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The Epoch that Did Not Happen. The Poem of the Perished and Its Relationship to History

It is difficult to exclude the expression of socialist realism in Lithuanian literature because of a deep *coup d'état* of intellectual values caused after the Soviets occupied Lithuania in 1940, in a System collapsing and masking political facts. Then, a year later, when the German occupation started, all the horrors of the Soviet occupation revealed their reality, the grip of censorship fell, and a *call to the nation* began... At that time, Vincas Mykolaitis-Putinas (1893-1967) created a poem which would become a great historical exception from the poetry of the Soviet era, which, after the return of the Red Army in 1944 “folded its wings” against propaganda and censorship legitimising the occupation, and against the introduction of the dogma of socialist realism in literature. The fate of Putinas’ poem became exceptional, breaking destinies by circulating in the underground and remaining anonymous, as the author could not name himself for the sake of survival in literature, spreading from the partisans’ movement to the American Lithuanian press. It is worth taking note of three factors: a) the relevance of the courage of the poem’s insights, which are constantly reborn at the non-end of the story; b) the controversy of the relationship between the poem and the author in the era of “socialist realism” and the uncertainty of that era, which penetrated even the life of a famous writer, fearing the openness of historical truth, c) significance of the creation date of the poem “Vivos plango. Mortuos voco” (1943), its spontaneous spread, concealment of authorship and the circumstances of its returned relevance in the present, which speak of its phenomenon, overshadowing the ineffectiveness of the “socialist realism” introduced by the Soviets in the context of Lithuanian literature.

Keywords: poetry, Putinas, a call to the nation, Vivos plango, Mortuos voco, occupation era, realism

The epoch of socialist realism has never come to Lithuania. In its place, nihilistic horror, war, Soviet and Nazi occupations began. With the return of the Soviets, realism became a warped time that became increasingly difficult to decode. The Overturning of the World is an accurate code of that era with its definitive history. The beginning of a new epoch in Lithuania exposed the tragedy of the occupation, which showed the essence of distorted concepts in its transformations. The realism of war and occupation slashed the romantic idealism of poetry: The obvious Antichrist, the mass-murder of the of nations – the occupant, the monster of anti-civilisation, the leader of the overturned world was named. It is how Lithuania colludes with the red apocalyptic Bolsheviks – Russia, the Western casuistry of stepping back from red lines and the final return to repentance. One poem in Lithuania best illustrates the turning of the world, before which even the author stumbles. In poetry, this era of occupations and the darkness of Sovietism in the 1940s comes as a plainsong with its culminating expression. It is so important to mention that poetry slips out of self-censorship into its highest breakthrough of Shakespearean tragedy, shaking the images of the occupants’ lies with the voice of truth. It is achieved with just one example – an exceptionally majestic phoenix bursting out of the lyric into the space of tragedy – a poem worthy of special researchers’ attention due to its

dominant overshadowing of propaganda – the call of the fate of Lithuania – responding to the essence of the occupation. It is the poem “*Vivos plango, mortuos voco*” (1943-1944) by the writer and poet Vincas Mykolaitis-Putinas (1893-1967) (pen name Putinas means *Viburnum*).

When Nazi Germany in 1941 entered Lithuanian land, the first Soviet occupation left Lithuania with the retreating front, leaving behind its terrible and shocking images of the Lithuanian *Buchas* (Rainiai, Pravieniškės, Panevėžys, Kaunas, etc.). Then, the poet was free to reflect on the apocalyptic intersection of worlds. The poem very well reflected the general turmoil and the desecration of values brought by the Soviets with anti-humanist bacchanalia, KGB basements, torture, murders, and the collapse of state structures when Lithuania became the *Bloodland* from a typical European state (Snyder, 2007, Amazon.com). The poet very precisely reflected this upheaval in perhaps the only poem of that time that later changed destinies.

