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The annual scientific conferences at Daugavpils University have been organized since 1958. The themes of research presented at the conferences cover all spheres of life. Due to the facts that the conference was of interdisciplinary character and that its participants were students and outstanding scientists from different countries, the subjects of scientific investigations were very varied – in the domains of natural sciences, health care sciences, humanities and art, and social sciences.

The results of scientific investigations presented during the conference are collected in the collection of scientific articles *Proceedings of the 63rd International Scientific Conference of Daugavpils University*.

Proceedings of the 63rd International Scientific Conference of Daugavpils University are published in three parts: part A. *Natural sciences*; part B. *Social Sciences*; part C. *Humanities*.

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VĒSTURE UN KULTŪRAS VĒSTURE / HISTORY AND HISTORY OF CULTURE

MYTH OF THE 11 HEROIC VALMIERA'S KOMSOMOLETS IN THE HISTORICAL NARRATIVE OF THE LATVIAN SSR (1940/1945-1990)

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Abstract

**The Myth of the 11 heroic Valmiera's komsomolets in the historical narrative of the Latvian SSR
(1940/1945-1990)**

Key Words: communist underground, Komsomol, Valmiera, Latvian SSR, myths

In the Latvian SSR, history was used as a political instrument. Myths were one of its central elements. The article provides an insight into the myth of the 11 heroic komsomolets of Valmiera, focusing on the main characteristics of the myth and the remembrance practices surrounding it. Analyzing the periodicals of the Latvian SSR, several characteristic features in the narrative of the myth can be found – antagonism towards the Republic of Latvia and its law enforcement institutions; all 11 komsomolets were called residents of Valmiera, although only four were natives of the town; their victimhood and unquestionable innocence was continuously stressed. The myth was purposefully maintained and cultivated by renaming various public buildings, streets, etc. in honor of the heroic komsomolets, and new places of remembrance were created, through which society was involved in various public activities with a didactic orientation aimed at forming a common identity and a unified attitude towards history.

Kopsavilkums

Mīts par 11 Valmieras komjauniešiem – varoņiem Latvijas PSR vēstures naratīvā (1940/1945-1990)

Atslēgvārdi: komunistiskā pagrīde, Komjaunatne, Valmiera, Latvijas PSR, mīti

Vēsture Latvijas PSR bija politikas instruments, kur viens no centrālajiem elementiem bija mīts. Rakstā analizēts mīts par 11 Valmieras komjauniešiem – varoņiem, pievēršoties mīta raksturīgākajām iezīmēm un tā piemiņai LPSR. Balstoties uz LPSR periodiku, var konstatēt vairākas raksturīgas iezīmes mīta naratīvā – antagonisms iepretim Latvijai un tās tiesībsargājošajām institūcijām; visi 11 Valmieras komjaunieši tiek saukti par valmieriešiem, lai gan no pilsētas nāca vien četri; izteikta 11 Valmieras komjauniešu upura lomas kultivēšana. Mīts LPSR tika mērķtiecīgi uzturēts un kultivēts, par godu 11 Valmieras komjauniešiem pārdēvējot dažādas publiskas ēkas, ielas u.c. objektus un radot jaunas piemiņas vietas, ar kuru starpniecību sabiedrība tika iesaistīta dažādās publiskās aktivitātēs ar didaktisku ievirzi ar mērķi veidot kopīgu identitāti un vienotu attieksmi pret vēsturi.

Introduction

One of the myths that was constructed and cultivated in the Soviet Socialist Republic of Latvia (hereinafter – the Latvian SSR) was the myth of the 11 heroic All-Union Leninist Young Communist League (hereinafter – Komsomol) members of Valmiera. On December 14, 1919, the komsomolets and their supporters gathered for a conference of the local party organization at Kokmuiža (nowadays Kocēni) cemetery near Valmiera. The employees of the district and the commandant's office had found out about the event and as a result – the meeting was surrounded by police officers and 29 people were arrested, among them several important communist underground activists. The Latvian Court-martial sentenced 11 of the 29 detainees to death.

In 1940, when the Republic of Latvia was occupied and incorporated into the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (hereinafter – the USSR), this event was actualized – a myth of heroes was

constructed, which turned the 11 Valmiera's komsomolets into politically and emotionally significant symbols.

The aim of this article is to analyze the most characteristic features of the myth of the 11 heroic komsomolets of Valmiera and the remembrance practices surrounding it in the Latvian SSR. The concept of remembrance refers to the strategy and its implementation by which this event was remembered and perceived by the public. The study of the myths of Latvian SSR is important and scientifically relevant. The research of the topic improves the understanding of the ways and methods of how the regime tried to gain trust and loyalty towards the state.

In the 20th century, the mass media had become an important and influential disseminator of information about the past, shaping public perceptions of the past and creating the conditions in which the most important shared memories would be strengthened. (Kaprāns 2011: 31) Consequently, the research is based on periodicals of the Latvian SSR, such as "Liesma", "Padomju Jaunatne", "Cīņa", etc., as well as protocols of both the Latvian Court-martial and the People's Council of Latvia that relate to this specific case.

Discussion

The first detailed publications covering the so-called 11 heroic Valmiera's komsomolets appeared in December 1940. The publications created and simultaneously reflected the narrative of the events of December 1919 in the public. Several features can be identified here.

First, the myth is characterized by antagonism. The Republic of Latvia's law enforcement institutions were clearly demonized, for example, in the mouthpiece of Soviet Valmiera "Liesma" in December 1940. The newspaper emphasized that: "[...] the Latvian bourgeoisie has committed a crime that lies indelibly on her black conscience" (Liesma (Valmiera), December 20, 1940). This narrative continued during the second Soviet occupation after World War II. In December 1945, newspaper "Padomju Jaunatne" reported: "[...] "nationalists" and "patriots" hold blood feasts, persecute the young, imprison and shoot them" (Padomju Jaunatne, December 23, 1945). Through the myth of the 11 Valmiera's komsomolets, the Soviet state attempted to form a unified and very hostile attitude towards the Republic of Latvia and its institutions in general, especially in the context of the events of December 1919.

Second, it is a common feature that all 11 komsomolets were called residents of the town of Valmiera. Although after their execution all 11 komsomolets were buried in Valmiera, most of them came from different parts of the country. For example, Jānis Ozols (1885-1919) was born in Irlava parish and arrived in Valmiera in December 1919 as a representative of the Central Committee of the Latvian Communist Party (Komunisti (Liepāja), July 18, 1970). Kārlis Leinerts (1901-1919) came from Svitene parish and arrived in Valmiera only in September 1919 (Komunisma Ceļš (Bauska), February 13, 1979). Edgars Dīcmanis (1901-1919) came from Priekule parish (Padomju

Zeme (Saldus), April 1, 1967). Jānis Tauriņš (1897-1919) was from the town of Limbaži (Padomju Jaunatne, April 19, 1979) and Eduards Kalniņš (1898-1919) – from the town of Aloja (Padomju Jaunatne, June 3, 1948). Kristīne Krieviņa (1901-1919) – from the town of Rūjiena (Liesma (Valmiera), November 26, 1957), Alvīne Sermule (1895-1919) – from the town of Līgatne (Dzimtenes Balss, October 20, 1965). Out of the 11, only four were from Valmiera – Johanna Daņiļeviča (1903-1919), Marta Āboliņa (1896-1919), Karlīne Soldova (1900-1919) and Elza Aure (1899-1919) (Dzimtenes Balss, October 20, 1965).

Third, one of the most distinguishable features of the myth was their unquestionable innocence in the events of December 1919. In order to understand this aspect, it is necessary to look more closely into the case of the 11 komsomolets and the debate about it during the sitting of the People's Council of Latvia in March 1920.

The accusation was based on the Russian 1903 Code of Criminal Law (articles 126, 127) and the Latvian Provisional Government's Regulations On the State of War (articles 14, 15) (Latvijas Sargs, February 13, 1919). Under the articles of the Russian 1903 Code of Criminal Law, membership in an organization aimed at overthrowing the existing state system carries a sentence of imprisonment. (Diena, July 23, 1994). Taking into account the situation in Latvia in 1919, the Regulations On the State of War passed by the People's Council of Latvia stipulated that in areas where a state of war was declared (as it was in Valmiera in December 1919), civilians who committed or tried to commit the crimes that were listed in the regulations were subject to a Court-martial. Several of the violations listed in the above-mentioned regulations were also applicable to those detained at Kokmuiža cemetery. For example, for unauthorized possession of weapons, explosives or military equipment (Latvijas Sargs, February 13, 1919) (K. Leinerts was detained at Kokmuiža cemetery with a pistol (Latvijas Tautas Padomes astotās sesijas pirmā sēde, March 8, 1920)), for incitement against the existing state order and attempts to overthrow it (Latvijas Sargs, February 13, 1919) (in J. Ozols's apartment in Riga, communist literature, a significant amount of money and receipts were found from persons who had received a salary for performing various tasks on the assignment of the Latvian Communist Party (Latvijas Tautas Padomes astotās sesijas pirmā sēde, March 8, 1920)). If any of the violations of Article 14 of the Regulations On the State of War were violated, an offender could be sentenced to death.

Consequently, there is no doubt that some of the 11 komsomolets had violated the laws and regulations in force and were facing the appropriate punishment. It is more difficult to assess the death sentence for some individuals, such as J. Daņiļeviča, who was only 16 years old at the time of execution. As there are not enough exhaustive historical sources on a number of individuals, it is difficult to assess whether the infringements were so serious. The death penalty for such young people, including women, was one of the reasons why the Latvian Social Democratic Labour Party

submitted an interpellation to the People's Council of Latvia in early 1920. On March 8, the Minister of the Interior Arveds Bergs (1875-1941) gave a report at the sitting of the People's Council of Latvia. A. Bergs described in detail the course of events in December 1919, as well as substantiated the legality of the decisions made by the Court-martial (Latvijas Tautas Padomes astotās sesijas pirmā sēde, March 8, 1920). In contrast, the social democrat Fēlikss Cielēns (1888-1964) tried to prove the illegality of the Court-martial, as well as to highlight the unjust punishment of J. Daniļeviča (Latvijas Tautas Padomes astotās sesijas pirmā sēde, March 8, 1920).

An important element for maintaining the myth was the monument (unveiled on May 2, 1949, (Pionieris, May 12, 1949)) at the Karātavu Hill in Valmiera, where the komsomolets were reburied on June 25, 1920. During the Soviet occupation the monument became a location where various invented traditions took place with an aim to actualize and maintain the myth. The so-called invented traditions can strengthen or symbolize the social cohesion of social groups, legitimize the status of institutions and power, as well as value systems and conventions of behavior (Kaprāns 2011:29-30). The historical period under consideration was characterized by annual marches to the monument and mourning rallies on December 22 (Pionieris, May 12, 1949; Padomju Jaunatne, December 27, 1949; Pionieris, October 29, 1958; Cīņa, December 24, 1959). It also served as a place where new pioneers and komsomolets were admitted to their respective organizations. (Padomju Druva (Cēsis), October 28, 1965; Pionieris, October 29, 1958). An interesting tradition had developed at the annual Youth Festival in Valmiera – 11 most accomplished young workers (symbolizing the 11 Valmiera's komsomolets) had to lead the festive procession (Dzimtenes Atbalss, December 13, 1979). These traditions were highly didactic in nature; such tendencies were characteristic for the whole USSR. The didacticism of the Soviet heroes is vividly described by an excerpt from the newspaper "Padomju Jaunatne":

"In every city, parish, company, school there were people who fought heroically and selflessly against the oppressors, people who were ready to sacrifice for the freedom and happiness of the people, for Soviet power and also gave their lives. The Communist Youth Organization must make all young people aware of these people, so that they always follow the example of these noble fighters, learning from them to always put the interests of society and the people above their personal interests." (Padomju Jaunatne, March 3, 1948)

The memory of the myth of the 11 heroic komsomolets was also actualized in the public by several published works of fiction. Most of these works on the events of December 1919 were written in the 1950s, one of the most popular being the novel "Ar karstām sirdīm" written by Kārlis Fimbers (1898-1970) and published in 1956. The theme of 11 heroic komsomolets was also actualized in music. Composer and writer Marģeris Zariņš (1910-1993) wrote the first oratorio in the history of Latvian music – "Valmieras varoņi" (Marģeris Zariņš: Īsa biogrāfija un darbības

apskats, 1960). It should be noted that the change of street names also promoted a unified identity (for example, Ezera Street (Lake Street) was renamed 11 Komjauniešu street (11 Komsomolets Street) (Liesma (Valmiera), July 19, 1989), as well as renaming of Valmiera Secondary School to Valmiera 11 heroic komsomolets High School (Dzimtenes Atbalss, December 13, 1979).

Conclusion

The example of the myth of the 11 heroic Valmiera's komsomolets illustrates the adaptation of historical events to current political issues in the USSR, with the aim of creating a common public attitude towards the past and the suitability and superiority of the present social order over the previous one.

Throughout the period under review, the myth retained several characteristic features in the periodicals of the Latvian SSR. Firstly, the description of the myth was marked by antagonism towards democratic Latvia and its law enforcement institutions, without objectively evaluating the events of December 1919 and, most importantly, the fact that Latvia was at war with Soviet Russia. Secondly, in most publications all 11 Valmiera's komsomolets were called residents of Valmiera, although in fact only four of the 11 were from the city. It is possible that this was presented in order to create and emphasize the specific places - Valmiera's links to an episode binding on the narrative of Soviet history. At the same time it should be noted that publications on this topic were not intended to provide accurate information on these events, the aim was to form a common identity and attitude towards these events. Thirdly, during the Soviet occupation the 11 Valmiera's komsomolets were characterised as victims and their innocence in the events of December 1919 was strongly emphasised. An objective assessment of these events shows that some of the accused were particularly dangerous to the Republic of Latvia, while the crimes of others involved are difficult to assess due to the lack of objective historical sources. Another important but not decisive factor in promoting the victimhood narrative was the debate on this issue at the sitting of the People's Council of Latvia on March 8, 1920, during which the social democrats questioned the legality of the imposition of punishment for certain persons, which indicates that even in democratic Latvia there was no consensus on the punishment imposed on the 11 Valmiera's komsomolets.

The remembrance culture of the 11 Valmiera's komsomolets was purposefully created and shaped in the Latvian SSR. One of the central elements in its implementation was the creation of places through which the public was involved in various public activities that expressed an attitude towards the past and the reality of the present. The actualization of the myth in the society can be characterized by didactic nature of various events and works of art and literature.

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THE RESEARCH PROJECT “HOLOCAUST DISCOURSES AND MEMORY INFRASTRUCTURE IN LATVIA”

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Abstract

The research project “Holocaust discourses and memory infrastructure in Latvia”

Key Words: *Holocaust, Discourses, Memory, Infrastructure, Latvia*

The paper introduces research project “Holocaust Discourses and Memory Infrastructure in Latvia”. The project focuses on discursive constructions of memory of the Holocaust in Latvia. The relevant policies, representations, memory networks and attitudes of the population are studied empirically to draw a conceptual model of the formation of Holocaust Memory analyzing transnational, regional, national and local perspectives, foundations, and interrelations. The project proposal has two major goals: (1) to obtain comparative data about the discursive constructions of the Holocaust in Latvia, making use of both individual and collective methodologies in order to implement a theoretical and conceptual explanation of the aftermath of the Holocaust as a social, political and cultural practice and a network of power relations; (2) to inform and educate about the Holocaust in Latvia: its history, as well as the implications of the tragedy on policies, education and ethics in order to foster the commemoration and creation of the memory infrastructure that entails the moral remembering of the genocide.

Kopsavilkums

Pētniecības projekts “Holokausta diskursi un atmiņas infrastruktūra Latvijā”

Atslēgvārdi: *holokausti, diskursi, atmiņa, infrastruktūra, Latvija*

Referāts iepazīstina ar pētījumu projektu “Holokausta diskursi un atmiņas infrastruktūra Latvijā”. Projekts koncentrējas uz diskursīvajām holokausta piemiņas konstrukcijām Latvijā. Lai uzzinātu holokausta atmiņas veidošanās konceptuālo modeli, analizējot starptautiskās, reģionālās, nacionālās un vietējās perspektīvas, pamatus un savstarpējās attiecības, empīriski pētītas attiecīgā politika, reprezentācijas, atmiņas tīkli un iedzīvotāju attieksme. Pētniecības projektam ir divi galvenie mērķi: (1) iegūt salīdzinošus datus par diskriminējošām holokausta konstrukcijām Latvijā, izmantojot gan individuālās, gan kolektīvās metodes, lai teorētiski un konceptuāli pētītu un skaidrotu holokaustu kā sociālo, politisko un kultūras praksi un varas attiecību tīklu; (2) informēt un izglītēt par holokaustu Latvijā: tā vēsturi, kā arī traģēdijas ietekmi uz politiku, izglītību un ētiku, lai veicinātu atmiņas infrastruktūras piemiņu un izveidi, kas saistīta ar genocīda morālu atcerēšanos.

Introduction

The emergence of a new wave of scientific interest in memory and related processes dates back to the end of the 1970s. Since then the field has grown in size and depth and because of the pace and magnitude of its development has been labeled the “Memory boom”. Although there is no clear *consensus* on the future of the field – some researchers state that the general interest in Memory studies has already been on a decline since the turn of the centuries, while others insist that the field is in constant development which includes its highs and lows, but is yet to reach its pinnacle. Throughout its history, the area has been interdisciplinary and multidirectional by definition. Researchers from a variety of fields and subfields have engaged in the topic philosophically, theoretically and empirically, and an array of concepts, among which collective, social, cultural and communicative memory are the most popular, has been used to make sense of the way people remember individually and in groups (Törnquist-Plewa 2012, Erl 2011).

None of these terms have been philosophically or operationally monolithic or exact, but they have become one of the symbols and interests of the time (Olick, 2011). Also, since the institutionalization of the field (in the forms of scientific journals, study programs, and grant

availability) there has been a considerable question mark over the methodologies used and sometimes abused in the studies concerning memory (Glenberg 1997, Kansteiner 2002). The quest for methodological purity, or less, the need to differentiate between collective and individual approaches (e. g. collected and collective memories, Olick, 1999) in Memory studies was later supplemented by the inclusive strategies aimed at the integration of different approaches taking into account neural, cognitive, affective, social and political processes and their interaction (Sutton 2010).

Discussion

Since the Holocaust has reached such a level of recognition that it has been termed the new civil religion (Traverso, 2016), the Holocaust heritage sites, historically associated with death, tragedy, and annihilation, have become popular tourist destinations. Some of the places which are devoted to the commemoration of the Holocaust register more than a million visitors annually (www.annefrank.org, <http://auschwitz.org/en/>). As there is still no consensus on the concept, the concepts of dark tourism and thanotourism are used in parallel. The interdisciplinarity, as well as the complexity of the topic, is characterized by Stone (2013:308): “Dark tourism also symbolizes sites of dissonant heritage, sites of selective silences, sites rendered political and ideological, sites powerfully intertwined with interpretation and meaning, and sites of the imaginary and the imagined. Therefore, analyzing the distinctions of dark tourism as a concept and researching its mediating interrelationships with the cultural condition of society is important in contributing to our understanding of the complex associations between (dark) heritages and the tourist experience”.

The Holocaust-related sites are considered the “darkest” sites on the spectrum of dark tourism (Stone, 2006), and are typically characterized not only by a higher political impact but also by a focus on education and commemoration. The multidisciplinary of the topic is also the reason why the results of research in this field are still fragmented. Stone has argued that dark tourism represents “a multidisciplinary academic lens through which to scrutinise a broad range of social, cultural, geographical, anthropological, political, managerial and historical concerns” (Stone, 2013: 309).

There are about 265 Holocaust memorial sites, but most of them are unknown and unavailable not only to international tourists, but also to the local population and sometimes even to representatives of the municipality. The increase of the tourist flow to dark tourism sites poses challenges not only regarding the infrastructure and management of the sites, but also to representatives of the tourism industry and local inhabitants, as these sites are often historically diverse, exclusive, contested and politically divisive. Different actors and agencies may have not only different knowledge and memory of the events represented. They might also have different perspectives and differing or agencies may stress the importance of a public reckoning with the

material remains of the past, while others see erasure and forgetting as an appropriate means to move forward: “The difficulty in “difficult heritage” is not the site or event itself, but dealing with these ambiguities.” (Samuels, 2015).

To improve commemoration and ensure a sustainable development of tourism, the production and consumption of tourism on sites of death and disaster demands a more appropriate, knowledge-based and ethical approach and behavior from all parties involved. That might be achieved by first and foremost encouraging research, knowledge and dialogue about the tragedy and legacies of the Holocaust, especially in the local communities and geographies where the Holocaust actually took place. As indicated by Light (2017), the field of dark tourism studies still requires additional research 1) on the phenomenon of dark tourism in the sociopolitical and ideological context and 2) on ethical issues related to the representation of the Holocaust and other thanatourism sites. That is fully consistent with the goals and implementation of the project, its underlying work packages and also with the Latvia’s development priorities and EU prompted national or regional research and innovation strategies for smart specialisation (RIS3), especially the seventh priority, namely “Studying the existing resources and specializations of territories and proposing prospective economic development opportunities and directions in leading and prospective business directions in municipal territories”.

Conclusions

With the rise of its rhetoric potential, the field of Memory studies has seen its share of critique. Most notably for methodological and conceptual flaws, which has led to ambiguity and confusion. Thus, research on memory issues is considered efficient if the methodologies are clearly indicated and a combination of different methods is used to create a synthesis of techniques from several scientific fields.

Taking into account the development of the field of memory research, the goal of the research project is to find out the sociopolitical and historical discourses which have affected the formation of the social memory of the Holocaust in Latvia, by analyzing the representations and discursive structures of the Holocaust in Latvia and the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic. In order to achieve said goal, the following work tasks have been set: 1) to collect and summarize empirical material using the methods of interview, observation and survey (secondary data), at the same time analyzing a wide array of existing texts, such as laws and draft decisions, official speeches made by politicians, memorials and monuments, educational documents, historiography, popular literature, films and plays, newspapers and magazines, internet publications and texts from social media; 2) to collect, analyze and interpret gathered data using a combination of content analysis and the historical method of discourse, and to evaluate it in the context of the chosen methodological basis, theoretical approaches and historical context; 3) to draw conclusions and evaluations regarding the

processes of the social memory of the Holocaust in Latvia and the Holocaust discourses that affect this process, as well as the connection between them and other regularities of the formation and shaping of social memory in Europe and Latvia.

The characterization of the memory phenomenon is primarily based on the approaches of the sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (1992), anthropologist James V. Wertsch (2002), historians Pierre Nora (1996), Jan Assmann (1995) and Aleida Assmann (2010), sociologist Jeffrey K. Olick (2008; 1999). Within the research, the discourse-historical approach of the discourse analysis inspired by the theoretician Ruth Wodak (2008; 2009/2001) will be used, which is a qualitative, interdisciplinary, problem-oriented, critically-analyzing, interpretative approach that integrates the historical context; an important aim of this method is also to benefit society.

The historical analysis of discourse suits the research of the discourse of social memory of the Holocaust for three main reasons: 1) similarly to the social memory theories used in this research, it emphasizes the impact of social, political and especially historical factors on discourse formation processes; 2) it is a problem-oriented approach and it stresses the necessity to point at significant issues in existing discourses in order to communicate said issues to leaders of opinion and the society in general to affect the analyzed discourses; 3) the method is interdisciplinary and even eclectic; it allows the incorporation of various analytical tools and approaches into the design of the research, as well as a circular transitioning of the research from theory to empirical data and back, in order to reach the goal set by the researcher with as much success as possible.

The research aims at using the gathered theoretical conclusions, the extensive empirical material and the historical analysis of discourse to 1) analyze the formation of Holocaust discourses in Latvia, offering a new frame of notions to be used in a scientific explanation of the phenomenon of memory; 2) encourage an ethical and economically justified commemoration of the Holocaust in Latvia and its regions.

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DAUGAVPILS GHETTO: THE HISTORIOGRAPHY

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Abstract

Daugavpils Ghetto: the Historiography

Key Words: *Daugavpils, ghetto, historiography, books, memories, victims*

The Daugavpils ghetto existed from July 15, 1941 to October 28, 1943. More than 13,000 Jews passed through the ghetto gates. A little more than 100 survived. In the ghetto there were, like the Jews of Daugavpils and the surrounding area, small towns and townships of Latgale, as well as several thousand Jews from Lithuania. About ten former prisoners left diaries and memories of the terrible days, which are published and have survived to this day. Later, the works of historians and local historians about the history of the Daugavpils ghetto appeared. The author conditionally divided the works: first, written in the West and the United States, second, in the USSR, and third, in the Republic of Latvia. Such a comprehensive approach includes an ideological justification, preserves the chronology, place and language of the publication. The totality of all these works is the object of the study.

Kopsavilkums

Daugavpils geto: historiogrāfija

Atslēgvārdi: *Daugavpils, geto, historiogrāfija, grāmatas, atmiņa, upuri*

Daugavpils geto pastāvēja no 1941. gada 15. jūlija līdz 1943. gada 28. oktobrim. Vairāk nekā 13,000 ebreju gāja cauri geto vārtiem. Tikai nedaudz vairāk nekā 100 izdzīvoja. Daugavpils geto bija ebreji no Daugavpils pilsētas un tās apkārtnes, kā arī ebreji no Latgales mazākām pilsētām un miestiem; vairāki tūkstoši ebreju bija atvesti no Lietuvas. Ap desmit bijušo ieslodzīto atstāja savas atmiņas – dienasgrāmatas un memuārus – pār tām briesmīgām dienām, kuri bija publicēti un tagad ir pieejami mūsdienās. Vēlāk parādījās vēsturnieku darbi un vietējo vēsturnieku pētījumi par Daugavpils geto vēsturi. Autors nosacīti iedalīja darbus grupās: pirmā, rakstīti Rietumos un ASV; otrā, PSRS teritorijā; trešā, Latvijas Republikā pēc neatkarības atjaunošanas. Šāda kompleksā pieeja ietver sevī ideoloģisko attaisnojumu, saglabā hronoloģiju, publikāciju vietu un valodu. Darbu kopskaits ir pētījuma objekts.

Introduction

The paper is dedicated to the analysis of historiography about the history of Daugavpils ghetto. The aim of the research is to show the transformations in the attitude towards ghetto topic. The analysed materials were divided into groups according to their circumstances of appearance. Historiography is grouped into Western, Soviet and Latvian after the restoration of independence. The comparative approach is the basic method of the research: the author has explored the particularities of the historiography about Daugavpils ghetto in different periods.

Western historiography of the Daugavpils ghetto

In 1949, Pesel Frankel-Zaltzman's book *Notes of Prisoner 94771* was published in Canada in English. (Frankel-Zaltzman 2003) The number 94771 was assigned to her in Stutthof. The author was martyred from the gates of the Daugavpils ghetto through Kaiserwald and Stutthof and was released in Bydgoszcz.¹ She began writing her memoirs immediately after her release.

The first days of the war, the author's family is focused only on saving his sick father. But already in these days, women's ideas about the war, neighbors, and occupiers began to change. The townspeople immediately accused the Jews, considering them communists. The Jews are an absolute evil and must be destroyed. Especially since they must wear five-pointed stars. She calls

¹ Bydgoszcz is a city in Poland.

the attitude of the locals brutal. In a multiethnic city, the people who persecuted Jews were usually people of different nationalities. "The shouts of the commanders are heard as blows:" No one dares to step on the sidewalk. The Jews must work and walk the road like dogs." But even crossing the street was dangerous. People were shouting: "Soon you will all be shot like dogs. You are all communists". (Frankel-Zaltzman 2003) At the same time, the author of the memoirs notes that not all were enemies of the Jews. The prisoner cites a number of cases of sympathy and assistance to the persecuted people on the part of the occupiers, and on the part of the police. More than once in the "Notes" the life of Jews and non-Jews is contrasted. The author of the notes noted that "the same sun shrouded on our side, while on the other it shone". (Frankel-Zaltzman 2003) No wonder the song was born in the ghetto: "For some squares and boulevards, for us such blocks..."² The nurse Song was in the centre of events that take place in the hospital. The important thing in the memoir is that it gives a list of hospital employees, as well as lists their specialties.

She described in detail the largest actions that took place in the ghetto. P. Frankel-Zaltzman also characterized the psychological state of the prisoners. "Notes of the prisoner No. 94771" significantly expands our understanding of the ghetto and its inhabitants, their experiences and actions. Unlike other memoirs, 84 persons are mentioned here, of which eighty are ghetto prisoners. Thanks to the "Notes of the prisoner No. 94771, we were able to learn another fate - the fate of the Dog Frankel-Zaltzman. (Frankel-Zaltzman 2003)

In the same year, 1949, in New York, a book of memoirs of a former prisoner of the Daugavpils ghetto, Jacob Rassen, "Mir viln lebn" ("We want to live"), was published in Yiddish. (Rassen 1949: 136-153) J. Rassen, a Jew from Kaunas, an agronomist by profession, escaped from his native city, reached Daugavpils, became a prisoner of the Daugavpils ghetto, the Kaiserwald concentration camp. Managed to escape from the Dundaga-Popervale camp. In the forest of northern Kurzeme, I accidentally came across a group of Soviet scouts. This lucky chance saved his life. Later, J. Rassen ended up in a camp for "displaced persons" in Germany, and then left for Israel. While in the camp, the author began to write his memoirs, which are striking in their reality and at the same time recreate the picture of what happened.

In the first days of the war, the author reached the Latvian-Belarusian border to the north-east of Dvinsk. But then he was terribly disappointed. (Rassen 1949: 22-29) The refugees did not manage to cross the old Latvian-Russian border. He noted that the closure of the old Soviet border for refugees turned into a tragedy. "This is where the trouble began, a very big trouble. They don't allow you to go any further. Hundreds of refugees from Lithuania and Latvia have already gathered at the border, and their number is growing every day. But to all their requests, the Soviet border guards had one answer: "The order is not to let anyone pass! Step back 20 paces! Or we'll shoot!"

² They were referring to the ghetto quarters.

Shoot!". The author of the book blamed the human losses not only on the Nazis, but also on the Soviet government. Soviet barrage detachments on the Lithuanian-Latvian, and later Latvian-Russian border did not allow them to freely escape to Russia. These delays cost many refugees their lives. The author of the book told about the events of 1941-1943 in the Daugavpils ghetto and the camps he visited. One of the most terrible memories is the description of the May Day action of 1942 in the ghetto. J. Rasen described day after day the events in the ghetto, and then in Riga. Thanks to this book, we learned about the everyday life of the ghetto prisoners.

In the 1950s, Israel published a book in Hebrew by Minna Kantor, a former prisoner of Daugavpils, "Wasn't it a Dream? Memories of the Dvina Ghetto". (Каһтоп 1950) The book of a 21-year-old resident of Daugavpils is based on the experiences and tragedy of her family. She is surprised and amazed by the attitude of local residents towards Jews. Already in the first days of the Nazi occupation, looting, insults, threats, identification of Jews with communists, and stigmatization began.

It tells about the brutal actions in the ghetto. In August 1941, in one action, she lost her sister, brother and mother. M. Kantor very accurately describes the psychological state of the prisoners: „There is nothing to talk about, everything is lost. We're all... crippled. Our world is destroyed. We are not people, only shadows. Now people understand that there is no hope for salvation." On November 7-8, 1941, Minna Kantor managed to slip out of the ghetto. She tries to find shelter, but ... "I have no place under the blue sky." A week later, she returned to the ghetto with the workers who were working in the city. She managed to truthfully describe everyday life in the ghetto. The prisoner showed the duality and tragedy of the leaders of the Judenrat and the Jewish police.

At the same time, there are also joyful pictures in the work: salvation, help, love, description of the awakening nature in the spring of 1943 The prisoner after Daugavpils passed a martyr's path. Through the Kaiserwald-Poperwalen-Dundaga-Stutthof camps, once in Germany. It met liberation on April 30, 1945, near Munich.

She wanted to survive in this unreal world. Survived by a chain of accidents. The former prisoner regrets the loss of her family. M. Kantor wrote the book to preserve the memory for future generations. She did not use any documents. The memoirs of M. Kantor are an authentic document, the memories are natural, they are devoid of literature. This is their historical and scientific significance. In the memoirs, there is no mention of God, arguments about who is to blame, why the Jews did not evacuate. After the war, M. Kantor reached Palestine through Italy and worked as a teacher. Her daughter told the author that she had never read her mother's memoirs, even what she told was so scary. Was it only a dream?

In 1975, Israel published the collection "In Memory of the Dvinsk Community" in Hebrew, which contained a small material by Rachel Friedman, a prisoner of the Daugavpils ghetto "Ghetto

Dvinsk". The author wrote her memoirs in Hebrew. Later, some of its materials were printed in the periodical press.³ But the main material she prepared about the ghetto never saw the light of day. R. Friedman got into the ghetto, worked in one of the workshops.⁴ R. Friedman in the ghetto worked in one of the city workshops. At the end or beginning of October 1941. Rachel Friedman managed to escape from the ghetto. Her friends helped her: a Latvian teacher who hid her in the basement, a housekeeper who gave her peasant clothes.

R. Friedman managed to get to the Braslav ghetto (Belarus). On the day of its elimination, she remained in hiding, and the next day she went into the forest. In July 1942, she wandered through the woods, sleeping under bushes, eating berries, nuts, until she accidentally stumbled upon a partisan detachment. Here, like other Jews, she had to face the suspicion that she was a spy and the threat of execution. It remained there until the winter of 1943. During a collision with a German detachment, she managed to escape, frostbitten her feet, and again reached her own. After treatment, she studied, and was arrested on denunciation. In 1971, after 11 years of refusal, she left for Israel. The diary of Rachel Friedman can be assessed as a fact of resistance to Nazism. Only a few people managed to escape from the ghetto: to reach the Belarusian partisans, to survive and write about their fate. Her subsequent life is a vivid example of the struggle for the dignity of the Jew.

In 1990, in New York, the book "How Dark The Heavens. 1400 days In The Grip Of Nazi Terror" was published in English by Sidney Iwens. (Ивенец 2005) A Lithuanian Jew who had escaped from Jonava reached Daugavpils, where he ended up in the ghetto. Several times he narrowly escaped execution, fled to the Belarusian partisans, and later ended up in the Shauliai ghetto, then in the Stutthof concentration camp. On April 30, 1945, S. Iwens was liberated near Danzig.

A Lithuanian Jew who had escaped from Jonava reached Daugavpils, where he ended up in the ghetto. He narrowly escaped being shot several times and fled to the Belarusian partisans, where he was not welcomed with open arms. I returned to the Daugavpils ghetto, where there was a beloved girl. He remained in the city after October 28, 1943, when the prisoners left the fortress. S. Iwens first described that ten Jews continued to hide in Daugavpils.

The memoirs of S. Iwens are written in diary form. He describes in detail, day after day, the events of his life in the Daugavpils ghetto, concentration camps, in which there are not only death, and cold, hunger and humiliation, but also friendship, love and human dignity. S. And Ves assured the author that he began writing his diary while still in the ghetto. The latter raised the author's doubts.

³ For the first time, excerpts from the diary of R. Friedman were published in the weekly magazine "Secret" (Petah Tikva) in 2006 № 622, № 631, № 636, № 643, 4. 06, № 650, and then in the newspaper "Jewish World" (New York).

⁴ In Latvia, for the first time, the analysis of memories is placed in the article by Rocko I. (Рочко 2010: 172–178).

In 1997, a book by Basi Zwinn, a native of Kraslava, "Survive to Return", was published in Russian in Tel Aviv. (Цин 1997) In the first days of the war, she was surprised that the head of the city with his friends in the car quietly went to Russia. To the question of B. Qing, in which direction to run, the chairman of the city executive Committee replied: "Why run? You don't believe in the strength of our army. Do you think we will give Latvia to the Germans? You don't have to run anywhere!" On June 27, 1944, Kraslava was captured by the Nazis. She was struck by the robbery organized by the representatives of the new government in front of the still living Jews.

One of them liked B. Zwinn's wedding ring, as well as some book. When asked why he needed it, he replied: "I want to choose a book to remember you by." Future murderers already knew the fate of their victims. The peculiarity of the extermination of the Jews in this city was that thirty wealthy families were left in relative peace for the time being. Perhaps they hoped to receive some riches from the unfortunate ones. In the summer of 1941, about a thousand Kraslav Jews were driven to the Daugavpils ghetto. Among them was the family of the author of the book. On the way, local security guards robbed the unfortunate, shot the old and laggards. In the ghetto, B. Zwinn suffered terrible losses: her parents and husband died in the actions, and her two-year-old daughter died of starvation. Friends could come to the locals, pass food through the wire. A forty-year-old woman was shocked by an episode that occurred on November 9, 1941. "A high – ranking German came to the ghetto. All the young women were put on their knees, 50 people were selected and taken away.. Everyone knew what was going to happen to them. But they came back. Some had turned gray, others were hysterical, and others were terrified. It turned out that the German was 50 years old, and so he decided to shoot 50 Jewish women. The monster failed to make a "gift" for himself. The Gestapo intervened, explaining that it was their business to kill." (Рочко 2003: 106)

In her book "Survive to Return", a former prisoner of the Daugavpils ghetto tries to understand why the neighbors of the Jews became their murderers. Some spoke Yiddish, worked alongside Jews, and were friends with them. Apparently, the participation of each of them in the Disaster is explained by personal moral qualities that are personified in each person. According to B. Zwinn, it is necessary to write about the Holocaust – it means to build a bridge between the past and the future.⁵

In 2002, in London, a book by Maja Abramowitch "To forgive_ but not forget: Maja's story" was published in English, the title vividly illustrates the author's attitude to what happened: she could never, and could never, forgive the crime and the people who committed it. (Abramowitch 2002) Before the war, Maja Abramowitch (born Zarkh) (1928) lived in Daugavpils with her parents and nanny Petrunela Vilimane. The author of the book wrote with great respect and love about her

⁵ In the mid-1960s, she acted as a witness in several trials against Nazi war criminals in Riga, and in the early 1990s, together with the writer L. Koval, she created the first Society of Former Prisoners of Ghettos and Nazi Concentration Camps in the former USSR. After emigrating to Israel in 1991, she continued to publish extensively.

saviour. The girl's father was shot, and she and her mother went to the ghetto. They left all their property to the nanny. P. Vilimane promised to protect and preserve the Jewish goods.

