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Return of Memory: The Conception of Lithuanian *tremtis* and Latvian *trimda* during the National Revival of the Late 20th Century

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Latvian and Lithuanian National Revival (or *Awakening*) of the late 20th century can be defined not only as a time of restoration of independence but also as a time of recovering memory. This article explores one of the main traumatic moments for the Baltic nations in the 20th century – deportations and other kinds of displacement. It was prepared based on a fragment of the dissertation thesis “Collective Memory in the Lithuanian and Latvian Literary Press during the National Revival of Late 20th Century” (defended in 2020). The article mainly relies on texts published by the Lithuanian and Latvian Writers' Unions: the weekly *Literatūra ir menas* (*Literature and Art*) and the monthlies *Pergalė*, since 1991 *Metai* (*Victory*, since 1991 *The Year*) and their almost analogous Latvian counterparts *Literatūra un Māksla*, *Karogs* (*Flag*) and *Avots* (*Spring*). The first part of the text discusses the problems of Lithuanian and Latvian concepts of deportations and émigré, and terms Lith. *tremtis*, Latv. *trimda*. The second part provides a concise overview of reflections on Lithuanian deportations and Latvian émigré, political emigration. The article ends with conclusions about the main differences and similarities between those displacement experiences.

The context of the National Revival of the late 20th century

The 30th anniversary of the restoration of the Baltic states' independence in 2020 brings back dynamic, memorable events of the National Revival of the late 20th century. The breakthrough and a multifaceted process of change and transition occurring in the years 1988–1991 were variously called: the singing revolution (Šmidchens 2014), the year of possibilities (Kašauskas 1988), the situation of becoming (Vabuolas 1988), the pathological liminal state (Andrijauskas 1988), national, spiritual awakening (Brancis 1988), the process of breaking stereotypes, superstitions, and taboos (manifest of *Šiaurės Atėnai*, 1990), time of ideals and worries (Lūdēns 1988), the period of freedom and ideas (Rožkalne 1990), the state of birth, resurrection, and return (Maziliauskaitė 1990), and others. It is necessary to talk about the restorative nature of nationalism, *connections* with the context of the beginning of the 20th century, or even earlier analogies when (re)constructing collective memory and sociocultural identity of the late 20th century. The return of memory worked as one of the main political, national mobilization, and social power tools.

Emphasizing the intensity of reflections of the past, the Revival of the late 20th century can be defined as a reconstructive, restitutorial sociocultural transformation. One of the key tasks that emerged was the filling-in the historical interruptions, the “white spots of history” that were concealed during the Soviet occupation, the search for and repossession of authentic memory. A large number of documentary literature, memoirs, biographies, and historical publications had been published, new organizations and societies of cultural heritage care had been established, a wave of “monument mania” had arisen, monuments had been demolished or rebuilt, and streets had been renamed, amongst many other initiatives. Periodicals were full of memory topics. Lithuanian philosopher Arvydas Šliogeris (1944–2019) named the 1990s a time of returning (Šliogeris 1990). Anita Liepa's documentary novel *Exhumation* (Latv. *Ekshumācija*), published in Latvia in the same year, symbolically conveyed the motive of exhuming the dead as a memory, a recalled memory. It also referred to the reburials as acts of restoring the status of the deceased or disappeared. The famous Lithuanian poet Marcelijus Martinaitis (1936–2013) titled his book of poetic and argumentative essays written during the years 1988–1991 *Papyri from the Graves of the Dead* (Lith. *Papirusai iš mirusiųjų kapų*) and developed a motif of memory, remembrance in poetry. Such expressive titles conveyed the semantics of historical time. Recalling the past, making sense of memory and cultural reconstruction became essential components of self-perception in the modern society of the late 20th century and an effective form of nationalism.

Researching the Revival of the late 20th century, it is worth investigating literary press in more detail, as it distinguished itself by peculiar memorial communication rituals, motives of “returning”, “preservation” or “restoration”. Cultural periodicals had become an intense, influential cultural, social, political force, performing many more functions than before or after the Revival. By 1991, their circulation reached 100,000 copies, and they were in extremely high demand.