Legally, for the first time, the poem saw the daylight in America in the magazine “*Echoes*” in 1967 (Brooklyn, No. 7), and a year later, it was included in Putinas’ book “*Vivos Plango. Mortuos voco*”, published in Chicago (1968). From the very beginning, it was shrouded in controversy over its authorship. Although Irena Kostkevičiūtė, a literary researcher of the writer’s legacy, claimed that Putinas never hid his authorship, although it seems to be otherwise... This intriguing story of non-admittance of the poem’s authorship forces us to look at the ambiguity of *Soviet realism*, that of crushed and poisoned reality. How could the word be stronger than the author himself and not depend on the ideology rules, and how far or close was realism from socialist realism, separated from the truth in the bloody lands of war?

1. An outcry. Putinas could open up his thinking here without fear of censorship, says his close friend and researcher Kostkevičiūtė (Kostkevičiūtė 1991:116), pinpointing the date of the poem to be 1943–1944. It was the time of the German occupation... However, in 1941, after the speedy leave of the Soviets and the arrival of Germans, the dark soil revealed the terrible traces of the occupants’ deeds, and specifically Russian war crimes demonism: Rainiai, Pravieniškės, Panevėžys... The Germans dug them up, exhibited them, photographed them, described them... similar to how they did in Katyn... The breathtaking images left no doubt about the anti-civilisational state committing war crimes... Later it was suppressed, transformed, blocked, and all doing was shifted onto the Nazis, following Katyn’s example. But during the war in Lithuania, this *Bucha-type* censorship did not work then... So, Putinas’ poem resonated in this situation, which left no doubt about the gross antihuman red delirium context. Therefore, its ban and secret transcripts that spread in the post-war Soviet era were self-evident and fatally dangerous... Why was it necessary to hide his authorship, to be worthy of prison and exile? Even in the 1970s, why was this famous academic author inclined to deny it, willing not to damage his high recognition and publishing career? It seems self-evident: it is the reality of socialist realism, masking creative life with all overshadowing conformism...

And the poem itself has risen far above the networks of the conscience of socialism. It lives a separate life, leaving the author and interpreters in the “socialist realism” to clear their Self ... Its essence is the outcry of the epoch. It could only be the response of great poets to the occupation – to cry out to history. It was created practically on the move. Bernardas Brazdžionis wrote about already being in America in 1942¹:

*“I call the nation abused by KGB
And tossed around like fallen autumn leaves...”*

(Brazdžionis, 1991, p. 5)

*“Šaukiu aš tautą, GPU užguitą
Ir blaškoma į rudenio lapus...”*

¹ All poetry translations are only intended to reveal the historical meaning of the poem. They are not officially published translations and not applicable to the value of the poetry itself.

In 1943, Putinas' outcry sounded similar:

*“Through chasms and mountains
You walk like giants!
You dive deep down the seas,
And rising to the skies,
You spit with fire,
You vomit sulphur,
And there is no God on earth for you
<...>
A spirit filled with vengeance
And the mark of Cain on foreheads,
And the same macabre fate—
To suffer from deceit and lies,
And perish, cursing azureous sky,
Vivos plango.
<...>
You ascend to thrones.
And trample altars,
The laws collapsed because of you
And kings land in the dust,
And in tribunals, proudly
The murderers condemned righteous.
<...>
And the tyrants rejoice,
And a gang of executioners.
And the earth is already glowing red
In blood and in the fire.
And a crowd of slaves and harlots
celebrate the end of the harvest
In the darkness of the midnight tango.
Vivos plango
And we, and we, who suffer,
These colourless grey millions!
<...>
The fallen!
And from dewy cellars
(And we, we will be there)
Through the night—black and withered,
Someone screams, losing his own mind.
<...>
In the abyss of pain, so sorrowful,
Life disappears like a drop
Behind the window with the iron bars.
Vivos plango”*

(Mykolaitis-Putinas, 1969, p. 212-214)

