. Literature (as well as cinematography, art, music, etc.) is closely linked to experience the documentary: diaries, testimonies, photo images, with an accurate data bank and rational penetration of its layout, and research.

Therefore, the books printed after in the 1990s in Lithuania, which were ideologically banned during the Soviet times, are considered to be a turning point of infinite importance in Lithuanian literature:

Dalia Grinkevičiūtė *Lietuviai prie Laptevų jūros* (Lithuanians by the Laptev Sea) (1987, 2015),

Partisan diaries, letters, poetry: *Sušaudytos dainos* (The Shot Songs) (1990),

Adolfas Ramanauskas-Vanagas *Daugel krito sūnų* (Many Sons Fell Down) (1991, 1999),

Juozas Lukša-Daumantas *Laiškai mylimosioms* (Letters to My Loved Ones), (Chicago 1993, Kaunas 1994),

Bernardas Brazdžionis *Šaukiu aš tautą!* (I Call the Nation!) (1991).

Lithuanian literature has especially deeply absorbed the dimension of exile—the North, the death of ice and cold, and has given it a sacred transcendence.

The central theme of the newly opened space has become the exile of the nation.

As a result, the defensive of survival or the axis of the Selfhood—the Northern Horizontal, the *Mannerheim line* has matured, a concept, which turned from a military to a literary, geopolitical, even musical (Arvo Pärt),

and philosophical metaphor: *horizontal means no end of the history...* These features of artistic discourse are still very vivid, and the world understands them only in terms of deportation and exile. For now, the documentary evidence and facts-based truth after a long history of hybrid war of disinformation in Soviet times, have the highest value in literature and the discourse of world politics. It becomes a highly problematic task to resist disinformation, and it must be based on research, the norms applied to history, criminology, archaeology, justice for war crimes and international jurisdiction such as the regulations of the International Court of Human Rights in Strasbourg, what newly accepted Lithuanian partisans as victims of the Soviet genocide (ECHR, 2019). However, the *other space* of poetry and music, their prophetic *transcendental landscape*, absorbing these experiences, becomes the voice of the Baltic Selfhood in a world of awakening archetypes, inspiring Enlightenment and transcendental soul of the new history.

Literature:

Brazdžionis 1991: Brazdžionis, B. *Šaukiu aš tautą!* (I Call The Nation). Vilnius: Lietuvos rašytojų sąjungos leidykla, 1991.

Bernotienė 2017: Bernotienė, G. Posovietmečio lietuvių literatūros kanonas: istorinių naratyvų kova ir individualizmo žiedai (The Post-Soviet Canon of Lithuanian Literature: The Struggle of Historical Narratives and the Blossoms of Individualism). In *Apokalipsy baltychich swiatów. Perspectives of Baltic Philology III*. Poznan: Wydawnictwo Rys, 2017, p. 51-58.

Daujotytė 2015: Daujotytė, V. “*Kelyje į literatūros lobyną*” (On The Road to Lithuanian Treasury). In: Dalia Grinkevičiūtė. *Lietuviai prie Laptevų jūros*. (Lithuanians by Laptev Sea), Vilnius: Lietuvos rašytojų sąjungos leidykla, 2015.

Dubrindis 1990: Dubrindis, V. *Vigilijos*. (Vigils). Kaunas: Varpas, 1990.

ECHR 2019: Judgment on Merits and Just Satisfaction delivered by Chamber, Drėlingas v. Lithuania, no 28859/16, § 2, ECHR 2019. Accessed online, Sept 25, 2019. <https://hudoc.echr.coe.int/eng#%7B%22itemid%22:%22001-191702%22%7D>

Grinkevičiūtė 2018: Grinkevičiūtė, Dalia. *Shadows on the Tundra*. Translated from the Lithuanian by Delija Valiukėnas. London: Peirene Press, 2018.

Gutauskas 2016: Gutauskas, Leonardas. *Veidrodis žiemą. Poema Daliai Grinkevičiūtei* (Mirror in Winter. Poem to Dalia Grinkevičiūtė). Vilnius: Lietuvos nacionalinis muziejus. Laptevų jūros tremtinių brolija “Lapteviečiai”, 2016.

Ignatavičius 2018: Ignatavičius, E. *Nepabūgę laisvės*. (Not Afraid of Freedom). Kaunas: Spaudos praktika, 2018.

Lechte 2001: Lechte, J. *Penkiasdešimt svarbiausių šiuolaikinių mąstytojų: nuo struktūralizmo iki postmodernizmo*. (Fifty Most Important Contemporary Thinkers: from Structuralism to Postmodernism). Vilnius: Charibdė, 2001.

Society of the Chronicle in Lithuania 1992: *Lietuvos Katalikų bažnyčios kronika*. Dešimtas tomas. Pogrindžio leidinys (Chronicle of the Catholic Church in Lithuania. Volume 10). Editor A. Pakalniškis, Jr. The Society of the Chronicle in Lithuania, Inc. Tennessee: Kingsport Press, 1992.

Pacepa, Rychlak 2017: Pacepa, Ion M., and Rychlak Roland J. *Disinformation*. WND Books, 2017 (*Dezinformacija*. Translated by Aušra Stanaitytė-Korsakienė. Vilnius: Briedis, 2018.)

Putinaitė 2019: Putinaitė, N. *Skambantis molis* (Sounding Clay). Vilnius: Lietuvos katalikų mokslo akademija, Naujasis židinys – Aidai, 2019.

Schlögel 2013: Schlögel, K. *Teroras ir svajonė. Maskva, 1937*. (Moscow 1937 / Terror und Traum. Moskau 1937). München, 2008. Translated by Valdemaras Kvietkauskas. Vilnius: Tyto Alba, 2013.

Snyder 2010: Snyder, T. *Bloodlands. Europe between Hitler and Stalin*. New York: Basic Books, 2010.

Valiušaitis 2013: Valiušaitis, V. *Gyvuosius apraudu, mirusių šaukiuos: politikos skliaute – velnio arija*. (I Mourn The Living, I Call The Dead: Devil's Aria in the Vault of Politics), Vilnius: Žara, 2013.

Venclova 2018: Venclova, T. Afterword. In: Dalia Grinkevičiūtė. *Shadows on the Tundra*. Translated to English by Delija Valiukėnas. London: Peirene, 2018, p. 201-203.

Inga Milorava

Georgia, Tbilisi

Shota Rustaveli Institute of Georgian Literature

Return to Sokhumi's Sensory Field (Guram Odisharia, "Return to Sokhumi")

A lot of tragic events occurred in Georgia in the 90s. One of the most tragic was the Abkhaz war.. Various works were dedicated to the war in Abkhazia, including Guram Odisharia's "Return to Sokhumi". His vision