During the Revival, the experience of exile and other displacements in the 20th century was a dominant moment of the past and were intensively reflected in the press and public discourse. While exploring them in details, it is useful to compare the Lithuanian and Latvian nations because of their common ethnolinguistic and ethnocultural origin and their close ties during dramatic moments. The parallels of their contexts of the late 20th century more often highlight commonalities, but the differences, revealed in detailed case studies, are also important. Single linguistic parallels can convey both mentioned features. For example, we can compare the terms *exile* and *émigré* (Lith. *tremtis*, *tremtinys*, and Latv. *trimda*, *trimdinieks*), newly actualised during the period – a pair of two semantically related, similarly sounding words with some important differences in their meaning. It is not just a narrowly defined question of terminology. This example of national lexical peculiarities also reveals some general sociocultural and cognitive features of the Balts, encouraging a rethinking of seemingly clear enough phenomena of these nations' migration and identities. This raises some significant questions: can we compare Siberian exile and *émigré*, political emigration? Are there parallels between these experiences? Are there similarities between the paradigms of deportations and *émigré* or commonalities of their reflections? Speaking about manifold dramatic, traumatic experiences of displacement manifested at various levels during the 20th century and crisis states of fragmented identity without clear reference points at that time, these kinds of questions do not seem so unambiguous. Increasing and diversifying processes of migration affect every generation and suggest individual answers in different epochs. Metaphorical, metaphysical, or other interpretive concepts of existential exile also *confirm* this tendency. Therefore, the terms acquire new meanings or nuances, although their original semantic basis remains. The famous book *Strangers to Ourselves*, written by the French linguist, critic, and philosopher of Bulgarian origin, Julia Kristeva, reflecting spiritual exile, inner conflict, and strangeness, also had a big influence on Latvians and Lithuanians's self-definition during the Revival. Not only the memory of deportees and *émigrés* was (re)constructed and brought back to public awareness and the field of culture in the late

20th century, but also memories of Jews, Baltic Germans, and other national minorities of Latvia and Lithuania. The dialogic background discourse of traumatic experiences highlighted their parallels. In some sense, they all were deportees – scattered around the world, with broken connections and ties, fragmentation of identity, various forms of physical, social-cultural, or psychological displacements, and other related losses. Some of them left Latvia or Lithuania and did not have the physical or moral possibility of returning. *Gone, Never to Return* (Lith. *Išėjusiems negrižti*, 1958) or *To No Return* (Latv. *Uz neatgriešanos*, 1973) – as the titles of famous Baltic novels claimed. Those who had to leave their birthplaces and lands, abandon homesteads and move to the cities also faced similar experiences as deportees. There are many ways to define displacement and homelessness from very different perspectives. The question remains open: whether differences or similarities, national or transnational dimensions are more significant in all those dramatic experiences and stories. It suggests several different possibilities of the concepts of exile and émigré and various *types of narratives*, highlighting the outlines of Lithuanian and Latvian memory and all transnational Baltic region.

Lithuanian and Latvian concepts of exile: deportee, émigré, emigrant?

The exile of the Baltic nations is a multidimensional sociocultural phenomenon with a longstanding history that has become an important part of the cultural memory of both nations. Baltic writers have repeatedly been developing the motives of expulsion from the homeland, long wandering and returning home in their literary biographies and poetic texts, starting with the first literary and historical sources, ending with the modern reflections on the experience of the 21st-century emigration. Despite intercultural commonalities and regularities, each ethnic community has an individualised experience of displacement, determined by the dynamic context of a certain epoch and generation, peculiarities of (e)migration processes, and personal biographies. All these factors and sociocultural, political circumstances of the Lithuanian and Latvian nations and mentalities, have determined the differences in the discourses of exile and the variety of the concepts, which reasoned variations on the terms *deportee*, *émigré*, *emigrant* and their synonyms. After regaining independence, new international terms such as *diaspora*, *exile*, and *exodus* were included in the *active vocabulary*. Such a multiplicity of denotations and constantly evolving discussions prove the complexity of this phenomenon and its definition, as well as problems of self-identification, internal and external tensions. The lexicon of the

Lithuanian language expresses them more clearly. Different semantic shades and connotations of meanings are especially noticeable in the Lithuanian verbal forms *ištremti*, *išeiti*, *pabėgti* (to deport, to leave on foot, to escape or run away). Differences are also appreciable in the phrase *Lithuanian or Latvian literature in exile*, and *Lithuanian or Latvian emigration or exile literature*. They refer to different features of the development of migrants and their literary texts, raising some important and complicated questions on their identity. How much do they change in a new environment, and how much do they remain the same? Does the writer become a representative of another national literature and culture? The fact is that all literary works of exiles are formed outside national borders, which sometimes makes the author get outside of all kinds of borders. “Latvians scattered all over the world, and Latvians here in the small sea hollowed land: are they the same or different?” – literary researcher Inese Treimane raised the same essential question, presenting Kristeva's book to *Karogs* readers (Treimane 1993, 170). The differences in these phenomena and concepts disappear in freer interpretations. The borders between them become very limited and variable in broader social contexts. This is also notable in literary reflections.