*“Per bedugnes ir kalnus
Jūs žengiat kaip gigantai!
Išnardote marias,
Ir kylant į padanges,
Ir spjaudotės ugnim,
Ir vemiate siera,
Ir dievo žemėj jums nėra
<...>
Kerštu patvinusi dvasia
Ir Kaino ženklas kaktose,
Ir ta pati klaiki dalia –
Kentėt apgaulėj ir mele,
Ir žūti, keikiant žydrą dangų,
Vivos plango.
<...>
Jūs žengiate į sostus
Ir minate altorius,
Nuo jūs įstatymų sugriuvo
Ir nuodėmės, ir doros
Ir tribunoluos išdidžiai
Teisiuosius smerkia žmogžudžiai.
<...>
Ir džiūgauja tironai,
Ir budelių gauja.
O žemė žėri jau raudonai
Kraujuos ir ugnyje.
Ir švenčia pjūtį pabaigtuvių
Minia vergų ir paleistuvių
Naktovidžio naktiniam tango.
Vivos plango
Ir mes, ir mes, kur kenčiame,
Pilkieji milijonai!
<...>
Sukniubė!
O iš rasotų rūsių
(Ir mes, ir mes ten būsim)
Per naktį juodą, nykią
Pablūdęs kažkas klykia.
<...>
Bedugnėj skausmo sielvartingo
Gyvenimas kaip lašas dingo
Už geležim apkalto lango.
Vivos plango”*

The poem has clear signs of a red apocalypse. As an example of a different response to this epoch, we remember the poet Salomėja Nėris (1904–1945), who smelted her fate in this glorification of the reds:

*“We will stop when in red blossoms
The whole earth will brightly bloom!
Let the nations sing one hymn,
All nations from all their hearts!”*

(“The Path of Bolshevik”, 1940. A poem dedicated to greeting the Soviet occupation. Nėris, 1957, p. 457)

*“Apsistosim, kai raudonu žiedu
Visa žemė skaisčiai pražydės!
Tegu tautos vieną himną gieda,
Visos tautos iš visos širdies!”*

In Putinas’ poem, the red glow of the earth already has a different meaning... Here, the poet and history meet each other in all the depths of spiritual suffering, realisation of truth, and outcry for justice. The poet shows the world’s upheaval by changing the song’s words. Instead of “I mourn the dead. I call the living” (“Mirusius apverkiu. Gyvuosius šaukiu”), he says “Vivos plango. Mortuos voco” – “I mourn the living. I call the dead!” (“Gyvuosiu apverkiu. Mirusius šaukiu!”). The poem is divided into two parts. Part one enunciates the plainsong for the living because life becomes suffering, hell, sorrow, and destruction (“In the abyss of pain, so sorrowful / Life disappears like a drop / Behind the window with the iron bars / Vivos plango. [Bedugnė] skausmo sielvartingo/ Gyvenimas kaip lašas dingo? Už geležim apkalto lango – *Vivos plango.*]) (Mykolaitis-Putinas, 1989, p. 214). Here is a clear association with the darkness of the totalitarian regime of Soviet Russia, the boundless sufferings of slavery, deaths, exiles, and the destruction of identity. The poet condemns the existence of the living in the milling jaws of tyranny. His voice of protest cuts in here with words: **slavery, fallen millions, tyrants, a gang of executioners, the mark of Cain on your foreheads, there is for you no God on earth, you sprout as an immortal seed... In the stench of lies and snares. Vivos plango!** Limitless *en masse* is emphasised in the image of the plague. The lines “**And in tribunals, proudly / The murderers condemn righteous**” exactly show the horror of Stalin’s lawlessness. The word, *Lies* is repeated very often: “**Only evil lie and deception... Unnecessary and empty / The suffering of the despised man...**” (“Vien piktas melas ir apgaulė... Nereikalinga ir tuščia / Žmogaus paniekinta kančia...”). This emphasis *en masse* is associated with the image of the *Red Plague* (The Red Flood), the Red Apocalypse, which permeated the Lithuanian literature of the upheaval epoch (Ignas Šeinius. *Red Flood*. New York, Talka. Patria Press, 1953). Although the apocalyptic assessment of the world could be partially attributed to Nazism, in some of its associations, it is clearly linked to Sovietism and its creation – global propaganda of socialist realism. Therefore, the spirit of the curse of that era, which has in some way returned in modern times, has its new lexicon and rhetoric, rejecting any shoots of Soviet socialist realism or its fruits as unworthy of the attention of great literature and literary studies. At that time, it accurately expressed the relationship of the Lithuanian elite with reality, the destruction of the state and the aesthetic status of its crushed meanings. *Vivos plango!*