The nurse brought food to the gates of the ghetto, even wild berries. At the same time, the savior herself starved, risked, but helped the former owners. Sometimes P. Vilimane managed to pass a loaf of bread, in which a gold coin or chain was hidden. These jewelry saved a 12-year-old girl. R. Zarkh went to work in the city and took her daughter with her. She understood that the child could be shot at any time. So it was possible to survive several bloody actions. The guards, having taught the jewels, "did not notice" Maja. In the fall of 1942, for money, the guard "did not notice" that the mother took the child out, going to work in the city. But it wasn't safe here either. The mother was afraid for her only daughter, the daughter was afraid of being left without a mother, the rescuers could pay with their lives. Maja returned to the ghetto. The ghetto, the place where Jews were executed, became the place where the girl was saved. October 28, 1943 Rebekah Zarch, along with other ghetto prisoners, were sent to Kaiserwald, and in the fall of 1944 to Schutthof. Both were lucky to survive.

What was the astonishment of the Jews when it turned out that Petrunela Vilimane had not sold a single thing that belonged to a Jewish family, although she herself lived in extreme poverty. M. Abramowitch's book is not only about the ghetto. This is a book about the Righteous Woman, her courage and modesty, and about salvation as a form of resistance.

In 2004, the book "Survive and Tell" by Haim Kuritsky was published in Israel in Hebrew. (Курицкий 2004)⁶ A Lithuanian Jew who escaped from Utyana reached Daugavpils, was imprisoned, then in the ghetto, and went through a series of camps. In 1945, it was liberated by American troops. (Рочко 2010: 236-253) Then he was treated in a hospital, served in the Red Army. Haim Kuritsky, in correspondence with the author of this article, claimed that he began to keep a diary while in the ghetto.⁷

Haim Kuritsky (1921, Utyany-2017, Israel), like other former ghetto prisoners, wrote a book to preserve the memory of the tragedy during the years of the Disaster. At the same time, he notes the painfulness of the memories of the experience. The book is written in the form of a diary. All events are listed in chronological order.

H. Kuritsky and his family fled their hometown. At the old Lithuanian-Latvian border, the refugees were checked by a Soviet patrol. A few days later, H. Kuritsky found himself in the White Swan prison in Daugavpils. It was he who first described the episode of collective resistance. A German officer suddenly turned to the Jews with a suggestion: "If there is a minyan among you out of 10 Jews who are ready to be shot, the rest will remain alive!" (Курицкий 2004: 20-21) A lot of

⁶ In 2020 the book was published in Lithuanian.

⁷ The author doubts that it is possible to keep a diary in the inhumane conditions of ghettos and concentration camps.

hands were raised - all these Jews were ready to go to the firing squad, so that their brothers would remain alive." The officer suddenly said, "So I see representatives of a single people, each of whom is ready to sacrifice himself for the good of the others." This episode of collective self-sacrifice shows that the spirit of the Jews was not broken.

The author describes the mass shooting of men in the garden behind the prison. It was X's turn. Kh. Kuritsky. And then a miracle happened: it turned out that the moat was filled to the end, and the Jew was ordered to ram the still moving bodies. In the ghetto, he became a "craftsman". Performing various jobs. He accurately described the largest actions, including the brutal destruction of 18-19 August 1941, when a group of German soldiers saved the lives of him and other prisoners.

At the same time, the former prisoner described his fellow prisoners with great warmth: their attitude to each other, the love that flared up. After the Daugavpils ghetto, he had to pass the Kaiserwald, work in Magdeburg, and live to win.

Most of the surviving ghetto prisoners did not leave their memories, mentioning only that they were in hell. Perhaps they were afraid, did not want to relive something that is impossible even to imagine. They told the author: "No story, no movie, no person who wasn't 'there' will ever be able to even imagine what we went through." But most of them had a secondary education, and it was difficult for them to logically state their feelings. Any book that tells the truth about the Disaster is part of an artistic memorial. This memorial, created by the suffering of people, blames not only the Nazis, their accomplices, but all of humanity. After all, most of humanity has watched the Disaster in cold blood. But writing and researching a Disaster is not about revenge, but about making sure that such tragedies don't happen again." (Frankel-Zaltzman 2003) Any memory of a former prisoner is also a form of struggle against Nazism.

Soviet historiography of the Daugavpils ghetto

The first mention of the Disaster during the war was the publication in 1945 of R. Kovnator in the Moscow newspaper "Einikait" in Yiddish "Sema Shpungin". (Ковнатор 1945)⁸ The article tells about the torment of a Jewish teenager S. Shpungin in the ghetto and the escape from the

⁸ The newspaper "Einikayt" ("Unity") published in Yiddish from November 1942 to November 1948. Kovnator Rakhil (1899, Griva – 1977, Moscow), historian, philologist, editor. In the early 1930s, R. Kovnator edited the manuscript "How Steel was Tempered" by N. Ostrovsky, corresponded with the writer. In 1943, she published a biographical essay "Lenin's Mother". During the Second World War, she worked for the Jewish Anti-Fascist Committee and published in the newspaper "Einikeit" ("Unity"). She wrote a number of texts for the "Black Book", edited by AND. Ehrenburg and V. Grossman. The journalist participated in the preparation of the publication "M. Gorky in the memoirs of his contemporaries". Her contribution in the 1950s and 1960s was her participation in the publication "Moscow University in Memoirs". She wrote two Yiddish publications about Jewish Heroes of the Soviet Union: Joseph Makovsky and Polina Gelman. In the GDR, she was written about as one of the famous women in the early years of Soviet power. Perhaps the journalist was interested in the fate of the Daugavpils boy, because she was from the same place. Read more about it in Рочко, Иосиф (2019) Знаменитые евреи Латгалии. Кн. 2. Ред. Галина Рочко. Даугавпилс.С. 38-41.

Daugavpils ghetto. It emphasized the suffering of the Jews, but also noted that the boy was saved thanks to the help of local residents.⁹

And only one person continued to collect memories, to search for documents about the Daugavpils ghetto. This is Zalman Yakub, a well-known local historian and historian in Daugavpils.¹⁰ Having no historical education, he accomplished the moral feat of writing an essay on the ghetto. In 1987, the Sovietish Geimland, the only Yiddish-language magazine in the USSR, published in three issues (Nos. 5, 8, and 9), an abridged essay by Z. V. Korotkov. Yakub "In those days". (From the history of the Daugavpils ghetto). (Якуб 1987) It was translated into Russian, later into Hebrew, where it was published in Israel.¹¹ This is a beautiful and permanent monument to the martyrs of the Daugavpils ghetto, which can not leave anyone indifferent. The essay is also of scientific significance, since its author managed to collect the memories of those who survived the Holocaust. The work reveals the picture of what happened in the city prison, next to which there were a thousand local and Lithuanian Jewish men were shot. Life in the ghetto, including the hospital, the Judenrat, and the largest actions are carefully described. A lot of space is given to rescuers and the rescued, work in city workshops, attempts to resist. Such a comprehensive description of the tragedy even gave rise to the idea that the tragedy has been investigated and there is no longer any point in looking for something. In 1993, the Jewish community of the city published the first book "Jews in Daugavpils", where the entire work of Z. was published Z. Yakub in Russian. (Якуб 1993)

Historiography of the Daugavpils ghetto in independent Latvia

In the mid-early 1990s, a new period began not only to gather information, but also to understand the Jewish Catastrophe. It is necessary to note the huge contribution of the Latvian Commission of Historians of Latvia in the study of the Jewish tragedy. The leading historians of the country who study the Disaster, such as M. Vestermanis, R. Viksne, K. Kangeris, A. Stranga, H. Strods, A. Urtans, D. Erglis and others, have mainly studied this issue in Latvia, as well as in Latgale. For example, M. Vestermanis in the essay "Holokausts Latvijā. Historiogrāfisks apskats" showed how the historiography of this issue was born in Latvia. (Vestermanis 2000; Vestermanis 2007: 36-48)

All these publications did not give a clear answer to the fundamental question: "Who is to blame?". Ghetto prisoners often blamed local Nazi collaborators, sometimes German officers who led operations to exterminate Jews. But these lieutenants and majors carried out the policy of the

⁹ The first to mention this article is in Маймин, Гесель (2010) Они пережили холокост. Published at D-fakti.lv, 02.07.2010. Available at <http://www.d-fakti.lv/ru/news/article/19844/>

¹⁰ Jakub Zalman (1919, Daugavpils – 2009, Daugavpils), local historian, war veteran, author and co-author of several books, published more than 600 articles in Russian, Latvian, Hebrew and Yiddish in magazines and newspapers in Moscow, Riga, Birobidzhan, Daugavpils, Warsaw, Tel Aviv.

¹¹ The translation from Yiddish into Russian was carried out by Levitan and Shteiman.

fascist state. Of course, the former prisoners saw their tormentors in the ghetto every day. It seemed to them that it was all their fault. The most significant scientific work devoted to the Holocaust in Latvia was a work published in 1996 by an American professor of Latvian origin, A.D. Ezergailis "The Holocaust in German-occupied Latvia, 1941-1944" (in the English version "The Missing Center"). (Ezergailis 1999)¹² For a long time, the book became a classic work in the study of the Holocaust.

In the work under consideration, A. Ezergailis put forward and justified the idea, the essence of which is as follows: if there were no German occupation, there would be no Holocaust. Yes, anti-Semitism has always existed, but there has been no mass extermination. Hence the conclusion: German Nazism is to blame, and the local collaborators were only the executors of the will of the occupiers. This is the usual point of view of Western historians, as well as most historians of Latvia. During the years of the Disaster, there was no independent Latvian State. The second title of the book, "The Missing Center", indicates this point. This means that no one is politically responsible for the crime of local residents. Personal moral responsibility can only be imposed on murderers.

The historian investigated the activities of special teams of Einsatzgruppen ("full readiness groups") in Daugavpils. A. Ezergailis mentions the four largest stocks. He also objectively calculated the number of victims in Daugavpils, which he estimated at 13,000 Jews.

In 2010, M. Meler published a monograph "Места нашей памяти: еврейские общины Латвии, уничтоженные в Холокосте". (Мелер 2010) In the author's opinion, the monograph by M. Meler – the classic work covers the Catastrophe in all cities and towns of Latvia and Latgale. A simple enumeration of the localities of Latgale that M. Meler studied shows the all-encompassing nature of the study. A unique Encyclopaedia of the Holocaust in Latvia was created over the course of eight years by the efforts of one person and his voluntary assistants. He described the history of the Daugavpils ghetto, using a huge archive material, as well as the research of Daugavpils scientists. (Мелер 2010: 134-154)

In 2003, a group of historians from Daugavpils published the book "The Holocaust in Latgale". (Волкович et al. 2003) One of the co-authors of the book Iosif Rochko wrote an essay "Жертвы, спасённые, спасатели". (Рочко 2003) In this essay, the author made an attempt to recreate the picture of the life and death of the Jews of Daugavpils. The work uses the memories of those who survived in the ghetto, managed to escape from destruction, thanks to the saviours, as well as the memories of the saviours and non-Jews who witnessed the tragedy. This approach allowed us to show a more objective picture of events. On the one hand, the psychology of prisoners and the psychology of murderers, as well as the "silent majority" or "standing aside", is considered. The analysis of recent memories is actually a story about a Catastrophe through non-Jewish eyes. Their ideas allow us to better understand the circumstances of the rescue of the Jews

¹² Three years after its publication in English, the book was published in Latvian.

and the cooperation of some local residents with the occupation authorities. The author came to the conclusion that helping a Jew meant not obeying the orders of the occupation regime. To save a Jew is to actively resist Nazism and their local collaborators.

Conclusion

The memories of the prisoners of ghetto published after the war are the primary sources for studying these events from the “inside”. These works were written in Yiddish and later translated into English and Russian and provided with clarifying comments. For the Soviet historiography it is typical to exaggerate the number of Holocaust victims and define them as victims of the Soviet people. The historiography of Latvia is more objective and provides more arguments about the history of ghetto and is considerable more approved to scientific standards. Historiography is the instrument to save the memory about the tragedies of the Jewish people.

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GLORIFICATION OF THE TOTALITARIAN ARMY IN CHILDHOOD DISCOURSE: AN EXAMPLE OF NAZI OCCUPATION IN LATVIA

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Abstract

Glorification of the totalitarian army in childhood discourse: an example of Nazi occupation in Latvia

Key Words: National Social regime, childhood, propaganda, People's Aid Organization (*Tautas Palīdzība*), Latvian Youth Organisation

During World War II, the National Socialists launched an extensive propaganda campaign to bring the people of the occupied lands in line with the current occupation policies, ensuring the stability of the regime. As a special target of Nazi propaganda, young people were singled out, because the regime's government was convinced, that the people of the occupied territories could be fully subjugated only if the next generation is ideologically treated. In Latvia, Nazi propaganda was projecting the Nazi forces as liberators and this image was widely cultivated as an educational tool through formal education and the involvement of children and youth in the activities of the People's Aid Organization and the Latvian Youth Organization. **The following research question was raised:** How was the army image used in the process of indoctrination of children and youth to meet the goals of totalitarian rule? The empirical base of this study is established by written memories of Jānis Milzarājs (b. 1934) about his life during the World War II as recorded by himself in 2019 and four photos from the Milzarāji family album, as well as one propaganda poster from the digital resource repository of the National Library of Latvia depicting the arrival of the Nazi army in Riga. The empirical base includes nine articles from the pedagogical and daily press. In total, 9 articles from newspapers were analyzed: "Izglītības Mēnešraksts", "Tēvija", "Daugavas Vanagi: Latviešu Karavīru Frontes Laikraksts", "Ventas Balss", "Laika Balss", "Kurzemes Vārds". Childhood experience in the context of the Nazi regime during World War II was analysed from the social perspective of childhood history which aims at examining childhood in the context of a particular era, society, and ideology.

Kopsavilkums

Totalitāro varu armijas gloricēšana bērnības diskursā: nacistu okupācijas piemērs Latvijā

Atslēgvārdi: Nacistiskais režīms, bērni, jaunatne, propaganda, Tautas palīdzības organizācija, Latvijas Jaunatnes organizācija

Otrā pasaules kara laikā nacisti izvērta plašu propagandas kampaņu, lai okupēto zemju iedzīvotāji samierinātos ar esošo okupācijas faktu, nodrošinot režīma stabilitāti. Kā īpaša nacistu propagandas mērķauditorija tika izdalīta jaunatne, jo režīmā valdīja pārliecība, ka okupēto teritoriju tautu var pilnībā pakļaut tikai tad, ja ideoloģiski tiek apstrādāta tās nākamā paaudze – bērni un jaunieši. Latvijā nacistiskās Vācijas viena no propagandas pamatidejām tika saistīta ar armiju kā atbrīvotāja tēlu, kas caur formālo izglītību un bērnu un jaunatnes iesaisti Tautas Palīdzības organizācijas un Latvijas Jaunatnes organizācijas aktivitātēm, plaši, tika kultivēts kā audzinošs līdzeklis. **Tika uzstādīts pētnieciskais jautājums:** Kā armijas tēls tika izmantots bērnu un jauniešu indoktrinācijā, atbilstoši totalitāras varas mērķiem? Kā avotu bāze referātā ir izmantotas Latvijas Okupācijas muzeja krājumā glabājošās Jāņa Milzarāja (dz.1934) 2019.gadā pierakstītās atmiņas par piedzīvoto Otrā pasaules karā un 4 fotogrāfijas no Milzarāju dzimtas albuma. Propagandas plakāts no Latvijas Nacionālās bibliotēkas digitālo resursu krātuves, kurā nacistiskās armijas ienākšanu Rīgā. Tāpat tiks izmantoti raksti no pedagoģiskās un ikdienas dzīvi raksturojošās preses. Kopumā analizēti 9 raksti no laikrakstiem: "Izglītības Mēnešraksts", "Tēvija", "Daugavas Vanagi: Latviešu Karavīru Frontes Laikraksts", "Ventas Balss", "Laika Balss", "Kurzemes Vārds". Bērnu pieredze Otrā pasaules kara nacistu režīma apstākļos ir daļa no Latvijas sociālās vēstures, kas pētām konkrētā laikmeta, sabiedrības un totalitārās ideoloģijas kontekstā, raisot diskusiju par okupācijas režīmu īstenoto propagandu bērnības diskursā.

Introduction

The consequences of World War II are still being described as one of the most important nodes in Latvia's social memory, which contains various stories and interpretations of events. Although since the 1960s childhood history has become an important area of research in various disciplines, childhood memories integral to Latvia's social memory are still the subject of a modest number of wartime studies. The understanding of childhood is fundamentally linked to the concept

of "innocence", which implies that children tend to be characterized by such features as naivety, vulnerability, and irrationality. The role of the adult is threefold: to shelter the child from negative experiences, such as death, illness, sexuality, i.e., from knowledge and certain areas of social activity that do not seem to be child appropriate, as well as to discipline and educate. (Rubene, Dinka 2016). However, in the first half of the 20th century, for the first time, children were directly involved in politics when Nazi Germany and the Soviet totalitarian regimes made them the object and instrument of propaganda, by which the state ideological media violated an important fundamental principle of the concept of childhood in modern times - the child is innocent. (Ķestere 2005).

To reveal one specific aspect of childhood in the context of a totalitarian regime, using the Nazi occupation as an example, the following research **question was posed**: How was the image of the army used in the indoctrination of children and youth to meet the goals of totalitarian rule? The following historical sources were used to answer the main research question: pedagogical and daily press, which reflect the discourse of official power, and unpublished memories revealing everyday life during the war from a child's perspective. Nine articles from such publications "Izglītības Mēnešraksts" [Education Monthly], "Tēvija" [Fatherland], "Daugavas Vanagi: Latviešu Karavīru Frontes Laikraksts" [Hawk of Daugava: Newspaper of Latvian Front Soldiers], "Ventas Balss" [Voice of Venta], "Laika balss" [Voice of Time], "Kurzemes Vārds" [Courland's Word] were analysed. The collection of the Museum of the Occupation of Latvia contains memoirs written by Jānis Milzarājs (born in 1934) about his experience during World War II, as well as several photographs in which important events for the Milzarājs family are captured. In the present research, only 4 photographs were used, which illustrate one event, namely, a choir concert in the Great Hall of the University of Latvia.

Perspectives of Nazi propaganda: tactics, goals, and actions

Propaganda is always future-oriented (Arendt 1962). In Latvia, the image of the Nazi army as a liberator and defender persistently reinforced a vision of life in the New Europe, which was contrasted with the gloomy past during the Soviet occupation. The glorification of the future can be described as one of the main tools of propaganda, which was widely disseminated through all channels of public information, including political posters and the press. For example, the digital collection of the National Library of Latvia features a poster from 1942, where the German army is glorified by visual means and the slogan "Towards a Happy Common Future" as liberators who took care of the Latvian people's happy future in the New Europe. The central characters are strong, smiling soldiers of the German army, who are being greeted by the locals - men, women, and children - with flowers in their hands. (National Library of Latvia, digital resource repository). By visual means, the "correct" image of a Latvian civilian is publicly presented - a happy supporter of

the new order and its soldier and defender - the Nazi army. Visual propaganda was also propped by the Nazi censored press: Latvian civilians had to fully trust German news sources and not to complain about the difficulties of wartime, to follow all the orders of the German occupying power, to work hard to bring Germany's victory in World War II closer, and eagerly and enthusiastically await the beginning of happy life in the new Europe (Zellis 2007).

Nazi propaganda specifically targeted the youth as totalitarian powers had an inherent belief that the people of the occupied territories can be completely defeated and subjugated only if their next generation - children and youth - is ideologically treated (Ozola 2001). Consequently, the Nazi government perceived children and young people as shapers of the nation's future, non-military agents who needed a broad upbringing in accordance with the regime and ideology. In the context of the occupation, political propaganda was closely related to the pedagogical tools used in formal education, public activities, and the work of public organizations (Pine 2010).

The image of the Nazi army-fighter became an important pedagogical tool and was integrated into the daily life of educational institutions. One of the main ideas of Nazi upbringing was the common good of society, and thus, the common future of the new Europe. This idea was superior to self-interest and personal individuality. The prominent Latvian pedagogue J.A. Students wrote on January 1, 1942 : "Be faithful to your people and at the same time be active fighters of the new Europe." (Izglītības Mēnešraksts, January 1, 1941). It is noteworthy that the image of the army from the battlefield and the fighting front is transferred to civilian life as a powerful means of upbringing, emphasizing that not only weapons will fight for a better future, but also conscientious performance of duties, working for common goals (Izglītības Mēnešraksts, October 10, 1943).

People's Aid organization and Latvian Youth Organization as Nazi glorification channels

The glorification of the Nazi army had to be expressed not only in words but also in concrete actions. On October 30, 1941, People's Aid organization (PA) was established in occupied Latvia - an organization whose functions included providing material support to militants at the front, to indigenous peoples in need, especially women, children. Shortly after the establishment of the organization, school assemblage was formed at the PA, engaging children, and young people in the organization's extensive public work. The pedagogical press recognizes that the engagement of students in the work of school assemblage is a valuable tool in the social upbringing of young people, encouraging them to become active and educating them in a spirit of community (Izglītības Mēnešraksts, February 1, 1944). PA founder Jānis Preisbergs acknowledges in his memoirs that the organization was established to respond to the circumstances when the occupation put an end to the existence of the Latvian state, thus leading to the loss of state-provided means to help victims of war but providing little support to Latvians from Nazi Germany (Preisbergs 1991). On the other hand, for the Germans, the ideological basis for the establishment of the PA was the recognition in

the autumn of 1941 that the army was not sufficiently prepared for war in winter conditions. Consequently, a decision was made to obtain warm clothing and additional support for the supply of raw materials, such as metal, spinning materials from the occupied areas, including the Baltic region. The example came from Germany itself, where previously Winter Relief Campaign was launched (Evarts 2019). In its functionality and scope of activities, the PA formed an extensive network of its units in cities and parishes throughout the country (Kurzemes Vārds, March 15, 1944).

Statistical data available in the press suggests that in 1942, PA school assemblage operated at 1203 schools, emphasizing that the number is two thirds of the total number of all Latvian schools (Laika Balss, August 1, 1943). In 1943 and 1944, practically all schools were involved (Izglītības Mēnešraksts, February 1, 1944). Great importance was attached directly to the practical work that could be done through PA school assemblage. The primary goals were to ensure that students, who had been deprived because of the war, could get material support at their schools. According to the press, PA school assemblage actively involved young people in fundraising and volunteering to support frontline fighters. (Laika Balss, August 1, 1944). Latvian youth front fundraising work is compared with bridge connecting the front and the rear area, the soldiers on the battlefield and the next soldiers in the homeland. (Tēvija, February 23, 1942) Thus, a clear message is publicly conveyed: the army and the nation are united, in Latvian schools an army reserve is being raised.

The collected data show that, for example, in the school year 1942/1943, more than 150 000 Reichsmark, 11 300 pieces of linen, gloves and socks, more than 7000 kg of foodstuffs were collected while providing gifts to the soldiers. (Daugavas Vanagi: Latviešu Karavīru Frontes laikraksts, January 14, 1944). Young students from schools visited the wounded in the hospitals to distribute gifts or cared for the families of volunteer soldiers. Part of the donations for the PA school assemblage was made up of income from renting out school property, while the other part was provided by students themselves through organizing various events, such as theatre performances, concerts, lectures, charity evenings, as well as sports events (Tēvija, January 4, 1943).

The collection of charity concerts donations to support the soldiers at the front was organized by the children's choir founded at the PA. Compared to the activities involving the youth of the PA school, the choir consisted of a few dozen young people from Riga who wanted to sing. The press emphasised that this choir was based on the Youth Red Cross Children's Choir, founded in 1925, which was restored after the overthrow of the Bolsheviks to support the PA's "extensive, blessed work and express the eloquent sound of Latvian songs." (Tēvija, November 17, 1941) J. Milzarājs' records contain the photographs from the concert of the PA children's choir in the Great Hall of the University of Latvia on May 10, 1943 (Museum of the Occupation of Latvia, J.Milzarajs personal

collection). J. Milzarājs writes: Our parents (conductor Jānis Milzarājs (b. 1897) and his wife Ērika Milzarājs (b. 1898) and the choir were dressed in Latvian folk costumes (Museum of the Occupation of Latvia, J.Milzarajs personal collection) . During the Nazi occupation, Latvian symbols were not banned; on the contrary, the integration of old symbols into a new political reality was allowed as an instrument of manipulation to make the new power more legitimate and understandable. The hall was full, and the audience enjoyed the concert. Leaving the University, German soldiers photographed our parents on the street (Museum of the Occupation of Latvia, J.Milzarajs personal collection). In the memories of J. Milzarājs, the concert has remained an exciting, significant cultural event for his family, ignoring its ideological commitment. The presence of the German soldiers seems to be important to the child Jānis only because of a camera they have.

In parallel with the activities of the PA organization involving the youth, in the summer of 1942, the Latvian Youth Organization (LYO) was founded as a unified, comprehensive youth movement centred directly on the ideological upbringing of youth outside school. The task of the LYO was to raise a generation that would fully accept the Nazi doctrine and would be a strong support in shaping the new European order. The LYO operated under the direct supervision of the General Commission of Riga (Rīgas ģenerālkomisariāts). Children from the age of 10 were enrolled in the LYO (Tēvija, February 23, 1942). L.Ozola, based on the report of the head of the LYO organization Ē.Rullis, indicates that by the end of 1943, 5000 – 6000 members were enrolled in the organization, while by the end of 1944, about 8000 boys and 3000 girls were admitted (Ozola 2001). The upbringing tasks set out by the organization allow to see the portrait of the new generation that would satisfy the expectations of the regime. These are physically and mentally healthy people who are ready for tireless work for the people. They are diligent and strive for achievement both at school and at work. With an inherent military stance, resilience, honesty, camaraderie, and an inner desire to fight against Jewry, Bolshevism to build a new Europe (Ventas Balss, March, 1944). The reference to the need to emulate the soldier is unambiguous.

The Latvian Youth organization (LYO) was modelled on Hitler's youth organization. Young people from the occupied territories, non-Latvians, were not admitted to Hitler's youth organization, in accordance with the Nazi idea of the supremacy of the German people. Organizations needed the indoctrination of youth for totalitarian rule, but each nation had its own, namely, Latvians had to join the LYO, while Germans (including those living in Latvia) had to join Hitler's youth (Daugavas Vanagi: Latviešu Karavīru Frontes Laikraksts, January 14, 1944): Similar to the PA organization of school assemblage, LYO youth involved relief works, for example, agriculture and community work. The young people were asked to take care of the legionnaires by preparing food packages for them, girls were knitting socks and gloves, and visiting the injured in the hospitals (Ventas Balss, March

31, 1944). In parallel with these activities, training in civil protection took place - first aid for the injured, training assistance in communication and fire-fighting services, and other. The call for real, voluntary work intensified as the Nazis suffered a defeat on the front lines in the final stages of World War II. For example, in a proposal published in the press on March 31, 1944, the youth, "while fathers and older brothers are at war on the frontline" were invited to participate in Air Protection Service, People's and Soldiers' aid, first aid, field work, especially frontline yards, etc. (Ventas Balss, March 31, 1944). The official discourse revealed in the media coverage is complemented by the children's view of wartime events.

One of the brightest memories of J. Milzarajs' describes a happy moment when his mother baked a cake and entrusted its decoration to children: '(..) One day she [mother] baked a cake with whipped cream. My brother and I were entrusted with the artistic design of the top of the cake. We created two flags - Latvian red-white-red and German with the iron cross (swastika). When our father came at the table, he did not say a word, he smeared the German flag with a spoon. Our work of art was completely ruined (Museum of the Occupation of Latvia, J.Milzarajs personal collection). For boys, drawing the swastika symbol on the cake, unlike for adults, did not entail the loss of independent Latvia, occupation, repression, prolonged, difficult war conditions, and uncertainty about the future. For children, the swastika was a frequently seen symbol that was used in public space with a positive meaning, also in connection with the image of a brave warrior-defender. Through play, this symbol was transferred to daily routine, where, to the surprise of children, it was not perceived positively. This small episode illustrates the nature of wartime childhood: for children, whose families were on the list of unwanted persons for the Nazi regime, the war years were a confusing, exotic experience, both inconvenient and exciting change until the first serious tragedy that personally affected them.

Conclusion

Summarizing the information obtained in the sources, it can be concluded that in the childhood discourse of the Nazi occupation the image of the army was used as one of the educational tools with several tasks, namely, 1) to define a moral and visual model to be compared to; 2) to kindle feelings of gratitude for protection and ensuring a "happy" future; 3) to learn to subordinate their individual needs to the common good. The involvement of children and young people in PA school assemblage, the choir, and the Latvian Youth Organization in the context of Nazi ideology was given an educational role, making wartime youth prioritize common ideological goals over their individuality and personal desires. The teacher was equated with a soldier, integrating the image of a soldier into the school routine, and thus making the image of a soldier more understandable and acceptable in Latvian society. No less importance was given to children and young people as a purely practical force who is collecting donations or volunteering at the

request of the youth organization. However, a comparison of the official discourse propagated in the press with the memoirs written by Jānis Milzarājs about the time of World War II reveals children's perspective on their actions - ignoring the far-reaching goals of totalitarian power in everyday life but recognizing the existence of a particular time in circumstances that brought up unprecedented and, therefore, gripping, situations.

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DEVELOPMENT OF MARITIME TRANSPORT IN THE REPUBLIC OF LATVIA (1920-1929)

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Abstract

Development of maritime transport in the Republic of Latvia (1920-1929)

Key Words: *maritime transport, shipowners, shipbuilding, steamers*

Maritime affairs in the territory of Latvia have a long and significant history, they formed the basis for the revival of the Latvian people in the 19th century. Proclaiming the Republic of Latvia in 1918, the establishment of the national economy began. Maritime transport gained an important place. Until the beginning of the global economic crisis, Latvia managed to establish a significant transport fleet with the capital of private shipowners. The history of maritime transport in the interwar period has not been sufficiently studied. The research is based on archive materials, methodological document analysis method, statistical method, biographical method have been used.

Kopsavilkums

Jūras transporta attīstība Latvijas Republikā (1920-1929)

Atslēgvārdi: *jūras transports, rēderejas, kuģu būvniecība, tvaikoņi*

Jūrniecībai Latvijas teritorijā ir sena un nozīmīga vēsturē, tā veidoja pamatu latviešu tautas atmodai 19. gadsimtā. Proklamējot Latvijas Republiku 1918. gadā, sākās valsts tautsaimniecības izveide. Nozīmīgu vietu ieguva jūras transports. Līdz pasaules ekonomiskās krīzes sākumam Latvijā izdevās izveidot nozīmīgu transporta floti ar privāto rēdereju kapitālu. Jūras transporta vēsture starpkaru periodā nav pietiekami pētīta. Pētījums ir bāzēts uz arhīva materiāliem, metodoloģiski ir izmantota dokumentu analīzes metode, statistiskā metode, biogrāfiskā metode.

Introduction

Maritime affairs have had a special place among the questions regarding the history of Latvia since the 19th century and have served as a significant factor for facilitation of the national awakening, and they became basis of a successful economic life for a part of the Latvian people (Valdemārs 1904; Бирон 1962). Development of the maritime education within the territory of Latvia allowed Latvians to study at nautical schools that were established in the coastal villages, hamlets and towns (Miklāvs 1999: 3-31).

During the period of the Republic of Latvia (1918-1940), when the directions of the economic activities of the new state were formed, renewal and development of the maritime transport sector in the new state was reasonable and necessary due to several factors. Firstly, those were the shipbuilding traditions of the previous period; secondly, professional seamen who needed job had remained in Latvia; thirdly, there were ports in Latvia that were competitive with other ports of the countries located in the Baltic Sea region considering the navigation aspect. They could ensure maritime transport.

The aim of the article is to describe the maritime transport development of the Republic of Latvia from 1920 to 1929 when the economic development guidelines of the Republic of Latvia were determined and when significant results in the economic development of the independent state were achieved. **The aim of the article is to assess the development of maritime transport in the Republic of Latvia from 1920 to 1929, when the guidelines for the economic development of**

the Republic of Latvia were set and when significant results were achieved in the economic development of the independent state. Thus, the research material obtained in the article will contribute to the insufficiently studied history of Latvian maritime affairs in the interwar period. The document analysis, statistical method and biographical method are methodologically used in the research.

The historiographical context of the topic is based on the A. Aizsilnieks's research regarding the economic history of Latvia (Aizsilnieks 1968: 224-225;397-398), E. Krastiņš's review regarding the shipping development in the territory of Latvia (Krastiņš 2019:107-120) and H. Šimkuva's continued article regarding the activity of the merchant fleet of the Republic of Latvia (Šimkuva 1993). However, it has to be pointed out that there is still a lack of research dedicated to the maritime transport sector of Latvia that would provide an overall insight into the maritime transport development within the economic context. The basic research sources are the following: the materials of the Latvian State Historical Archive from the collection of the Maritime Department of the Commercial and Industrial Ministry of the Republic of Latvia (LVVA 1684 f.) and the collection of the Ministry of Finance (LVVA 6824 f.), as well as the statistical materials.

Situation in the maritime transport sector in the territory of Latvia after the First World War

After the First World War, the activities of the maritime transport sector begun in a different situation compared to the time before the First World War. The need for raw material supply to industrial companies was reduced, there was an unstable situation in the maritime transit because the condition of the international market was difficult as well. In Europe, the economic depression started in 1920, and in 1921 it reached its lowest level. In 1920, there were 45 ships in the maritime merchant fleet of Latvia – 5 of which were steamers (Aizsilnieks 1968:224). On the basis of the peace treaty concluded on 11th August 1920, 13 ships with 14,877 gross register tons (9,126 net register tons) including 6 steamers and 5 sailing ships were retrieved from Soviet Russia. The total loss of the world merchant fleet caused by the war amounted to approximately 25 %; however, for Latvia they exceeded 90% (Krastiņš 2019:107).

Development of the fleet of the Republic of Latvia in 1920s and its activity

At the end of 1920, the Latvian merchant fleet had 45 ships, but in 1922 the fleet consisted of 80 ships including 19 steamers and 61 sailing and sailing-motor ships (Latvijas statistiskā gada grāmata 1934:148). Despite the growth of the fleet in numbers, in general, a conclusion can be drawn that the fleet was renewed slowly. There was a lack of funding because the maritime transport sector is a capital-intensive sector of economics. The maritime sector belongs to those which require significant investments to begin their development and the investments can be recouped in a longer period of time; moreover, the maritime transport is a high risk transport. Discussions were also held in Latvia whether Latvia should try to renew the fleet as large in

numbers as it had been before the First World War (Aizsilnieks 1968:224). An opinion prevailed that the internal market of Latvia did not need so large merchant fleet as it had been before the war. According to the opinion of the leading politicians of the state, Latvia is an agricultural country and therefore state funds must be invested in agriculture, industry is the next. The maritime sector received state funding “...according to the principle of surplus...” (Meinerts 1928). At the 2nd seaman congress, the deputy of the Saeima A. Bīlmanis also said in his speech that from 1920 to 1927 the state had invested around 2 million lats in the maritime sector; however, at the same time 140 million lats were invested in the agriculture and more than 50 million lats in the industry. It was also pointed out that the high annual interest rate for loans – 12 % to 15 % – was unreasonable and it was difficult to get a loan. There were also discussions about the restricted participation of the ships in the shipping line service (Latvijas jūrnieku kongress, 2. Rezolūcija 1927:7).

It must be admitted that in order to renew the national economy the Ministry of Finance gave loans with an annual rate of 7% for repairs, construction and purchasing of the ships. From 1919 to 1926, loans amounting to 2 million lats were granted for these purposes, the maximum was reached in 1923 (LVVA 1684 fonds, 1.apraksts, 1439 lieta). Then funding of ship purchasing was undertaken by Hipotēku banka. Thus, within 13 years loans amounting to 5.2 million lats were given for the needs of the maritime sector. The loan conditions – 25 % of the value of the purchased ship for 4-6 years with an annual rate of 6.5 % – favoured purchasing of cheap and older ships. For instance, a steamer built in 1904 costed 160,000 lats (LVVA 1684 fonds, 1.apraksts, 1439 lieta). The Latvian merchant fleet was based on the ships purchased abroad. The Latvian merchant fleet was different due to the relatively great age of the ships, on average – from 25 to 35 years. There were also some ships built in Latvia in the fleet. In general, 29 ships were built during the considered period. It must be admitted that the purchased ships were often resold (LVVA 6824 fonds, 1.apraksts, 307 lieta: 199). Thus, until 1929, 161 ships were bought abroad and 31 ships were sold; in total, approximately 25 million lats were invested in the merchant fleet (Kraščiņš 2019:119).

In order to obtain the necessary resources for purchasing the ships, private persons founded joint-stock companies, share companies. In such shipping companies a ship often had more than ten owners. One of the biggest and strongest shipping companies of Latvia was owned by Fricis and Elza Grauds. At the beginning of 1930s they had 14 ships. Apart from the private shipping companies, in 1922 the State Ship Department was founded. It was a state company that owned 7 steamers. The private shipping companies of Latvia had joined together in the Association of Latvian Ship Owners that was managed by Artūrs Zēbergs.

Despite its high depreciation level, in general, the Latvian merchant fleet was efficient and profitable. It is also confirmed by the activities of the ship owners and private shipping companies that had invested their private capitals in the maritime sector since the beginning of the 20th century.

The merchant fleet reached the pre-war tonnage in 1927. The operational costs of the ships had increased by 25% compared to the pre-war period (Krastiņš 2019:119).

Considering the operation of the Latvian ships, the number and ownership of the ships arriving at and leaving the ports of Latvia shows that 1/10 of the amount of the external trade goods of Latvia was transported by the Latvian ships even though more than 90% of the external trade of Latvia went via sea way. (Pirmais Latvijas jūrnieku kongress 1926:6). Majority of the goods was transported by foreign ships. Thus, 999 merchant ships arrived at the Latvian ports in 1920. According to the ship flags, they could be divided into the following groups – 10.5% were the ships with the Latvian flag, 19.3% – English ships, 15% – ships of Denmark, 15% – from Germany.