In Latvian literary and cultural tradition, the polysemous term *exile* (Latv. *trimda*) is entrenched and most often used, primarily referring to a post-war political emigration, departure due to military actions, occupation or coercion. The reason is partly the fact that after the war, the wave of emigration to the West in Latvia was higher than in Lithuania. Therefore, the primacy of this meaning is not self-evident in cultures that have different concepts and traditions of interpretation of exile. For example, Lithuanians do not have a dominant concept and use several synonyms to name the experience of displacement; the term *exile* (Lith. *tremtis*) primarily defines forced deportations. Despite that, there have always been many debates in both countries about the status and terminology of émigrés and deportees. They have already begun in the post-war period, intensified during the Soviet era, and continued after the restoration of independence (Trumpa 1963; Maceina 1977; Stradiņš 1989; Sobeckis 2011; Hinkle 2004; Freimanis 2004; Rubess 2005). Terms used in scientific discourse often differ from the ones migrants name themselves and use in their self-reflections. Mostly the argument of different departure circumstances is highlighted – émigrés and emigrants left their homeland voluntarily, although not always having another choice. Exactly this fact was emphasised by literary critic, publicist Valija Ruņģe, defining exile as a passive process in respect of deportee, unlike self-chosen emigration. According to her, in the beginning, emigrants were refugees, but later they no longer felt like that and instead called themselves

deportees, although they often were perceived as emigrants in the international sources (Ruņģe 1989). However, the boundaries between forced and voluntary departures are not always so clear.

Both émigrés and deportees had a common sense of belonging to a national community and similar experience of losses – left birthplace or homeland, severed social ties, changed the order of life, but the discourse of deportations in the context of emigration was assessed much more controversially. In Lithuania, such identification with deportation was often considered a pathetic expression of self-pity and facade patriotism (Katkus 2010). Those who left Latvia were called voluntary emigrants, expatriates (Supulis 2011). The negative attitude was partly a result of previous soviet propagandists claiming that émigrés are traitors of the homeland.

On the one hand, the preservation of national, cultural identity and mentality was a necessity for the Latvians to remain Latvians while creating their community, the Small Latvia abroad, and lobbying the interests of Latvia. That became a significant contribution to the Revival and the restored State of Latvia. On the other hand, there always were a physical and emotional distance and various kinds of sociocultural, ideological differences between those who had stayed in their homeland and the ones who had left it, which caused tensions: the émigrés were not considered “pure” Latvians. Others often perceived their expressed nationality as a demonstrative pseudo-Latvianism, an element of self-defense, or an “*aureole* of suffering” that allowed them to gain the state’s support, compatriots and helped them to better adapt in a foreign land (Bela 2010). These negatively connoted sociocultural, semantic nuances are also conveyed by the terms “*scattered Latvians*” (Latv. *klaida latvieši*), *Latvians abroad* (Latv. *svešatnes latvieši, ārzemju latvieši*).

In Lithuanian discourses, exile’s primary concept dominates, defining it as deportation, forced displacement from the homeland, although the term is ambiguous. There are also some cases of its freer usage, expansion of meaning. For example, there is a tendency to attribute the poetry of political prisoners to the creation of deportees. Journalist Liudvikas Gadeikis in 1989 in a special newly added thematic section of the Siberian exile in *Pergalė* was also inviting members of the diaspora community and politically repressed people to share their experiences (Gadeikis 1989). Universalised concept of exile was quite common in literary reflections.

Some famous émigré writers of Lithuanian descent tended to associate themselves with Siberian exiles (Lith. *tremtinys*). One of the examples – the poet, an active public figure Bernardas Brazdžionis (1907–2002), spent a big part of his life in America and was welcomed in Lithuania as a herald, prophet

of the nation. Well-known Polish poet Czesław Miłosz (1911–2004) also felt exiled, and his poetic image of Lithuania expressed his inner settlement and fragmentation (Miłosz 1995). Lithuanian sociologist Vytautas Kavolis (1930–1996) was repeatedly speaking about a symbolic exile of his generation members living abroad (Kavolis 1994). The prose writer Antanas Škėma (1910–1961) was more categorical and openly declared: “Let me replace the term *exile* by the word *émigré*. I still believe no one has deported us, we have escaped ourselves.” (Škėma 1994, 430)

Another dominant Lithuanian literary interpretation of exile in the late 1980s was the concept of spiritual, inner emigration, reflected similarly as an experience of Latvian *émigré*. For example, the writer Jurga Ivanauskaitė (1961–2007) emphasised this state in her article “Returning from Exile” in 1988, describing the song of famous postmodernist rock band *Antis (Duck)* inviting to return from exile (Ivanauskaitė 1988). They defined exile as vegetation, slogans about the glorious past and a bright future, the pathological psychological and social states of society, losses, and other negative realities of that time. The image of a poet-stranger or oppositionist intellectual was a typical universalised expression of such a concept of exile, conveying existential feelings of alienation and loneliness. Martinaitis, who had never been in exile, called himself an exile till the end of his life. “Being a poet reminds being in exile. In one’s own home. The deportees maybe have created folklore,” claimed the poet Aidas Marčėnas (Marčėnas 1992, 11). After the restoration of independence, more and more critical assessments of metaphorical interpretations of exile, so-called pseudo-exile and ironic initiatives appeared in a public space. The rebellious group of six male poets named “Strangers” (Lith. *Svetimi*) criticising exaggerated lyricism, romanticised images of poetry and writers was formed in Vilnius in 1991. These are just a few examples showing the ambiguity of the concept of exile. Therefore, the discussions held during the Revival reflected both the personal self-reflection and feelings of the departed and the prevailing political, moral provisions, and sociocultural realities of the time.