2. Walking into silence

Further, in the second part of the poem, the poet seems to prophesy the state of mind of the Lithuanian writer—*going into silence*. Three decades later, it will become a music paradigm in the name of the eras of Baltic minimalism. *Walking into silence* is the second phase of inverted time (Soviet times) when singing has been abandoned, and praying has begun, even if only metaphorically, a *medieval hymn* begins... Putinas writes:

*“I’m going now into the great silence,
Into the silence blessed and grand,
Where, in the shroud of black, soft canvas,
The night holds all thy sorrows.
I’m going to freedom, big and wide,
Who will receive me as a welcome guest.
Through the grey mists of dusk
I’m going to my brothers and friends.
But in the silence, the bells will still ring in towers*

*“Dabar einu į didžią tylumą,
Į tylumą palaimintą ir didžią,
Kur į calūno juodą, minkštą drobę
Naktis visų mūsų sielvartus suglobia.
Einu į laisvę, didelę ir plačią,
Kuri priims mane kaip laukimą svečią.
Pro pilkus sutemų rūkus
Einu pas brolius ir draugus.
Bet tyloje varpai dar bokštuos gaudžia*

*And the western glow still burns
And again, the pain grips my chest,
And there's still bitterness and fever in the heart.
Not everything has perished in the dark,
The heart suffused with warmth of blood
And did not learn how to obey oppression:
Mortuos voco!"*
(V. Mykolaitis-Putinas, 1969, p. 215)

*Ir dega vakarų žara. –
Ir vėl krūtinėj gėla maudžia,
Širdy pagieža ir aitra.
Ne viskas sutemose žuvo,
Šiltu krauju širdis pasruvo
Ir prievartai paklusti neišmoko:
Mortuos voco!"*

In this second part of the poem, the red catastrophe reveals itself in the condemnation of socialism, the path of the profound paradigm of the deep state's resistance to the long occupation. Such active words mark it as: "...I'm going into the great silence, ... I'm going to freedom, big and wide, ... I'm going to my brothers and friends, ... Not everything has perished in the dark, ... the heart ... did not learn how to obey oppression". It speaks of a long perspective of resistance, the joint fight of forest brothers and friends against oppression. It indicates the image of the endurance of the Soviet system, especially its enormity and the massive blackout... "But in that silence, the bells will still ring in towers" like God's cry against impiety. The Soviet crime of destroying the nation continues to unfold:

*"I'm calling you all from the graveyards,
And roadside pits and ditches...!"*
(V. Mykolaitis-Putinas 1969, p. 215)

*"Šaukiu aš jus visus iš kapinynų,
Ir pakelės duobių ir griovių..."*

This way, the partisans, the "forest brothers" bodies, were thrown and left.

*"Arise, the ghastly millions of skeletons,
The Honourable Regiments and Legions –
And those who found their deaths
From cold and hunger in the blizzard's symphony..."*

*"Pakilkit griaučių šiurpūs milijonai,
Garbingieji pulkai ir legionai –
Ir tie, kurie nuo šalčio, ir nuo bado
Pūgų simfonijoje mirtį rado..."*

They were the victims of deportations.

*"And those who died for free thought
Decaying after torture."*
(V. Mykolaitis-Putinas 1969, p. 215)

*Ir tie, kurie už laisvą mintį
Dūlėja nukankinti"*

These were political prisoners, clergy, partisan leaders, and statesmen.