Socially, the Latvian seamen were one of the most active groups of the employed. From 27 to 28 February 1926 the first seaman congress was held, but from 23 to 24 April 1927 the second seaman congress took place, in November 1928 the shipping exhibition of Latvia was held. Requirements to increase the state budget funds for the maritime sector and to give loans with lower interest rates, which would give an opportunity to modernize the fleet and to increase the merchant fleet in numbers, were put forward for the Saeima and government during the seaman congresses.

Administrative management of the merchant fleet of Latvia

During 1920s the economics of Latvia fitted in the economic system of Western Europe; however, the legal and institutional framework, where the economic sectors had to operate, had to be recreated. The maritime sector also needed a new legal and administrative framework. Administration of the maritime sector in the Republic of Latvia was entrusted to the Maritime Department that was established in 1919, for a short period of time it was called the Department of Maritime Affairs. At first, it was part of the Commercial and Industrial Ministry. Until 1939 the Maritime Department joined the Ministry of Finance. It was run by Pēteris Dannebergs (Latvija desmit gados 1928:129). In 1920, Andrejs Lonfelds became the director of the Maritime Department; however, in 1926 Arturs Ozols started to run it (Latvija desmit gados 1928:129). They all were managers and professionals of the maritime sector.

Conclusions

From 1920 to 1929 the development of the maritime sector was dynamic. The main focus was on the renewal of the fleet that reached the pre-war condition in 1927. During the Latvian seaman congresses in 1926 and 1927, there were discussions regarding the size of the merchant fleet of Latvia. The activity of the Latvian fleet was hindered by the foreign policy guidelines which preferred the English fleet transport from the ports of Latvia. Requirements regarding the involvement of the Latvian ships in the shipping line service were put forward for the Saeima and government during the seaman congresses. The financial support from the state was little, the private capital invested in the sector played the main role. The next development period of the maritime transport fleet began after the end of the world economic crisis at the beginning of 1930s.

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RIGHTS OF THE LATGALE REGION SELF-GOVERNMENT IN THE PROCESS OF DEBATING THE PART TWO OF CONSTITUTION IN 1922, AS DEPICTED IN THE HISTORICAL SOURCES

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Abstract

Rights of the Latgale region self-government in the process of debating the part two of constitution in 1922, as depicted in the historical sources

Key Words: *Constitutional Assembly, Satversme, Latgale region, transcripts, press, second part of Satversme, Francis Trasuns, Francis Kemps, Jezups Trasuns*

The Constitutional Assembly, the first Latvian parliament elected in democratic elections, commenced its operation in 1920 up until its powers were handed over to the first Saeima, parliament of the Republic of Latvia.

The Constitutional assembly was elected for the purpose of drafting and adopting the Latvian Constitution. By the Second part of Satversme, the Latvian Constitution, the authors endeavoured to regulate the legal relationship between the state and its citizens. The majority of political parties and deputies representing Latgale, wanted to ensure that the Latgale region would enjoy a rather wide spectrum of self governance rights stemming from the clauses and decisions included in the resolution of the Latgale congress of 1917 by including the respective regulation in the Section 99 of the Part two of Satversme addressing the autonomous rights of towns, villages and rural entities. However, the majority of the Constitutional Assembly voted against the mentioned proposal and rights of the Latgale region were left out of Satversme.

Transcripts of the Constitutional Assembly sessions allow reconstructing the mentioned historical events as well as permit studying the course of debating, voting results, as well as the consequences of the decisions taken. The mentioned historical events are also depicted in the Latgalian press of the time. Different types of media would publish various information and express diverging views about the event. In the research paper the author gives a brief overview about the political stance of the Constitutional Assembly regarding the issue of enshrining the rights of the Latgale region. The mentioned subject-matter has not been extensively studied and the main sources of research are the Latgalian press, titles like "Latgalīts", "Jauno Straume", "Latgolas Vords", as well as transcripts of the Constitutional Assembly of Latvia.

The author is aiming to broaden the perception regarding the political debate taking place during the sessions of the Constitutional Assembly. Also, to aid the readers, the author has compiled a glossary of the Latgalian language terms as used in the press.

The issue of the Latgale regional status reemerges every now and then, and points to the inadequacy of the regulation and definition of the status of the region. Thus, the issue that was left unresolved a century ago has retained its topicality throughout the years.

Kopsavilkums

Vēstures avotu licības par Latgales pašvaldības tiesībām Satversmes otrās daļas apspriešanā 1922. gadā

Atslēgvārdi: *Satversmes sapulce, Latgales pašvaldība, stenogrammas, prese, Satversmes otrā daļa, Francis Trasuns, Francis Kemps, Jezups Trasuns*

Pirmais Latvijas demokrātiski ievēlētais parlaments – Satversmes Sapulce savu darbu uzsāka 1920. gadā un turpināja darbu līdz pilnvaras nodeva pirmajai Saeimai. Tās mērķis bija izstrādāt un pieņemt Latvijas Valsts pamatlikumu. Turklāt, ar Satversmes otro daļu tika paredzēts noregulēt attiecības starp valsti un tās pilsoņiem. Vairums Latgales politisko partiju un deputātu Satversmes otrās daļas 99. pantā, kas noteica pilsētu, miestu un lauku sabiedrību pašvaldības tiesības, vēlējās panākt Latgalei plašas apgabala pašvaldības tiesības, kas nodrošinātu kontinuitāti 1917. gada aprīļa Latgales kongresa rezolūcijas lēmumiem. Satversmes Sapulces vairums nobalsoja pret šo priekšlikumu un Latgales apgabala pašvaldības tiesības netika ierakstītas Satversmē.

Satversmes Sapulces stenogrammas ļauj rekonstruēt šos vēsturisko notikumus, sniedz iespēju pētīt debates, balsojuma rezultātus un pieņemto lēmumu konsekvences. Minētie vēsturiskie notikumi plaši atspoguļoti arī tā laika Latgales presē. Dažāda virziena preses izdevumi sniedza atšķirīgu informāciju un notikumu vērtējumu. Pētījumā īsi raksturota Satversmes Sapulces politiskā nostāja jautājumā par Latgales pašvaldības tiesību nodrošināšanu.

Tēma vēstures literatūrā ir pētīta samērā maz Pētījuma avoti ir 1922. gada Latgales periodikas izdevumi: „Latgalīts”, „Jauno Straume”, „Latgolas Vords” un Latvijas Satversmes Sapulces stenogrammu izvilkumi.

Latgales pašvaldības jautājums ik pa laikam tiek aktualizēts, norādot uz nepilnībām reģiona statusa definēšanā. Jautājums, kas netika izlemts Latvijas Satversmes Sapulcē, savu aktualitāti nezaudē arī šodien.

Introduction

The distinct hystorical experience of the Latgale region (administrative reform, religion, form of farming, language and culture, etc.) lead to preconditions out of which a debate was born in 20th and 30ties about its regional status and autonomy within Latvia. Latgale regional rights, as set in the draft Satversme, presupposed broad regional autonomy rights that would be regulated by a special legislative act. Some Latgalian politicians were of opinion that in order to ensure harmonious development of Latgale, it necessary to form Latvia as a decentralised state or even a confederation. The said politicians endeavoured to enshrine the respective rights in Satversme, the constitution of Latvia. The other group of politicians, on the other hand, supported idea of a unitarian state without a special status for the Latgale region.

The first democratically elected parliament – Constitutional Assembly - in Latvia commenced its work in 1920 and continued to function until 1922. In the first part of the draft constitution – Satversme – contained provisions on the state system, but the other part was designed to regulate citizen rights and duties. Section 99 speaking about the rights of the cities, towns and rural communities, as included in the Part Two of Satversme, in particular, was designed to ensure just that – fix the rights of Latgale region and ensure contiunity of the decisions included in the resolution of the Latgale Congress of 1917.

Aims and objectives

Objective of this paper is to supplement and elaborate the existing knowledge on the political processes in Latvia during the peiod of 1920-1922 by means of reconstructing the process of the attempt to strengthen the autonomy and regional powers of Latgale, as well as the consequences of the failure to do so. To achieve the said objective, the author studies the ideological groups of the Latgale political parties, their views on the topic, as well as the results of voting and the implications thereof on the vote on the Second part of the Satversme in its entirety.

Sources and Literature

The information sources used for the research is the printed press from 1922. The main basis for the research are the following three papers: “Latgalits” (published by a Latgalian society “Kultura”, printed in Riga and Rezekne, editors J. Paberzs and V. Rubuls), “Jauno Straume” (published by the Latgalian Culture promotion society, printed in Riga, editor J. Trasuns and “Latgolas Vuords”(published by Latgalian Christian peasant Catholic party, printed in Riga, editors O. Velkme and O. Turkopuls).

The papers referred to are freely available from the digital resource of the Latvian National Library.

All the studied newspapers followed the events at the Constitutional Assembly very closely. They would publish excerpts from the debates, give comments and offer interpretation of the

events. Frequently papers would offer lengthy analytical articles about voting in the Assembly. From time to time, papers would also publish full length speeches of the Assembly members. Newspapers also would respond to the articles in the other papers and thus would engage in polemics with each other. More seldom newspapers would react also to interregional news or papers from Riga however in those cases normally no polemics would follow.

Comments on the Assembly events would appear with approximately one week delay. For instance, a voting on *Satversme* Second part was held on April 5th, but it would make it to *Latgolys Vords* only on 13th of April.

By means of critical evaluation of the information available in the published media, one can gain rather objective view on the events of the day. It shall be noted that the editors of the newspapers were representing certain political parties, and the political parties and their derivatives (cultural societies), in turns, were sponsoring the papers. Thus, it can be clearly seen that the respective newspapers would depict the views of the corresponding political party. The mentioned fact, in turn, points to the partiality of the information available, hence the credibility of the sources shall be taken with a grain of salt. However, at the same time one has to admit that the newspapers gave a wide publicity to the events in question and form a valuable source of information. Moreover, the author has analysed three different newspapers representing the views of different parties, therefore, it allows relatively versatile and credible reconstruction of the course of events.

The other source of information is excerpts from the transcripts of the Constitutional Assembly sessions in the time period of 1920-1922 that have recorded the process of debating, voting and rejecting the Constitution of the Republic of Latvia (*Satversme*) as well as the law On coming into force and application of the Constitution. The electronically available compilation of the Constitutional Assembly sessions transcript is based on the original source - original transcripts of the Constitutional Assembly sessions (Riga, Constitutional Assembly, 1920 – 1922). Selection and editing of the text is by historian Sarma Boge. Transcripts are published in a chronological order – corresponding to the timing of the sessions. The mentioned source has several advantages – it is freely available online, information contained therein is relevant for the subject matter of the research, as well as the text is available in the modern orthography. The original of the Constitutional Assembly transcripts is in the gothic writing. The available volume allows to follow the debates, study the process of adoption or rejection of the draft legislation and speeches of the politicians. (Excerpts from the Constitutional Assembly transcripts, 1922)

The topic on the Latgale region has also been explored by a Latvian historian in exile, Adolfs Silde (*Ādolfs Šilde*), who is of opinion that a position of the Latgalian Assembly members differed. (Silde, Adolfs, 1976, 360) Not all the deputies and political forces were willing to include the relevant rights in the constitution)

Also in the volume “History of Latvia in 20th century”, it is stated that: *As a consequence of the abstaining by a large amount of the Assembly members, not enough votes were cast in favour of adoption of the Second part of Satversme.* (Berzins, V, 2000). However, there is no mention of the fact that in their explanation to the presidium of the Constitutional Assembly, Latgalian Assembly members that unexpectedly decided to abstain, explained that their decision to do so was caused by refusal to guarantee the rights and liberties of the Latgale region.

In the “History of Latvia in 20th century”, it is mentioned that the reason for rejecting the second part of the constitution, was negative attitude of the right wing Assembly members towards the initiatives by the social democrats, like freedom to strike. As another reason for rejection is mentioned a general loss of interest on the part of politicians. (Bleiere, D. (ed.), 2005). Issue of the Latgale region and associated influence on the vote thereof is not mentioned or discussed.

Mikelis Bukss, Latgalian researcher in exile, however, has studied the Latgale region issue in the Constitutional Assembly, and has devoted a separate chapter in his book “Latgalian Awakening” (*Latgaļu Atmūda*) to the topic. The said chapter is titled “Region for protecting the integrity”. (Bukss, Mikelis, 1976). Bukss uses and describes a wide variety of sources including the transcripts of the Constitutional Assembly sessions.

Research methods

The research methods applied in the study - source research method, assessment of credibility and comparative analysis of different historical sources, statistical method, as well as linguistic interpretation method. Politically-ideological grouping of Latgale political parties and politicians regarding the issue of enshrining Latgale region rights in Satversme.

In Constitutional Assembly 39 members were elected from the Latgale election district. They had different views on the necessity to define Latgale region rights. The evidence thereof can be found in the excerpts of the Constitutional Assembly session transcripts containing speeches of the politicians during the debates, as well as Latgale regional newspapers published by the political parties that would normally depict the events in the Assembly in a couple of days time.

Historical sources tell that three main views were formed in Latgale political parties regarding the necessity to fix Latgale region rights. So called “Small” Latgalian block formed by Latgale Christian peasants party and the Latgale People's party consistently represented a view that the Latgale region shall be granted special status that would allow a different governance. Thus, it would ensure a continuity between the second section of the Rezekne Congress resolution of 1917 that called for a full autonomy in regard to land, language, religion, church, school and economic issues. (Soms, H., Ivanovs, A. 2018). The said block and its leaders were of opinion that by means of including Latgale region rights in the constitution (Satversme), a continuity of the Latgale

Congress resolution would be ensured. The biggest advocats of the mention position were Francis Trasuns and Francis Kemps.

Rights at this moment, the word given to the Latgalians shall be kept and a wide autonomy shall be granted to Latgale. However, I doubt that you will grant this promise given to Latgale by its peoples representatives. Back in 1917, the vast majority of the Congress participants trusted your promises too much without asking for any written evidence. But in these times one cannot expect anyone to honour their debts unless there is a written promisory note. (Translated from Latgalian language, Kemps F, Latgolys Bolss. Nr. 40. 1921). By searching for some reference in the constitutions of other countries (a Swiss model with cantons, example of Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia, the US states model), the “Small” Latgale block insisted that Latvia shall form a confederation, not a unitary state.

An opposite view was presented by Jezups Trasuns who was elected from the Labour party. This Latgalian politician was of opinion that Latvians would benefit from consolidation of the nation, the sooner the better, and one culturally and economically homogenous nation is the way to go.

Similarly, as in case of the Latgale block, he did not change his view throughout the duration of the Constitutional Assembly. According to his views, the endeavours of the Latgale block to secure a special status for Latgale were rooted in selfish intentions of the politicians aiming to secure their power in the region. *With support of the christians, the peasants party strives to ensure autocracy, not autonomy in Latgale. In the heads of eleven deep pockets an idea about a bank (Latgale Bank) and alike things was born.* (Translated from Latgalian language, Trasuns J. Jauno Straume, Nr. 4/5, 1922)

The mentioned politician was of opinion that the autonomy would not encourage but would rather slow down growth of Latgale. However, Mikelis Bukss was criticising Jezups Trasuns' position and suggests that the politician desired to see Latgalians quickly assimilated. Selected sources somewhat support the suggestion of the researcher: *Autonomy and all the Latgale deeds are made up things. People just want Baltishe¹³ to inhabit Latgale* (Translated from Latgalian language, Trasuns J., Latgalits, No 14, 1922); Historians in excile that have studied Latgale affairs when commenting the position of J. Trasuns, infrequently point to his young age¹⁴ and lack of political maturity. For instance, Mikelis Bukss in his book “Latgalu atmuda” (Awakening of Latgalians) has a following comment on J. Trasuns: *[..] a couple of Latgalian youngsters that have been elected in the Constitutional Assembly with a support of Balts, that have not understood yet anything about*

¹³ Baltieši (Baltishe) is term invented by latgalian intelligence in order to refer latvians who were not latgalians.

¹⁴ J. Trasuns got elected in the Constitutional Assembly at the age of 22.

the Latgalian awakening, that have not yet developed the Latgalian idea [..] (Translated from Latgalian language)

Latgale Peasants party, a party with the biggest number of members from Latgale, during the term of the Constitutional Assembly has changed its view regarding the Latgale question. When working on the First part of Satversme, its leader Juris Paberzs¹⁵ was against the regulation of the issue, while mentioning that perhaps it would have its place in the Second part. By its content the proposal shall not be accepted, - incomplete and too vague, it just repeats the definition of autonomy, however, the slogans before the Constitutional Assembly elections suggest that the aim is different – their own institutions. (Paberzs J., Excerpt of the Latvian Constitutional Assembly transcripts, 1920-1922, Translated from Latgalian language)

However, while debating the Second part of Satversme, historical sources contain evidence that the parties opinion has changed suddenly and cardinally. In the first two readings, the party voted against the Latgale rights, however, at the last and decisive voting, its deputies changed their view and in the debates supported the view of the Latgale block. *In a nutshell, there are a number of needs that each and every district cannot settle on its own and that can only be achieved by means of a district union – actually by means of a regional governance*¹⁶. (Paberzs J., Latgalīts, Nr. 14, 1922)

The political opponents have dedicated some emotional and juicy epithets like: *Trade politicians, Political jugglers, Tricks of the Latgalian peasant party etc.* (Jauno Straume, No 4/5, 1922)

Less studied but not the least important aspect of the historical events, is a position of the minorities towards definition of rights of the Latgale region. However the transcripts of the Constitutional Assembly sessions do not contain information on individual parties or deputies votes. Only the final count of votes is available.

Possibly the votes of individuals and parties have not been recorded due to the fact that voting was taking place by standing up or remaining seated. However, some implicit information in historical sources suggests that minority representatives were supporting definition of Latgale region rights in the constitution. Thus, according to the historical sources, during drafting of the First part of the constitution, Latgale regional rights were supported by 17 out of 152 members of the assembly. Moreover, newspaper Latgolys Bolss precises: A proposal from the Latgale Block only was supported by 17 votes (Latgale Block and the minorities) (Latgolys Bolss, No 41, 1921, translated from Latgalian language). Taking into account that Latgale Block had only 7 members, and being critical towards the newspaper but assuming the numbers are correct, one might assume

¹⁵ In the sources, name of the said Assembly member stands as Jurs Pabierzs, in Latgalian language.

¹⁶ Quote here and quotes further in the text are translated from Latvian and latgalian languages.

that by “minorities” they mean not only Assembly members elected from the Latgale region of Russian, Polish or Jewish origins¹⁷, but also four members representing minorities from other regions.

From Latgale region, also six socialdemocrats were elected in the Assembly. The overall position of the party towards any Latgale regional policy or autonomy was always negative. Assembly members elected from Latgale region, including Janis Pliksans and Elza Pliksane, did not express any different views from the party, therefore their stance is not further analysed.

The attempts to incorporate the Latgale region rights in the First and Second part of Satversme

Latgale regional rights issue was already mentioned during the work on the First part of the constitution. Historical sources reveal that Francis Kemps, representative of the Latgale Peoples' party, on the October 5, 1921 on behalf of the Latgale Block has submitted a proposal to the Assembly to include an additional section with the following wording: *Latgale enjoys broad regional autonomy, the scope of which shall be defined in a special legislative act.*

Transcripts of the Constitutional Assembly sessions evidence that a similar precedent was found by Francis Kemps in other European countries at the time – Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. *From an economically-political view, a territory of a distinct development may have a separate internal governance.* (Kemps F., Excerpt of the Latvian Constitutional Assembly transcripts, 1922 – 1922, 18) Reacting to the position of the majority and presidium of the Assembly to come back to the issue while discussing the Second part of the constitution¹⁸, arguably, the Latgale politicians, Latgale Block representatives in particular, were hoping to include the regional autonomy rights in the Second part of the constitution.

When working on the draft of the Second part of the constitution, Latgale Block actualised the same issue. F. Kemps, F. Trasuns and S. Ozolins on the April 4, 1922 submitted an additional proposal for inclusion in the Article 99 of the constitution with almost the same wording as was proposed for inclusion in the First part of the constitution.¹⁹

Position and voting on the issue of the Latgale Peasants party deserves a special attention, as the results of voting evidence that this party did not support inclusion of the Latgale region rights in the constitution, however, historical sources suggest otherwise. Namely, transcripts of the Assembly sessions and publications in the party newspaper Latgalīts suggest that there was a support to the said proposal to include an additional wording in the constitution. *We stand in support that the Latgale issue is regulated in the constitution... Mr Skujenieks says that the life itself does not*

¹⁷ Six Constitutional Assembly members in total from Polish parties, Ceire Cion, Jewish block, Russian citizen group.

¹⁸ Speaker of the Assembly has reported that the issue does not belong in the First part of the constitution but to the Second part or the Law on Municipalities. In the constitution as it stands currently, the issue is not addressed at all.

¹⁹ Rights of the cities, municipalities and rural areas.

require a single governance for Latgale. That is not so. The life itself certainly requires that. (Excerpt of the Latvian Constitutional Assembly transcripts, 1920-1922, 897)

Allegedly the issue of the Latgale regional governance has touched some Assembly members personally. J. Kindzuls has pointed to that as well as warned that such an attitude by the Assembly might cause an adverse reaction from the Assembly members representing Latgale region. *I shall remind to the honourable Assembly that all the Latgale issue is always taken with a certain merriment. That does not mean that the issue should not be taken seriously. I shall insist that the issue is worth considering seriously before we proceed with voting. The time will come when I shall remind you from this high pulpit – I warned you but no one listened.* (Kindzuls J., Excerpt of the Latvian Constitutional Assembly transcripts 1920-1922, 897).

Information from implicit sources suggests that this comment by J. Kindzuls implies that Latgalian Peasants party might have already decided to forestall the acceptance of the Second part of the constitution in case the vote for the Section 99 with proposed additions would be negative. It is supported by the events of the next day.

Latgale governance issue: The tripping stone of the Second part of Satversme

According to the historical sources, the vote on the Second part of the constitution, Satversme, in its entirety took place on 5th of April, 1922. Transcript of the Assembly session testifies that the voting was chaired by the president of Latvia, Janis Čakste. The transcript contains the following information: *I invite you to vote on the Second part of Satversme in its entirety. Result of the voting: In support of the legal act, 62 votes, against – 6 and 62 abstained, 68 in total, thus, the Second part of Satversme is rejected. We have an announcement from the group of independent Assembly members from the Latgale region, as well as Latgale Peasants party. I shall ask to read it.* (Kindzuls J, Excerpt of the Latvian Constitutional Assembly transcripts 1920-1922, 942)

Contents of the announcement shows that Latgale Peasants party and the group of the independent Assembly members has abstained from voting due to the fact that Assembly has rejected Latgale governance provision, as well as other amendments and additions related to Latgale region. Therefore, one might conclude that the Latgale governance issue was one of the main reasons why the Second part of the constitution was rejected in its entirety. At the same time, it is evident that Latgale Peasants party, independent Assembly members and Latgale Block alone cannot be blamed for the rejection of the Second part, as they all together had only 24 votes while voted against or abstained in total 68 which suggests that almost 2/3 of those voted against or abstained, were representatives of other parties.

Historical sources provide for a unique opportunity to find out what was the attitude of the Latgalian Assembly members regarding the issue in question, as well as to find out the reasons behind, which so far is a not well researched topic. After rejecting the Second part of Satversme,

Latgalian Peasants party and Latgalian Christian peasants party in their respective newspapers clarify the reasons for their vote by stating that it was a protest vote rather than a vote against the Second part of Satversme as such. Protest against unwillingness to honor requirements of Latgalians. The eventual reason was to gain a leverage for securing the Latgale governance issue. *The fist rised against Latgalians and well aimed hit is fought off* (Latgolys Bolss, Nr. 19, 1921)

Indirect hints in the historical sources suggest that Latgalian politicians believed that eventually the Second part of Satversme would be adopted, that also support the suggestion that the voting was not against the Second part as such but rather should be seen as an instrument to get some political leverage for their political goals (Latgale regional governance).

The following comment by Latgalian Peasants party can be found in the newspaper Latgalits.

There are fractions that desire to see the Second part in our Satversme. Latgalian Peasants party fraction also is of opinion that, provided it contains the amendmets and proposals essential for Latgalians, it would be necessary. Therefore, it is very probable that in the beginning of May it will be necessary to convene an additional session in order to resume debating on the failed Second part of Satversme. (Latgalits, No 14, 1922) Also in the Latgalian Peasants party newspaper Latgolys Bolss, similar assumptions are expressed. *Latgalians flunked that part of Satversme where all the sections were accepted already. Now it shall be drafted anew.* (Latgolys Bolss, Nr. 20, 1921)

By critical evaluation of the cited sources, the studied sources give an opportunity to get an insight about other Assembly members' views on the topic. For instance, politician O. Nonacs²⁰ has commented his position and vote in the newspaper "Jaunakas zinas", No 81 as follows: *Thus, Latgalians call for regress instead of progress as they insist that every balt that resides in Latgale shall learn their dialect that is just a mixture of Russian, Polish and Latvian words.* (Latgolys Bolss, Nr. 20, 1922) Information as quoted in the relevant source clearly suggest the relevant politician being uninformed about the historical development and peculiarities of Latgalian language.

Historical sources grant an opportunity to glance at the reaction from the Assembly members to the vote of Latgalian politicians. For example, Flunking the Second part of Satversme has left very unpleasant and surpriding effect on the Assembly members. *Baltishe were angry against Latgalians but Latgalians responded peacefully – yesterday you were laughing at us while rejecting the Latgale regional governance, today was our turn to laugh.* (Latgalits, Nr 14, 1922)

Replis correlate with the speech given by J. Kindzulis on the day before where he warned the Assembly about the possible measures by the Latgalian Peasants party, however it seems that nobody has taken it seriously. Namely, according to the Assembly sessions transcripts, Latgalians have actively debated and otherwise participated in drafting the Second part of the constitution,

²⁰ Assembly member, elected from Latvian Peasants party.

therefore, Assembly would hesitate to believe that Latgalians might surprise them with such a political measure. The protest vote was unexpected for all the Assembly.

Flunking the Second part of Satversme did not presuppose automatic rejection of it altogether. This is supported by the cited sources where the Assembly members comment on next possible steps and scenarios. However, the Constitutional Assembly eventually decided not to proceed with a repeated vote on the Second part. As a result, the state of Latvia was functioning without the provisions contained in the Second part of the constitution regulating citizen rights and obligations up until 1998 when the amendments to the constitution were adopted adding Chapter 8 on Fundamental Human rights. (Excerpt of the Latvian Constitutional Assembly transcripts 1920 – 1922, 3)

Conclusions

Latgale governance issue was topical and much debated. Rights and status of Latgale region were never clarified and up to this day is a subject to debate²¹.

The views of the Latgalian politicians about the idea of Latgale regional governance fall into four groups. Initiators and supporters of the idea represented the comparatively old generation of the Latgalian politicians represented in the Constitutional Assembly by Latgale Christian Peasants party and Latgale Peoples' party. Against the regional governance was Jezups Trasuns who represented the Labour party. Latgale Peasants party having the biggest representation in the Assembly turned out to be rather undecided, and even though initially they did not support the regional governance idea, later on in the final voting, supported it. However the Assembly members representing minorities in Latgale, except for Jewish parties, supported the regional governance idea.

Information contained in the transcripts of the Constitutional Assembly sessions in combination with the texts published in the newspapers, allow to reconstruct relatively precisely the course of the historic events related to the Second part of the constitution and Latgale governance issues. That also allows to study issues like attitude, arguments, views, reasons and consequences of politicians and political parties.

The selected historical sources confirm the view of historian Adolfs Silde that the vote of the Latgale politicians against the Second part of the constitution was the vote of a protest rather than voting against the document as such. And that is evident from the politician speeches available in the Assembly sessions transcripts, as well as from the articles published by the newspapers curated by the political parties and that appeared in papers a couple of days after the event. In the Latgale press one can find relatively little researched information about the conviction of particular

²¹ Latgalian gathering and its session in 2017 alias Latgale centenary congress and its resolution.

politicians that the Second part of the constitution would be put up for voting repeatedly and it is likely that the Assembly would revisit their views in favour of Latgale issues.

Selected sources are quiet however in regard to certain issues like credibility of J. Trasuns accusations to Latgalian Peasants party for changing their political views due to selfish reasons. The said information could be verified by means of other sources like personal correspondence, transcripts of the party sessions etc.

In other fundamental sources of Latvian history the issues has been studied only indirectly and the Latgale regional governance issue is overlooked. The only exception is Latgalian historian in excile Mikelis Bukss who has studied the issue closely. His work, however, expresses undivided simpathy for the ideas of Francis Kemps and Francis Trasuns and the political forces they represented. Mikelis Bukss is of opinion that a failure to regulate the issue of Latgale regional governance in the constitution is a betrayal of Latgalians and ignoring the resolution of the Latgalian Congress of 1917. Position of the other Assembly members he atributes to the young age and lack of experience. Thus, according to his view, the Latgalian politics should have been entrusted to the politicians of the older generation, not the younger ones (J. Paberzs and J. Trasuns etc.)

Overall it can be concluded that one part of historians have not paid much attention to the issue in questions or at least have not accentuated the said events, while the Latgalian historians in excile have studied the Latgale regional governance issue extensively, however, in their writing they express unconcealed political views and openly support or criticize certain politicians or events at the Constitutional Assembly related to the Latgale regional governance issues.

In the context of the regional studies, the study is relevant due to the fact that the views and actions of the Latgalian politicians eventually lead to the failure to adopt the Second part of the Constitution.

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FILOLOGIJA / PHILOLOGY

WORDPLAY: TERMINOLOGY IN ENGLISH AND LATVIAN LINGUISTICS

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Abstract

Wordplay: terminology in English and Latvian linguistics

Key Words: *wordplay, linguistics, terminology, clichés, relevance theory, slang*

Pun and wordplay do not have universal definitions and it is the ground for discussion aimed at clarifying what is to be considered as pun or wordplay. Several dictionaries define pun as a humorous play on words with two or more meanings. Thus, simplifying the very essence of what pun actually is. It is a complex linguistic phenomenon that involves the ambiguity of language and creates a complex system of layers of meanings, which can be either implied or explicit and which play a certain role. In these simplified definitions of this technique, it is forgotten that a pun can be dramatic, ironic or sarcastic as much as it can be humorous.

Even though there are hundreds of techniques that are a part of wordplay, the author of this article has investigated the most important terminology used in English and Latvian linguistics, such as acronyms, alliteration, assonance, consonance, double entendre, and many others.

Another important aspect is Relevance Theory. Relevance theory may be seen as an attempt to thoroughly describe one of Paul Grice's central claims that an essential feature of most human communication is the expression and recognition of intentions. Some scholars agree to the idea that utterances raise expectations of relevance, but disagree with the necessity for the Cooperative Principle and its maxims, the treatment of figurative utterances, as well as the focus on the implicit rather than the explicit content.

As a result of the study, the author detected that terminology involved in the sphere of wordplay is of high importance. Without the explanation of terminology used in discussing wordplay, it is impossible to understand the meaning and all elements involved in the theory of wordplay.

Kopsavilkums

Vārdspele: terminoloģija angļu un latviešu lingvistikā

Atslēgvārdi: *vārdspele, lingvistika, terminoloģija, klišejas, relevances teorija, slengs*

Kalambūram un vārdspelei nav universālu definīciju, un tas ir pamats diskusijām, lai noskaidrotu, kas uzskatāms par kalambūru un vārdspele. Vairākās vārdnīcās tie tiek definēti kā humoristiska vārdspele, kuras pamatā ir vārdi ar divām vai vairākām nozīmēm, tādējādi vienkāršojot pašu vārdspeles būtību. Tā ir sarežģīta lingvistiska parādība, kas ietver divdomību un rada sarežģītu nozīmju slāņu sistēmu, kas var būt netieša vai skaidra, un kam komunikācijā ir noteikta loma. Šīs tehnikas vienkāršotajās definīcijās netiek ņemts vērā, ka vārdspele var būt ne tikai humoristiska, bet arī dramatiska, ironiska vai sarkastiska.

Lai arī pastāv simtiem paņēmieni, kā vārdspele var tikt veidota, šajā rakstā uzmanības centrā ir terminoloģija, kas tiek izmantota angļu un latviešu valodniecībā, piemēram, akronīmi, aliterācija, asonanse, utt.

Vēl viens svarīgs aspekts ir relevances teorija. Relevances teoriju var uzskatīt par mēģinājumu detalizēti aprakstīt, viens no Pola Graisa galvenajiem apgalvojumiem, ka cilvēku saziņas galvenokārt ir nodomu izteikšana un atzīšana. Daži zinātnieki piekrīt domai, ka izteikumi rada atbilstības cerības, taču nepiekrīt kooperatīvajam principam un tā maksimām, tēlaino izteikumu apstrādei, kā arī fokusam uz netiešo, nevis tiešo saturu.

Pētījuma rezultātā raksta autore konstatēja, ka ar vārdspele saistītajā sfērā izmantotajai terminoloģijai ir liela nozīme. Bez vārdspeles terminoloģijas skaidrojumiem nav iespējams saprast vārdspeles teorijas nozīmi un visus iesaistītos elementus.

Introduction

Pun and wordplay do not have universal definitions and it is the ground for discussion on what is to be considered as pun or wordplay. Several dictionaries define pun as a humorous play on words with two or more meanings thus simplifying the very essence of what pun actually is. It is a complex linguistic phenomenon that involves the ambiguity of language and creates a complex system of semantic layers, which can either be implied or explicit and which play a certain role. In

these simplified definitions of the technique, the fact that pun can be dramatic, ironic or sarcastic as much as it can be humorous is neglected.

Wordplay is a term that is often compared or used as a synonym to *pun*. It is necessary to look into the definitions of these two terms offered by the previously consulted dictionaries. The definitions show that wordplay is a playful use of language and imply that it is similar to pun. However, scholars Hughes and Hammond (Hammond, Hughes 1978) have argued that pun is linked to perception while wordplay is linked to cognition. Wordplay includes linguistic manipulations such as play with grammar structures, morphology, semantics, etc., while pun is usually based on a single word, a phrase or a sentence with several overlapping meanings at once, making it a type of wordplay that specifically implies ambiguity and double-meaning.

Wordplay and pun can be considered in two senses – narrow and broad. This distinction of senses is related to the fact that pun and wordplay are difficult linguistic phenomena to define. Definitions range from using these two terms interchangeably to explaining that they have distinct functions. The author of this article understands wordplay in its broad sense and wants to note that in linguistic analysis the distinction between pun and wordplay is important as there are more than hundred types of play on words that do not have any similarities whatsoever. Thus, the analysis presented in the paper will focus on the broad sense, i.e. pun is a type of wordplay.

It is important to note that the pun is based on, functions and can be perceived and interpreted only in context. Within the context the pun can actualize itself and be an effective medium of communicating several meanings simultaneously. Through the context, a pun gains a role that ranges from humorous to ironic, dramatic, etc. Pun is just as diverse as any other figure of speech that requires extensive world knowledge and understanding of the system of language. It requires the sender to distinguish between meanings and put them into context that links the meanings into one single overlap. It is incorrect to assume that every pun is unique and genius, since there are puns that are trite and overused and therefore criticized and considered ineffective.

The classification of pun is just as difficult as its definition. Classifications proposed by Delabastita and Gottlieb (Delabastita 1996: 623) (Gottlieb 1997) are frequently cited and have a simple, yet concise classification of types of puns used in discourse. Delabastita distinguishes between homophonic, homographic, homonymic and paronymic puns. Gottlieb (Gottlieb 2005), however, adds that a homonymic pun includes three subclasses: lexical homonymy, collocational homonymy, phrasal homonymy.

Terminology

Delabastita explains that there is another division of puns apart from the previously mentioned classification, i.e. the distinction between vertical and horizontal puns. They can be explained as explicit or implicit puns, where horizontal pun is explicit in the sense that it provides a word of the

same form to trigger the meaning of the pun included in the other word, while the implicit or vertical pun demands a closer reading and understanding of the context and its ambiguity.

To illustrate some simple jokes based on wordplay for their humour:

Q: What did the ram say to his wife?

A: I love ewe.

Puns are some of the most frequently used forms of wordplay. Here, when spoken aloud, “I love ewe” sounds like “I love you.” But, the word “ewe” is the term for a female sheep.

Q: What did the mayonnaise say when the girl opened the refrigerator?

A: Close the door, I'm dressing!

This joke relies on two meanings of the word “dressing” for its humour – one for “dressing” as in putting on clothes, and one for mayonnaise being a type of salad “dressing.” (Literary Terms).

Even though there are hundreds of techniques that are a part of wordplay, the author has decided to describe the most important ones. **Acronyms** are often used in wordplay, which are similar to abbreviations. Acronym is the use of parts or letters of original words, for example, “UK” for United Kingdom, or “Brexit”, which stands for “Britain” and “Exit” (Literary Terms). **Alliteration** is the repetition of the same first consonant sound in a series of words. Alliteration is found in tongue twisters and nursery rhymes, for example, “The big, bad bear scared all the baby bunnies by the bushes” (Your dictionary). Assonance is the matching of vowel sounds in language, while consonance is the matching of consonant sounds (Your dictionary). These two techniques are classed to be very interesting as assonance makes a rhyming effect and consonance adds a pleasant sound to it. **Double Entendre** is a double understanding or perception of a word or a phrase. The words that are used have literal and figurative meaning, for example, “The baker has great buns” (Your dictionary). This sentence can be interpreted in two ways, which makes the figurative meaning funny. **Idioms** are very popular among various cultures. These are phrases that usually have figurative meaning. The English language is said to have over 25,000 idiomatic phrases. One of the most common examples of an idiom is, “It's raining cats and dogs” (Your dictionary). **Onomatopoeia** includes words that imitate sounds, for example, *tick-tock, meow, woof*. The use of **spelling** is a fun technique to use for wordplay (written form), for example, “Chris P. Bacon” (Your dictionary) is a name, which sounds like “Crispy Bacon”. **Rhyming** used in wordplay is something that attracts a person's attention. It is the repetition of sounds mostly used in poetry and nursery rhymes. **Slang** is a unique language expression, which varies according to different age groups, cultures, countries, beliefs and many other factors.