Reflections on Lithuanian exile in Siberia

According to the social anthropologist Roberts Kīlis, from all the events of the Balts history, deportations have made perhaps the most significant impact on their national self-awareness (Kīlis 1998). It is important to indicate that Lithuania was distinct from other European countries since it first announced public remembrance of Siberian exiles, not of war victims during the time of Revival, and was promoting the concept of genocide. In Latvia, the culture of remembrance of Siberian exile also had formed during

the time of Revival, but it was reflected more intensively only later. From the beginning, only fragmentary, episodic reflections prevailed in the public space.

In the spring of 1988, the Latvian Writers' Union started compiling a documentary archive of exile and preparing The Book of Remembrance. They were called emotional documents. Presenting them to the readers, Rimantas Ziedonis emphasised the therapeutic moment and invited historians not to be ashamed, not to suppress emotions, by writing about dead children in Siberia and all those who were forcibly deported from their homeland (Ziedonis 1988). The novel *Exhumation* by Anita Liepa was not only a long-awaited, historical literary event but also a political resistance gesture rehabilitating deportees, and the author was called Antigone of Latvian literature (Silenieks 1991).

The majority of deportees texts and their commentaries appeared in the émigré press. For example, the fragments of the well-known novel *On the Bank of the River of Spirits* (*Veļupes krastā*) by Melānija Vanaga were published in the American-Latvian newspaper *Laiks* (*Time*) in 1992. It strengthened the tradition of autobiographic literature of exile. Presenting this work Māris Čaklais called it a very detailed chronicle, the most advanced narrative of memoirs on the path of exiles' pain and suffering (Čaklais 1991).

Even though the image of Latvians as a “nation of poor orphans” became widely known and common in public space, Vitauts Ļūdēns suggested a more polemic notion: “We do not think that we are the only children of pain in the world. The most sensitive souls and the brightest minds of other nations are together with us today” (Ļūdēns 1988). Personal testimonies of Siberian exile were still considered individual memories and (auto) biographies that were still in the periphery of the nation's history during the restoration of independence.

Reflections on exile were much more intense and open in the Lithuanian public space of that time. The memory of exile was intensively reflected in the literary press: special questionnaires, lists of exiled and politically repressed persons were prepared; documents, historian commentaries, journalistic articles, memoirs and autobiographical testimonies, fragments of fiction were published in large circulation; intensive discussions on monuments, memorial places, cultural heritage and commemoration of exile were generated. The society actively included itself in creating this memory, which acted as some memorial and ritual form of (self)-expression. The deportees, their relatives, and writers, literary critics, leading members of the Lithuanian Writers Union, or other public figures who had not suffered any exile participated in these processes and were like memory carriers.

In 1989, the literary critic Viktorija Daujotytė noticed in the magazine *Pergalė*: “From the Eastern European countries, Lithuanians probably have suffered the most horrific tragedy of exile: exiles last for about seven hundred fifty years.” (Daujotytė 1989, 179) The exile Vytenis Rimkus (1930–2020) and many others had spoken about the exile as the existential medium of being of Lithuanians, the epic of life and destiny (Rimkus 1989). Such notions formed an ethnocentric, martyrological evaluation of exile. All Lithuanians were seen as deportees in some way.

The autobiographic memoirs of doctor Dalia Grinkevičiūtė (1927–1987) published in 1988 in *Pergalė* and a journal of young literates *Sietynas* were the first and most notorious exile publication. They were named as the document of the martyrology of the Lithuanian nation and were considered one of the most influential literary texts representing the authenticity of exile. Grinkevičiūtė's memoirs have become a pattern for other reflections and have taken one of the most important places in the collective memory until now. Grinkevičiūtė, same as most part of the deportees, emphasised the role of testimony. She felt committed to conveying her experience, to talk for the dead, immortalise them and at the same time give meaning to the tragic, meaningless events. She wrote: “My duty is to tell about them.” (Grinkevičiūtė 1988) Memory, remembrance were comprehended as moral duty.

The deportee Antanas Kryžanauskas (1908–1992) also defined the writing of exile memoirs as a moral and historical obligation to testify, arising from the feeling of responsibility to remember. Speaking on behalf of the dead and the community of exiles was very important to him: “[..] those, who died in taiga had wanted that the homeland would find out about their suffering and death. I, as the one who remained alive and returned, undertake to describe everything as I can in order to fulfill their testimony.” (Kryžanauskas 1989, 78)