*"Arise, the desecrated ones,
Disfigured, mutilated,
With moans and screams,
With prayers and curses,
With a drunken gang of executioners,
Which, in the lamplight,
Kicked and danced on your grave.
Mortuos voco!"*
(V. Mykolaitis-Putinas 1969, p. 216)

*"Pakilkite, išniekinti,
Subiauroti, apluošinti,
Su aimanomis ir klyksmais,
Su maldomis ir su keiksmiais,
Su budelių girta gauja,
Kuri žibintų žaroje
Ant jūsų kapo spardėsi ir šoko.
Mortuos voco!"*

Such beastly rampage is known only to the Soviets, the ungodly descendants of the Bolsheviks, mocking the dead, the dumping of desecrated partisans' bodies in town squares in post-war Lithuania is well

remembered by everyone. This act of hell, of devil deeds, characteristic of the barbarism of the Russian army, has been glossed over by history, but in Putinas' poem, its true image emerges, although not directly named. Later, everybody remained silent. So, no one doubts why this poem was strictly forbidden for over 20 years, and its copies passed from hand to hand... Such "socialist realism" flourished in Lithuanian self-consciousness, covered with layers of Stalinist propaganda... In this context, a chasm opens between what should have been called the dogma of "socialist realism" but instead became a catastrophism. And later, this already authentic style of post-war Lithuanian literature appeared not in Lithuania but in the Free World, in the emigration to America. The self-awareness of Lithuanian literature moved there with its codes, archetypes and the paradigm of the free world: the mourning of free Lithuania, prayer and the call of the nation. Perhaps the only thing in Lithuania that responded to this was this banned Putinas' poem, testifying to the undercurrents of the history of "socialist realism", secretly published underground.

Here, the motif of silence, night, all-encompassing darkness, and condemnation is repeated again and again.

*"As no one guesses meaning,
Of the suffering neither end of it nor its beginning,
And the secret will protect all that,
Like this horrific, silent night.
And the living will go through that dreadful mode of life
With the eternal pain so deep inside."
(V. Mykolaitis-Putinas, 1969, p. 216)*

*"Kaip niekas neįspės kančios,
Prasmės nei galo, nei pradžios,
Ir viską saugos paslaptis,
Kaip ta šturpi, tyli naktis.
Ir eis gyvieji per tą buitį klaikią
Su gėla amžina, gilia."*

<...>
*"I won't come back to the sunny day
From this black night.
Maybe at the roadside through the witch grass turf
Someone will stretch his hand out
And say: let's go together into the deep,
To the great and holy silence,
Where your face has no more tears or laughter.
Mortuos voco!"
(V. Mykolaitis-Putinas, 1969, p. 216)*

<...>
*"Negrįšiu jau nė aš į saulės dieną
Iš tos juodos nakties.
Tik pakeleį pro varpučio velėną
Gal ranką kas išties
Ir tars: eime drauge į gilumą,
Į didžią, šventą tylumą,
Kur ašarų nebėr nė veide juoko.
Mortuos voco!"*

<...>
*"And I'm going into silence.
To the blessed and great silence...
I walk across a high and narrow bridge
Into a fragrant and warm night <...>
The night is good; the night is like a mother, <...>
And then she says: stay here, son,
I know your sorrow.
And I shall stay."
(V. Mykolaitis-Putinas, 1969, pp. 216, 217)*

<...>
*"Ir aš einu į tylumą,
Į tylumą palaimintą ir didžią...
Einu per aukštą, siaurą tiltą
Į naktį kvepiančią ir šiltą <...>
Naktis gera, naktis kaip motina <...>
Ir sako ji: lik čia sūnau,
Aš tavo sielvartą žinau.
Ir aš lieku."*

The paradigm of darkness, silence, and depth, which comforts, and the finality, permanence, and inevitable fatal finale of suffering in this poem speak of the actual situation of Soviet occupation and the Twilight into which Lithuania will plunge. The metaphor of Russia as darkness, of vanishing life and loss of human enlightenment, is deeply ingrained in the reflections of the present history, exploring the distant past as well. Here is an allusion to Valdas Rakutis' monograph about the historical depth of the Lithuanian-Polish state before the division of Rzeczpospolita, symbolically titled "Before the Darkness" (*Prieš panyrant į*

tamsą, Rakutis, 2022). This paradigm, then revealed in Putinas' poem, was an echo of a bold breakthrough and a censorship-free era in literature, which coincided with the turning points in history brought in by the Second World War and after... Someone had to respond to what happened in literature as well...