Having considered the terminology in both English and Latvian, the author can conclude that there are two terms that are not translated into the Latvian language. These two terms are **double entendre** and **spoonerism**. According to the data provided by the *Latvian State Language Centre*,

their advice is to name both terms as follows: 1) double entendre – divdomība; 2) spoonerism – antistrofs. This research proves that not all English terms have a direct translation or term in the Latvian language.

Relevance Theory and Puns

Relevance Theory may be seen as an attempt to thoroughly describe one of Paul Grice's central claims that an essential feature of most human communication is the expression and recognition of intentions. Wilson and Sperber (Wilson, Sperber 2006) agree with Grice's (Grice 1989) idea that utterances raise expectations of relevance, but disagree with the necessity for the Cooperative Principle and its maxims, the treatment of figurative utterances, as well as the focus on the implicit rather than the explicit content. "The central claim of relevance theory is that the expectations of relevance raised by an utterance are precise and predictable enough to guide the hearer towards the speaker's meaning" (Horn, Ward 2004: 607), i.e. speakers pay attention to details that are relevant to them. Relevance Theory, proposed by Dan Sperber and Deidre Wilson, is an inferential approach to pragmatics that is based on the definition of relevance and two principles or relevance: Cognitive Principle and Communicative Principle. Cognitive Principle means that the human cognition is geared towards the maximisation of relevance while Communicative Principle refers to the fact that utterances create expectations of optimal relevance (Wilson 2014). "The central claim of relevance theory is that, as a result of constant selection pressures, the human cognitive system has developed a variety of dedicated (innate or acquired) mental mechanisms or biases which tend to allocate attention to inputs with the greatest expected relevance, and process them in the most relevance-enhancing way." (Wilson 2009: 394). Ostensive-inferential communication is an important part of the Relevance Theory, i.e. if the speaker first requires catching the hearer's attention, then he speaker guarantees relevant information (Gan 2015) (Wedgwood 2007). To understand an utterance, there are two demands: 1. having enough contextual effect to attract audience; 2. enabling the audience to understand the contextual effect with a reasonable amount of effort. Despite the popularity and reach of Relevance Theory, it is poorly understood by many besides the practitioners (Allott 2013). It can be summarized as referring to implicit details, which hearer will discover on their own, without the help of the speaker who has only provided a clue in their speech. If the information found is relevant, the hearer will stop searching for any other implicit details or inferences. The scholars, for instance, Tanaka (Tanaka 1992) and Yus (Yus 2003) have explained that it is possible to explain the functioning of a pun within the framework of Relevance Theory. While interpreting the pun, the receiver must make an effort, i.e. process more than one meaning in the message (Mulken 2005). From the viewpoint of Relevance Theory, pun functions as two or more interpretations intentionally triggered by the speaker, but the hearer rejects the most accessible interpretations in search for a more acceptable

interpretation (Tanaka 1992: 62). The essence of the pun lies in its access to multiple interpretations – the receiver should access more than one interpretation of a given utterance for pun to succeed, or, as stated by Gan (Gan 2015), it “requires extra effort because the communicator uses an ambiguous contextual assumption deliberately, [where] the audience cannot readily see the context”. Successful communication relies on the audience’s recovery of the intended interpretation (Wilson, Sperber 2012). In a way, punning causes simultaneous decoding of information. In short, the hearer or the receiver decodes the pun simultaneously, both understanding the lexical meaning and the indirect semantic meaning which is embodied within ambiguity. In order to get a better understanding of puns the author of the article has collected some examples:

“Her cat is near the computer to keep an eye on the mouse.” double entendre technique has been used in this example. One meaning is that a real life cat is actually sitting near the computer and keeping an eye on a real life mouse. The second meaning is that a real life cat is near the computer looking at the computer mouse. “This candy cane is in mint condition.” double entendre technique has been used in this example too. The candy cane has a mint flavor and the second meaning is that the candy cane is very tasty. “This vacuum sucks.” also the double entendre technique has been incorporated. The vacuum cleaner actually does its initial job that it is made for, cleaning and sucking in dust and dirt. The second meaning is that it is not working properly and its suction system is not working or maybe some other problem exists. “The population of Ireland is always Dublin.” in this example there is a play on words with the term Dublin, which is the capital of Ireland. The population of Ireland is doubling, but with the homophonic use, it makes the sentence humorous. The terms wordplay and pun are synonyms and are often used interchangeably. They have very slight differences.

Word-Play in Latvian

In the Latvian language, the concept of wordplay has not been studied thoroughly. Latvian author and journalist Egils Līcītis often uses wordplay in Latvian newspaper articles, yet, they have been neither investigated, nor analysed in depth. “Vienīgi iespējamā aizsardzība ir iegalvot, ka mitināties vienistabas dzīvoklītī kopā ar vēl astoņiem radagabaliem komūnā, kā maznodrošinātais **zeķes nenēsājat, tamdēļ arī naudu nav kur glabāt.** (Latvijas Avīze. 01.03.2011. E.Līcītis. Tuk, tuk, vai kāds mājās?)” (Oļehnoviča 2012: 96).

Another Latvian scholar, translator and professor at the University of Latvia, Andrejs Veisbergs has studied such themes as *Lexical Blending as Word-Play (2015); English and Latvian Word Formation Compared (2013); A Cognitive Linguistics Account of Wordplay*, etc. He is probably the most involved scholar in the investigation of wordplay in the Latvian language.

The author of this paper has been focusing massively on the wordplay that exists in Latvian, the reason being that it is not a popular topic of research in the Latvian language in the field of linguistics. Some examples of Latvian wordplay are given by the author:

“Ar pieciem eiro paēdis nebūsi.” (Liepa 2010) the technique of double entendre is used here, meaning that you will not have enough of 5 euro to keep yourself fed. “Parēks banka un nomierināsies.” (Liepa 2010) in this example, the name of the bank “Parex” (which does not exist anymore) is substituted with the verb “Parēks”. The homophonic technique is used in this example: “Dzērām ar mēru. Mērs atlūza.” (Liepa 2010). This example has two meanings, 1. We drank with the mayor. The mayor broke. 2. We were drinking with measure. The measure broke. This is an example of the technique of double entendre, as well as the homonymy technique in the word *mērs*. “Šonakt līs, bet rīt būsīm skaidrā.” (Liepa 2010) – Once again, this example contains two techniques, namely, double entendre and homonymy: Tonight it is going to rain, but tomorrow we will be clear. In English, it does not sound the same as it does in Latvian. What the example means is that tonight we are going to be drunk, but tomorrow we will be sober. At the same time, what is meant is that tonight it is going to rain, but tomorrow the weather will be clear. The cultural aspect of the language effects the understanding of the example.

Conclusion

The current study is very important in elaborating the author’s Doctoral thesis. As for the conclusion, terminology in the context of wordplay is well developed and described in English, but that is not the case for the Latvian language. Terminology is necessary for comprehensive investigating and describing the whole spectrum of ways and techniques used by writers and speakers to play with words and invent something new and humorous, which is very important, yet, has not been very thoroughly developed, nor has it been extensively studied in the Latvian language.

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LIETVĀRDA APGUVES TEMATIKA SPĀŅU VALODĀ KĀ SVEŠVALODĀ: KONTRASTĪVAIS SKATĪJUMS

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Abstract

Noun acquisition in Spanish as a foreign language: contrastive study

Key Words: *noun, article, Spanish language acquisition, Spanish grammar*

Noun is the first language unit faced by a language learner trying to understand how to name a subject, phenomenon, feature or condition. It can be proven by the fact that the acquisition of the noun, its gender and number appear at the top of the content of linguistic didactic materials. However, words alone cannot express an idea, and each language has its own system of how this is achieved (Loja 1968: 204), therefore, it is essential to understand the noun paradigm of each language to be learned and how the seemingly missing word forms are replaced.

The noun paradigm in Spanish differs significantly from the Latvian language, because the Spanish language is more analytical and inflections are expressed through various prepositions, but their certainty or uncertainty is expressed by an article, which is only in some cases comparable to demonstrative pronouns in Latvian and is mostly not understood by the Latvian user.

The aim of the study is to highlight the most significant difficulties in acquiring the Spanish noun, which stem from the comparison of the grammar of Spanish and Latvian, and from the analysis of Spanish linguistics and the morphosyntactic differences of the noun in both languages.

The study methodology follows from an analysis of the morphosyntactic features of the noun described in Latvian grammar materials (Kalme, Smiltnece 2001; Beitiņa 2009, etc.) and their comparison with Spanish grammar (Alarcos 2000; RAE 2017, etc.) and the noun acquisition methods proposed by the Spanish linguistic didactics materials (Rozenbergs 1997; Aragonés, Palencia 2010; Seijas, Troitiño 2018; González, Romero 2019, etc.).

The study concludes that it is necessary to include a more complete explanation of the noun in the teaching materials, combining it immediately with the use of the article and prepositions that express the equivalent inflections to the nouns of the Latvian language. Similarly, it is necessary to contrast other independent word classes that influence the specifics of morphosyntax in Latvian and Spanish and to develop the Spanish language teaching material aimed at native Latvian users.

Kopsavilkums

Lietvārda apguves tematika spāņu valodā kā svešvalodā: kontrastīvais skatījums

Atslēgvārdi: *lietvārds, artikuls, spāņu valodas apguve, spāņu valodas gramatika*

Lietvārds ir pirmā valodas vienība, ar kuru saskaras valodas apguvējs, mēģinot saprast, kā nosaukt kādu priekšmetu, parādību, pazīmi vai stāvokli. To apliecina arī lingvodidaktikas materiālu satura augšgalā norādītā lietvārda, tā dzimtes un skaitļa apguve. Taču vārdi paši par sevi nespēj izteikt domu un katrā valodā ir sava sistēma, kā tas tiek panākts (Loja 1968: 204), tāpēc ir būtiski izprast katras apgūstamās valodas vārdšķiru paradigmu un to, kā tiek aizstātas tās vārdu formas, kuras šķietami trūkst.

Lietvārda paradigma spāņu valodā būtiski atšķiras no latviešu valodas, jo spāņu valoda ir vairāk analītiska un tajā locījums izsaka ar dažādu prievārdu palīdzību, bet to noteiktību vai nenoteiktību izsaka artikuls, kurš tikai dažos gadījumos ir pielīdzināms latviešu valodas norādāmajiem vietniekvārdiem un lielākoties latviešu valodas lietotājam nav izprotams.

Pētījuma mērķis ir uzsvērt būtiskākās spāņu valodas lietvārda apguves grūtības, kas izriet no spāņu un latviešu valodas gramatikas sastatījuma un spāņu lingvodidaktikas izdevumu analīzes lietvārda morfosintaktisko atšķirību fiksēšanai abās valodās.

Pētījuma metodoloģija ir balstīta uz latviešu gramatikas materiālos (Kalme, Smiltnece 2001; Beitiņa 2009 u.c.) aprakstīto lietvārda morfosintaktisko pazīmju analīzi un to sastatījumu ar spāņu valodas gramatiku (Alarcos 2000; RAE 2017 u.c.), kā arī spāņu lingvodidaktikas izdevumu piedāvātajiem lietvārda apguves paņēmieniem (Rozenberga 1997; Aragonés, Palencia 2010; Seijas, Troitiño 2018; González, Romero 2019 u.c.).

Pētījuma rezultātā secināts, ka mācību materiālos nepieciešams iekļaut pilnīgāku lietvārda skaidrojumu, apvienojot to uzreiz ar artikula lietojumu un prievārdiem, kas izsaka latviešu valodas lietvārdiem ekvivalentus locījumus. Līdzīgi nepieciešams sastatīt arī citas patstāvīgās vārdšķiras, kas ietekmē valodas morfoloģijas un sintakses specifiku, un veidot spāņu valodas mācību līdzekļus, kuru mērķauditorija ir latviešu dzimtas valodas lietotāji.

Ievads

Kopš Māras Rozenbergas izdotajām (1995; 1996; 1997) un vairākkārt pārpublicētajām (2002; 2008; 2012.), taču ne papildinātajām, spāņu valodas mācību grāmatām, Latvijā praktiski nav

pieejami spāņu valodas mācību materiāli, kas būtu paredzēti latviešu kā dzimtās valodas lietotājam (Rozenberga 2014: 264).

Tāpat arī tikpat kā nav veikti sastatāmie pētījumi spāņu un latviešu valodā, izņemot divas Māras Rozenbergas publikācijas Liepājas Universitātes rakstu krājumā “Valodu apguve: problēmas un perspektīva” (Rozenberga 2014; 2015). Pavisam nedaudz ir pētīti personvārdu atveides, tulkošanas, starpkultūru un sociolingvistiskie aspekti (Ceplītis 1961; 1969; Placinska 2009, 2014). Neskatoties uz to, kopš 90. gadu beigām spāņu valodas apguve notiek vairākās Latvijas augstskolās (Latvijas Kultūras akadēmijā, Latvijas Universitātē, Liepājas Universitātē, Daugavpils Universitātē, Rīgas Juridiskajā augstskolā, Rīgas Tehniskajā Universitātē, Stokholmas Ekonomikas augstskolā Rīgā, Ventpils Augstskolā) (Placinska 2021; Torres 2021), vidusskolās (Rīgas 3. ģimnāzija, Rīgas Valsts vācu ģimnāzija, Cēsu valsts ģimnāzijā u. c.) un tehnikumos (Kuldīgas Tūrisma un tehnoloģiju tehnikumā), kas apliecina atbilstošu mācību materiālu nepieciešamību. Pedagogi, kuru starpā ir arī spāņu kā dzimtās valodas lietotāji, lielākoties izmanto Spānijā izdotos un saskaņā ar Eiropas kopīgajām pamatnostādņēm valodu apgūvē (EKPVA) veidotos, spāņu valodas kā svešvalodas mācību materiālus.

Lietvārds ir pirmā valodas vienība, ar kuru saskaras valodas apgūvējs, mēģinot saprast, kā nosaukt kādu priekšmetu, parādību, pazīmi vai stāvokli. To apliecina gan lingvodidaktikas materiālu (*Diverso, Impresiones, Aula internacional, Nuevo español en marcha* u.c.), gan gramatikas mācību grāmatu (Jacobi u.c. 2016; Castro, Ballesteros 2018; Seijas, Troitiño 2018; González Romero 2019 u.c.) satura augšgalā norādītā lietvārda, tā dzimtes un skaitļa apguve. Taču vārdi paši par sevi nespēj izteikt domu un katrā valodā ir sava sistēma, kā tas tiek panākts (Loja 1968: 204), tāpēc ir būtiski izprast katras apgūstamās valodas vārdšķiru paradigmas un to, kā tiek aizstātas tās vārdu formas, kuras šķietami trūkst, kā tas ir gadījumā, kad tiek sastatīta spāņu un latviešu valoda.

Pētījuma mērķis ir uzsvērt būtiskākās spāņu valodas lietvārda apguves grūtības, kas izriet no spāņu un latviešu valodas gramatikas sastatījuma un spāņu lingvodidaktikas izdevumu analīzes lietvārda morfosintaktisko atšķirību fiksēšanai abās valodās.

Pētījuma metodoloģijā izmantots lietvārda morfosintaktisko īpašību apraksts latviešu (Kalme, Smiltiece 2001; Beitiņa 2009) un spāņu (Alarcos 2000; Hualde, Olarrea u.c. 2013; Gutiérrez 2019; RAE 2017) gramatikā, attiecīgo kategoriju analīze un pārnese no spāņu valodas uz latviešu valodu, atšķirību fiksēšana un skaidrojumu meklēšana spāņu gramatikas teorijās un spāņu valodas kā svešvalodas rokasgrāmatās un mācību grāmatās (Aragonés, Palencia 2010; Jacobi u. c. 2016; Alonso, Castañeda u.c. 2018; Castro, Ballesteros 2018; Seijas, Troitiño 2018; González Romero 2019).

Lietvārda paradigma spāņu valodā būtiski atšķiras no latviešu valodas, jo spāņu valoda ir vairāk analītiska un tajā locījumus izsaka ar dažādu prievārdu palīdzību, bet to noteiktību vai nenoteiktību izsaka artikuls, kurš tikai dažos gadījumos ir pielīdzināms latviešu valodas norādāmajiem vietniekvārdiem un lielākoties latviešu valodas runātājam nav izprotams, un skaidrojumos lietotā starpniekvaloda, angļu vai krievu valoda, arī nav risinājums visu ar lietvārdu saistīto gramatisko kategoriju skaidrošanai.

Latviešu valodā lietvārdam raksturīgas trīs pazīmes: priekšmetiskums, deklinācija un sintaktiskais lietojums. Ar priekšmetiskumu saprotams tas, ka lietvārds apzīmē dažādas norises, stāvokļus un pazīmes, kas ir patstāvīgi eksistējošas (Kalme, Smiltniece 2001: 60). No sintakses viedokļa latviešu valodā lietvārds teikumā var būt jebkurš teikuma loceklis, bet no morfoloģijas viedokļa lietvārdam piemīt visas vārddarināšanas formas: afiksācija, salikteņu veidošana, konversija, skaņu pārmaiņas (Kalme, Smiltniece 2001: 61).

Spāņu Karaliskās akadēmijas skaidrojošajā vārdnīcā (DRAE) atrodams skaidrojums, ka lietvārdi ir vārdšķira, kurai piemīt dzimte un skaitlis, kas veido nominālus vārdu savienojumus ar dažādām sintaktiskām funkcijām un apzīmē dažāda rakstura vienības.

Valodas apguves tiešsaistes platforma *Lingolia* lietvārda vārdšķiru skaidro kā vārdus, kas “apzīmē materiālus vai nemateriālus elementus, kas eksistē reālajā pasaulē, vai arī apzīmē domas. Lietvārdus parasti pavada artikuli, determinanti vai tos aizstāj vietniekvārdi” (*Lingolia*). Šī definīcija šķiet vispiemērotākā no valodas apguves viedokļa, jo tā paskaidro, ka lietvārda kategorija spāņu valodā nav šķirama no artikula kā determinanta.

Tātad spāņu valodā viena no pamatpazīmēm, kas šķir lietvārdu no citām vārdšķirām ir artikula lietojums pirms tā. Izšķir sieviešu un vīriešu dzimtes, vienskaitļa un daudzskaitļa, noteiktos (*la, el, los, las*) un nenoteiktos artikus (*un, una, unos, unas*), un attiecīgi spāņu valodas lietvārdiem piemīt dzimtes un skaitļa kategorija, bet tiem nedz deklināciju, nedz locījumu. Līdzīgi kā citās romāņu valodās un angļu valodā, lai izteiktu lietvārda sintaktisko un semantisko nozīmi teikumā, pirms lietvārdiem tiek lietoti prievārdi. Lietvārda lietojums bez artikula apzīmē priekšmetu kopu, savukārt, lietojot lietvārdu savienojumā ar artikulu, tas identificē konkrētu lietu un izceļ to no kopuma, tātad, tas, nevis klasificē, bet identificē (Alarcos 2000: 69).

Lietvārda dzimtes kategorija spāņu valodā

Neskatoties uz artikula sasaisti ar lietvārdu, spāņu valodā lietvārda dzimtes noteikšana, neizmantojot vārdnīcu, valodas apguvējam sagādā ne mazums grūtību. Tādēļ spāņu valodā nošķir dažādas dzimtes noteikšanas kategorijas un tajās iekļautos izņēmumus:

- 1) pie vīriešu dzimtes lietvārdiem pieskaitāmi gandrīz visi tie vārdi, kas beidzas ar **-o**, izņemot vārdus *la mano* (‘roka’) un tādus vārdus, kas lietoti saīsinātās formās: *la foto(grafía)*, *la moto(cicleta)*, *la radio(difusión)* (Hualde, Olarrea et al. 2013: 138). Vīriešu dzimtes lietvārdi

nosakāmi arī pēc izskaņām **-aje, -or, -miento, -ma, -ón, -í, -ú** (Alonso u. c. 2007: 15; Jacobi u. c. 2016: 19; Seijas, Troitiño 2018: 16; Romero u. c. 2018: 8);

- 2) pie sieviešu dzimtes lietvārdiem pieskaitāmi gandrīz visi lietvārdi, kas beidzas ar galotni **-a**, izņemot tādus vārdus kā *día* ('diena'), *poeta* ('dzejnieks'), *mapa* ('karte'), grieķu izcelsmes vārdi, kas beidzas ar **-ma**: *drama* ('drāma'), *poema* ('dzejolis'), *sintagma* ('sintagma') u. c. (Hualde, Olarrea et al 2013, 138). Tāpat sieviešu dzimti nosaka lietvārdiem raksturīgās izskaņas **-ez, -triz, -isa, -esa, -ción, -sión, -(i)dad, -tad, -tud, -umbre, -ancia, -anza, -encia** (Jacobi et al 2016: 19; Alonso et al. 2007: 15; Seijas, Troitiño 2018: 16; Romero et al 2018: 8). Māra Rozenberga uzsver, ka spāņu valodas lietvārdi ar izskaņām **-ción, -sión** atbilst angļu un franču valodas lietvārdiem, kas beidzas ar izskaņām **-sion un -tion**, piemēram, *comunicación* (ang. *communication*, fr. *communication*), *decisión* (ang. *decision*, fr. *décision*) (Rozenberga 2014: 263);
- 3) lietvārdi, kas beidzas ar izskaņu **-ista** un **-ante** un ir attiecināmi uz cilvēku, ir gan sieviešu, gan vīriešu dzimtes vārdi: *el optimista* ('optimists')/ *la optimista* ('optimiste'), *el cantante* ('dziedātājs')/ *la cantante* ('dziedātāja') (Romero, González 2019: 36). Tos sauc arī par kopīgās dzimtes (*género común*) lietvārdiem, un to dzimti šķir tikai artikuls, piemēram, *el artista* ('mākslitnieks') un *la artista* ('māksliniece') un epicentra dzimti (*género epicentro*), kad dzimti izšķir savienojums ar citu dzimti aprakstošu vārdu, piemēram, *la serpiente macho* ('čūskas tēviņš') un *le serpiente hembra* ('čūskas mātīte') (Gutierrez 2019: 127; Romero, González 2019: 36);
- 4) lietvārdi, kuru galotne ir **-e** vai kuri beidzas ar līdzskani, arī var būt gan sieviešu, gan vīriešu dzimtē un to noteikšanu neregulē neviens gramatiskais likums. Tādējādi spāņu valodā lieto *el coche* ('automašīna'), bet *la noche* ('nakts'), *el sol* ('saule') un *la sal* ('sāls'), *el análisis* ('analīze'), *la síntesis* ('sintēze') u. tml. Vieglāk noteikt atvasināto lietvārdu dzimtes kategorijas, kurās lietvārdu galotnes norāda uz sieviešu dzimti (Alonso et al. 2007: 15; Hualde, Olarrea et al 2013: 138; Romero et al 2018: 8);
- 5) atkarībā no lietvārda dzimtes spāņu valodā mainās tā nozīme (Jacobi et al 2016: 20; González, Romero 2019: 5): *el cólera* ('holēra')/ *la cólera* ('dusmas'), *el capital* ('kapitāls')/ *la capital* ('galvaspilsēta'), *el orden* ('kārtība')/ *la órden* ('religijsks ordenis', 'kratīšanas ordenis'), *el editorial* ('raksts presē')/ *la editorial* ('izdevniecība'), *el radio* ('rādiuss')/ *la radio* ('radio'), *el guía* ('gids')/ *la guía* ('ceļvedis'), *el frente* ('fronte')/ *la frente* ('piere');
- 6) augļkoku nosaukumi ir vīriešu dzimtes vārdi, bet to augļi – sieviešu: *el manzano* ('ābele')/ *la manzana* ('ābols'), *el naranjo* ('apelsīnkoks')/ *naranja* ('apelsīns') (Jacobi et al 2016, 19);
- 7) dzimte nosaka lietas apmēru, parasti sieviešu dzimtē izteiktās lietas ir lielākas: *el bolso* ('soma')/ *la bolsa* ('soma'), *el cuchillo* ('nāzis')/ *la cuchilla* ('nāzis'), *el jarro* ('krūka')/ *la*

jarra ('krūka') (Jacobi et al 2016: 19);

- 8) vīriešu dzimtē parasti ir ar pasaules ūdenstilpnēm un kalniem saistītie nosaukumi: *el Titicaca* ('Titikakas ezers'), *el Atlántico* ('Atlantijas okeāns'), *los Alpes* ('Alpu kalni'); nedēļas dienu nosaukumi: *el lunes* ('pirmdiena'), *el domingo* ('svētdiena'); gada mēnešu nosaukumi: *enero* ('janvāris'), *abril* ('aprīlis');
- 9) sieviešu dzimtē spāņu valodā ir alfabēta burtu nosaukumi: *la a* ('a'), *la b* ('bē') (Jacobi et al 2016: 19);
- 10) izšķir arī t. s. nenoteiktās dzimtes lietvārdus, kas pieļauj abu dzimšu lietojumu: *el mar / la mar*, *azúcar moreno* un *azúcar blanca* (bet daudzskaitlī vienmēr vīriešu dzimtē *los azúcares refinados*), *el dote / la dote* (daudzskaitlī vienmēr sieviešu dzimtē *las dotes*) (Alarcos 2000: 62). Gadījumos, kad lietvārds sākas ar patskani **a-** redzams, ka piemērus labāk skaidro lietvārda saistījums ar īpašības vārdu, kur tas attiecīgi pieskaņojas sieviešu vai vīriešu dzimtē.

Skaidrojums nav viennozīmīgs, dažādos mācību līdzekļos autori dzimti noteicošās izskaņas skaidro šaurāk vai plašāk. No skatītajiem materiāliem vissmalkāko aprakstu sniedz A2 valodas apguves līmeņa gramatikas mācību grāmatas (Romero u. c. 2018; Seijas, Troitiño 2018). Jo smalkāks apraksts atrodams mērķvalodas gramatikā, jo vieglāk šos nosacījumus pielīdzināt latviešu valodas normām un noteikt kopīgo un atšķirīgo.

Lietvārda skaitļa kategorija spāņu valodā

Lietvārda daudzskaitļa veidošana spāņu valodā, balstoties uz lietvārda pamatformu (vienskaitli), parasti nesagādā lielas grūtības. Daudzskaitļa veidošanas pamatlikums nosaka, ka visiem lietvārdiem, kas beidzas ar patskani, daudzskaitli veido pievienojot galtoni **-s**: *casa / casas* ('māja / mājas'), savukārt, lietvārdiem, kas beidzas ar līdzskani, daudzskaitlī pievienojama galotne **-es** : *español / españolas* ('spānis / spāņi'). Tomēr arī šeit minami būtiski izņēmumi, ar kuriem valodas apguvējs sastopas jau valodas apguves iesācēja līmenī (Hualde u.c.2013: 143; Jacobi u. c. 2016: 21; Romero, González 2019: 38-39):

- 1) spāņu valodā ir vārdi, kuru forma vienskaitlī un daudzskaitlī sakrīt: *la / las crisis* ('krīze (-s)'), *el / los paraguas* ('lietussargs (-i)'), nedēļas dienas: *el / los lunes* ('pirmdiena (-as)');
- 2) dažiem lietvārdiem, kas beidzas ar uzsvērtu patskani daudzskaitlī, pieļaujamas gan galotne **-s**, gan **-es**: *el jabalí/ los jabalís (jabalíes)* ('mežacūka (-as)'), *el menú / los menús* (menues) ('ēdienkarte (-es'), bet dažiem ir pieļaujama tikai viena forma: *el sofá / los sofás* ('dīvāns (-i)');
- 3) svešvārdiem, kas beidzas ar līdzskani, daudzskaitlī pievieno tikai galotni **-s**: *el chef / los chefs*, *el robot / los robots*;
- 4) lietvārdos, kas beidzas ar **-z**, daudzskaitlī notiek līdzskaņu mija un **z** mainās uz **c**: *la actriz / las actrices* ('aktrise (-es)').

Būtiska fonētiska nozīme ir zilbju skaita maiņai, veidojot daudzskaitļa vārdus. Tā, piemēram, vārdā *letón* ('latvietis') uzsvars ir uz pēdējo zilbi, savukārt, daudzskaitlī *letones* ('latvieši') uzsvērtā zilbe tiek atvērta un ar uzsvara zīmi vairs nav norādāma.

Sastatot spāņu un latviešu valodu, interesi raisa vienskaitlinieku un daudzskaitlinieku unikālās formas. Lai gan abās valodās ir sastopami gan vienskaitlinieki, gan daudzskaitlinieki, tie ne vienmēr ir ekvivalenti. Abās valodās sakrīt tādi vienskaitlinieki kā *ropa* ('apģērbs') un daudzskaitlinieki *tijeras* ('šķēres'), *pantalones* ('bikses'), *gafas* ('brilles'), lai gan pieņemams ir arī vienskaitļa lietojums: *la tijera*, *el pantalón*, *la gafa*, savukārt, latviešu valodā sastopama arī daudzskaitļa forma 'apģērbi'. Savukārt, spāņu valodā lietoti vienskaitlinieki: *gente* ('ļaudis'), *llanto* ('raudas'), *ceniza* ('pelni'), *dolor* ('sāpes'), *tristeza* ('skumjas'), *harina* ('milti') latviešu valodā atbilst daudzskaitliniekiem.

Dažkārt ierasto vienskaitlinieku lietojums daudzskaitlī piešķir lietvārdiem pārnestu vai abstraktu nozīmi, piemēram, *la escalera / las escaleras*, *el intestino* ('zarnas') / *los intestinos* ('iekšas') vai pat pavisam citu nozīmi *la razón* ('saprāts') / *las razones* ('iemesli') (Alarcos 2000, 65).

Lietvārda locījuma kategorija spāņu valodā

Dažādās valodās locījuma jēdzienu veido dažādi, ar to saprotot 1) lietvārda locījuma formas (baltu, slāvu valodās) vai 2) īpašus locījumu prievārdus, kas tiek pievienoti lietvārdiem locījumu apzīmēšanai (romāņu, ģermāņu valodās). Valodās, kurās lietvārdi nemainās, attiecības starp vārdiem tiek apzīmētas ar prievārdiem (Loja 1968: 224).

Spāņu valoda ir analītiski fleksīva valoda, kurā vārdu attiecību pret citiem vārdiem izsaka ar prievārdu palīdzību un vārdu secību teikumā. Spāņu valodā lietvārdiem nav locījumu un locījumu nozīmi izsaka, lietojot prievārdu pirms lietvārda.

Novērojumi liecina, ka latviešu valodas runātājiem – studentiem grūtības sagādā tas, ka spāņu valodā lietvārdiem nav deklināciju un tie nepakļaujas locījumiem. To vietā nepieciešams, paralēli lietvārdu apguvei, līdzīgi kā artikuluss, apgūt arī dažus pamata prievārdus, ar kā palīdzību var izteikt ģenitīvu, datīvu, akuzatīvu, lokatīvu. Pirmās kļūdas parādās, veidojot teikumus ģenitīvā, piemēram, vārdu savienojumu ('*māsas grāmata*') studenti nereti izsaka ar *hermanas el libro*, lietvārdam *hermana* ('*māsa*') pieliekot latviešu 4. deklinācijas ģenitīva galotni *-s*, kas spāņu valodā izsaka daudzskaitli, bet ne ģenitīvu. Tā vietā jālieto prievārds *de – el libro de hermana*.

Ekvivalentās lietvārda locījuma formas:

Nominatīvs – *Kaimiņiene runā – La vecina habla*

Ģenitīvs – *Kaimiņienes dārzs – El jardín de la vecina*

Datīvs – *Saku kaimiņienei – Digo a la vecina*

Akuzatīvs – *Redzu kaimiņieni – Veo a la vecina*

Instrumentālis – *Runāju ar kaimiņieni – Hablo con la vecina*

Lokatīvs – *Es esmu iemīļējies kaimiņienē – Estoy enamorado de la vecina*

Es saskatu kaimiņienē kaut ko pievilcīgu – Veo algo atractivo en la vecina.

Vokatīvs – *Kaimiņien, pagaidi mani - ¡Vecina, espérame!*

Latviešu valodā piederību apgalvojumā izsaka ar datīva un nominatīva saistību, bet noliegumā ar datīva un ģenitīva saistību (Beitiņa 2009, 9).

[1] *Kaimiņienei ir suns*

[2] *Kaimiņienei nav suņa*

Spāņu valodā nominatīvs saista verbu *tener* ('piederēt', 'būt') un nominatīvu, tāpat kā angļu valodā nominatīvs + *have*+ nominatīvs, bet noliegumā šo savienojumu papildina tikai nolieguma partikula *no* pirms verba *tener*.

[1] *La vecina tiene un perro*

[2] *La vecina no tiene perro.*

Lai arī lietvārda forma ir nemainīga, nolieguma teikumā ar verbu *tener* lietvārds nesaista artikulu.

Secinājumi

Nobeigumā iespējams secināt, ka lietvārda vārdšķiras būtiskākās paradigmas atšķirības nosaka tas, ka spāņu valodā lietvārds ir cieši saistīts ar artikulu un būtībā to lietojums ir nedalāms. Latviešu valodā šim aspektam pilnīga atbilde nav konstatējama, savukārt, latviešu valodai raksturīgie lietvārda locījumi spāņu valodā izsakāmas nevis ar morfēmām, bet gan sintaktiski – ar konkrētu prievārdu lietojumu pirms lietvārda.

Būtiskākie secinājumi ir:

- Ekvivalenti tulkojumi spāņu-latviešu, latviešu-spāņu valodā ir iespējami tikai nominatīvā un instrumentālī. Citos gadījumos valodas apguvēji mēdz pieļaut kļūdas cenšoties mainīt spāņu lietvārdu galotnes, kas spāņu gramatiski nav pieļaujams.
- Nepieciešams pievērst lielāku uzmanību lietvārda dzimtes noteikšanas kategorijām un nodrošināt studentus ar atbilstošu mācību pieeju, lai viņi spētu paši orientēties valodā, ne tikai atpazīt, bet arī pieņemt atšķirīgo.
- Vienskaitlinieki un daudzskaitlinieki spāņu un latviešu valodā atšķiras, līdz ar to valodas apguvēju tulkojumos vērojamas kļūdas lietvārda skaitļa atveidojumā spāņu valodā.
- Mācību materiālos būtu nepieciešams iekļaut kompleksu skaidrojumu *lietvārds+artikuls+prievārds*, kas palīdzētu latviešu valodas runātājiem labāk izprast un apgūt spāņu valodas morfosintaktiskās īpatnības.

- Līdzīgi, kā tas darīts ar lietvārdu, būtu nepieciešams sastatīt arī citas patstāvīgās vārdšķiras, kas ietekmē valodas morfoloģiju un sintaksi. Balstoties šādas ievirzes pētījumos, jāveido spāņu valodas kā svešvalodas mācību līdzekļus, kuru mērķauditorija ir latviešu valodas runātāji.

Avoti

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DIDAKTISIERTE ANALYSE DER VORBEREITUNGSPHASE DER SPRACH- UND KULTURKOMPETENZ FÜR DAS KULTURDOLMETSCHEN

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Zusammenfassung

Didaktisierte analyse der vorbereitungsphase der sprach- und kulturkompetenz für das kulturdolmetschen

Schlüsselwörter: *Kulturdolmetschen, Simultandolmetschen, Sprach- und Kulturkompetenz, Dolmetschen mit Textvorlage, Vorbereitungsphase, Dolmetscheinsatz, Interkulturalität*

In der Dolmetschwissenschaft wird das Dolmetschen als äußerst komplexer kognitiver Prozess eingestuft, für dessen Ausführung in erster Linie gründliche Kenntnisse der Ausgangs- und Zielsprache vorhanden sein müssen. Die Sprachkompetenz ist unmittelbar mit der zweitwichtigsten Kompetenz des Dolmetschers, nämlich, der Kulturkompetenz verbunden. Um die mündliche translatorische Tätigkeit reibungslos ausführen zu können, wird vom Dolmetscher eine eingehende Vorbereitung für den Dolmetscheinsatz erwartet. Die Vorbereitungsphase für das eigentliche Dolmetschen ist insoweit von großer Bedeutung, da diese das Gedächtnis des Dolmetschers entlastet und die Auffassung der Originalrede während dem Dolmetschen erleichtert. In der didaktisierten Analyse der Vorbereitungsphase wird auf eine spezifische Art des Dolmetschens eingegangen, nämlich das Kulturdolmetschen. Das Ziel dieser Untersuchung ist anhand der von Rednern für eine wissenschaftliche Konferenz zu Kultur-, Literatur- und Geschichtefragen vorbereiteten Referate die Vorbereitungsphase für das Kulturdolmetschen didaktisch zu analysieren und dabei auf die Fragen: „Wie muss der Dolmetscher in der Vorbereitungsphase vorgehen?“ und „Welche Nuancen der Sprach- und Kulturkompetenz für das Kulturdolmetschen in Betracht gezogen werden müssen?“.

Abstract

Key Words: *Cultural Interpreting, simultaneous interpreting, language and culture knowledge, Interpreting with Text, preparatory phase, intercultural aspect*

In Interpreting research and studies, the Interpreting is classified as a highly complex cognitive process in which a thorough knowledge of the source and target language is required. Language competence is directly linked to the second most important competence of the interpreter, namely cultural competence. In order to be able to carry out the oral translational task smoothly and correctly, the interpreter is expected to prepare thoroughly for the interpreting assignment. The preparatory phase for the actual interpretation is of great importance in that it relieves the interpreter's memory and makes it easier to understand the original speech during interpreting. The article focuses on the didactic analysis of the preparatory phase and on a specific type of interpreting – cultural interpreting. The aim of this study is to analyse didactically the preparatory phase for cultural interpreting on the basis of the papers prepared by speakers for a scientific conference on cultural, literary and historical issues and find the answers to the questions: “How should the interpreter proceed in the preparatory phase?” and “What nuances of linguistic and cultural competence should be taken into account for cultural interpreting?”

Einleitung

Das Dolmetschen wird als das zweitälteste Gewerbe in der Geschichte bezeichnet. Die Fähigkeit, eine andere Sprache als die eigene Muttersprache zu verstehen, zu beherrschen und damit auch zu arbeiten, hat man schon in der Antike erkannt (Stähle 2009: 28ff.).