After Grinkevičiūtė's memoirs, many other exile texts of various formats appeared in literary press en masse. They served as a basis for the symbolic chronicle of the sufferings of the nation. The magazine *Pergalė* started a new column *Tremties archyvas* (*The Archive of Exile*). Memoirs were collected, and a series of books were published on their basis. The weekly-newspaper *Literatūra ir menas* published a cycle of poems on the exile theme *Kruvinojo birželio aidai* (*Echoes of the Bloody June*). Literary historian Leonas Gudaitis compiled an anthology called *Benamiai* (*The Homeless*), which included the poems of authors who lived in Inta. Documentary *Ešelonai* (*Echelons*) by Antanina Garmutė, extracts from *Gyvulėlių dainavimas* (*The Singing of Animals*) by Romualdas Granauskas, the fragments from the autobiographic novel *Vilko dantų karoliai* (*A Wolf-Tooth Necklace*) by Leonardas Gutauskas,

the episodes of exile memoirs *Laisvę praradus* (*Having lost the Freedom*) by Juozas Keliuotis, *Lagerio pasakos* (*The Camp Tales*) by Ona Lukauskaitė, *Psalms* (*Psalms*) written by Antanas Miškinis in Mordovian camps in the state “between life and death”, a book of poems *Sulaužyti kryžiai* (*Broken Crosses*) by the same author, and works by other writers were published in the cultural periodicals. A limited size of the article allows indicating only a few significant ones.

During the Revival, writers were massively publishing their autobiographical, poetic texts of the exile. In words of that time, “the forged echoes of memory” and the “iceberg of pain” broke out. In her research, historian Violeta Davoliūtė has called this tendency of generalisation the myth of universal deportation, meaning the notion that all Lithuanians were deportees, deported from their land, language, and culture (Davoliūtė 2012). The motives of suffering had also become a measure of the value of literary creation and were intensively developed. Writer Juozas Aputis (1936–2010) urged his colleagues to give way to the literature and memories of exile, and he did not publish his work for some time. Daujotytė described the poetry of deportees as an anthological, collective, and returning to the original, ontological creative situation (Daujotytė 1989). All testimonies with the help of authoritative literary figures not only established the literary and cultural tradition but also made reflections of deportation move from the peripheral, marginal to a central, dominant position and perform sociocultural functions that consolidated society. Therefore, universalised personal, marginal existential experiences became one of the most important parts of a communal, national narrative.

Although an intensive, elevated culture of remembrance of deportations dominated in the press and public space, reflections were rather soliloquising and homogenous. There also appeared some critical voices emphasising the aspect of misery and desemanticisation. For example, sociologist Artūras Tereškinas, in 1989 discussing the almanac of *Poetry Spring* full of texts about deportations, called the dominance of the theme a fashion (Tereškinas 1989). Similarly, Rimkus named the memory culture of deportation a necrocult, saying, “[.] funerals, hyperbolized necrocult became such a daily routine, such a component of our being that we do not even notice how it prevailed. [.] A massive wave of the transportation of remains from Siberia, often turning into a theatrical action – isn't it an arrow of the same pathway? In this way it is possible to compromise the idea of memory” (Rimkus 1990, 1). Some tend to take it as an illness. “We will not go to the future alone making suffering and revenge our privileges,” the poet Martinaitis generalized (Martinaitis 1990, 6).

Therefore, the reflections of exile in the Lithuanian literary press highlighted the extremely important moments of memory transformation in the late 1980s: individual, autobiographical, archival, suppressed memory became public; universalised, fragmented and polyphonic collective memory was homogenised. The abundance of deportation texts also showed the creative possibilities of cultural memory. The memory of deportees reflected intensively in the public space acquired the features of the long-term cultural memory, shifting from informal to official, from private to public, from local to universal, from national to international. Exile became a heroised, mythologised dimension of the Lithuanian national identity, a consolidating element of the nation and society. Lithuanians were defined not only as a nation of deportees and martyrs who were suffering all the time, but also as silent heroes – overcoming all difficulties and returning to their homeland or dying with the hope to come back.

Reflections on Latvian émigré

During the period of the Revival, the experience of émigré was more intensively reflected than Siberian exile in the Latvian literary press. Migration was interpreted as an inevitability, the historical fate of Latvians. Some explanations claimed that higher powers had determined that Latvians were wandering around the world to return stronger and wiser and live happily after all (Treimane 1993). Such a fatalistic attitude reminded Zionist mythology of exile and return. Even the main mythological hero, cultural, symbolic national figure Lāčplēsis (*The Bear Slayer*) went to Sweden in the novel *Lāčplēsis trimdā un varoņu konference* (*The Bear Slayer in Exile and the Conference of Heroes*) by Dzintars Sodums re-published in *Literatūra un Māksla* in 1990. The ironic view of the author softened the dramatic background of the story and contexts, but quite accurately conveyed the psychological, sociocultural realities of the émigrés.