3. The story of the renunciation of the poem. Long-lasting self-censorship

At the dawn of the return of Lithuania's Independence, in January 1991, the literary magazine "The Year" published an article "The Phenomenon of Resistance in Putinas' Lyrics" by Irena Kostkevičiūtė, a well-known literary scholar and researcher of Putinas' works, highlighting the importance of the sign to resist two occupations. She points out that this poem, with a unique fate, had been rewritten and handed over many times and became a real phenomenon of resistance because only reading this poem could impose ten years of imprisonment. In 1947, Dangerutis Čebelis, a student expelled from Vilnius University because of his anti-soviet stand, a teacher at the Kaunas Gymnasium at that time, was arrested for the possession of this poem, interrogated and claimed its authorship in order not to betray his professor, and was sentenced to 5 years in prison.

Recognition of authorship of the poem "*Vivos plango, mortuos voco!*" for a long time remained a no-trespassing limit for its actual author, Vincas Mykolaitis-Putinas, a writer who was fully supported by the Soviet authorities, who was awarded an honorary title and became an academician of Academy of Science of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, a professor of Vilnius University in 1957, and Laureate of the LSSR State Prize. In 1959, the publication of the first volume of his writings began. According to Palmira Čebelienė, the wife of the aforementioned former student, gymnasium teacher (and later university professor), the governing organs of the communist party wanted such a prominent figure of Lithuanian literature like Vincas Mykolaitis-Putinas to appear in unison with "the people who create socialism" (Čebelienė, 1991, p. 190-191). Meanwhile, the poem relentlessly told a different story... The real name of the author of "*Vivos plango, mortuos voco!*" was known to everyone, including the security agents. Literature critics like Irena Kostkevičiūtė (*Metai*, 1991, No. 1) and Elena Vajėgienė (*Šiaurės Atėnai*, 13.11.1991) wrote about this.

So, after 19 years, in 1966, Dangerutis Čebelis started seeking rehabilitation so that his family and son could pursue a fulfilling life and career in Soviet Lithuania at that time. In this pursuit, the lawyer Simonas Alperavičius helped him, confirming that nothing was incriminating in the poem, and professor Vanda Zaborskaitė acted as an intermediary between Čebelis and Putinas, who had to confirm his authorship. As Čebelienė writes, Čebelis finally made up his mind and talked to Putinas, who, after listening to him, "told him to come back in a couple of days as he could not make a decision right away. He told Čebelis, who visited him for the second time: 'Why do you need this rehabilitation? After all, you have all so well. You will be rehabilitated, and I will not be published anymore...!', so he refused to testify to his authorship" (Čebelienė, 1991, p. 191).

The poem becomes a symbol rising above Soviet realism, highlighting the establishment of red lines and self-censorship, even the inner captivity of the most prominent literary figures, and the shackled "enslaved mind", which, according to Nobelist Czeslaw Milosz (1911-2004) tends to retreat even in relation to the *rehabilitation* of their own work.

The profound anti-Sovietism of the poem no longer requires a reverse political rehabilitation. Due to Čebelis' unsuccessful efforts, after the intervention of the Supreme Court staff in 1966, Putinas eventually wrote a statement acknowledging his authorship. Then, the poem was included in volume 10 of his writings so that Lithuanian society could read and comprehend. Even today, it is a work of exceptional value – a work of political, philosophical, and historical truth, the turning point of epochs, outcries of open catastrophism, which any socialist realism has ever seen. It could not even exist in Lithuania because it was impossible to rule and control the flow of spiritual resistance to Sovietism. "*Vivos plango, mortuos voco!*" is the testimony of this current that carries everything away in its waves.