Um diesen Beruf ausüben zu können, müssen die Dolmetscher über mehrere Kompetenzen – im Sinne von Fertigkeiten – verfügen. Die Sprachkompetenz, die sowohl die Kompetenz der Ausgangssprache (AS), als auch die der Zielsprache (ZS) betrifft, und die Kulturkompetenz – die der Ausgangs- und der Zielkultur – werden als Hauptkompetenzen bezeichnet und gelten als der wichtigste Bestandteil im gesamten Komplex der translatorischen Kompetenz (Kalina, 1998: 57; Kutz 2010: 200-205).

Laut Sigrid Kupsch-Losereit gehört zu den ersten zwei Kompetenzen als unabdingbar die drittichtigste Kompetenz – die translatorische Kompetenz, die wiederum eine Verwendungskompetenz von Diskursen voraussetzt. Die genannten drei Kompetenzen umfassen die für die erfolgreiche zweisprachig vermittelte Kommunikation erforderliche Kenntnisse (Kupsch-Losereit 2002:97).

Heutzutage hat das Dolmetschen als berufliche Tätigkeit viele unterschiedliche Dolmetscharten entwickelt und im Hinblick auf die Vielgestaltigkeit eine beeindruckende Erweiterung erfahren (Andres 2011:1). Darunter zählt auch das Kulturdolmetschen, welches Wladimir Kutz in die Gruppe der fachspezifischen Dolmetschdiskurse, wie das Dolmetschen bei Museumsführungen und Ausstellungseröffnungen, Theaterdolmetschen, Messe- und Ausstellungsgespräch einordnet (Kutz 2010: 399-340).

Um adäquat dolmetschen zu können, bedarf es eine eingehende Vorbereitung vor dem eigentlichen Dolmetschen, die in der Dolmetschwissenschaft und Dolmetscherpraxis als Vorbereitungsphase bezeichnet wird. Im Leipziger Kompetenzmodell des Dolmetschens werden insgesamt neun Formen der Vorbereitung auf einen Dolmetscheinsatz unterschieden. Diese Formen der Dolmetscheinsatzvorbereitung sind: (1) organisatorische Vorbereitung, (2) fachthemenatische, (3) sprachliche, (4) translatorische, (5) eigentliche Vorbereitung, (6) textuelle, (7) kommunikative, (8) psychologische und (9) physiologische Vorbereitung (Kutz 2010: 288). Während dem Dolmetschen wird vor allem die kommunikative und die textuelle Vorbereitung praktiziert. Diese zwei Vorbereitungsformen hängen eng zusammen mit der (2) bis (5) Vorbereitungsform zusammen, ungeachtet dessen, dass alle Vorbereitungsformen in einer unmittelbaren Wechselwirkung zueinanderstehen.

In diesem Beitrag liegt der Schwerpunkt auf die fachthemenatische, sprachliche, translatorische und textuelle Vorbereitungsformen einzugehen und diese anhand der im Voraus eingereichten Manuskripte für spezifische Dolmetschsituation didaktisch zu hinterfragen. Der Untersuchungsobjekt der Vorbereitungsphase ist auf das Simultandolmetschen mit Textvorlage bei einer internationalen wissenschaftlichen Konferenz und Projekt zu den Kulturthemen Landschaftsmalerei, Reisebücher, Reisebeschreibungen im Leben von Carl Gotthard Graß.

Die Vorbereitungsphase für das Dolmetschen wird anhand von drei im Voraus eingereichten Referate der Projektteilnehmer aus unterschiedlichen Ländern (Lettland, Italien und der Schweiz) zum vorher erwähnten Thema analysiert.

Im ersten Teil des Beitrags soll zuerst auf die sprachliche, textuelle und fachsprachliche Vorbereitung für den Dolmetscheinsatz gefolgt von der Vorbereitung der kulturellen Kompetenz eingegangen.

Sprachliche, textuelle und fachspezifische Vorbereitung

Als erstes für die sprachliche und textuelle Vorbereitungsform gilt das Erfassen des gesamten Originaltextes, dass die Überschrift, die Einteilung des Textes (ist der Text in Abschnitte unterteilt, wie viele Teile enthält der Text, gibt es Zitate, gibt es Diagramme oder Fotos, Bilder, Gemäldereproduktionen o. Ä.), inhaltliche Gliederung betrifft.

Die erste Quelle – das Referat von E. Šmite (Lettland) „*Das Selbstbildnis von Carl Gotthard Graß*“ ist ein einheitlicher Text - im Sinne - ohne kleinere Unterteilung in größere Abschnitte mit Untertiteln. Das Referat enthält lange Zitate aus dem Briefwechsel von C. G. Graß mit anderen Künstlern und es ist mit Bildern (Gemälden) ergänzt worden. Dieses Referat ist dem fachspezifischen Bereich der Malerei (Landschaftsmalerei) zuzuordnen. (Šmite 2020: 19-36).

Die zweite Quelle – Das Referat von Uwe Hentschel (die Schweiz) „*Das Schweizbild von Carl Gotthard Graß in den Wanderungen in der Schweiz*“ ist ebenfalls ein einheitlicher Text ohne kleine Unterteilung in Abschnitte mit eigenem Titel, es enthält nur eine Abbildung des Titelblattes des Buches „*Fragmente von Wanderungen*“. (Hentschel 2020: 117-130). Dieses Referat darf man dem fachspezifischen Bereich der Literatur (*Reiseliteratur*) zuordnen, da U. Hentschel in seinem Referat über C.G. Graß als Dichter und Reiseschriftsteller spricht.

Die dritte Quelle – das Referat von Renata Gambino (Italien) „*Carl Gotthard Graß' Sizilien-Reise als „Künstlerwallfahrt“ eines Doppelbegabten oder Dilettanten?* ist anders als die vorhergehenden Quellen aufgebaut. Das besteht aus einem Vorwort, einer Einleitung, fünf Abschnitten mit Untertiteln und Schlussfolgerungen sowie das Referat wird mit ein paar Gemälden als illustratives Material ergänzt. Fachspezifisch lässt sich dieses Referat sowohl der Malerei als auch der Literatur zuzuordnen, das aus den Schlüsselwörtern des Referates zu entnehmen ist (Gambino 2020: 183).

Die Kenntnis des Textaufbaus erlaubt dem Dolmetscher den Themenbereich genauer ins Auge zu fassen, auch bei den Konferenzbeiträgen mit PowerPoint Präsentationen, die eine Abfolge von Bildern und Schemata enthalten (Kutz 2010: 310). Der erste Beitrag von E. Šmite und der dritte Beitrag von R. Gambino enthalten Bilder, Fotos und Gemäldeabbildungen. Aus Dolmetschersicht ist hier Folgendes zu beachten, dass Beiträge mit Fotos oder Zeichnungen wichtige Fachtermini enthalten, die für die fachterminologische Vorbereitung als Ansporn dienen und Dolmetscher diese Fachbegriffe im Voraus recherchieren können.

Wie im Beispiel aus dem Vortrag von E. Šmite zeigt „*Maler, Zeichner, Graphiker, Inspektor, Direktor für kurfürstliche Bildergalerien am Hofgarten*.“ (Šmite 2020: 20-23). In diesem Beispiel enthält die Unterschrift unter dem Bild aus der Dolmetschersicht sowohl auf die Kunstbegriffe als auch die kulturspezifische Verbindung mit den Begriffen 'kurfürstliche' und 'Hofgarten' hergestellt werden, um zu verstehen von welchem Hof die Rede sein wird. Ein anderes Beispiel einer

Unterschrift aus demselben Referat unter einem Bild - „J.G.Dillis. Ansicht von Grottaferrate gegen den Monte Cavo. 1795. Die Zeichnungen und Aquarelle Dillis sind im allgemeinen autonome Kunstwerke, nur selten – Vorstadium zu einem bildmäßig ausgeführten Aquarell oder einem Gemälde zu.“ (Šmite 2020: 20-23). Diese Unterschrift enthält (a) Kunstbegriffe, (b) Eigennamen (Person und Orte), (c) Jahreszahl, die aus der Dolmetschersicht einige Anhaltspunkte für tieferes Recherchieren während der Vorbereitungsphase bieten.

Als Nächstwichtiges zum Erfassen des Vortragstextes gehört in der Vorbereitungsphase darauf zu achten, ob sich der Vortrag wie ein fortlaufender Text liest oder ob im Referat Zitate verwendet werden und wie umfangreich (Zitatlänge) sind diese Zitate, z. B.:

- (1) „Ich habe in der letzten Zeit viel wichtige Unterredungen mit K. über die Landschaftskunst gehabt, da ich mit viele Begriffe, darüber während einer *Unpäßlichkeit* klarer ausgearbeitet und eine Reihe von *Compositionen bey* den verschiedenen und verschiedenartigen *Styl* in der Landschaft entworfen habe, worin jede Gattung ihren *eigenthümlichen Werth* und doch jede ihre Klasse hatte.“ (Šmite 2020: 31)
- (2) „Die kleinen Begriffe von Erbe und *Eigenthum* verschwinden dort vor dem *Unumfaßlichen* der Natur. Niedergeworfen liegt der Menschen mit seinen Anmaßungen da, und nur eine gewisse erhebende Denkart kann ihn über das Stolze, Große, Gewaltige der Erscheinungen erheben.“ (Hentschel 2020: 127).
- (3) Ich lebe *bey* Arbeit in geweihter Stille, der Natur und den Freunden; Gott und die Musen im Herzen, ein Leben, das ich nicht besser wünsche. Meine Gesundheit ist vortrefflich und der Geist Gottes ist wieder eingekehrt *bey* dem Gotthard. Das erfreue den Meister. Daß ich nicht müßig war, davon zeugt, daß ich im Juli; *zwey* in diesem *jahr* fertig gewordene Ölgemälde, *freylich* nicht großen Formats, nach Ulm absandte. *Zwey* größere, die im September fertig wurden, *aequirirte* ein Landsmann von mir, der Hr. v. Blombenhagen (musste sein – Blanckenhagen). *Zwey* große vom *Aetna* für Cotta sind fast vollendet, wenigstens werde sie, wie ich hoffe, bis Weihnachten vollendet dastehen. Außerdem habe ich einiges untermalt, auch ein Porträt in Lebensgröße gemalt.“ (Šmite 2020:24-25)

Die Zitate im 1. und 2. Beispiel scheinen kurz zu sein, dennoch enthält das Zitat Nebensätze. Darauf muss der Dolmetscher achten, wie solcher Art von Sätzen in die Zielsprache zu übertragen sind – genau solang oder in kleinere Satzsegmente unterteilt, damit das Dolmetschen fließend verlaufen kann. Im dritten (3) Beispiel erscheint ein viel längeres Zitat. Bei den Zitaten muss sich der Dolmetscher überlegen, welche Dolmetschstrategie zu wählen wäre, um beim Vorlesen des Referats dem Redner mitkommen zu können. Auffallend in der obigen drei Zitaten sind die schräg markierten Wörter, die ältere Schreibweise haben, als im modernen Deutsch geschrieben wird.

Nicht zu vergessen beim Erfassen des Vortragstextes ist das Wissen über die Textsorte, in diesem Fall die Kenntnis von wissenschaftlichen Vorträgen, wobei im Falle Vorträge zu Kunstthemen, Literatur eher der beschreibende Stil mit bildlicher Sprache vorherrscht, wie im Referat von Gambino:

- 1) „Die Landschaft im inneren der Insel wirkte oft *sehr befremdend*: der Reisende ist der Hitze, dem hellen Licht, der Flut an Farben und Formen, der physisch widerständigen Umwelt ausgesetzt.“ (Gambino 2020: 200)
- 2) „....., im Aufnehmen der *bildlichen Komposition, der zarten Farbschattierungen, der koloristischen Einteilungen und des Nachhalls der Landschaft im empfindlichen Gemüt des Schauende*.“ (Gambino 2020: 203).

Auf der Ausdrucks- und Inhaltsebene hat es aus der Dolmetschersicht einerseits auf den Wortartenbestand (Verben, Substantive, Adjektive), andererseits auf die Morphologie (bei Verben – auf Tempora und Aspekte, bei Substantiven – auf Genera in der AS und in der ZS) zu achten. Wie vorher erwähnten Beispiele zeigen, kommen in den Vorträgen zu Themen Reisebeschreibung und Kunst viele Adjektive vor.

Auf der syntaktischen Ebene ist in den Texten auf die Satzstruktur zu achten, zum Beispiel Satzgliedfolge, Komplexität der syntaktischen Strukturen, Satzgefüge „Bemerkenswert ist jedoch, dass Graß es nicht bei der dichterischen Annäherung an das Phänomen Rheinfluss belässt, sondern – auf seine nicht weniger große Befähigung als Landschaftsmaler hinweisend – es unternimmt, ein möglichst der Wirklichkeit entsprechendes Abbild von dem Rheinfluss zu liefern, [...]“ (Hentschel 2020:123).

In den Referaten war zu beobachten, dass mehrheitlich lange Satzgefüge mit mehreren Nebensätzen und Einschüben angewandt wurden. Aus der Dolmetschersicht ist zu überlegen und mit dem Bleistift im Text Anmerkungen anzuführen, einerseits wie man solche lange Sätze in kleinere Segmente teilen kann, andererseits – kann man einige Sätze kürzen oder komprimieren und welche Information ist unbedingt zu verdolmetschen und welche Satzteile darf man beim Dolmetschen auslassen, weil diese eventuell schon bekannte Information enthalten. Im Zusammenhang mit Satzgefügen soll beim Dolmetschen aus dem Deutschen (als Ausgangssprache) mit Textvorlage auf die Verbposition geachtet werden, insbesondere in solchen Sätzen, wo das Verb als letztes Satzglied am Ende des gesamten Satzes steht. Je nach Zielsprache sollen die Verben während der textuellen Vorbereitung wie W. Kutz hervorhebt “neu verortet werden” (Kutz 2010: 320).

Ein weiterer Punkt ist die semantische Repräsentation des Textes, auf die Abfolge der bedeutungstragende Elemente achten, z. B. “Kunstreise, ästhetische Bildung des Geschmacks, die Vertiefung der Kenntnisse der Antike, die individuelle Erfahrung der griechischen Architektur”

(Gambino 2020:199). Ebenso wichtig, ob es im Text Synonyme, Antonyme, Komposita und mehrdeutige Wörter verwendet werden.

Von einigen wenigen Komposita sei in diesem Fall zu erwähnen: Reiseerfahrung, Reisebeschreibung, Liebhaberverdacht (Gambino 2020: 199), Künstlerwallfahrt, Darstellungskunst (Gambino 2020: 204); Schwarz-Weiß-Denken (Hentschel 2020: 136), Grindelwaldtal (Hentschel 2020:124), Landschaftsmaler, Idyllendichter, Lebensverhältnisse, nachstrebenswerte (Hentschel 2020: 119); mehrdeutige Wörter wie *Schwergewicht* (Hentschel 2020: 118).

Ein unabdingbarer Bestandteil der wissenschaftlichen Referate sind Zitate, die sowohl die textuelle als auch fachspezifische (bezüglich der Textsorte) Vorbereitung betreffen, mit denen sich die Dolmetscher vor dem Einsatz auseinandersetzen sollten: Zitatlänge, Zitatquelle, Auslassungen in den Zitaten oder gar ein Gedicht als Zitat dient. Bezugnehmend auf die vorerst erwähnte fachspezifische Vorbereitung wird im nächsten Teil dieses Beitrages auf die mit der fachthemenbezogenen Vorbereitung zusammenhängender Kulturkompetenz beim Kulturdolmetschen eingegangen.

Vorbereitung der fachthemenbezogenen kulturellen Kompetenz

Wie Kupsch-Losereit betont, wird „Kultur als Komplex von sozialen Handlungen (Kunst, Religion, Wissenschaft, Ethik), Bedeutungen und Vorstellungen, als ein System gemeinsamer Formen und Symbole verstanden“ (Kupsch-Losereit 2002: 98).

Bezüglich der fachthemenbezogenen Kulturkompetenz, ist zu sagen, dass diese im konkreten Fall des Dolmetschens mit Textvorlage der drei Vorträge mit den eigentlichen Kulturthemen wie Kunst, Landschaftsmalerei und Reiseliteratur zusammenhängt.

Daraus folgt für die Dolmetscher bei der fachthemenbezogenen Vorbereitung als erstes das Erfassen des Originaltextes in Bezug auf die spezifischen Literaturbegriffe (insbesondere Reiseliteratur), Begriffe der Landschaftsmalerei bzw. der Malerei allgemein (Pastell, Leinwandhändler, Ölgemälde, Rheinfall-Stiche, Umrissradierungen, Splitternachlass). Dazu gehört nicht nur das Nachschlagen in gedruckten oder digitalen Fachwörterbüchern, sondern auch das Lesen bzw. Studieren von Paralleltexten (Kutz 2020: 319).

Die Vorarbeit mit enzyklopädischem Wissen über die Kultur- und Kunstgeschichte in dem angegebenen Zeitraum, der im konkreten Fall zwischen 1767 bis 1814 einzuräumen war, entsprechend den Lebensdaten von Carl Gotthard Graß. (Was in Lettland, im deutschsprachigen Raum und in Europa allgemein geschah.) Sich Einlesen in die Abläufe verschafft dem Dolmetscher ein viel leichteres Verständnis der kulturellen Ereignisse.

Nicht zu übersehen sind die Personennamen, die in den Referaten vorkommen. Darunter zählen nicht nur die allgemein bekanntesten wie Goethe, Schiller, sondern auch die weniger Bekannte (Christoph Heinrich Kniep (Gambino 2020: 199), Johann Ludwig Alberli, Johann

Heinrich Lips, Ludwig Heß, Salomon Geßner (Hentschel 2020: 119). Ortsnamen wie Schaffhausen, Grimsel, Graubünden, Chamonix, Berner Oberland, Meyringen (Hentschel 2020), Pallazuola (Šmite)

Während der Vorbereitungsphase ist das Auseinandersetzen mit den Personen- und Ortsnamen ist insofern von Bedeutung, weil die Namen in einer Zielsprache anders ausgesprochen und transliteriert werden, z. B. *Johann Heß* wird auf Lettisch zu *Johanns Hess*; *Graubünden* wird auf Lettisch zu *Graubindene* ausgesprochen.

Nicht zu vergessen sind die direkt im Vortragstext geschriebene und zitierte Buchtitel, Sammelbände und Namen von unterschiedlicher Art der Publikationen, z. B.:

- 1) „Winckelmanns *Geschichte der Kunst des Altertums* (1764-1767) hatte Italien zum „gelobten Land“ aller Künstler und Kunstfreudigen erhoben.“ (Gambino 2020: 198)
- 2) „Nach dieser zweifachen Zuwendung zum Rheinfall folgen zwei Wanderberichte: die Beschreibung einer *Reise nach Glarus und ins Clönthal*, die er mit dem bereits genannten Meyer, seinem Freund und Lehrer Ludwig Heß sowie mit dem Maler Konrad Geßner, dem Sohn des berühmten Idyllendichters Salomon Geßner, im Juli 1796 unternommen hatte, und anschließend das ausführliche *Tagebuch einer Wanderung von Chur nach dem Gotthard, Furka, Grimsel, Gemmi bis zum Monblanc. Im Jahr 1790* – so der vollständige Titel.“ (Hentschel 2020: 122)

Hat der Vortragende die Buchtitel oder den Namen einer Publikation in irgendeiner Art und Weise im Referat nicht markiert (in Fettdruck, unterstrichen oder Kursiv), gilt es für die Dolmetscher diese als solche zu erkennen, am Blattrand zu markieren und eine zielsprachliche Variante aufzuschreiben (nach einer Recherche in der Quellenliteratur, nach Beratung mit Fachleuten oder im äußersten Fall eine eigene Interpretation).

Schlussfolgerungen

Nach dargestelltem Einblick und Analyse einzelner Beispiele beim Kulturdolmetschen mit der Textvorlage kann man schlussfolgern, dass die Vorbereitungsphase für den Dolmetscheinsatz aus mehreren Vorbereitungsformen besteht, auf die Dolmetscher achten müssen. In der Vorbereitungsphase gilt es eine gründliche Vorarbeit mit der Textvorlage aus sprachlicher, textueller, fachspezifischer und kultureller Sicht vorzunehmen, um den erhaltenen Text, der als Referat vorgetragen wird, dolmetschen zu können.

Für die Vorbereitung auf das Kulturdolmetschen im konkreten Fall ist außerdem das Recherchieren, das Nachschlagen in der Fachliteratur und bei Bedarf auch die Beratung bei Fachleuten notwendig.

Bezüglich der Dolmetschstrategie gilt aus der Dolmetschersicht zu verstehen, was man während Dolmetschen kürzen darf, welche Textpassagen umformulieren werden sollen, wie sollen längere Sätze segmentiert werden und welche Textteile es zusammenzufassen gilt.

„Je mehr Kategorien und Zusammenhänge dem Dolmetscher bekannt sind, desto mehr Information vermag er einem Text, einer Situation, einem Persönlichkeitsbild entnehmen.“ (Kutz 2010: 292). Im Zusammenhang mit dem Zitat von W. Kutz gilt zu betonen, dass der zu verdolmetschende Text - im konkreten Fall wissenschaftliches Referat in einer fachspezifischen Situation - vor dem Dolmetscheinsatz nicht zu übersetzen ist. Die Vorbereitung dient als Speicherung der erarbeiteten Information und entlastet das Gedächtnis während dem Dolmetschen.

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PUBLIC PERCEPTION REGARDING THE FORMS OF MARRIED WOMEN'S SURNAMES

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Abstract

Public Perception Regarding the Forms of Married Women's Surnames

Key Words: *woman's surname, non-suffixed limb, surname formation, public attitude, onomastics*

Until the 13th century Lithuanians were called only by their name. Later the person's position, craft, name of their place of origin, owners or family ties, father's (rarely brother's) name were started next to the first name.

Women's surnames in Lithuania are formed according to the surname of the father (for unmarried women) or of the husband (for married women). Until 2003 the surnames of married women were traditionally formed with the suffix *-ienė*. However, in 2003, after the legalization of non-suffixed surnames of married women in Lithuania, many disagreements arose. The aim of this study is to find out the attitudes of women of all ages towards suffix and non-suffix surnames. The survey was used for this purpose; the survey had 500 responders between the ages of 13 and 61.

According to the survey data, the surname of older women is more often used to follow traditions, emphasize their ethnic identity, belonging to a certain social construct, so they often choose last names with suffixes. For younger women, the surname becomes a means of self-expression, they value the sound of the surname more and are less likely to delve into other possible reasons for choice, such as traditions, clarity of status, etc.

Anotacija

Visuomenės požiūris į nepriesagines ištekėjusių moterų pavardes

Reikšminiai žodžiai: *moterų pavardės, nepriesaginės pavardžių formos, daryba, visuomenės požiūris, onomastika*

Iki XIII a. lietuviai buvo vadinami tik vardu. Vėliau šalia vardo imta minėti asmens socialinė padėtis, amatas, kilmės vieta ar giminystės ryšiai, tėvo vardas.

Moterų pavardės Lietuvoje formuojamos pagal tėvo (netekėjusių moterų) arba vyro (ištekėjusių moterų) pavardę. Iki 2003 metų ištekėjusių moterų pavardės tradiciškai buvo formuojamos su galūne *-ienė*. Tačiau 2003 m. Lietuvoje įteisinus ištekėjusių moterų nepriesagines pavardes kilo daug nesutarimų. Šio tyrimo tikslas – išsiaiškinti įvairaus amžiaus moterų požiūrį į priesagines ir nepriesagines pavardžių formas. Šiam tikslui pasiekti buvo atlikta apklausa, kurioje dalyvavo 500 respondenčių nuo 13 iki 61 metų.

Apklausos duomenimis, vyresnėms moterims pavardė dažniau tampa būdu laikytis tradicijų, pabrėžti etninę tapatybę, priklausymą tam tikram socialiniam konstruktui, todėl jos dažnai renkasi pavardes su priesagomis. Jaunesnėms moterims pavardė tampa saviraiškos priemone, jos labiau vertina pavardės skambesį ir rečiau gilinaisi į kitas galimas pasirinkimo priežastis, pavyzdžiui, tradicijas, statuso aiškumą ir kt.

Įvadas

Daugelyje valstybių jau tūkstantmečius gyvuoja tradicija, kad po santuokos moteris perima vyro pavardę. Lietuvių tautinis išskirtinumas – konkrečius darybos principus turinčios priesaginės (*-ienė*) pavardės, kurios yra laikomos vienu lietuviško identiteto simbolių, pabrėžiančiu etninį tautinį paveldą bei lietuvių kalbos darybinį išskirtinumą. 2003 m. pirmą kartą įteisinta galimybė moterims rinktis norimą priesaginę arba nepriesaginę pavardės formą. Daugelis šią naują galimybę vertino neigiamai – vadino pasityčiojimu iš lietuviškos kultūros, šimtmečius trunkančių tradicijų, tautinio identiteto, netgi vadino naująsias pavardžių formas nemoteriškomis bei prasčiokiškomis. Vis dėlto, vienintelė dvi pavardžių formas skirianti ypatybė – priesaga (*-ienė*), kurios sutrumpintoje pavardės versijoje nelieka. Visi kiti tariami šių pavardžių skirtumai – sudėtingas bei daugybės priežasčių sąlygotas socialinio konstrukto padarinys. Šio **darbo tikslas** – išsiaiškinti įvairaus amžiaus moterų požiūrį bei jų asmeninę motyvaciją renkantis naujos formos pavardę be priesagos. Siekiant įvertinti priežastis, lemiančias moterų pavardės formos pasirinkimą, bei vyraujančią požiūrį į nepriesaginės

formas pavardžių atsiradimą, atlikta apklausa, kurioje 500 respondenčių atsakė į klausimus apie priesagines ir nepriesagines moterų pavardes. Apklausos rezultatams analizuoti bei surinktai medžiagai interpretuoti pasitelkiamas kiekybinis tyrimo metodas. Analitinis onomastinės analizės **tyrimo metodas** pasitelkiamas atskleidžiant moterų nuomonę apie priesagines ir nepriesagines pavardės formas.

Moterų pavardžių Lietuvoje susiformavimas ir raida

Pavardė yra oficialus asmenvardis, rodantis priklausomybę šeimai (Sinkevičiūtė 2010: 10). Lietuviai, kaip ir dauguma indoeuropiečių, senovėje turėjo tik vardą. Visuomenei modernėjant „atsirado poreikis greta vardo turėti dar vieną skiriamąjį ženklą. Paprastai tai būdavo prievardžiai, kurie reikšdavo žmogaus gyvenamąją vietą, amatą, einamas pareigas“ (Miliūnaitė 2013: 38).

Asmenvardis laikomas pavarde, kai nustatoma, kad jis yra paveldimas ir priklauso visiems vienos šeimos nariams (Macijauskienė 1991: 51–53). Lietuvoje pavardės susiformavo per 400 metų nuo XV a. iki XVIII a. pabaigos: pirmieji jas įgijo kilmingieji, vėliau – miestų gyventojai, tuomet – valstiečiai ir beturčiai (Sinkevičiūtė 2010: 10). Lietuvių moterų pavardės iš vyrų pavardžių imtos sudarinėti XVI–XVIII a. (Zinkevičius 2009: 16).

1918 m. paskelbus Lietuvos nepriklausomybę ir pradėjus vartoti lietuvių kalbą valstybės administravimo reikalams, moterų pavardžių darybos sistema bendrinėje lietuvių kalboje buvo kodifikuota, pamažu nusistovėjo ir toliau visą XX a. oficialiai funkcionavo. Visiškai įsitvirtino dvinarė moterų pavardžių sistema: pagal priimtas taisykles mergaičių pavardės buvo sudaromos iš tėvo pavardės, o ištekėjusių moterų – iš vyro pavardės (Miliūnaitė 2013: 70) pridėdant lietuvišką priesagą *-ienė*, plg. *Grigienė, Kairienė* (Garšva 2012: 218–219).

Naują paskatą diskusijai dėl pavardžių rašybos davė XX a. pab. Lietuvoje pradėjusios aktyviai sklirti feminizmo idėjos. Besirūpindamos lygiomis moterų galimybėmis su vyrais, feministės rado nelygybės apraiškų lietuvių kalboje, jos gramatinėje sistemoje ir vartosenoje, todėl kilo mintis atsisakyti tradicinių priesagų, rodančių šeiminę padėtį (Miliūnaitė 2013: 72). Reikšmingiausias įvykis kovoje prieš priesagines moterų pavardes kaip rodančias šeiminę padėtį ir šitokiu būdu neva diskriminuojančias moteris vyrų atžvilgiu, galutinai pribrendo XXI a. pradžioje (Miliūnaitė 2013: 80).

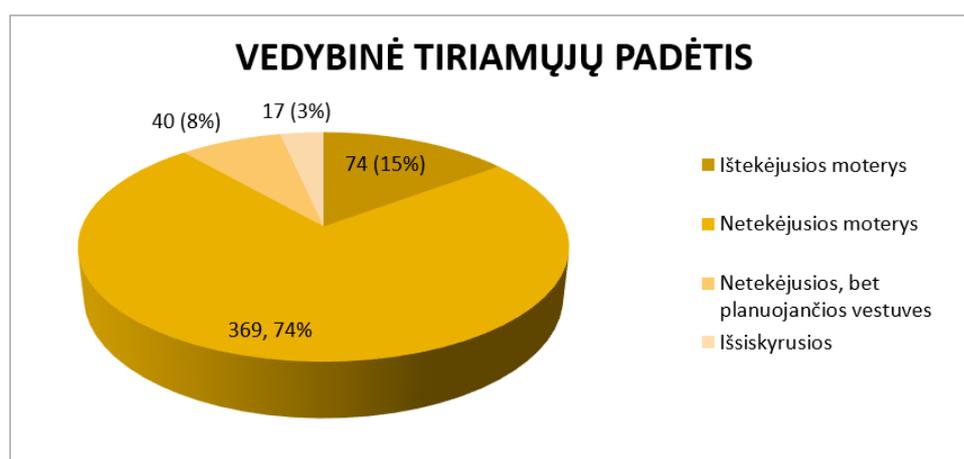
2003 m. Lietuvoje buvo įteisintos nepriesaginės moterų pavardės. Nutarimo „Dėl moterų pavardžių darymo“ pirmas punktas skelbia, kad pagrindiniu lietuvių moterų pavardžių darybos būdu laikytinas priesaginis (tradicinis), rodantis moters šeiminę padėtį. Antru punktu įteisinta ir naujoviška moterų pavardžių daryba su galūne *-ė*: „Tais atvejais, kai norima turėti pavardės formą, kuri nenurodytų šeiminių padėties, pavardė iš vyriškos pavardės formos gali būti daroma su galūne *-ė*“ (Garšva 2012: 219–220).

Galima teigti, kad, priėmus šį nutarimą dėl nepriesaginių moterų pavardžių rašymo, moterys Lietuvoje gali pačios laisvai apsispręsti, kokią pavardės formą turėti, atsižvelgdamos į galiojančias moterų pavardžių darybos taisykles. Gimusias jas įregistruoja tėvai, o sulaukusios pilnametystės pagal galiojančius įstatymus jos gali pačios rinktis norimą pavardės formą. Keisti pavardę taip pat galima tuokiantis ar nutraukiant santuoką. Taigi pavardė tampa pačios moters sąmoningai kuriamo savojo įvaizdžio dalimi (Miliūnaitė 2013: 98).

Moterų nuomonė apie nepriesagines pavardžių formas

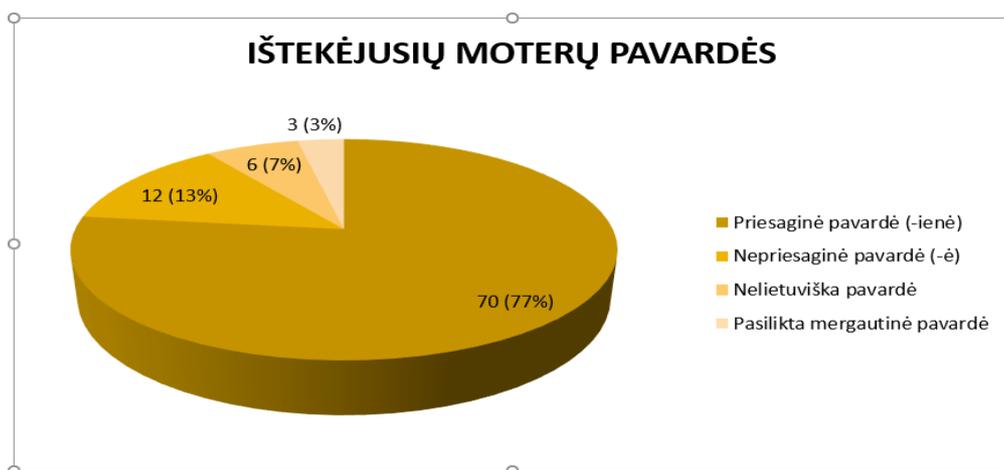
Siekiant ištirti įvairaus amžiaus moterų nuomonę apie priesagines ir nepriesagines pavardes, buvo sudaryta tik moterims skirta apklausa. Iš viso tyrime dalyvavo 500 respondenčių moterų nuo 13 iki 61 metų amžiaus. Nebuvo pastebėta reikšmingo gyvenamosios vietos pranašumo, apklausoje dalyvavo tiek moterys, gyvenančios didmiesčiuose, tiek nedideliuose miesteliuose ar gyvenvietėse. Dėl didelio respondenčių kiekio, sunku pasakyti, ar atsakymų duomenys kito priklausomai nuo išsilavinimo, tačiau apklausoje dalyvavo tiek nebaigto vidurinio, tiek aukštojo, tiek aukštesniojo, tiek profesinio išsilavinimo moterys.

Pirmiausia buvo siekiama įvertinti vedybinę respondenčių padėtį. Paaiškėjo, kad iš 500 moterų, 74 proc. buvo netekėjusios, 15 proc. – ištekęjusios, 8 proc. – netekėjusios, tačiau planuojančios vestuves ir 3 proc. – išsiskyrusios (žr. 1 pav.). Vėliau šie duomenys buvo skiriami į tris kategorijas: 1) moterys, kurios jau yra ar buvo ištekęjusios (ištekęjusiosios ir išsiskyrusiosios moterys), 2) netekėjusios moterys, 3) vestuves planuojančios moterys. Pagal moters priklausymą kategorijai vėliau respondentėms buvo pateikiami skirtingi klausimai.



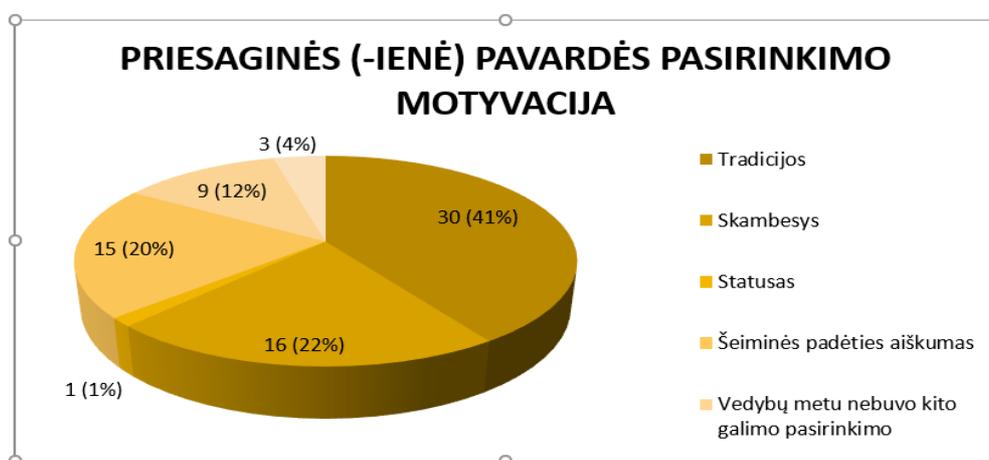
1 paveikslas. Vedybinė tiriamųjų padėtis

Matyti (žr. 2 pav.), kad didžiausia ištekęjusių moterų kategorijos dalis (77 proc.) tekėdamas rinkosi tradicinę priesaginę (-ienė) pavardę, 13 proc. rinkosi nepriesaginę (-ė) pavardės formą, o likusioji dalis ištekęjusios gavo nelietuvišką (7 proc.) pavardę arba pasiliko savo mergautinę (3 proc.).



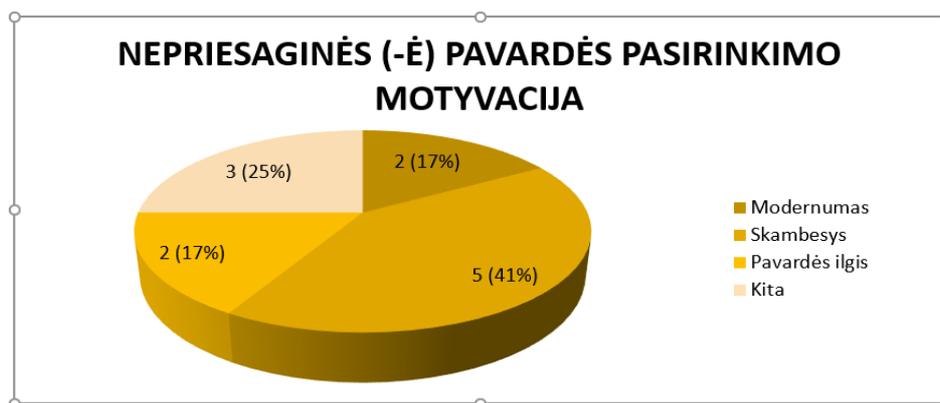
2 paveikslas. Ištekėjusių moterų pavardės

Kaip priesaginės pavardės pasirinkimo motyvaciją respondentės pirmiausia įvardijo tradicijas (41 proc.) (žr. 3 pav.). Ši forma laikoma išskirtine lietuviškos kultūros dalimi, tad didelę įtaką daro patriotiškas tautinių vertybių išsaugojimo poreikis, siekis nenutraukti to, kas ne tik giminėje, bet ir visoje valstybėje buvo perduodama iš kartos į kartą. Didelė dalis respondenčių kaip priežastį pažymėjo ir skambesį (22 proc.). Šis veiksnys labiau individualus, parodantis, jog ją pasirinkusioms moterims svarbiausia yra ne papildomos patriotinės ar etninės priežastys, bet individualaus atvejo įvertinimas. Tikėtina, jog šios moterys, besirinkdamos savo būsimą pavardę, lygino esamas galimybes ir vertino jų skambesius. Nemažai moterų pasirinko ir šeiminės padėties aiškumo atsakymą (20 proc.). 12 proc. moterų atsakė, jog jų vestuvių metu nebuvo galimybės pasirinkti nepriesaginę pavardės formą. Vertinant bendrą respondenčių amžių, tikėtina, jog dalis moterų, pasirinkusių jau aptartus atsakymus, taip pat neturėjo pasirinkimo, tačiau nesirinko tikrojo atsakymo ir vis tiek siekė pabrėžti savo nuomonę ar požiūrį. Galima matyti, kad tik 1 proc. moterų kaip priesaginės pavardės pasirinkimo motyvaciją įvardijo statusą.