Émigrés were perceived as an external part of the nation; therefore, they were most actively sharing their displacement experience. At the end of 1990, *Literatūra un Māksla* organised meetings with émigré writers to make co-operation more intensive. The weekly-newspaper started to publish their autobiographies, fragments from letters; columns of the history of literature and criticism appeared. The editor in chief of *Jaunā Gaita* (*The New Course*) and critic Valters Nollendorfs became one of the intermediaries between emigrated Latvians and compatriots in Latvia. He invited to see émigrés as active representatives of Latvian culture, who formed the self-consciousness of Latvian people. He defined his own exile as a constant moving and a feeling of homelessness: “Maybe there is something deeply inside of me related to

exile. When the entire world seems like home, where is the real home? Then it is important to keep moving, not to have a home anywhere so that the real home does not disappear.” (Nollendorfs 1992, 5) Due to such contradictions and duality, the home was not a real physical location but more an abstract spiritual place.

During the year of independence, editors of *Karogs* carried out interviews with the émigrés. The latter defined their experience of exile as a traumatic state of spiritual existence using metaphorical, symbolic images, such as long journey, catastrophe, dark and deep quagmires, the shadows of dramatic past – the controversial states of émigrés, the feelings of liminality, needlessness and alienation dominated in the reflections. As in the case of Lithuanians, spiritual, inner exile was emphasized more than the physical one. Writer Laima Kalniņa defined her inner contradictions emotionally during the moment of departure: “The desire to leave was resisted by a strong wish to stay, to keep hold of the beautiful homeland, a small area of Courland in the region of Venta, where during the fateful days before leaving, once I felt such a strong desire to keep it; it seemed I need to fall face down to the ground, bite deep into the grass, hold it with all my strength and stay, don't give it away.” (Kalniņa 1993, 186)

The experience of émigré was often related to or even identified as various states of foreignness and alienation. The Latvian term of *exile* (Latv. *svešatnes latvieši, latvieši svešumā*) indicates the semantics of stranger (Latv. *svešs*) directly. During the Revival, this motif became the main component of the Latvian literary biographies of exile. The poet Roberts Mūks described his émigré life as an experience of four exiles or alienations: the alienation from himself, from the environment, from relatives and Latvia (Mūks 1993). The literary critic Aija Janelsiņa-Priedīte, remembering Kristeva, discussed self-alienation and its predominance in the exile literature. According to her, “all the exile literature developed the theme of alienation and was memory literature about rational or irrational connections with the motherland and ability or inability to get used to new lands” (Janelsiņa-Priedīte 1993, 171). She defined exile as an incurable trauma.

The experience of exile was also reflected in poetic verses, revealing the interaction between literature and (auto)biographies and showing creative possibilities of interpretation of the dramatic experience. *Avots* published the poetry texts of émigrés and their literary commentaries periodically. The poet Juris Kronbergs conveyed his existential states of alienation felt in Stockholm by including biographic details in the world (re)constructed in his poetry. This motif was especially developed in the collection of poems titled *Trimdas anatomija (The Anatomy of Exile)*. A part of the pieces was published

in the literary press during the time of Revival. For example, in the poems published in *Literatūra un Māksla* in 1990, exile was revealed as a part of the destiny of parents, pre-determined fate to be born in a foreign country and be “damn foreigners”, outcasts. “Exile for us, / The same as the universe, / Was without beginning and end. / The time and space was exile, / The outer space, where our parents / Were pushed in. / An inverted orbit where their lives are. / The anti-world, a foreign planet / In a monolithic Swedish society,” the poet wrote (Kronbergs 1990, 6). The writer, literary critic Zenta Mauriņa, who had a similar experience in Sweden, already during the Soviet times, spoke about the feeling of isolation of compatriots, the lack of human contact, inner loneliness, which she described as the biggest illness of the period (Mauriņa 1991, 37).

There were also some reflections on émigré in the Lithuanian literary press during the Revival, but significantly less. It was aimed to exonerate the departed, to return them to the Lithuanian cultural space by constructing their positive image. Symbolic rituals of returns, similar to the reburial of Siberian deportees, were carried out, both in written and in social, public forms. Such columns supplemented the cultural periodicals as *The return of the departed, On a long journey, Will the departed return?*, introducing émigré authors and their creative works. The new programme of the cultural foundation, which sought to return the cultural and artistic heritage of émigrés to Lithuania, was called *Returning*.

Reconstructing the context of émigré in the literary press often appealed to sentiments of the departed to homeland, patriotism, or traditional Lithuanianness. “For so many years our émigrés, donquixotically suffering from bullying, kept the fire of independent Lithuania, sang peasant songs to children and sadly dancing cut the hay on concrete at the foot of glass skyscrapers,” wrote the writer Saulius Šaltenis in the interview with the historian, academician Saulius Sužiedėlis and the publicist and policy reviewer Kęstutis Girnius (Šaltenis 1992, 3).

The literary and cultural press helped to form the phenomenon of Brazdžionis using poetic rhetoric. The return of the poet to Lithuania in 1989 was called 'extraordinary vision', the 'spring flood' or 'unfolded blossom of the return'. His travel through Lithuania, pathetic encounters with deportees became massive celebrations at the state level, similarly to the return of the Latvian poet Rainis. The Lithuanian poet was greeted with flowers and flags, people were carrying him in their hands, his poems were massively distributed and ritually read in poetry festivals and meetings with crowds of exiles. The verse *I call the nation* (Lith. *Šaukiu aš tautą*) had become the second national hymn.