Conclusions

Vincas Mykolaitis-Putinas' poem "*Vivos plango. Mortuos voco!*" shows the true face of Lithuanian literature during the period of occupation. The use of expressiveness speaks of the controversial nature of the Soviet era and the instrument of its ideology-socialist realism, rejected by the Lithuanian society, and the attitude towards the lack of confirmation of socialist realism in relation to Lithuanian mentality and self-awareness. This epoch starts with a deep impulse named "call of the nation." Putinas' poem turns out to be crushing not only with its content but also with its story about the conformism of intellectual self-censorship.

Primarily, the poem liberates means by using the principle of overturning. Words change places and the language opens up like a sinkhole beyond which there is the depth of horror. Instead of socialist realism, the relationship with brutal occupation realism is born "with the mark of Cain on the forehead".

Another aspect of the condemnation of complete governance is the lack of humanity: "Life disappears like a drop..." There is no value in life, nurturing, faith, or security. And in this case, creativity is "going into silence".

It can be argued that instead of socialist realism, catastrophism gains the ground. And its denial leads to the *nothingness* of literature. Literature written after the war, under the sign of socialist realism, lost its value long ago. After decades, it is remembered only as the illustration of the paradoxes of the absurd of history and the sarcasm of modernism to unfold its horrors and naïve writers (Ivaškevičius, 2012).

The Repentance. Putinas' poem is notable for its history of non-recognition of authorship, which shows the special impact of the destruction of Sovietism on the writers' mentality. The great personalities can be damaged as well. They partially lose their moral authority; the status of their historical role is devalued.

The Rehabilitations. However, the work remains. It establishes itself. It reveals authorship. It continues to defend its author. In the eternal search for historical alibis, creativity wins, the value of which is indisputable. The poem calls history itself for rehabilitation as the only witness to the truth. Such is the literary-political destiny of Putinas' poem "*Vivos plango. Mortuos voco!*" that broke the horror of "red lines" tearing up the *bloodland* map of winning Soviet legions.

History context and contemporarity. Literary scholar Virginijus Gasiliūnas notices that the poem has started to spread its wings: "Little by little, the value of "*Vivos plango, mortuos voco*" increases. It is a work for which the people who claimed authorship had to travel to the camps". <...> Irena Kostkevičiūtė writes that the text was first published in 1964 in America. That is not exactly true as, in 1947, the Anykščiai partisans published its first part (without specifying who the author was) in the Algimantas district publication "You will not win, the son of the north..." ["Neįveiksi, sūnau šiaurės..."], named after Antanas Baranauskas (1836-1902), who in the 19 century was named as Russia's enemy]. It was also included in the three-volume anthology "Walking on the Path of Struggle" ["Kovos keliu žengiant"] of 1948-1949, published by the partisans and in its reprint in 1950. In 1951, as a response to Putinas' work, the poem by partisan Algirdas Bitvinskis, "We are not dead, we are not dead!" ["Mes nemirę, mes nemirę!"] was published in "Laisvės varpas" [Freedom Bell]. We can talk about "*Vivos plango, mortuos voco*" not only as an aesthetic treasure but also as a work with its own political history, closely related to resistance" (Gasiliūnas. *Colloquia*, 2023:122). The literary expert notes that the collection of Putinas' anti-Soviet poems "Wrathful Days" ["Rūsčios dienos"] written in 1941-1944 has not yet been published separately. It also speaks for one thing – the deep stratum of that era, which was ignored by the Soviet era and his breakthrough in literature. The desire and belief in freedom was a strong impetus for literature transformation and deep state history, which took shape as a Lithuanian Baltic phenomenon called *waiting for liberation* (Laukaitytė, 2022). People, for real, waited for WWII to start when America would liberate Baltic states, including Lithuania. It was not an unreal *non-realism*, but idealism and the completeness of resilience, not socialist, but of national identities.

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