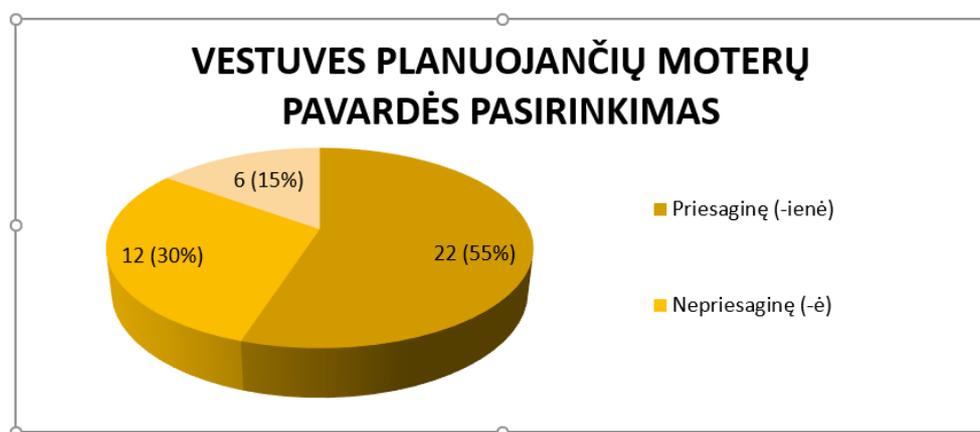
3 paveikslas. Priesaginės (-ienė) pavardės pasirinkimo motyvacija

Apklausa taip pat atskleidė (žr. 4 pav.), kodėl moterys renkasi nepriesagines pavardes. Jau ištekėjusių moterų pagrindinis nepriesaginės pavardės pasirinkimo motyvas – skambesys (41 proc.). Vienodas procentines dalis (po 17 proc.) apklausoje sudarė ir pavardės ilgio bei modernumo atsakymai. Tikėtina, kad tai svarbu moterims, kurios vertina pavardės trumpumą ir aiškumą, jaunatviškumą, naujoves, išskirtinumą. Galima teigti, kad nepriesaginės formos pavardės įteisinimas atveria platesnes galimybes moterims, trokštančioms, kad jų šeimninė padėtis nebūtų žinoma kitiems visuomenės nariams.



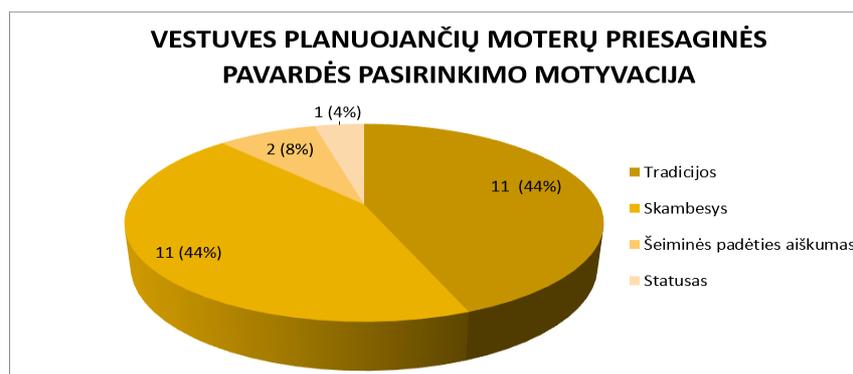
4 paveikslas. Nepriesaginės (-ė) pavardės pasirinkimo motyvacija

Iš vestuvės planuojančių moterų (žr. 5 pav.) daugiausia (55 proc.) moterų pasisakė planuojančios rinktis priesaginę (-ienė) pavardės formą. Vis dėlto, nemažai moterų teigė planuojančios rinktis nepriesaginę (-ė) pavardės formą (30 proc.). Likusioji dalis atsakiusių (15 proc.) nurodė, kad planuoja rinktis pavardę, sutampančią su vyro (-is arba nelietuviškos darybos). Verta paminėti, jog jau ištekėjusių (ir išsiskyrusių) moterų amžiaus vidurkis buvo aukštesnis nei planuojančiųjų savo vestuves. Tai leidžia kelti hipotezę, kad nepriesaginė pavardės forma yra kur kas populiarnesnė tarp jaunesnių moterų. Tikėtina, jog priesaginės (-ienė) formos pavardė skamba solidžiau ir kelia asociacijas su brandžia ištekėjusia moterimi. Trumpos, skambios pavardės šiuo atveju tampa išėjimu toms respondentėms, kurios netapatina savęs su išvardytais bruožais.



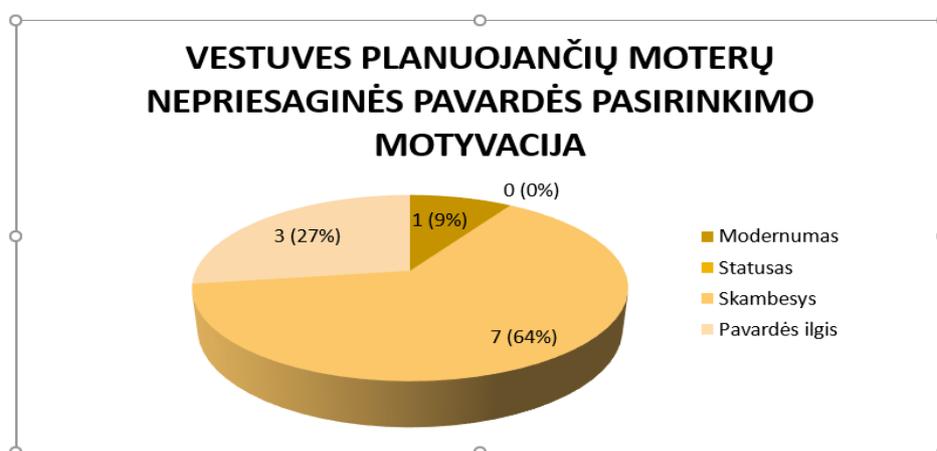
5 paveikslas. Vestuvės planuojančių moterų pavardės pasirinkimas

Planuojančių ištekėti bei jau ištekėjusių moterų atsakymuose (žr. 6 pav.) dominuoja tradicijų svarba (44 proc.). Pastebėta, kad čia kone dvigubai daugiau procentų sudarė skambesio pasirinkimas, reikšmingai sumažėjo ir tradicijas pasirinkusių moterų skaičius. Pabrėžtina, jog šiai kategorijai priskiriamų moterų amžius buvo reikšmingai mažesnis nei jau ištekėjusių ar išsiskyrusių moterų kategorijoje. Tai rodo, jog tradicijų išsaugojimas yra reikšmingesnis vyresnio amžiaus moterims. Kiek mažiau moterų pasirinko šeimines padėties aiškumo variantą (8 proc.).



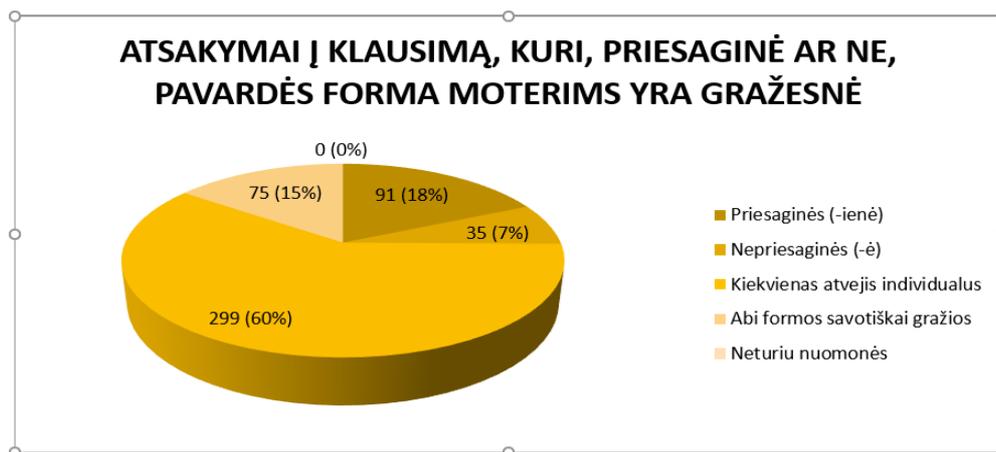
6 paveikslas. Vestuves planuojančių moterų priešaginės pavardės pasirinkimo motyvacija

Iš apklausos galima matyti (žr. 7 pav.), kad vestuves dar tik planuojančių moterų pagrindinis nepriesaginės pavardės pasirinkimo motyvas yra skambesys (64 proc.). Svarbu pabrėžti, kad šiai kategorijai priskiriamų moterų amžius buvo reikšmingai mažesnis nei jau ištekėjusių ar išsiskyrusių moterų. 27 proc. moterų teigė, kad jos renkasi nepriesaginę pavardės formą dėl jos ilgio, todėl trumpumas tampa svarbiausiu rodikliu. Likusi dalis respondenčių (9 proc.) atsakė, kad joms svarbus nepriesaginės pavardės modernumas. Įdomu pastebėti, kad statuso atsakymo nepasirinko nei viena moteris. Galima daryti prielaidą, kad taip yra todėl, kad nepriesaginės pavardės, priešingai nei priešaginės, nenurodo statuso, todėl šį atsakymą pasirinkusioms moterims tai nėra svarbu.



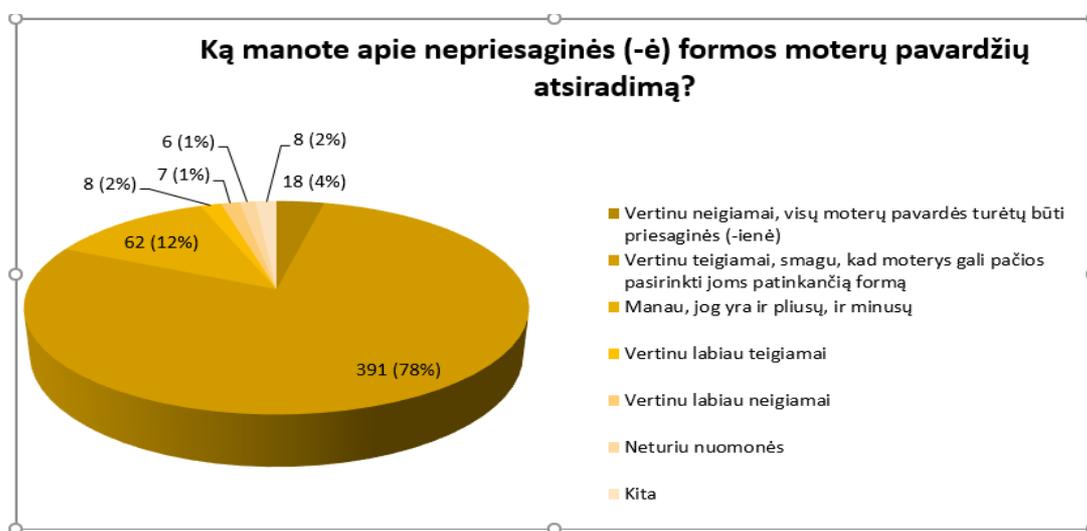
3 paveikslas. Vestuves planuojančių moterų nepriesaginės pavardės pasirinkimo motyvacija

Ķitas (Ķr. 8 pav.) klausimas „Kuri, piesaginė ar ne, pavardės forma moterims yra graĶesnė“ buvo pateiktas visoms respondentēm, nepaisant ankstesnio Ķų priskyrimo kategorijoms. Siekta išsiaiĶskinti, kokia dalis moterų yra Ķsitikinusios, jog kuri nors pavardės forma yra pranaĶesnė kitos atĶvilgiu. Pirmenybę teikiančios piesaginei (-ienė) pavardės formai pasisakė 18 proc. moterų, nepriesaginei – 7 proc. Daugiausia moterų pasirinko atsakymą, teigiantį, jog kiekvienas atvejis yra individualus (60 proc.), 15 proc. pasisakė manančios, jog abi formos yra savotiĶkai graĶios. Nuomonės űiuo klausimu neturinčių respondenčių nebuvo.



4 paveikslas. Atsakymai į klausimą, kuri, piesaginė ar ne, pavardės forma moterims yra graĶesnė

Taip pat buvo siekiama Ķvertinti moterų poĶiūrį į nepriesaginės formos pavardžių Ķteisinimą (Ķr. 9 pav.). PabrėĶtina, jog net 78 proc. moterų manė, kad űis reiškinys yra teigiamas ir dĶiaugėsi atsiradusia galimybe pačioms pasirinkti norimą pavardę. űį atsakymą pasirinko moterys iš visų amĶiaus kategorijų, todėl nebuvo nustatyta reikűmingos amĶiaus grupės daugumos. Tiesa, visos moterys, pasirinkusios atsakymą, teigiantį, jog űis reiškinį vertina neigiamai, buvo vyresnio amĶiaus.



5 paveikslas. Ką manote apie nepriesaginės (-ė) formos moterų pavardžių atsiradimą?

Šio klausimo „Kita“ parinktis taip pat sulaukė nemažai komentarų: „Man abi šios pavardės formos skamba negražiai“, „1, argumentai - nepriesaginės galėtų būti ne lietuvių tautybės moterims; mišriose santuokose galėtų būti svarstomi kiti priimtini variantai“, „Manau, jog priklauso nuo pavardės, vienoms tinka tik -ė, kitoms tik -ienė. Tad manau, jog gerai, kad toks dalykas atsiradęs šiame amžiuje, kai gali rinktis“, „Kai pavardei tinka Ė (kai yra gal būt labiau kažkoks žodis) kitų atveju gražiau yra -ienė“, „Yra keletas gražių pavardžių, kur tinka.“, „Labai priklauso nuo pavardės“, „Vertinu neigiamai. Manau, kad turime saugoti šį unikalų lietuvių kalbos paveldą“. Kai kurie iš šių atsakymų išvis neatsako į užduotą klausimą, tad tikėtina, jog moterys tiesiog norėjo išreikšti savo požiūrį dėl kurios nors formos pranašumo.

Išvados

1. Vyresnio amžiaus moterims pavardė tampa būdu pratęsti tradicijas, pabrėžti etninę tapatybę, priklausymą tam tikram socialiniam konstruktui. Galima teigti, kad kategoriškesnėmis šiuo klausimu išlieka vyresnės moterys, tikėtina, užaugusios laikotarpiu, kai buvo skatinamas etninio identiteto išlaikymas, todėl konkrečiuose pasirinkimuose jos įžvelgia daugiau plusų ir siekia išlaikyti šimtmečiais tęsiamas tradicijas.
2. Jaunesnėms moterims galimai patrauklesnis globalesnis požiūris, labiau vertinamas asmeninis identitetas ar poreikiai, todėl tokioms moterims pavardė tampa saviraiškos priemone. Jaunesnės moterys kur kas dažniau vertina tik pavardės skambesį ir daug rečiau gilinais į kitas galimas pasirinkimo priežastis, tokias kaip tradicijos, statusas ir pan.
3. Verta paminėti ir tai, kad moters pavardė gali atskleisti ir jos vedybinį statusą. Nors anksčiau tai būdavo pageidautina, šiandien tokį reiškinį jau imama laikyti neigiamu reiškiniumi. Plačiai žinoma, kad vyresnės moters mergautinės pavardės išlaikymas dažnai yra siejamas su senmergyste. Pavardės su nepriesagine galūne galimai visiškai panaikina bet kokią galimybę įvertinti moters šeiminių padėčių, taigi sumažina moterų patiriamą įtampą dėl apkalbų ar nepažįstamų žmonių kišimosi į jų asmeninę erdvę. Galima teigti, kad XXI a. asmeninis identitetas, pasirinkimo laisvė, platesnės galimybės yra vertinamos teigiamai, o anksčiau galiojusios taisyklės praranda savo svarbą. Pastebėta, jog pavardė yra vertinama kaip dar vienas išsilaisvinimo būdas: moterys nebėra saistomos nustatytų taisyklių ir gali pačios pasirinkti tai, kas joms atrodo tinkamiausia.

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THE CONCEPT OF “HOMO SACER” IN NADINE GORDIMER'S NOVEL “THE PICKUP”

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Abstract

The concept of “*Homo Sacer*” in Nadine Gordimer's novel “The Pickup”

Key Words: Giorgio Agamben, *homo sacer*, state of exception, postcolonial novel, Nadine Gordimer, immigration

This study is a critical reading of immigrant characters in a contemporary postcolonial migration novel as the literary embodiment of Giorgio Agamben's concept of *homo sacer*. The literary work analysed in the given paper is Nadine Gordimer's novel “The Pickup” (2001). The theoretical framework of the present study is Giorgio Agamben's (1998) political theory of bare life and state of exception. The author reinforces the interpretative reading of the literary work through interdisciplinarity and contextuality. These modes of research are provided by the methodologies of postcolonial literary studies. The novel is interpreted with an idea of outlining ways in which immigrant characters are reduced to their bare life and entrapped in a state of exception. Agamben's concepts allow addressing integral aspects of a political being's identity such as one's name, body, and rights concerning the migrant character's subjugation to the forces of the global postmodern age.

Kopsavilkums

“*Homo Sacer*” koncepcija Nadīnes Gordimeras romānā “Pikaps”

Atslēgvārdi: Džordžo Agambens, *homo sacer*, izņēmuma stāvoklis, postkoloniālais romāns, Nadīne Gordimera, imigrācija

Šis darbs ir analītisks imigranta tēla lasījums, kā Džordžo Agambena koncepcijas *homo sacer* attēlojums, mūsdienu postkoloniālajā literatūrā. Šajā darbā tika analizēts Nadīnes Gordimeras romāns “Pikaps” (2001). Darbā tika pielietotas tādas koncepcijas no Džordžo Agambena (1998) politiskās teorijas kā kailā dzīvība un izņēmuma stāvoklis. Izvēlēta literārā darba interpretatīvais lasījums tika pastiprināts un uzlabots izmantojot tādas postkoloniālo literāro metožu veidus kā starpdisciplināritāte un kontekstualitāte. Izvēlētais romāns ir analizēts ar ideju iezīmēt veidus kādos imigrantu tēli tiek reducēti līdz to kailajai dzīvībai un ieslodzīti izņēmuma stāvoklī. Džordo Agambena koncepcijas sniedz iespēju adresēt tādas integrālus politiskās dzīvības aspektus kā cilvēka vārds, ķermenis, valoda un tiesības, atsaucoties uz imigrantu tēlu subjūgāciju postmodernās globalizācijas procesu ietekmē.

Introduction

The 20th century is marked by fundamental changes initiated by such events as two world wars, oscillating political regimes and the process of decolonisation followed by globalisation (Frank 2008). One of the many responses to these events was global migration and it found its reflection in migration literature.

Migration literature grew to an unprecedented degree. According to Frank Soren, it was a testifier of its “growing literary, sociological and phenomenological importance” (Frank 2008: 2). Scholars like Tilbe, Rania, Khalil. (2019) and Walkowitz (2006) encourage to consider the influence of migration literature on the literary field in general, since it reflects “economic, social, educational and political” causes (Tilbe et al. 2019).

According to scholars like Davis, Isakjee, Dhesi (2017) and Mayblin (2017), the main influx of migrants come from postcolonial territories, thus forming a connection between displaced/marginalised people and colonial historicities. Hence, the interest of scholars from social, economic, cultural and, most importantly, postcolonial studies.

Postcolonial migration literature is a valuable imaginative form that addresses the experiences of people who are affected by forced mobilities (Davis et al. 2019). Moreover, a

defining feature of postcolonial migration literature is that it forms a link between “the novel reality” (Tilbe et al. 2019) and the real world that is impacted by neo-colonial politics, globalisation, inequalities, and capitalism (Davis et al. 2019). To offer a different perspective, the present analysis addresses the ways in which the lives of marginalised people can be perceived regarding the contemporary politics of Giorgio Agamben’s work.

The life of marginalised people has been approached from many perspectives, among them is the political theory of Giorgio Agamben (1998). In the contemporary political environment, Agamben’s concept of sacred being (*homo sacer*), who resides in state of exception, has been a useful analytical tool in the academia. As there hasn’t been extensive research on the way postcolonial migration literature depicts the lives of marginalised people affected by neo-colonial politics of mobility, the present research aims to offer a critical reading of migrant characters in a contemporary postcolonial novel (Nadine Gordimer’s novel “The Pickup”) as the literary embodiment of Agamben’s concept of *homo sacer*.

Methods and methodologies

The most suitable approach for the literary analysis of the present study is the interdisciplinary approach. As the present study aims to study the migrant characters as extension of Agamben’s concept of *homo sacer* in a postcolonial migration novel, hence the analysis entails using competencies related to postcolonial cultural and literary studies and political theory.

Agamben’s political theory: *Homo sacer* and state of exception

Giorgio Agamben is an Italian political philosopher, whose focus is biopolitics. He has written such impactful works as *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (1998) and *State of Exception* (2003). Agamben’s main argument is that biological life has been at the basis of political life since the Classical Age.

According to Agamben, Ancient Greeks saw life as consisting of two elements: *zēo* and *bios*. *Zēo* is thought to be a common way of life that is accessible “to all living beings (animals, man or god)” (Agamben 1998:1). In other words, it is a biological existence of a living being. Whereas *bios* is a proper way of living, meaning, the political existence of a living being within *the polis*. Agamben points out that *zēo* was never mentioned as an active part of one’s existence, it was rather considered to be a self-evident part of domestic life. Yet, judging by Aristotle’s work, Agamben deduces that the interrelation between *zēo* and *bios* is evident. The biological life does not simply disappear into nothingness once a human being transforms and enters a political life, it serves as a base for the creation of the political life. Thus, it includes it through its exclusion. In his political theory, Agamben proposes that this process is used in the contemporary political environment by sovereign power to create bare life similar to the concept of *homo sacer* (Agamben 1998).

The sovereign is a key element in the analysis and understanding of bare life, as the sovereign creates it. According to Carl Schmitt, “the sovereign stands outside the juridical order and, nevertheless, belongs to it, since it is up to him to decide if the constitution is to be suspended *in toto*” (Schmitt 1985). Therefore, the sovereign can create and enable a **state of exception**- a space that is applied to order by disapplying it- and put a political being under a sovereign ban. Consequently, anyone who is captured in a state of exception is automatically turned into a bare life, like *homo sacer*.

Homo sacer is “an obscure figure of an archaic Roman law, in which human life is included in juridical order solely through its exclusion” (Agamben 1998: 8). *Homo sacer* is someone who cannot be sacrificed yet can be killed with impunity (Ibid.). What makes the sacred being (translation of *homo sacer*) “sacred” is its abandonment by law. As Jean-Luc Nancy states, “to abandon is to remit, entrust, or turn over [...] to sovereign power and remit, entrust, or turn to its ban, that is, to its proclaiming, to its convening, and to its sentencing”. Agamben suggests that the same figure exists in modern politics in a form of bare life and is exposed to direct and pure forms of violence (Mills 2008).

Agamben’s concept of *homo sacer* allows to focus on the ways displaced and marginalised immigrant figures can be perceived and offers a different perspective on the critical reading of immigrant characters as bare life that is excluded from the political life. The discussion approaches the chosen novel and immigrant characters as an extension of Agamben’s philosophical concepts of *homo sacer* in form of bare life within the state of exception.

Discussion

Nadine Gordimer is an internationally acclaimed South African writer whose work reflects her anti-apartheid views. The main themes of her work are race, gender, and identity on the levels of personal and private. The chosen novel is a love story between an illegal immigrant Abdu, from an “unnamed Arab country”, and a young bourgeois girl Julie Summers, from a financially stable family in Johannesburg. Their relationship is interrupted by a notice from the Department of Home Affairs stating that Abdu must leave South Africa.

The central figure of the critical reading is Abdu, who, as bare life, falls under numerous forces that render his life into a sacred one – existing outside the politico-judicial realm. In the process of the analysis, it was possible to outline five distinctive aspects that solidify his state of uncertainty: (1) lack of legal name (2) lack of ownership (3) poor command of the English language (4) the function of his biological body and (5) his exclusion on national and transnational levels.

The lack of a legal name prevents Abdu from advancing in his life. Abdu does not use his real name (Ibrahim) in South Africa, because he is an illegal migrant. The illegality of his stay puts him in a state of exception or outside the judicial reach. The lack of name reduces him to a pure

labour force that is working at a local garage (with no health insurance, nor rights in general). He is categorised and labelled by people with names like “grease monkey” (Gordimer 2001:21), “the victim, the accused, the endangered, their friend Julie's pickup” (Gordimer 2001: 74) or “unqualified, working ‘black’ “(Gordimer, 2002: 17). Even relatively friendly names, like “oriental prince” (Gordimer, 2002: 86) or “Brother” (Gordimer 2002: 88), are derived from people’s perception of his physicality, namely the race and ethnicity.

The lack of a viable name on a judicial level prevents Abdu from any rights of ownership, starting from his juridico-political rights to the ownership of real estate or material property. He works and lives illegally in a garage and owns a pair of jeans and a shirt he wears outside of work. Even Julie realises his surreal mode of existence, as he has “no record of him on any payroll, no address but c/o garage, and under a name that was not his. [...] [Yet]there he was, a live presence in her room “(Gordimer 2002: 18). As he lives in a state of uncertainty, he cannot settle down in fear of being detained and sent back to his country. Besides the issues connected to the lack of name and thereof rights of ownership, language excludes him from the social sphere.

Abdu’s poor command of the English language leads everyone to assume that he is incapable to represent himself in any shape or form. Language in this case defines one's identity and capacity to exist. Hence, his identity is taken up by Julie, as she speaks for him to her friends, her parents and even lawyers. Abdu understands the importance of language as he admits to himself that “you are dumb if you cannot speak- speak their language as they do “(Gordimer, 2002: 90). Everything Abdu intends to express through verbal means is perceived by Julie as too direct, robust, and impolite due to “the limitations of his use of her language” (Gordimer 2001:62). Abdu’s exclusion and existence as bare life is intensified by his exclusion from social existence.

The only thing that Abdu, as bare life, can control, own, and communicate through is his biological body. Abdu uses Julie's body (through making love) as a medium of communication. On the one hand, Julie's body is where he feels unthreatened as “in her body he was safe, he belonged to nobody, she was the country to which he emigrated” (Gordimer 2001: 193). Yet, on the other hand, the act of lovemaking is a direct expression of his anger and frustration, as it is the only way he is heard. At one point Abdu says: “you have to use your lips and tongue for other purposes, [your body] in place of your opinion and conviction” (Gordimer 2001: 90). In this aspect, Julie’s ignorance of Abdu's position is reflected in how she sees Abdu's body as an expression of his manhood and “his right” (Gordimer 2001:63), rather than his *only* right.

When Abdu and Julie move back to Abdu's country, we see Abdu regaining control of his name, language and right to ownership, yet he still resides under the **sovereign ban** on a transnational level. He understands that he is seen by the rest of the world as not “the right kind of foreigner” (Gordimer 2001: 140). It is expressed in the treatment he receives when applying for a

US visa. “The equivalent national humanitarian symbols of the Lady with The Upheld Torch [...] no longer welcomes but uses the Light to frisk each applicant blindly for possible connections with the international terrorism- people fighting for their own foreign ideological battles on other nation’s soil, or carrying in their body fluids the world’s latest fatal disease” (Ibid.). Moreover, Julie must fill out two application forms, whereas Abdu is buried in a bureaucratic process. His country claims him “by his birth, features and colour, his language, and the Faith” (Ibid). Internationally, he lives in a state of exception and functions at the level of bare life. He is constantly seen as a potential danger, that needs to be proven trustworthy and innocent by a reliable source from the outside. No matter what Abdu does, outside his country he is stripped to his bare life and perceived as someone who can be exposed to pure forms of violence with impunity, thus resembling the Agambenian concept of *homo sacer*.

Conclusions

The selected postcolonial novel (Gordimer’s The *Pickup*) reflects the experience of people from former colonial territories who embark on a journey of transnational migration. Agamben's political theory and the concept of *homo sacer* addresses the experience of marginalised figures from postcolonial spaces.

Giorgio Agamben’s contemporary political work and concept of *homo sacer* is an effective analytical tool that addresses the experience of marginalised people with relation to the contemporary postcolonial migration literature from a different perspective. Interdisciplinary dialogue addresses and analyses seemingly ordinary forces and conditions that ultimately determine and solidify a particular state of existence. Agamben’s proposed concept of *homos sacer* allows us to analyse different forms of exclusion that perpetuate the state of exception for someone living in the form of bare life. Under the sovereign ban, the human being is the object of communication rather than the subject. As seen with the analysed character – Abdu-, his life is determined by his race and biological body. Other forms of exclusion, such as cultural, social, and economic one, intensify the experience of an illegal migrant affected by neo-colonial politics of mobility. The analysis shines a light on such multidimensional set of aspects as lack of legal name, rights of ownership, language, race and biological body that shape and reflects the experience of migrant figures. It is possible to conclude that the sovereign ban put on the bare life in the shape of an illegal migrant paralyses even the most ordinary, yet essential parts of human existence.

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MĀKSLA / ART

DESIGN AS A METHOD OF DEFINING THE IMAGE OF THE POLICE

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Abstract

Design as a method of defining the image of the police

Key Words: *social design, social problem, minors' attitude towards the police, media image of the police, State Police*

The first impression of the police image is formed in an everyday environment of a child. The first impression is also formed by parents, who often use calling the police as a threat in case of child's misbehaviour. This is also common in schools, if the teacher loses control over certain situations. Eventually, part of teenagers forms their experience and impression of the police in cases when they are facing the police themselves. Digital environment also plays a huge role, especially now, in context of the pandemic situation and restrictions locally and globally. Students are studying from their homes, spending a great amount of time at computers. It is nearly impossible to control the content they search and view on the internet apart from studying, especially children between ages 12 to 17, which is the focus group of this research.

Social media is a tool, which provides not only mutual communication, but also a way to keep society informed about current situation in the country as well as worldwide. The way how this information is delivered to the audience is crucial – the same situation or event can form either positive or negative attitude in readers. At the same time social media users can freely express their opinions, commenting on posts or articles. Considering information mentioned above, we can conclude that the image of the police among teenagers is formed by at least two components: 1) the first impression, gained from their parents and grandparents, which often includes stereotypes about the police and their image in the 1990s with high levels of corruption, low productivity, abuse of office as well as violent actions against detained; 2) media image – information about the actions of the police and results achieved, which are published in social media and mass media. The attitude of the focus group and other parts of society can be monitored in comments under these posts.

The aim of this work is to perform detailed research of components that form the image of the police, using **design methodology**.

Kopsavilkums

Dizains kā metode policijas tēla definēšanā

Atslēgvārdi: *sociālais dizains, sociālā problēma, pusaudžu attieksme pret policiju, policijas mediju tēls, Valsts policija*
Policijas tēla aizsākumi tiek veidoti vidē, kurā aug un ikdienā uzturas bērns. Pirmo iespaidu par policiju bērni gūst no vecākiem, kas nereti policijas tēlu izmanto bērna iebiedēšanai nepaklausīšanas gadījumā; vēlāk - mācību iestādēs, ja skolotājs nespēj tikt galā ar situāciju; un visbeidzot – pusaudžu vecumā, kad daļa jauniešu gūst pirmo personīgo pieredzi. Liela nozīme ir arī digitālai videi, īpaši tagad, kad valstī un pasaulē esošā epidemioloģiskā situācija ierobežo ierasto dienas gaitu un ieradumus. Skolēni apgūst mācību programmu attālināti, pavadot daudz laika pie datora. Izkontrolēt saturu, kas paralēli mācībām tiek apskatīts tīmeklī, praktiski nav iespējams, īpaši, ja runājam par bērniem vecumā no 12 līdz 17 gadiem, kas ir pētījuma fokusa grupa.

Sociālie tīkli ir plašsaziņas rīks, kas nodrošina ne tikai savstarpējas saziņas un informācijas apmaiņas iespēju, bet ar to starpniecību sabiedrība tiek arī informēta par valstī un pasaulē notiekošo, savukārt veids, kā tiek pasniegta informācija, var veidot labvēlīgu vai naidīgu sabiedrības viedokli. Vienlaikus sociālo tīklu lietotāji var brīvi paust savu viedokli un situācijas interpretāciju komentāru sadaļā. Līdz ar to var apgalvot, ka policijas tēlu pusaudžu vidū veido vismaz divi komponenti: 1)pirmais iespaids, kas gūts no vecākiem un vecvecākiem un iekļauj stereotipus, kas nāk no pagājušā gadsimta 90. gadiem un ietver korupciju, zemu produktivitāti, ļaunprātīgu dienesta stāvokļa izmantošanu, kā arī vardarbīgas izpausmes pret pārkāpējiem un aizturētām personām; 2) mediju tēls – informācija par policijas darbību un sasniegtajiem rezultātiem, kas tiek publicēta sociālajos tīklos un masu medijos. Savukārt sabiedrības daļas, tostarp pētījuma fokusa grupas, attieksme ir vērojama komentāru sadaļā.

Pētījuma **mērķis** ir veikt detalizētu policijas tēlu veidojošo komponentu izpēti izmantojot **dizaina metodoloģiju**.

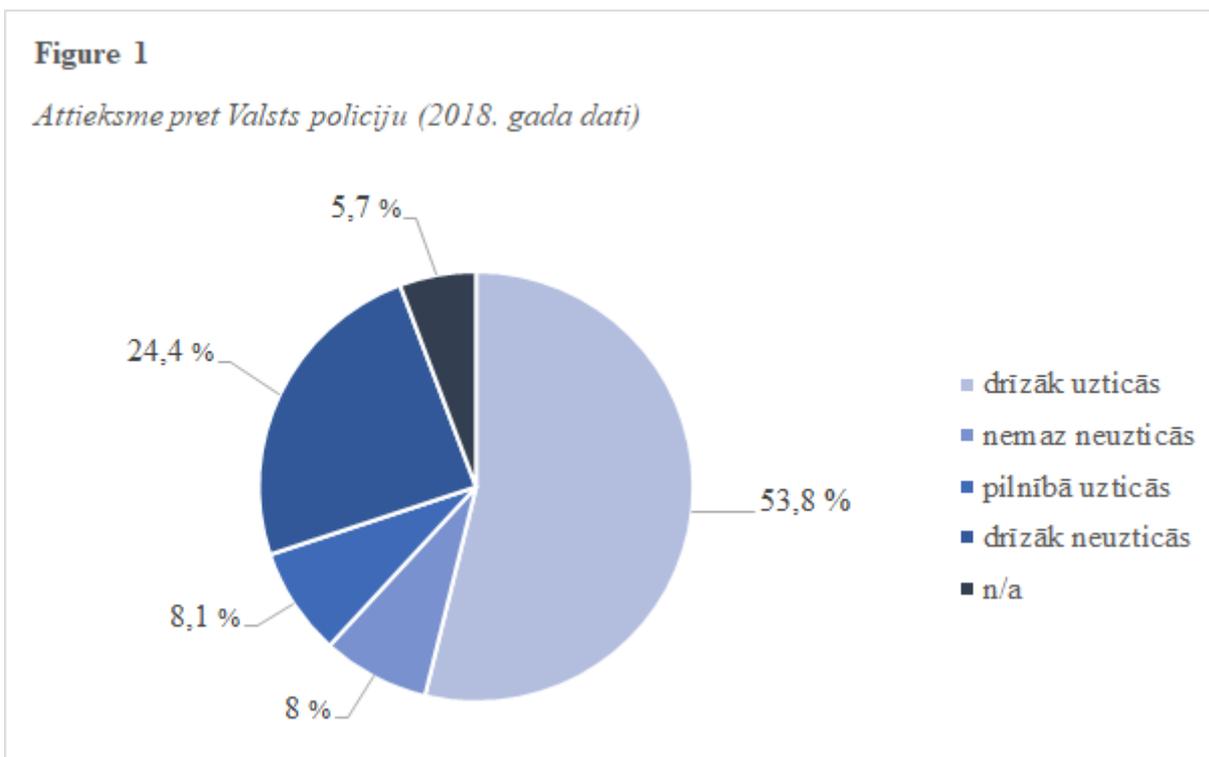
Introduction

Social design as a separate industry occurred rather recently – at the very end of the last century, but it has gained its popularity and recognition only over the last ten to twenty years, and

its popularity has mostly been affected by the crisis of 2008 (Chen, Cheng, Hummels & Koskinen 2015), which has been named the biggest crisis of economic downturn since 1930 (EP 2010). Purchasing power of the population has decreased. Also the way of thinking and the experience of consumption have changed. Designers were forced to search for new opportunities and so they were found in complicated problems and challenges of society. Social design is a very large concept. It provides wide opportunities and an explanation of the understanding of traditional design. Social design distinguishes from other types of designs with a social component and it is the only characteristic feature which makes a social design into a separate type of design. Social design is a way of social welfare, lifestyle, cultural, moral and social value designing. It doesn't always provide new creations, but it can help to improve raising the existing quality of it. The aim of the social design is to create positive social change through artistic activity, which would contribute to well-being of society or to improve the quality of life of the society.

The design methodology is relatively easy to understand and customize. The methods are developed in such a way that they can be applied for solving minor problems, as well as complex problems. Methodology of social design is people oriented in order to create the best solution for problems. The methods of it can be used by primary school children, experienced design specialists and also by people with mental health problems. Empathy is the main tool of a designer, and at the same time it is a method that helps to find solutions for social problems.