Constantly repeated and intensively reflected exit-return motives in the press and public space revealed the forms of mythologised thinking. “We still want to wait for the messiah, to believe in the prophet, to trust in the wonder-worker, to live in a mythologized world,” the writer Vytautas Martinkus summarized in 1988 (Martinkus 1988, 3). The myth of eternal return was also recalled in the novel *The Unbearable Lightness of Being* by Milan Kundera, published in *Metai* in 1991. Such expectation conveyed the states of the Revival – a sense of stopped continuous time, uncertain hopes, and illusions of the future.

Therefore, the exile was usually defined as an inevitability, i. e. fate, trauma, illness in the reflections of émigrés published in the Latvian literary press during the Revival. Predominant feelings of alienation highlighted the inner and outer tensions, the fragmentation of identity. They expressed physical experiences of displacement and loss of the Latvian nation and more common feelings of a modernising, fragmented society. In Lithuanians' case, the discourse of émigrés, similarly to Siberian exile, highlighted not existential, spiritual states, individual inner experiences, but was directed more to external elements, cultural, social environment, the relation to the national community. Both aspects of reflected Latvian and Lithuanian émigré experience – the alienation and waiting for the returnees – conveyed the crisis states of the Revival, changing, unstable, fragmented identities.

Conclusions

Reflections on the exile and émigré (Lithuanian *tremtis*, Latvian *trimda*) of the two Baltic nations were among the most important moments of the past actualized in public space during the Revival of the late 20th century. At that time, Siberian exile dominated in the Lithuanian literary press, but in Latvia – émigré, post-war emigration. We can perceive both dramatic displacement experiences, homelessness, and losses as the main commonalities, generating similarities between their narratives. Every time the newly actualised problem of terminology related to them, semantic shifts, liberalising tendencies of interpretation, and use of the terms and the diversity of concepts is clear evidence. The borders between different displacement experiences become very limited and variable in wider social contexts and creative interpretations. However, the texts published in the literary press highlight essential differences in self-reflections of émigrés and deportees and their relation with the national culture and community. Most of them appear at the psychological and social levels, rhetoric, and poetic forms of expression.

The generalised, universalised, ethnocentric conception prevailed in Lithuanian deportations' public discourse, leading to victimhood and martyrological motive of suffering. Deportees, members of the Lithuanian Writers Union, started forming a culture of exile commemoration, which was characterised by the heroisation and poetisation of the exiles' strength, their loss of the homeland, and their return. The memoirs, testimonies of deportees, played a critical role. They felt committed to convey their experience. Individual memories of the exiles were assimilated into the discourse of trauma, silent heroism, and poetics of the exile became a part of the overall myth of the exile. In Latvia, the culture of remembrance of Siberian exile also was formed during the time of Revival, but it was reflected in the press much restrainedly and calmly.

Reflections on émigré were much more intense and individual in the Latvian periodical texts. Émigrés were perceived as an external part of the national community. The texts mostly underlined the multifaceted external and internal foreignness and alienation: foreignness to oneself, to the environment, to the relatives, and Latvia. They also conveyed a general dramatic discourse and existential experiences of the 20th century. In Lithuanian reflections, symbolic rituals of returns, exit-return motives prevailed, revealing the forms of mythologized thinking and a different attitude to the departed. It aimed to exonerate them, return to the national cultural space, and make patriotic traditional Lithuanians.

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Atmiņas atgriešanās: lietuviešu koncepts *tremtis* un latviešu koncepts *trimda* nacionālās atdzimšanas laikā 20. gadsimta beigās

Atslēgvārdi: trimda, deportācijas, latviešu, lietuviešu, prese, Atdzimšana, atmiņa.

Kopsavilkums

Latviešu Atmoda un lietuviešu *Atgimimas* ('Atdzimšana') 20. gadsimta beigās raksturojama ne tikai kā neatkarības atjaunošanas, bet arī kā atmiņas atgūšanas laiks. Šajā rakstā pētīta traumatiska Baltijas valstu 20. gadsimta atmiņu atgūšana, kas saistās ar deportācijām uz Sibīriju un emigrāciju uz Rietumiem. Raksts sagatavots, balstoties 2020. gadā aizstāvētās disertācijas „Kolektīvā atmiņa lietuviešu un latviešu literārajā presē nacionālās atdzimšanas laikā 20. gadsimta beigās” atziņās. Galvenie avoti ir Lietuvas un Latvijas rakstnieku savienības publicētie literatūras, kultūras periodiskie izdevumi: lietuviešu iknedēļas laikrasts *Literatūra ir menas* un ikmēneša žurnāls *Pergalė* (kopš 1991. gada *Metai*) un tiem līdzīgie latviešu izdevumi *Literatūra un Māksla*, *Karogs*, *Avots* u. c.