In the framework of the dissertation, it is planned to study violence among minors linking it to a negative attitude of a large number of young people towards the police, which was inferred from talks with police officers, teachers of educational institutions and minors. Many young people have a contemptuous attitude towards the police. Police work is not considered prestigious among teenagers. Society mostly thinks that becoming a police officer is chosen by those who are looking for an easy way in life and are aware that they will not be admitted to university. But at the same time studying in Police College is free, students receive monthly salary and after graduating are guaranteed a job in the State police (Izglītības iespējas Valsts policijas koledžā). In order to confirm the topicality of the initially studied problem in a broader social context, the data of the year 2018 of Latvian population survey – “Attitude towards the State Police” were used. The results of the research showed that 8,1% fully trust the police, 8% do not trust the police at all, 53,8% trust the police partly, 24,4% mostly doesn't trust the police and 5,7% have not answered this question (LSKD 2018) (**Fig. 1**). Attitude of minors towards the police have not been researched yet, even considering the fact that minors will be a part of future society entitled to vote, and it makes researching the facts of current attitude to the police so important.



At the beginning of a research there was made a causation of the trust coefficient to the police among minors and a low interest in a policeman profession, which could be the reason of the State police lack of employees. In 2020 it was 19,4% (VP 2020). The causation can be also found in minors attitude to the police and the level of violence and crimes among minors. In every 3 years there is run a program – International student assessment program (PISA 2019) which is targeted to evaluate the level of a basic knowledge among 15 year old minors. Last research was made in 2018. The results show that 35% of Latvian students have dealt with violence for at least few times a month (PISA 2019), that shows that every third student in Latvia suffers from physical or emotional violence.

The **focus group** of minors consists of children aged 12 to 17, which makes 6% of the population of Latvia (In 2020, the population of Latvia was 1,907,675, out of which 144,689 were adolescents aged 12-17, which comprised 6% of the total population) (IRD040 2020), and of State and Municipal Police Officers. Part of teenagers aged 12, get the first experience in communication with the police. From age 14 administrative and criminal laws are bounding (KL 11.p.).

Problems with minors' trust in the police can be a cause of several social problems, such as violence and crime among minors, low interest about policemen profession, and a lack of police officers.

The **target**: to define components making the image of the police in society using the design methodology.

Attitude to the police is made out of variety of aspects, and one of them is the image of police in society itself, which consists of a set of components.

1. The family's attitude to the police – which is a solid basis in attitude formation. Until attending a primary school this model of an attitude is the basic one. Unfortunately lots of parents frighten their children with the police without considering the consequences in situations when child behaves badly. At one of the interviews with police officers they mentioned a case when in year 2020 a child of a primary school age ran away from home. When the police was called, parents told that the boy is afraid of the police. Undoubtedly this circumstance made the searching process more difficult.
2. Experience which is given at primary and secondary educational school programs. This experience is mostly made by teachers, when they threaten to call the police in situations when children misbehave. Mostly those are situations of mobbing, bullying and violence among children.
3. An important component of creating the police image is the information children are getting from internet websites. In this category there are no age limits marked because there is no way to define the age of children using the internet at the time when parents lose some control over children in a way to control the websites child have visited. Some children at the age of 7 already have so well- developed computer skills, that they can hide any visited websites with no problems at all. Also there are children who are strictly prohibited to use social networks, such as YouTube, TikTok etc. It is also very important to keep in mind that not all teenagers have critical thinking and are not able to analyze the information and the source the information comes from. The image of the police is also made out of so called “loud situations” in foreign countries. As an example we can mention a case in the USA in year 2019, when at the time of detention police officer made life threatening injuries to detained person causing person's death (Murder of George Floyd 2021). Undeniably situations like this make more or less impact to a whole image of the police. This situation caused a huge resonance in society, causing protest actions and mass riots. Actualizing problems like racism and violence, or excessive use of force from police officers undeniably points to the lack of a professional competence among the police officers involved in the case.
4. Movies, where police inaction, inefficiency, powerlessness and late reaction is shown, makes a bad impression about the police in children's minds. They always show that the police are very slow in taking actions as well as its inability to make decisions, as well as late arrival to the scene. Movies also contain scenes of treason, when police officers have been bribed or cooperating with criminals, and become traitors in order to achieve selfish interests. Despite the

fact that the bad police officer actions will be eventually uncovered, scenes like this are building up the image of the police.

5. The illegal activities of some of our own- Latvian- police officers can be highlighted as a separate component of the police image, discussed in the media and on the internet, discussed in the family and with friends - it also is a part of making the image of the police.

One of the loudest cases happened in Jekabpils on 25.01.2011 and it caused a huge resonance in society. Five armed persons - four of them police officers (two of them from special forces "Alfa" and two police officers from Tukums district) made a gambling hall's robbery. During the shooting several officers were injured, one of them died (Apšaude Jēkabpilī 2011). This incident has remained in the history of the police as a particularly reprehensible case of betrayal. Four years later, one of the injured police officers involved in the arrest of the criminals, awarded with the "Medal of Honor of the Year", was convicted of intentionally causing grievous bodily harm, which resulted in the death of the victim, in an organized group and being under the heavy influence of alcohol, was sentenced to 8 years in prison (LETA 2015).

As another, less dramatic, but still serious case can be mentioned the accident at 11.01.2021., when the head of Ogre municipal police together with the deputy had a meal in a catering company, disobeying the law of epidemiological restrictions set by the State (Blass 2021). Representatives of authorities, who are obliged to monitor and control safety requirements, were deliberately ignoring them. Of course, actions like this damage police image, strengthening the stereotype of police permissiveness and abusive use of the official status.

What adds even more to the negative image of the police, are cases when one officer's illegal actions can destroy the whole image of the police institution, even more if these actions have not been punished in appropriate way or have been justified.

6. The concluding component of forming the police image is personal experience, which children get most often from the age of 14. Not all of them, of course. According to the law, a person becomes criminally liable if he or she has reached the age of 14 (KL 11.p.). Also personal opinion about police can be based on facts and stories told by friends, which are most often based on self-justification and defamation of a police officer.

Conclusions

The image of the police consists of a set of several components - attitude taught in a family, experience that children gain in educational institutions, information on websites, from movies, which make a bad impression of the police, some illegal actions made by local police officers, and

also personal experience. The interviewed students mostly associate the police function with punishment rather than crime prevention.

Every component, forming the image of the police, can be adjusted using a design approach. The police have a very wide range of competences, and the basic task is not to punish, but to educate the society by using prevention as the main tool. "Punishment is the last and the least effective instrument in the hands of the legislator for the prevention of crime" (Ruskin 1868). It is also very important to explain to young parents and teachers, who use the police as a threat for children's misbehavior, what kind of consequences it can cause in the future. The most important thing or emotional response that we have to teach to preschool children is that the police officer is a friend, not a threat (Pjats 2019).

We also have to put emphasis on the media image of the police, which in some way is a visualized set of information, which contains information about the police job, reached goals, irregularities and dispute situations - information that is published in social media and mass media. Police campaigns and advertisements also form a part of the police media image.

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DIVERSITY OF INTERPRETATION OF THE GENRE PAINTING IN LATVIAN ART IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY

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Abstract

Diversity of interpretation of the genre painting in Latvian art in the first half of the 20th century

Key Words: *genre painting, painting, Jēkabs Bīne, Latvian art, the first half of 20th century*

Abstract text: The study intends to look at the diversity of the genre painting in the first half of the 20th century in Latvian art. In the course of the research, the most characteristic features of this genre in the respective period and the process of their formation will be revealed. Paying particular attention to the context of the genre painting in the common creative work of the artist Jēkabs Bīne (1895-1955), its thematic diversity and possible connection with the rules dictated by political power and circumstances. Genre paintings are the most widely represented works of Jēkabs Bīne. The most active period of creative activity for Bīne was in the 1920s and 1930s when he tried to balance the problem-free coziness with a mood message, the character of personalities, and the depiction of the environment. However, few years later, in the mid-1940s, several paintings deliberately present silenced and frightening tragedy of its time. The real intent of the artist is subject to interpretation – he felt internal resistance, misunderstanding or fear to what was happening, allowing to be revealed just through the shades of color. The works of Jēkabs Bīne, created during the Soviet years, meet the requirements of the prevailing social realism at that time, with smiling and monumentalized workers. Bīne's style of painting went along with time because realism was recognized as the style. The artist only needed to be able to change the content and understanding of ideology in his works. **The aim of the research:** to reveal the most characteristic features of the genre painting in the relevant period and the process of their formation, as well as to trace the activities of individual artists in this period, focusing on the developmental features of the genre in their works. **The research problem:** the genre painting is widely represented in the works of many artists, but separately as a genre development and thematic division has been little studied and classified. **The novelty of the research:** the diversity of interpretations of the genre painting and its significance in the works of the artist Jēkabs Bīne, as well as his contemporaries. **Research methods:** archive documents, research of museum collections, published materials, including description of exhibitions, study of artists' monograph.

Kopsavilkums

Sadzīves žanra interpretācijas daudzveidība 20. gs. pirmās puses latviešu glezniecībā

Atslēgvārdi: *sadzīves žanrs, glezniecība, Jēkabs Bīne, Latvijas māksla, 20. gs. pirmā puse*

Kopsavilkuma teksts: Pētījums paredz apskatīt sadzīves žanra daudzveidību 20. gs. pirmās puses latviešu glezniecībā. Darba gaitā tiks atklātas šim žanram raksturīgākās iezīmes attiecīgajā periodā un to veidošanās process. Īpašu uzmanību pievēršot mākslinieka Jēkaba Bīnes (1895-1955) sadzīves žanra kontekstam kopējā daiļradē, tās tematiskai daudzveidībai un iespējamai saistībai ar politisko varu un apstākļu diktētajiem noteikumiem. Sadzīves žanra glezniecība skaitliski Jēkaba Bīnes daiļradē ir pārstāvēta visplašāk. Aktīvākais daiļrades posms Bīnem bija 20. gs. 20. – 30. gadi, tajā viņš centās līdzsvarot bezproblēmu omulību ar noskaņas vēstījumu, personāžu raksturu un apkārtējās vides izjustu tēlojumu. Tomēr, jau pāris gadus vēlāk 40. gadu vidū vairākās gleznās, iespējams, ir ierakstīta klusināta un biedējoša sava laika apzinātā traģēdija. Var tikai interpretēt, ko gleznotājs patiesībā domājis, sajūtot iekšējo pretestību notiekošajam, neizpratni vai bailes, un ļaudams to paust atklāti vienīgi krāsu un toņu noskaņai. Padomju gados tapušie Jēkaba Bīnes darbi atbilst tobrīd valdošā socrealisma prasībām, tajos uz skatītāju veras smaidoši un monumentalizēti darba darītāji. Bīnes glezniecības stils atbilst tā laika prasībām, jo realisms tiek atzīts. Māksliniekam tikai jāspēj savos darbos mainīt saturu un ideoloģijas izpratni. **Pētījuma mērķis:** atklāt šim žanram raksturīgākās iezīmes attiecīgajā periodā un to veidošanās procesu, kā arī izsekot atsevišķu mākslinieku darbībai šajā periodā, koncentrējoties uz žanra glezniecības attīstības iezīmēm to darbos. **Pētījuma problēma:** sadzīves žanrs ir plaši pārstāvēts daudzu mākslinieku daiļradēs, bet atsevišķi kā žanra attīstība un tematiskais iedalījums ir maz pētīts un klasificēts. **Pētījuma novitāte:** sadzīves žanra interpretāciju daudzveidība un tās nozīme mākslinieka Jēkaba Bīnes, kā arī laikabiedru daiļradēs. **Pētījuma metodes:** arhīva dokumentu, muzeja krājumu izpēte, publicēto materiālu, t.sk. izstāžu aprakstu, mākslinieku monogrāfijas izpēte.

Art often mirrors the era, directly or slightly more indirectly reflecting the various signs and symbols of the ruling power, allowing more profound conclusions to be drawn about the work of art. As the limited amount of the publication does not allow to fully trace the activities of all the artists of this period in depth, the focus will lie only on those artists whose works show significant

features of the development of the genre painting. Special attention is paid to the context of the genre painting in the common creative work of the artist Jēkabs Bīne (1895-1955), its thematic diversity, and possible connection with the regulations dictated by political power and circumstances.

The genre painting is an important reflection of its time and ideas because in their works, artists usually used the costumes, activities, environment, and people typical of their time. In various historical periods, various stories have been popular - ballet, card games parties or alike. Initially, works of the genre painting were considered the passion of less talented artists. Until the end of the 18th century, such subjects for painting as portraits, landscapes, still life were valued higher, and historical painting was especially valued. The works of the genre painting include works in which the main topicality is related to the depiction of everyday stories, specific activities, the environment, and society. It is often considered an entertaining and easy-to-understand, and idealized depiction of painting scenes. Historically the most common genre painting one can see in Dutch, French, and Flemish artworks. It was reminiscent of the virtues of its time and has long been considered to be intended to entertain citizens without historical events, allegories, etc.

Genre painting in Latvian art at the beginning of the 20th century

At the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries, when Latvian professional painting emerged, almost all the most significant Latvian artists turned their attention to the depiction of the genre painting. The artists worked stylistically differently, and each sought its own individual artistic style. At the turn of the century, features of both academic realism and the latest trends - Impressionism, Art Nouveau, Symbolism, and Post-Impressionism - can be seen in a painting. However, in terms of content, many of them were united by the focus on the genre painting, with the help of which the society, current events, and everyday life of their time were discovered. At the turn of the century, depictions of the real-life of the peasant nation had become one of the main themes of the everyday genre. Janis Rozentāls (1866-1917) created the earliest depiction of everyday scenes in painting. He is known as one of the most versatile and significant artists of the turn of the century. In later years, Rozentāls became an outstanding master of the portrait genre, but in the early stages of his work, he regularly made everyday compositions, in which he paid great attention to the reflection of peasant life. One of the most striking examples is the diploma work "After Church" (1894) ("*Pēc baznīcas*"), **[picture 1]** of the St. Petersburg Academy of Imperial Arts, in which the artist depicts a seemingly usual Sunday morning in a small town. With this work, Rozentāls was the first to accurately and realistically depict the diversity of the society of the time, painting children, the elderly, the lucky ones, and the pregnant people in one place. Art historian Aija Brasliņa describes this painting as "... the painting is an apt and multi-layered depiction of the life of the Latvian people, which characterizes the 19th century 90s - a time when the national self-

confidence of the Latvian people was growing in society. With this work, the artist started a new tradition in Latvian painting, introducing peasants to the center for the first time and simplifying the life of the people. This painting and Rozentāls' work in general later played an important role in raising the nation's national self-confidence, which was the basis for the path to an independent state. It should be mentioned that Rozentāls' painting was also the first diploma work of the St. Petersburg Academy of Imperial Arts, which depicted an everyday picture from the everyday life of the people (Kļaviņš 2014).



Picture 1. **Janis Rozentals. After Church, 1894.** Oil on canvas, 173 x 103 cm

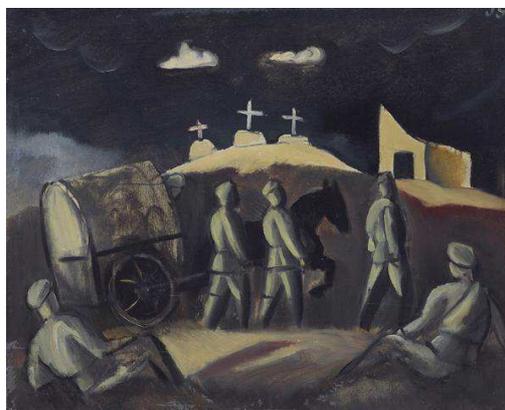
A few years later, this tradition was continued by Johans Valters (1869-1932), a friend and contemporary of Janis Rozentāls. Valters can be considered as the founder of the genre painting in Latvian art. In his diploma work "Market in Jelgava" (1897) ("*Tirgus Jelgavā*"), [picture 2] at the St. Petersburg Imperial Academy of Art, he also continued the line, Rozentāls had already started some years before (Ābele 2009). Stylistically, this is a very impressive work in which the reflections of color vibrate in the afternoon sun. Also, in later years Valters continued his interest in painting the genre painting in his creative work, creating works of various scenes in the genre, such as "Swimming Boys" (1900) ("*Peldētāji zēni*"), "Rope winder" (1900) ("*Virvju vijējs*"), "At party" (1906) ("*Viesībās*") and others.



Picture 2. **Johans Valters. Market in Jelgava, 1897.** Oil on canvas, 154 x 230 cm

Refugee theme in genre painting

After the First World War, the topicality of its era came in terms of stories and themes - the drama of the First World War, rifleman struggles and the fate of refugees. In their works, the artists begin to depict what they saw around them, lived, and experienced in a different way every day. This is largely related to what the artists themselves experienced, felt and saw around them. Jāzeps Grosvalds (1891-1920), one of the pioneers of classical modernism, served in the 6th Tukums Regiment from 1916 to 1917. During this time, seeing the horrors of the war around him, from 1915 to 1917 he created a whole cycle of paintings "Refugees" "Bēgļi" (1915-1917) [picture 3]. The other famous artist of this time, Jēkabs Kazāks (1895-1920) also created several expressive works describing the tragic daily life of the refugees of the First World War (Lamberga 2007). The artist turned to the topic of refugees because the everyday life of refugees was also his everyday life. Living and studying in Penza, he worked on the Refugee Supply Committee and helped refugees deal with daily problems. Scenes of refugee life are depicted in many Kazaks watercolors and drawings, where you can feel an even more detailed narrative. The theme of refugees has also been interpreted by Romans Suta, Aleksandrs Drēviņš, Konrads Ubāns and others.



Picture 3. **Jāzeps Grosvalds. Three crosses (White crosses), 1915 – 1917.**
Oil on canvas, 57 x 69 cm

The search for national self-confidence in the scenes of the genre painting in the 1920s and 1930s

After a short time in the in the 1920s and 1930s, the development of the previously forgotten genre of rural life resumed. Art historian Skaidrīte Cielava, describing the development of Latvian art in the 1920s and 1930s, mentioned, the increase in the popularity of rural life scenes was largely related to the need to actualize the national originality of Latvian art, with local artists increasingly participating in foreign exhibitions (Cielava 1992: 32). In this regard, after the exhibition in Stockholm in 1927, criticism had begun in the Swedish press: “..in Latvia's current art exhibition in Stockholm, it is in vain to look for a line, peculiarity or common perception that could be described as typically Latvian (..). In its art, Latvia is and wants to be a corner of Europe” (Cielava 1992: 33). Shortly afterwards, Latvian artists began to actively focus on the search for the expression of their national art, and firstly they associated with the depiction of rural life and immersion in Latvian folklore. This is how works such as Augustus Annus's “New Farmer” (1928-1935) (*“Jaunsaimnieks”*), brightly painted paintings of Jēkabs Bīne in a landscape environment - “The First Harvest” (1929) (*“Pirmā raža”*), “At the well” (1930) (*“Pie akas”*), as well as his mythological images – “God, Mara, Laima” (1931) (*“Māra, Dievs, Laima”*), Otto Skulme's “Rural works” (1930) (*“Lauku darbi”*), and paintings of fisherman lives by Jānis Liepiņš came to be. The changes were soon noticeable, and not in vain after ten years in the Finnish press it was concluded that Latvian art is surprising because it has grown from a strong foundation.

Artist and art critic Jēkabs Strazdiņš had divided the representatives of the so-called “peasant genre” of this period into two groups: neorealists, who mainly depicted a physically and mentally strong fieldworker, and artists who allowed broader interpretations of forms and colors, more expressive and conditional artistic expressions. In the first group, Strazdiņš included himself, Jānis Lauva (1906 – 1986), Raimonds Auniņš (1907 – 1960), Oļģerts Saldavas (1907 – 1960), Kārlis Sūniņš (1907 – 1979), as well as Jēkabs Bīne, Indriķis Zeberiņš (1882 – 1969) and Kārlis Baltgailis (1893 – 1979). Strazdiņš had been nominated at the forefront of the neorealists by Kārlis Miesnieks with the works “Daily Bread” (*“Dienišķā maize”*) [picture 4], “Motherland” (*“Dzimtene”*) and “Shepherd's Day” (*“Ganu diena”*). The second group was divided into: Ģederts Eliass (1887 – 1975), Jānis Liepiņš (1894 – 1964), Niklāvs Strunke (1894 – 1966), Oto Skulme (1889 – 1967), Uga Skulme (1895 – 1963), Augusts Annuss, and others (Cielava 1992: 32).



Picture 4. **Kārlis Miesnieks. Daily Bread, 1929.** Oil on canvas, 176 x 146 cm

In general, during this period, it was of great importance in Latvian painting to idealize the search for nationality, ancient Latvian mythology, and harmony (Pelše 2016). At the same time, for the first time in the 1920s, urban motifs in genre painting became more popular, e.g., public pub scenes, card players, parties, etc. An example is the city rhythm felt in the paintings of Jānis Tīdemanis (1897 – 1964). Artists work stylistically differently, but paint the events of the same time, cities and people.

In the 1930s, the role of figural compositions increased, especially in the depiction of rural works, fishermen lives, and other themes recognized as Latvian. Versatile depiction of fishermen lives by Augusts Annuss (1893 – 1984), allowing to feel the difficulties of the fishermen everyday life. Around 1920 – 30, the expressive painting of farm works by Gederts Eliass also began. “In his works, Gederts Eliass depicted the rhythm and hardship of the daily life of rural farmers close to him in Zemgale” (Siliņš 1988: 169 – 170).

The first major changes in the art environment are marked by the overthrow of the government by Kārlis Ulmanis (1877 – 1942) on May 15, 1934, which led to an authoritarian regime in the country. The artists were invited to focus on the three main tasks of the regime - the unity of the nation, leadership and nationalistic Latvia. At that time, the genre painting became popular again, as allowed to express itself in various ways in depicting the themes of rural life and work.

Genre painting in the works of Jēkabs Bīne

Genre paintings is the most widely represented part of Jēkabs Bīne artistic heritage. In the works of this genre, Jēkabs Bīne has tried to balance the carefree cosiness with a mood message, the character of personalities and the sense of place. Bīne, a born urbanite, spent a lot of time in the countryside, first in his country house in Jumprava, later in his father-in-law's Ernests Puriņš's Sīli house, in the post-war years - in the property of his wife's sister Marija in Zemturi (Tukums district,

Tume parish). In the summertime, he was also a frequent visitor to the home of the sculptor Kārlis Jansons in “Siļķes”, on the Cēsis side. That is why most of Bīne’s genre paintings are made in a rural environment, reflecting its characteristic moods, images and surroundings. Harmony and balance can be perceived in paintings where the person is focused on his work, for example, “Starting the Day” (1940) (“*Dienu sākot*”), “In the Flourmill” (Maltuvē”) [picture 5], “On the Porch” (1934) (“*Uz lieveņa*”) and other (Gritane 2020: 83).



Picture 5. **Jēkabs Bīne. In the Flourmill, 1924.** Oil on canvas, 77 x 57 cm

With time, the mood in the works changed, the light colors and the "problem-free coziness" disappeared. Several paintings may have depicted a muted and frightening tragedy of their time. Perhaps nowadays only the viewer, based on experience and understanding of history, is able to sense the artist's own unconscious feelings woven into the paintings. Miervaldis Birze much later wrote about the “The Cart Loading” (“*Vezuma kraušana*”), [picture 6], painted in 1942: “... as if a folk tragedy would come from the edge together with a storm cloud. When this carriage might be loaded last” (Birze 1996: 91).



Picture 6. **Jēkabs Bīne. The Cart Loading, 1942.** Oil on canvas, 60 x 71,5 cm

The painting "Morning Fog" (1944) ("*Rīta migla*") is interesting and a bit atypical for Bīne's genre painting. The gray-green smoky tone chosen in it, which surrounds the forest edge wrapped in mist and smoke, which also shows the berry picker, seems to evoke a slightly sad mood. In general, Bīne's works tend to have a contemplative and muffled peace - it seems that the artist did not want to reveal his experiences and negative emotions in his paintings, but, on the contrary, tried to depict lively stories. However, often under the influence of cool and dark tonality, muted contemplation has become dominant.

A rare exception in Bīne's paintings is the work "Scene" (1929) ("*Scēna*"), which seems to portray a theatrical narrative plot with a composition of two figures which is uncharacteristic of the artist and a richly ornamented background drapery.

In some cases, the works of the genre painting also have been made as orders, for example, in 1933, as an order by Mrs. Druva "The Sad Melody" (1933) ("*Skumjā melodija*") was painted in Kaucminde, in which a woman plays the piano. The composition provides a small insight into the interior of the room, the greyish cool tones reinforce the feeling already given in the title, that a sad melody is playing.

Unlike works devoted to other topics, there are small stylistic explorations and changes in content in the works of the genre painting. The compositions made in the 1920s and 1930s are characterized by slow, serious, and observational activity, most often the depiction of one person (woman) doing a daily job - drinking water in a well "Down by the Well" (1930) ("*Pie akas*"), preparing a daily meal "New Hostess" (1931) "*Jaunā saimniece*", everyday work, observing the surroundings thoughtfully "Waiting" (1930) ("*Gaidot*").

During this time, as rare exceptions, multi-figure compositions are created, such as in the "Studio" ("*Studijā*") painted in 1928. While in the post-war years, compositions of the genre painting have become brighter, with compositions by several people performing various rural works. The images depicted by the artist in everyday works are strong and vital, they have the thoroughness and balance of the power of the earth. By using the interplay of warm tones, as well as creating compositionally interesting angles for plastic-drawn characters, Bīne has discovered the tradition life of the Latvian countryside. Working in this genre, his basic principle of worldview - "nature, man and work" - was most often expressed. It should be noted that similar works were often painted in the studio, using photographs taken by the artist himself (for example, "The Sheep Shearer" (1944) ("*Aitu cirpēja*"), "The Old Farmer" (1940) ("*Vecais saimnieks*"), etc.

In some periods, the artist is fascinated by a certain depiction of the theme, so in 1942 and 1943 he created several compositions depicting a boat and a boatman. By varying the painted point of view, different compositions and moods are created (Brancis 1995).

In the 1950s, Bīne painted several commissioned stories, which emphasized a person's occupation, for example, “Tractor driver Freibergs” (1950) (“*Traktorists Freibergs*”), “In the Flax Field” (1950) (“*Linu druvā*”) [picture 7], etc. The commissioned genre paintings created during the Soviet years meet the requirements of the then prevailing social realism, in which smiling and monumentalized workers open to the viewer. Bīne's style of painting meets the requirements of the time, because realism is recognized. The artist only needs to be able to change the content and understanding of ideology in his works.



Picture 7. **Jēkabs Bīne. In the Flax Field, 1950.** Oil on canvas, 70 x 175 cm

Although the artist's work proves that the Soviet-backed form of realistic art painting of social realism and the very often painted genres and portraits would have been part of the commissioned works, Bīne did not use these opportunities and did not turn to the active execution of Soviet-era orders.

Conclusions

The genre painting in art is an important witness of its time. When painting, as if simple compositions, in which the artists reflect what is relevant to them and what is visible around them. There could be seen historical evidence of the fashion, design, materials and events of the era.

It is equally important to realize that the demands for day-to-day representation have changed as a result of various political powers. During the Soviet era, when socialist realism became a topical issue, everyday life could often be depicted as it should be, rather than as it really was. At that time, artists were often critical of what was happening and painted everyday scenes in the mythological world. In the sense of socialist realism, one could see in the works of the genre painting efforts to form public notions of important issues of life. We can also find examples in the art of Ulmanis' authoritarian period, where the artist paints idealized characters as if in daily life.

It can be concluded that the genre painting is a very important witness of its time, ideas and environments. The genre is often perceived as light and entertaining, but often hides important details and messages.

The genre painting is one of the most diverse and widely represented genres of painting, however, it is possible to conclude the thematic topicalities of a certain periods and their connections with the prevailing political systems.

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MAKING LATVIAN MYTHOLOGICAL CHARACTERS TOPICAL IN CONTEMPORARY CULTURAL EVENTS

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Abstract

Making Latvian mythological characters topical in contemporary cultural events

Key Words: *mythological images, cultural event, cultural policy, research, survey of cultural workers, relevance of mythological images, trends in cultural events*

The aim of the research is to actualize contemporary cultural events that represent Latvian mythology and cultural policy.

The images of Latvian folklore, which are recognized as a reflection of the perception of this ethnocultural world, express the social and cultural identity of the nation. From childhood and in schools he is taught and told about Laima, Meža and the Mother of the Wind, Sauli, Jumi, Lietuvēna, Raganām, Ausekli, linen and other characters. The images of our folklore are updated and reminded at the annual festivals, and their actualizers and reminders are folklore groups, collectives whose daily life is related to the storage or collection of folklore. However, folklore is a collective creation, created not by one but by many people, so it is a shared responsibility to pass it on to future generations and preserve its identity.

How do we preserve, cultivate and pass on this unique part of folklore to future generations? How have folklore images integrated into the environment of cultural events in the last decade? What is the trend in the field of cultural events today? Have images of folklore been interpreted in folklorism in postmodern society in new forms, situations and contexts? Do other types of pop culture images not suppress our own values and despise our folklore images? Are the identities of our folklore taken into account in the formation of cultural policy in the regions of Latvia?

The report will be based on a survey conducted by Latvian cultural specialists on the topic of cultural events and the topicality of using the image of folklore in the development of cultural policy in the regions.

Kopsavilkums

Latviešu mitoloģisko tēlu aktualizācija laikmetīgos kultūras pasākumos

Atslēgvārdi: *mitoloģiskie attēli, kultūras notikums, kultūrpolitika, pētījumi, kultūras darbinieku aptauja, mitoloģisko tēlu atbilstība, tendences kultūras pasākumos*

Pētījuma mērķis ir aktualizēt laikmetīgās kultūras pasākumus, kuri reprezentē latviešu mitoloģiju un kultūrpolitiku Latvian folkloras tēli, kas tiek atpazīti kā šīs etnokulturālās pasaules uztveres atspoguļojums, izteic tautas sociālo un kultūras identitāti. No bērnības un skolās tiek mācīts un stāstīts par Laimas, Meža un Vēja māti, Sauli, Jumi, Lietuvēnu, Raganām, Ausekli, veļiem un citiem tēliem. Mūsu folkloras tēli tiek aktualizēti un atgādināti gadskārtu svētkos, un to aktualizētāji, atgādinātāji ir folkloras kopas, kolektīvi, kuru ikdiena ir saistīta ar folkloras glabāšanu, vai vākšanu. Tomēr, folkloras ir kolektīva daiļrade, to radīja nevis viens, bet daudzi cilvēki, tādēļ tā ir kopēja atbildība to nodot nākamajām paaudzēm un saglabāt tās identitāti.

Kā mēs šo unikālo folkloras daļu saglabājam, kultivējam un nododam tālākām paaudzēm? Kā pēdējā desmitgadē ir integrējušies folkloras tēli kultūras pasākumu vidē? Kāda ir tendence kultūras pasākumu jomā mūsdienās? Vai folkloras tēli ir folklorisma ceļā interpretējušies postmodernajā sabiedrībā jaunās formās, situācijās un kontekstos? Vai cita veida popkultūras tēli nenomāc mūsu pašu vērtības un nenoniecina mūsu folkloras tēlus? Vai Latvijas novados tiek ņemta vērā mūsu folkloras identitāte kultūrpolitikas veidošanā?

Referāts tiks balstīts uz Latvijas kultūras speciālistu veiktu aptauju par kultūras pasākumu tematiku un folkloras tēlu izmantošanas aktualitāti kultūrpolitikas veidošanā novados.

Introduction

To actualize contemporary cultural events that represent Latvian mythology and cultural politics. To present the results of the empirical research method and to draw conclusions. Latvian culture is identified by its folklore. Latvian folklore images, which are recognized as a reflection of this ethnology-cultural worldview, express the social and cultural identity of the nation. It highlights our differences from other nations, reveals our uniqueness.

How do we preserve, cultivate and pass on this unique piece of folklore to future generations? How have folklore images been integrated into the cultural environment over the last decade? Are major cultural events based on Latvian folklore images? What is the trend in cultural events nowadays? Have folklore images been interpreted in new forms, situations and contexts in postmodern society? Do other kinds of pop culture images undermine our own values and denigrate our folklore images? To what extent are the traditions of this period relevant today, and in cultural events? Are our folkloric identities taken into account in cultural policies in Latvian regions?

The work is based on a survey of Latvian culture specialists in the regions on the themes of cultural events and the relevance of the use of folklore images in the development of cultural policy in the regions.

Material and methods

Analysis of the data from the empirical study and preparation of an analytical report of the results for this publication.

In the 11th and 12th centuries, the Livs and Baltic tribes living in the territory of Latvia began to learn about Christianity, but pagan traditions rooted in ancient mythical notions, still long-lasting and not lost, were practiced, shaped and are still being shaped today. From childhood and in schools, the stories of Laima, the Mother of the Forest and the Wind, Sauli, Jumi, Lietuven, the Witches, Auseklis, the Veli and other characters have been taught and told. Our folklore images are updated and reminded at the annual festivals, and their updates and reminders are folklore groups, collectives, whose everyday life is connected with preserving or collecting folklore. However, folklore is a collective creation, created by many people, not one, and it is therefore a shared responsibility to pass it on to future generations and preserve its identity.

In the author's opinion, the most valuable information about mythology and folklore characters can be found in ethnographic material - in the traditions of the seasons. How many of them are celebrated in Latvia and to what extent are these festivals popular? Do cultural workers create events that highlight/maintain more relevant folklore images/goddesses/goddesses?

Folklore images could be like idols. In ancient times, sacred trees, sacred burial places, sacred sources and sacred stones, deities and gods were considered as idols in the territory of Latvia. Today, as elsewhere, idolatry is associated by some with superstition and deities, while others speak of an age of idolatry of things and brands. In Latvia today, idols are also celebrities, including actors, musicians and sportsmen, such as our luge drivers, footballers and hockey players.

To obtain the results, the author conducted an empirical data study among cultural workers in all Latvian regions. Invitations were sent to 120 e-mails to all municipalities in Latvia to respond to the survey.

Latvian Deities and Gods play a central role in this study. In order to get a clearer idea of the nature of the characters, the following is a short description of the main deities, based on the 1993 edition of Astrid Iltner's "Encyclopaedia of Mythology 1, 2".

God. As the main deity in all religions, so God in Latvian ancient religion has a creator function. God is the beginning, the source, the father of everything that exists. God is the creator of the Earth and everything on it, and together with Laima God decides the fate of people.

Laima represents a special group of deities in Latvian mythology - the fate deities. Like Laima, the fates are also decided by the Deity and the Order. Laima, as the decider of fate, is responsible for the three main intersections of human life: birth, marriage and death.

Mara represents the material world. All life, animals and plants are the responsibility of Mara. In particular, Mara cares for cows, she is their benefactor and protector. Mara has many responsibilities, which is why she is given several names that change depending on the environment in which she works. Mara is often referred to as Mother Earth, Mother Sea, Mother Water and Mother Forest.

Jumis is known in Latvian mythology as the deity of the druids, and as an important symbol of the preservation, continuation and fertility of life.

In the past, Latvians also worshiped nature deities - the Sun, the Moon, the stars and Thunder.

The Sun is the main image of nature deities in Latvian mythology. The Sun is the symbol of eternal movement and life, the seer and know-er of everything.

The Moon is the Sun's husband and the protector and helper of the people in their nocturnal walks and deeds. The lunar cycle was very important in both predicting time and planning work. Ancient Latvians used to coordinate every work with the lunar calendar.

Thunder is one of the oldest gods and is also known as the Goddess, the Heavenly Blacksmith and the Old Father.

Veli are mythical creatures usually associated with the spirits of deceased loved ones.

The Devil is depicted in Latvian mythology in three different ways. First, the Devil is shown as God's counterpart in the creation and arrangement of the world, also as God's close neighbor. There is as yet no sharp contrast between these two characters.

The witch or spīgana was primarily a milk witch for the Latvians, who milks other people's cows, collects dew from the field and puts it out on certain mornings, and envies other people's cattle in order to bless her own. Secondly, they were mediators between man and the spirit realm with sorcerers and soothsayers. Their supernatural power was partly their own invention, partly the result of human superstition.

Research

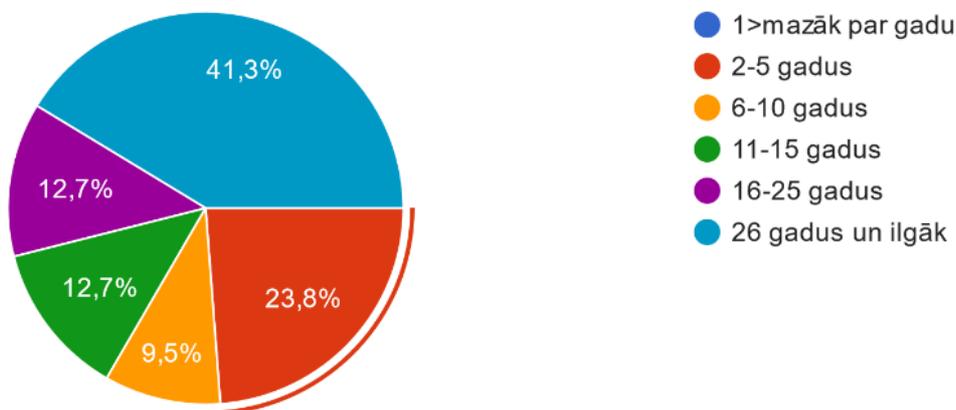
Analysis of the empirical data and preparation of an analytical report of the results for this paper. The target audience of the petition was selected to be the main cultural specialists and managers of the districts, who are responsible for planning events within the district. Invitations to respond to the survey were sent to 120 e-mails to all municipalities in Latvia. The survey stated that the questions should be answered over the last ten years.

63 replies were received, which represents 52.2% of the respondents. 42.9% of the responses were from the Vidzeme region, 20.6% from the Latgale region, 19% from the Zemgale region, 15.9% from the Kurzeme region and 1.6% from the Riga region.

The majority of respondents were aged between 46 and 62 years, which is 68.3% of respondents. 17.5% were aged 36-45 and only 14.3% were aged 26-35. The age of the respondents is related to the length of service and experience in the field, which indicates the competence of the respondents and the quality of the field assessment. Hence the qualitative indicator of the empirical study.