Rakstam ir četras daļas. Pirmajā daļā apskatīts 20. gadsimta beigu Atmodas/*Atgimimas* konteksts, izceļot tās daudzdimensionalitāti un unikalitāti, un aprakstot atmiņu diskursu, kas veidojies šajā periodā. Tā kā nacionālās atdzimšanas kustība izceļ simboliskas augšāmcelšanās un atgriešanās ideju, tā veicina plašas sociokulturālas transformācijas. Vairāki literāri darbi liecina par atmiņu atgriešanās procesu. Anitas Liepas (dz. 1928) dokumentālajā romānā „Ekshumācija” (1990) simboliskais kapu atvēršanas motīvs iezīmē atmiņu atsaukšanu. Tas sasaucas ar slavenā lietuviešu autora Marcēlija Martinaiša (*Marcelijus Martinaitis*, 1936–2013) poētisko eseju grāmatu „Papirusi no mirušo kapiem” (*Papirusai iš mirusiųjų kapų*). Arī literārajā presē tika izcelti piemiņas un komunikācijas rituāli, atgriešanās, saglabāšanas vai restaurācijas motīvi.

Otrajā raksta daļā atklātas galvenās sociokulturālo un literāro procesu iezīmes, kā arī iekļauti daži literāro apceru piemēri. Šajā daļā aktualizētas un skaidrotas lietuviešu un latviešu deportāciju un emigrācijas koncepciju atšķirības un vienotas terminoloģijas problēmas: lietuviešu jēdziena *tremtis* un latviešu jēdziena *trimda*, terminu *deportētais* un *emigrants* nozīme, kā arī to sinonīmu variācijas. Latviešu literārajā un kultūras tradīcijā ir iesakņojies pieņēmums, ka polisēmiskais termins *trimda* tiek lietots, atsaucoties uz pēckara politisko emigrāciju, dzimtenes pamešanu militāru darbību un okupācijas draudu sakarā. Lietuviešiem nav viena dominējošā jēdziena, un viņi izmanto vairākus jēdzienus, lai apzīmētu pārvietošanās un emigrācijas pieredzi. Termins *tremtis* galvenokārt norāda uz piespiedu pārvietošanu, ar to tiek saprastas staļiniskās deportācijas. Neskatoties uz šīm atšķirīgajām izpratnēm un tradīcijām, abās valstīs vienmēr ir bijušas pārrunas par terminoloģiju, kas skar emigrantu un izsūtīto statusu. Šo parādību un jēdzienu atšķirības izzūd brīvākās interpretācijās. Robežas starp tiem kļūst ļoti ierobežotas un mainīgas plašākos sociālos kontekstos.

Trešajā daļā sniegta pārdoma par lietuviešu trimdu Sibīrijā un tās atspoguļojumu Atdzimšanas laika periodikā. Tiek uzskatīts, ka Lietuvas literārā prese šo pieredzi aktualizēja vairāk. Latvijā atdzimšanas laikā tā joprojām bija perifērijā, saspringtās attiecībās ar latviešu nacionālo sabiedrību, aktualizējās nedaudz vēlāk. Daļas Grinkevičūtes (*Dalia Grinkevičiūtė*, 1927–1987) trimdas atmiņas sāka veidot šīs traģiskās pieredzes piemiņas kultūru: individuālā, autobiogrāfiskā, arhivētā traumatiskā pieredze kļuva par komunikatīvās un vēlāk arī kultūras atmiņas daļu. Literārajā presē tika publicētas detalizētas pārdomas par staļinisma režīma radīto trimdu, sāka veidoties trimdas atceres kultūra. Tai raksturīgs ciešanu martiroloģiskais motīvs, kā arī trimdinieku spēka, dzimtenes zaudēšanas un atgriešanās poetizēšana un heroizēšana. Atsevišķas trimdinieku atmiņas tika asimilētas traumas diskursā, klusā varonība un trimdas poētika kļuva par trimdas mīta daļu. Kolektīvajā atmiņā notika kvalitatīvas izmaiņas. Pārdoma par trimdu no perifērijas pārcēlās uz centrālo, dominējošo pozīciju un ierosināja sociokulturālas funkcijas, kas konsolidēja tautu un sabiedrību.

Ceturtajā daļā tiek sniegta pārdoma par emigrāciju latviešu presē. Tajā galvenokārt tika uzsvērtā ārējā un iekšējā atsvešinātība – pret sevi, apkārtējo vidi, tuviniekiem un Latviju. Šis motīvs kļuva arī par galveno diasporas literatūras sastāvdaļu, aktualizējās nacionālās atdzimšanas laika periodikā. Savukārt lietuviešu refleksijās dominēja aiziešanas/atgriešanās motīvi, simboliski atgriešanās rituāli, atklājot mitoloģizētas domāšanas formas. Raksta nobeigumā tiek īsumā secināts, kādas ir galvenās atšķirības un līdzības dažādajās pārvietošanās pieredzēs.