Of the 63 respondents, 26 have been working as managers or professionals in the cultural sector for more than 26 years (Figure 1). So more than 26 years of experience in the field of culture and in organizing, initiating, observing and implementing events. 16 respondents have been working in the field of culture for 11-25 years, which is also a considerable length of experience. 6 respondents have been working in the cultural sectors for 6-10 years and the respondents with the least experience in the sector are the 15 respondents with between 2-5 years in the position. It can therefore be concluded that the answers will be provided by competent professionals in the field.

It was found that 49.2% of the respondents have a university or vocational education and 25.4% of the respondents have a Master's degree in a specialty. The same number of graduates with Master's degrees are also professionals and cultural workers who graduated from general secondary education institutions or vocational training institutions.



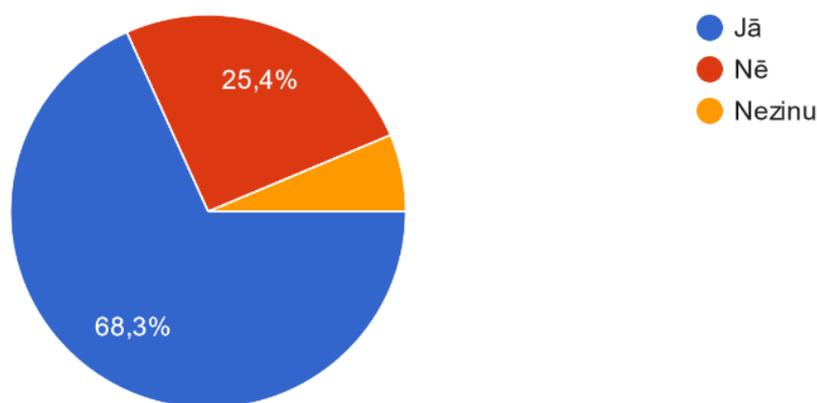
Pic. No 1 Seniority of cultural workers, managers, specialists

When asked about the event planning habits in the municipalities, 90.5% of the professionals indicated that they plan events according to the annual calendar. Thus, the majority of people take into account centuries-old Latvian traditions celebrated throughout the year when planning cultural events, adapting the events offered in their regions. 73% expressed celebrating important anniversaries, events as an option for planning events. Town festivals, parish festivals have become very popular in the last 10 years. In Latvia, birthdays of both large and small towns are traditionally celebrated in the summer months, where cultural events are usually offered with a number of free activities for town residents and visitors. 63.5% are events that are on demand and need, such as artists themselves initiating the creation of events in the municipality, institution or city. 31.7% of respondents agreed that there are events that cannot be planned in advance, they are unexpected and initiated by external demand.

According to the author's observation, events highlighting Latvian traditions are rarely planned in Latvian municipalities. One of the most popular festivals, and therefore one of the most rich in cultural events, has been the summer solstice festivals, i.e. Līgo festival and Jāņi. Looking at the traditions of these festivals, however, one could list the extent to which they have become commercialized and have moved far away from their true essence. Until 10 years ago, green balls for Līgo were created and attended in almost every municipality. Now it consists of huge concerts, even on the asphalt of Riga's Krastmala, or local family parties. The celebration of Midsummer is, for the most part, now radically different from the depiction of the celebration in the end credits of the 1985 film 'Sprīdītis'. At least it is different at cultural events organized by the state. There are families and families who, ignoring popular events, still organize their own Summer Solstice in their own homes, with traditions and activities that were used to celebrate the festival hundreds of years ago.

It should be noted that Midsummer is listed as an asset in the Cultural Canon. The author of this research wondered why other annual festivals that are also associated with Latvian folklore deities and gods are not included in this list separately. Isn't Mārtiņdiena just as important, or Mara's Day, or Ūsiņa's Day?

Therefore, the study also asked about cultural policies in the regions. Does each municipality have its own cultural policy (Figure 2)? Out of 63 respondents, 43 answered in the affirmative, while 16 answered in the negative. 4 respondents did not know whether the municipalities had such a plan or strategy.



Pic. No. 2 **Does the municipality have a cultural policy?**

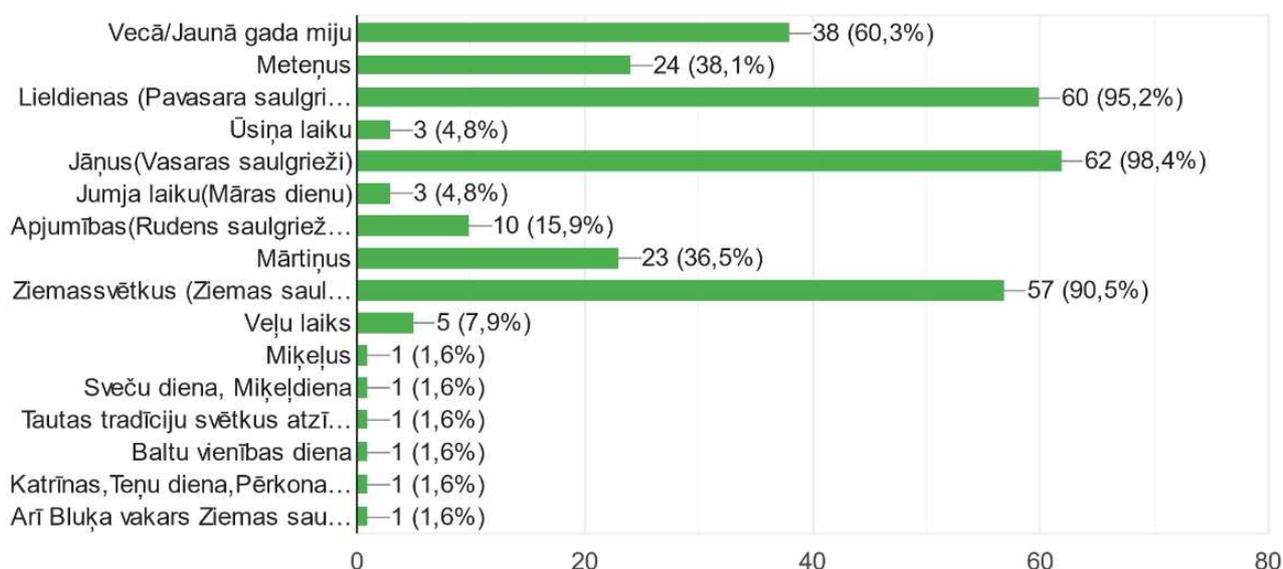
From the positive answers about the existence of cultural policies in the municipalities, it was also found out what are the main orientations of these policies. It was important to understand whether each region, when planning for the future, does not forget to include the preservation and transmission of Latvian traditions to the younger generation. In more than 63.5% of cases, the documents mention the preservation of Latvian traditions as part of the plan. In 49.2% of cases, these plans also include the preservation of the values of the Latvian cultural canon. It should be noted that 99 values are mentioned in the Latvian Cultural Canon. The third place with 47.6% was given to the answer that the celebration of annual festivals is definitely mentioned as a value. Preservation of intangible heritage, highlighting amateur arts and promoting lifelong learning through cultural values were also mentioned. It was mentioned that there are cases when this kind of cultural policy is exhibited in the municipality as a formal document, but is not actually used in cultural planning processes.

Respondents are asked to name the type of cultural events planned in the municipality. All respondents answered as one that they are planning amateur concerts. There are dozens of amateur art groups in Latvia in each municipality, with individuals of different ages participating, and it can also be a family affair, with all family members participating in a group or in a particular amateur art activity. 56 respondents are planning children's events and annual festivals. In 54 municipalities, amateur theater performances are popular. In 52 municipalities, events with guest artists, both national and international, and outdoor events are planned. 49 cultural professionals indicated that various types of exhibitions are planned. Just over 40 municipalities are planning events with Latvian film screenings and relaxing evenings with live music. About half of the respondents (32) are planning events for young people and meetings with popular people, as well as seminars or thematic lectures (31). Classical music concerts are organized in 23 cases. Events based on traditions from other countries are planned by 21 of the respondents. These include Halloween and Valentine's Day. Only one respondent mentioned that they also plan cultural events for seniors, folklore groups, days of remembrance, themed balls and heritage events.

It was also found out which of these types of cultural events is the most visited among the respondents. People like to attend the most outdoor events (48). Next most people go to amateur concerts (40). This could be explained by the fact that some amateur concerts are free of charge, as a large part of the participants in the concerts are voluntary and unpaid. And people attend these cultural events with their families, as well as open-air events. Visiting artists' concerts are the third most attended (37).

In fourth place, with 27 respondents, are annual festivals and live music evenings or balls. Children's events (26) and amateur theater performances (25) follow. Only 13 municipalities mention Latvian cinema viewing events and 10-meetings with popular people as events to attend. The other events mentioned as well attended are under ten in the respondent municipalities. Events for young people are mentioned by 9 respondents, classical music concerts by 6 respondents, art exhibitions by 5 respondents and last in terms of attendance are themed parties, seminars and lectures, Remembrance Days, Halloween, Tomato Festival and events for senior citizens.

Summarizing the previous two questions on the indicators of event planning and attendance, the top three most popular and most attended cultural events are the Latvian Annual Festivals. Respondents with the possibility to tick several answers marked the events that are celebrated the most (Figure 3).



**Pic. No. 3 Which annual festivals are celebrated in the regions?
 Multiple answers possible from 1 respondent**

The most popular holiday is Midsummer (Figure 4) 62 responses. This is followed by Easter (60) and then Christmas (57). In fourth place are the celebrations of New Year and New Year's Eve (38), with even fewer celebrating Meteņus (24) and Mārtiņdiena (23). Under 10 votes were given to the Autumn Festival, the celebration of the Veli season (5) and the Usiņš and Jumja celebrations

each received 3 votes from the respondents. Michaelmas (1), Thunder Day (1), Blues Eve (1) round off the list.



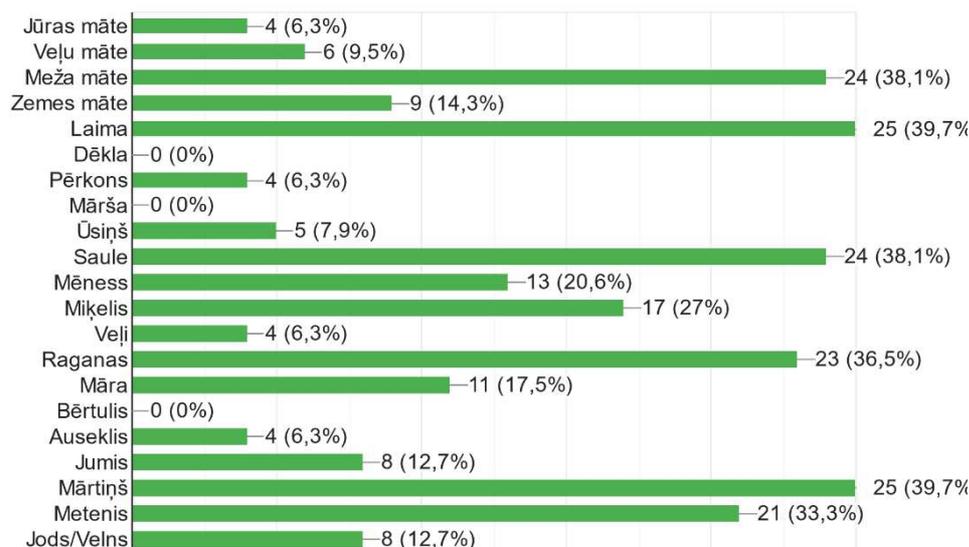
Pic. No. 4 The wheel of the annual festivals in Latvia

When asked whether annual festivals should be celebrated at all, the overwhelmingly affirmative answer was yes, with Easter, Midsummer, New and Old Year, Martiņi and Christmas, and the Day of Reflection. Not sure whether to agree or disagree, respondents gave an evasive answer for the time of the Moose and Yum. Answers were equally divided between affirmative, negative and evasive for the Feast of Veli. This festival is perhaps the most undecided, due to the arrival of Halloween in Latvia, which is celebrated at the same time, and which has often gained a negative sentiment among the cultural sector with its performances and activities.

According to the survey, where 42 out of all respondents answered affirmatively, Latvian mythological folklore images are used in the events planned by cultural specialists in the municipalities. 17 respondents answered in the negative, which is also a worrying fact, as it represents 27% of the total number of respondents. There may be a tendency not to use Latvian mythological images in the planning of cultural events. This can only be determined by a repeat survey in the next decade.

The most popular characters used in scenarios and plans for cultural events are Lima and Martins (Figure 5), with 25 votes, followed by Mother of the Forest (24), Sun (24), Witches (23), Metenis (21). With fewer votes are Michael (17), Moon (13), Devil, Jumi, Earth Mother. The least relevant in the event environment as characters or not relevant at all are Plank, Marsha and Bertulis.

63 atbildes



**Pic. No.5 Which mythological images are used in the planning of cultural events?
Several answers are possible**

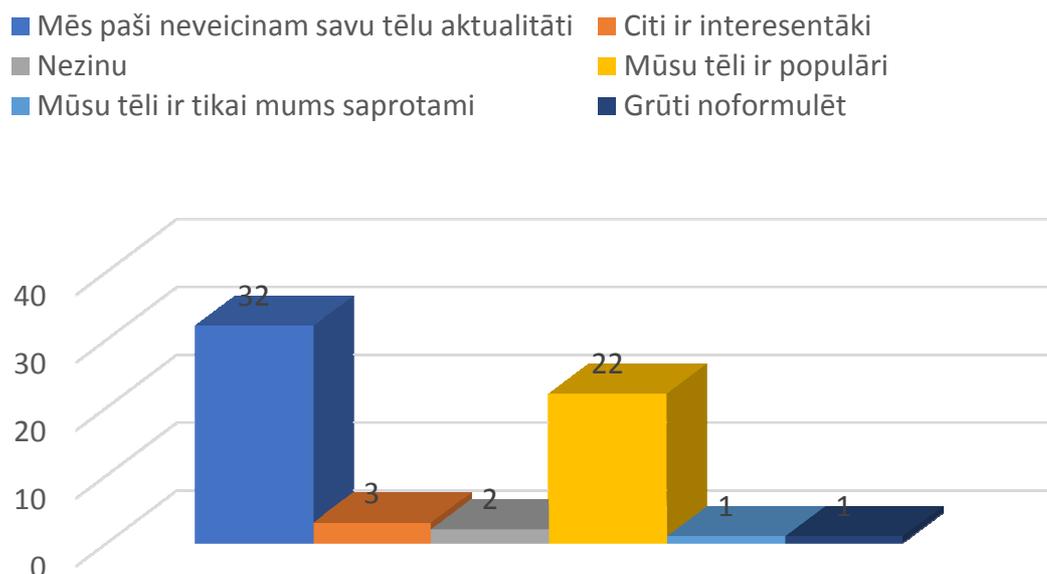
Of these mythological characters, according to the respondents, the best integrated into the cultural event environment are the Witches (26). This could be due to the fact that this image is very popular with the Walpurgis Night events, which take place at the events organized by the Latvian State Forests in Tērvete Nature Park and also at the Kalsnava Arboretum. Witches are also used in many films and fairy tales, so it is very familiar to children. The second most successfully adapted character is Martins (24). Although, like Mara (11), Martin is used as a human name, Mara, as a mythological character, is not as integrated into the cultural milieu. The following are the next images that have been integrated into the cultural environment according to the respondents' answers: Lime and Sun (22), Mother of the Forest (21), Metenis (20), Michael (19), Mother Earth and Devil (12), Moon and Yumis (10), Usis (8), Thunder, Mother of the Sea and Mother of Veli (5), Veli (4), Auseklis (2). The characters that do not have an integration assessment in the cultural environment are Plank, Marsha, Child and Round (0).

The latter are seen as very outdated mythological images by cultural workers.

The author of the survey would like to find out whether cultural events based on Latvian mythological images are also being developed. 73% of the respondents answered in the negative. So our mythology has not penetrated so deeply or so colorfully that mythological images are used as central characters in cultural events. 19% of respondents confirm that major events are based on mythological images. There is also a proportion who do not know or have not heard of anything like this.

35 Respondents say that our own mythological folklore characters are more popular than folklore characters from other nations. 13 participants think that, yes, other people's images are more popular. And 15 do not know the answer.

When asked to think about why our images and mythological folklore images are not so popular, 32 respondents believe that we ourselves do not contribute to the popularity of these images. 22 of the participants, however, believe that the images are popular. Other answers can be seen in Figure 6.



Pic. No. 6 What could be the reasons for the less popular images in the cultural event environment?

In a free-form questionnaire, respondents were asked to highlight one image they thought should be highlighted. And the one they most wanted to highlight was Laima. 14 respondents voted for her, followed by Saule (10), Mara (8), Mother of the Forest (4). 4 respondents thought all the characters were important. It was hard to say - 4.

Conclusions

Most Latvian municipalities have established cultural policy guidelines, which include points on preserving Latvian traditions, passing them on to future generations through culture, celebrating annual festivals and preserving the values of the Latvian cultural canon;

More "no" than "yes" to the creation of large cultural events based on Latvian folklore images. The biggest events based on folklore images are the summer solstice events, which are centered on Midsummer. Especially large events based on Latvian folklore images are created in Tērvete, as well as the "Witches' Broom Ball" at the Kalsnava Arboretum;

Latvian folklore has been forgotten in the rush to follow fashion trends. More thought is given to what the consumer demands, how a "new version" of Latvian folklore is offered. We need to think about an updated way of presenting it to new generations;

Most folklore traditions are passed on through folklore groups, indirectly through events and festivals, but in an integrated, traditional way;

There are festivals and mythological images that are overwhelmed by the traditions of other peoples. We ourselves do not sufficiently highlight our own mythological images, drawing attention to their uniqueness;

Mythology in cultural events must be seen as a whole, and in understanding and strengthening Latvian cultural identity, all images are equally important, because each has its own role and meaning;

Latvian folklore images are organically integrated into contemporary cultural events, without special emphasis on them. The survey has not shown that the images have been iterated in new forms, situations and contexts in postmodern society.



Pic. No. 7 Ansis Ciulis Riga Castle Envoys Accreditation Ceiling Painting "Laima"

In many European countries, cultural policy and, by extension, cultural organizations have long focused on audience development. Various strategies have been considered to increase the cultural audience as a whole, and to educate and develop specific target groups. Particular attention is paid to audience segments such as children and young people, ethnic minorities, seniors. So far, very few cultural organizations in Latvia study their audiences, try to understand and predict their development and interests, and develop their cultural offer according to the specifics of a particular audience.

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THE RUSSIAN NORTH ARCHITECTURE AESTHETIC ADAPTATION IN LATGALE

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Abstract

The Russian North architecture aesthetic adaptation in Latgale

Key Words: *Russian North, architecture, Historicism, heritage, Orthodox churches, Synod*

Abstract text: During the 1920s-1930s erection of Orthodox churches in Latvia experienced the second biggest construction upswing since the Russification policy of Russian Empire during the 19th century. Vladimir Shervinsky (1894-1975), the architect of the Synod of the Latvian Orthodox church, played a significant role in this aspect, as he not only designed around 20 new churches, but also led restoration works, completion of churches that were damaged in both wars and supervised construction works. V. Shervinsky is the son of architect, principal of Riga School for Crafts Max Shervinsky (1859-1909). Fathers influence and personal interests in historical architecture, as well as curating the exhibition dedicated to the 700th anniversary of Riga, was an important role in the artistic development of Vladimir Shervinsky, allowing him to understand and manage all variations of Historicism. Additionally, his membership in the Russian intelligentsia student fraternity "Fraternitas Arctica" and religious affiliation to Orthodoxy were important to his architectural expression. Although Shervinsky managed the popular styles of his time, he chose to use the Russian style – a unique phenomenon in Latvian architecture. His inspiration was the wooden architecture of the Russian North, wanting to transfer traditional Russian ethnographic architecture to Latvia, adapting it to modern construction principles. Latgale and the East of Latvia hold most of the new Orthodox churches by Vladimir Shervinsky.

Kopsavilkums

Krievijas ziemeļu arhitektūras estētikas adaptācija Latgalē

Atslēgvārdi: *Krievu ziemeļi, arhitektūra, historicisms, mantojums, pareizticīgo baznīcas, Sinode*

Kopsavilkuma teksts: Latvijas arhitektūrā 20. gadsimta 20.-30. gados pareizticīgo dievnamu celtniecība piedzīvoja otro apjomīgāko būvniecības uzplaukumu, kopš Krievijas impērijas 19. gadsimtā realizētās rusifikācijas politikas. Šajā aspektā nozīmīgu lomu ieguva Latvijas Pareizticīgās baznīcas Sinodes arhitekts Vladimirs Šervinskis (1894-1975), kurš ne tikai uzprojektēja ap 20 jauniem dievnamiem, bet arī strādāja pie karā cietušo baznīcu restaurācijas, būvdarbu pabeigšanas un uzraudzības. V. Šervinskis ir arhitekta, Rīgas Amatniecības skolas direktora Maksa Šervinska (1859-1909) dēls. Tēva ietekme un personīgās intereses par vēsturisko arhitektūru, realizējot Rīgas 700 gadei veltīto izstādi, ieguva nozīmīgu lomu V. Šervinska attīstībā, ļaujot arhitektam izcili izprast un pārvaldīt visus historisma stila virzienus. Līdzekus M. Šervinska ietekmei, Vladimiram Šervinskim svarīga bija dalība krievu inteliģences studentu korporācijā "Fraternitas Arctica" un viņa reliģiskā piederība pareizticībai. Lai arī arhitekts meistarīgi pārvaldīja 20.-30. gados populāros arhitektūras virzienus, pareizticīgo baznīcu projektēšanā izvēlējās Latvijas arhitektūras kontekstā unikālu parādību – krievu stilu, kuru Vladimirs Šervinskis patapināja no Krievijas Ziemeļu koka arhitektūras. Arhitekts vēlējās uz Latviju pārnest krievu tradicionālo, etnogrāfisko koka arhitektūru, pielāgojot to modernajiem celtniecības principiem. Galvenokārt Vladimira Šervinska dievnamu projekti tika uzbūvēti tieši Latvijas austrumos – Latgalē.

Vladimir Shervinsky (1894-1975) played a major role in the scenery of Latvian architecture during the 1920s and 1930s. Even though he was extremely successful and prosperous with commissions, later his name faded out of the historical overviews and research about the architecture scene in Latvia. During his lifetime, Vladimir Shervinsky designed about 20 new Orthodox churches in Latvia, using a unique architectural style – the Russian style – inspired by the Russian North and its traditional, ethnographic wooden architecture. Most of these new construction works were led in Latgale and the East of Latvia. This article emphasises on a monographic study of one architect and his legacy in the architectural scenery of Latvia.

For various reasons the heritage of non-Latvian architects has been avoided in fundamental research works dedicated to the history of art in Latvia. The most bypassed are Russian born and in

this case architect Vladimir Shervinsky included, even though there was not a single drop of “Russian” in his veins. The main reason for this ignorance or lack of acknowledgement is based on the Soviet regime trauma, which led to focusing on Latvian and German heritage. This leads to lack of data about architectural heritage of the Russian born (and Russian thought) architects in Latvia. Until now, the artistic works of Vladimir Shervinsky have not been acknowledged and explored in a deeper sense. Therefore, there can be found a crucial lack of written data about Vladimir Shervinsky and his expression in architecture. Given that, Shervinsky needs to be examined through his works of art – his architecture. His historical designs can be found in the Latvian State Historical Archive, the archives of Riga City Construction Board, National Heritage Board of Latvia and in the possession of his successors and collectors.

A year after finishing his studies in Riga Polytechnical institute, faculty of Architecture, in 1924 Vladimir Shervinsky received a commission to lead the restoration works for an iconostasis from Saint Alexey monastery. Appreciating the young man's dedication to hard work, archbishop Janis Pommers (1876-1934) of the Orthodox church of Latvia, gave him a proposition to take the position of the leading architect of the Synod.²² During these years, parallel to his job at the Synod, V. Shervinsky established his own architect bureau, where he led projects and designs together with his brother-in-law, civil engineer Mikhail Krivoschapkin (1888–1943). In tandem they worked not only for new Orthodox church designs, but also took commissions for rental houses, family houses, public buildings, and Old-Believer prayer houses. During his study and later, as an architect of the Synod, Shervinsky developed his own architectural-artistic style that was inspired by historical architecture of Russia, especially – the Russian North. Shervinsky's interest in ethnographical Russian architecture started early and continued later as he was commissioned by the Orthodox church to explore the best samples of holy places in the Eastern Europe and particularly Russia. He made sketches and took notes about the stylistic approaches, different shapes, plans and models of decoration that were used in Orthodox churches whether they were made as large-scale buildings or small chapels. He was eager to explore every little detail that came to his knowledge, and to use it in a different, innovative way in his own architectural designs, making architecture in Latvia more diverse.

Shervinskys' exploration of the stylistics of Russian style and how to incorporate architectural aesthetics of the Russian North, began early – during his studies. One of the first church designs he was commissioned to make, is for the Orthodox church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Šķilbēni [**picture 1**], that was finished in 1928, according to his own memoirs.²³ For this church, he drew two slightly different designs – one intended as a masonry building, but the other close to

²² Katalogs Arhitekta Vladimira Šervinska 100. dzimšanas dienai veltīta izstāde / Ogre: Ogres vēstures un mākslas muzejs, 1994.

²³ Memoirs of Vladimir Shervinsky. Materials from personal archive of Vladimir Eihenbaum.

traditional Russian ethnographic architecture, that later was chosen as the best solution achieving the aim that Vladimir Shervinsky wished for.²⁴ Due to a successful cooperation with the congregation of Šķilbēni and prosperous financial attraction, the wooden church design was built almost exactly as Shervinsky had planned. The church has a rectangular layout and a polygonal apse. Its entrance is crowned by a high, octagonal bell tower, completed with an open balustrade around the bell. The log church is built of a high plinth of boulders. Avoiding using extraordinary ideas in the plan, Shervinsky designed the whole form of the church in a very peculiar way. He planned the church's ceilings to have a diverse arrangement of volumes – making the altar space higher than the church space, the apse on the other hand – lower. In this attempt, he received a unique aestheticization of architectural forms. In this subordinated placement of forms, architect reminiscences the principles of Russian medieval tent-type churches, that were mostly built over the rule of Ivan the Terrible (*Иван Грозный*, 1530- 1584). Using modern construction principles, Vladimir Shervinsky created a compilation of two different architectural styles or motifs – ethnographic wooden architecture and aesthetics supported by the empire and state. Even though the architect chose to use diametrically opposed artistic impressions, he managed to create a harmonious and elegant church with ascetic decorative elements but a complex dimension of the whole building.

Like previously described one version of the Orthodox church in Šķilbēni planned in stone, Vladimir Shervinsky also tested his architectural imagination in two different, later designed stone churches in Līvāni [**picture 2**] and Zilupe (not constructed). Likewise, he had a vision of depicting Russian medieval architecture, as well as Naryshkin Baroque²⁵. Orthodox church of Zilupe remained only on paper and never has been executed.²⁶ Instead, Līvāni Orthodox church was finished in 1939 (demolished during World War II; re-built only in 2007)²⁷, becoming one of the last projects of Vladimir Shervinsky. This design shows a different variety of influences over those discussed later in this article. Līvāni and the never-built Orthodox church design in Zilupe [**picture 3**] show a different character of the thinking of Shervinsky – aiming to achieve the stylistics of Russian style architecture, influenced by Medieval Russia.²⁸ Nevertheless, Vladimir Shervinsky craved to design wooden churches, just as he had seen during his expeditions in the North of Russia. He repeatedly wrote in his memoirs that his biggest achievement would be to design and

²⁴ Materials from personal archive of Vladimir Eihenbaum.

²⁵ Also called Moscow Baroque or Muscovite Baroque.

²⁶ Materials from the personal archive of Upmaņu family.

²⁷ Kaminska R., Bistere A. Sakrālās arhitektūras un mākslas mantojums vēsturiskajā Preiļu rajonā – Rīga: Neputns, 2013. – 216. lpp.

²⁸ Materials from personal archive of Vladimir Eihenbaum.

execute a church, depicting ethnographical Russian North architecture, as well as using new methods to build them in a larger scale than usual.²⁹

In present-day territory of Russia, stands one of the biggest Orthodox churches that Vladimir Shervinsky has created – Grishino-Gora (*Грешина-Гора*) Holy Trinity Orthodox church **[picture 4]**, that was consecrated in 1927.³⁰ Shervinsky planned a log church – with a high octagonal bell tower – five stories high with an open gallery, a large parish space, raised altar space, and a polygonal apse. The architect had planned the entrance to the church through three separate entrances in the main facade. In the spacious parish room, Shervinsky intended to place three pairs of round-bellied columns typical in Russian ethnography, crowned with wide consoles.³¹ He incorporated a certain processualism into the church plan and arrangement: when entering the church from the outside, there is at first an anteroom with a lower ceiling above which the weight of the tower rises; further is an open, grand parish space with a view of the altar and apse. Despite all the good intentions by Vladimir Shervinsky, after handing the design to the construction team, the Orthodox church was simplified and made slightly different to the first plans by architect. Although the project was executed differently to Shervinskys' original idea, the church still depicts the architect's peculiar aesthetics and architectural handwriting.

In 1929 Vladimir Shervinsky received a commission from a village Hrščeva (nowadays Kščeva in Medumu parish). He was ordered to design a miniature-scale Orthodox chapel that could serve for small events and church services. The habitants of the little Hrščeva had a vision of a chapel that could hold only an altar and a place for the pastor – leaving his flock outdoors. Passionate about the idea, Vladimir Shervinsky came up with a peculiar, small-scale building that reflects a romanticized idea of Russian Northern wooden architecture. In this way Shervinsky created a symbiosis between the faith and its surrounding nature. Even though the congregation was very satisfied with the architects' vision, they did not have the funds to finance the construction on its own.³² However, being a man of a pragmatic nature, the architect decided to use this idea elsewhere with little modifications. **[picture 5]**

The Rogovka Orthodox church of Saint George was completed in 1930.³³ It is small in measurements, square-shaped in layout, a single-room log building. Its cross-corner construction is built on a plinth of boulders crowned with a particularly high and slender pediment. The shape and design of the church reveals stylistic features of historical architecture of Northern Russia. The slender pediment of the Rogovka Orthodox church of Saint George is designed in a peculiar shape -

²⁹ Materials from the personal archive of Upmaņu family.

³⁰ Materials from personal archive of Vladimir Eihenbaum.

³¹ Materials from personal archive of Vladimir Eihenbaum.

³² Materials from personal archive of Vladimir Eihenbaum.

³³ Kaminska R., Bistere A. Sakrālās arhitektūras un mākslas mantojums Rēzeknes pilsētā un rajonā – Rīga: Neputns, 2011. – 116. lpp.

about a meter before its end at the lower part, it is ‘broken’ outwards on both sides, expanding the width. The roof is made of wood shingles. This pattern is continued also on the small bell tower, which is positioned in the middle of the building, and its decorative onion-shape dome. Overall, this project by Vladimir Shervinsky consists of opposites – it is a perfect square in the plan, but in total it has a unique, elongated, and irregular pediment, thus making the shape unusual. All the decorative and functional elements are minimalistic and ascetic. The four small windows are paired but designed in different shapes and widths – and this should be considered as a rather atypical technique. The composition of the main façade is also quite extraordinary – mixing the delicate, but small-scale double door entrance with the high, sleek, and peculiar pediment. The Rogovka Orthodox church **[picture 6]** represents an attempt to visually reconstruct the feeling and the peculiarity of Russian National Romanticism – such as the architect Ivan Ropet (*Иван Ропет*, 1845–1908) and Victor Hartman (*Виктор Гартман*, 1834–1873) chose to cultivate as a Slavophil approach in the modern architecture.³⁴

Not far from Grishino-Gora stands the Orthodox church of St. Nicholas in Abrene – once a part of Latvia but nowadays Pytalovo, Russia. This project and the result must have been the pride and joy of Vladimir Shervinsky himself, as he took multiple photographs from every angle of this holy place, enlarged them, and decorated his architect bureau with them.³⁵ And there is no doubt that this Orthodox church in Abrene was the masterpiece of his lifetime. **[picture 7]** Finished around 1930, it was a perfect collaboration between the pastor and Shervinsky, allowing the architect to execute exactly what he intended without any objections. This peculiar church embodies the idea of Neo-Russian style in architecture, as the formal aspects differ from Shervinsky's usually used decorative motifs. Orthodox church of Abrene is a large-scale log church with a centric plan. Similarly, to Šķilbēni, architect used the Russian Medieval tent-type church form but modified it and tied with ethnographical motifs – as enlarged *kokoshnik*-form pediments, inspired by tradition Russian women headdress and numerous onion-dome cupolas. In Abrene Shervinsky combined hypertrophied decorative motifs from Russian ethnography, creating a modern, large scale wooden church, based in the newest building methods, to achieve the most complex and the heaviest cupola construction that he ever designed. Vladimir Shervinsky achieved the highest point of his imagination and abilities of designing extraordinarily complex and magnificent Orthodox churches, which have no similar examples found in the territory of Latvia.

Vladimir Shervinsky produced more than 25 Orthodox wooden Church projects, including two masonry buildings. Most of his designs were executed in Latgale. This article introduces only a seven churches in Latgale that were designed by Vladimir Shervinsky at that time. Also, there

³⁴ Борисова Е. Русская архитектура второй половины XIX века – Москва: Наука, 1997. – с. 121.

³⁵ Materials from the personal archive of Urmaņu family.

should be mentioned Daugavpils Grīvas Orthodox church or examples of his design, that are now in modern-day Russia like Zujevka or Muraveiska, but once was a part of historical Latgale. Shervinsky was a peculiar architect, who transferred a different kind of Orthodox architecture to Latvia and adapted the traditional, ethnographical, wooden architecture of the Russian North to his homeland. He was extremely productive during his whole lifetime. At the same time – forgotten after the Soviet Occupation of Latvia, that sent him to exile. The aim of this article is to discover Vladimir Shervinsky to a broader public, introducing his unique architectural and artistic designs that shaped the scene of architecture in Latvia.

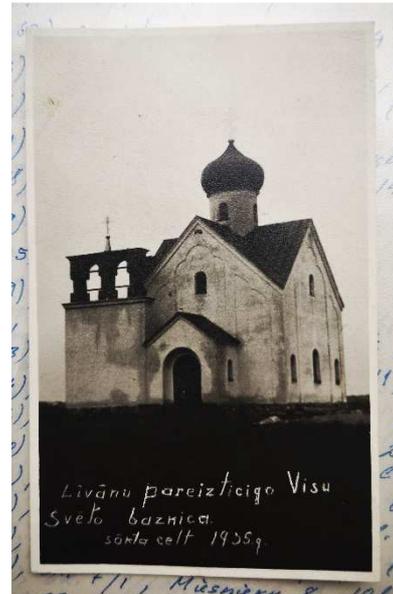
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Images



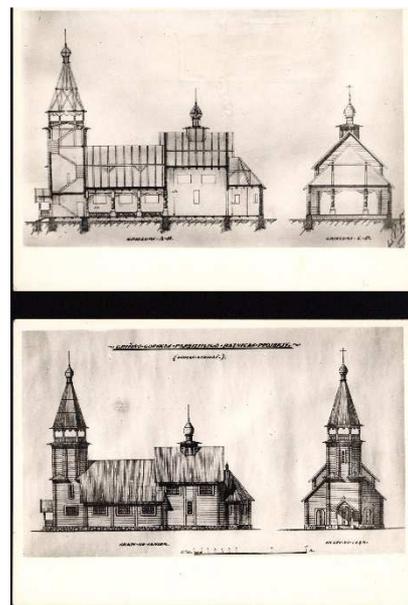
Picture 1. **Orthodox Church of the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Šķilbēni.**
From the personal archive of Vladimir Eihenbaum.



Picture 2. **Orthodox Church in Līvāni.**
Photo taken by Vladimir Shervinsky.
From the Upmaņu family archive.



Picture 3. **Orthodox Church design in Zilupe.**
From the Upmaņu family archive.



Picture 4. **Grishino-Gora Holy Trinity Orthodox church.**
From the personal archive of Vladimir Eihenbaum.



Picture 5. Sketch and desing of the Orthodox chapel in Hrščeva. From the personal archive of Vladimir Eihenbaum.



Picture 6. Rogovka Orthodox Church of St. George.
Photo by Katriona Luīze Rožlapa.



Picture 7. Orthodox church of St. Nicholas in Abrene. From the personal archive of Vladimir Eihenbaum.

PRESENTING THE THREATS AND CONSEQUENCES OF CLIMATE CHANGE IN CONTEMPORARY ART

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Abstract

Presenting the threats and consequences of climate change in contemporary art

Key Words: *art and climate change, artist and art organizations, contemporary art, conceptual art*

Although climate change is very real, it can also be described as abstract, just like works of art. We know that they are changing the world around us, but it is difficult for us to understand the changes in weather and their impact on the planet and society. And yet most people do not even talk about it, and even less - doing something about it.

Art can also lead to regenerative change having a positive impact on the planet and culture. These changes begin in our art institutions where they enter the art through artists, but through art – the society where it becomes culture.

Artists and art organizations are perhaps some of the most influential change makers in the world since artists are the ones who are increasingly trying to use their works to talk about indifference towards climate change, to visualize the consequences and threats of this change in their works. Their goal is to create a strong voice of art to call for immediate, effective and creative action to ensure secure future for humanity and all life on Earth.

Art can not only show, but it can also make us feel the challenges we face, and it has an important role in fostering transformative thinking needed to move us away from our current destructive practices and head towards environmental sustainability necessary to protect life on our planet.

Aim of this study is to examine presentation of climate change in contemporary art, as well as to learn more about artists and art organizations that use contemporary art as a tool to talk about climate change on the planet.

Kopsavilkums

Klimata pārmaiņu radīto draudu un seku atspoguļošana laikmetīgajā mākslā

Atslēgvārdi: *māksla un klimata pārmaiņas, mākslinieks un mākslas organizācijas, laikmetīgā māksla, konceptuālā māksla*

Lai arī klimata pārmaiņas ir ļoti reālas, tās var raksturot arī kā abstraktas, gluži kā mākslas darbus. Mēs zinām, ka tās maina apkārtējo pasauli, taču mums ir grūti izprast laika apstākļu izmaiņas un to ietekmi uz planētu un sabiedrību. Un tomēr lielākā daļa par to pat nerunā, bet vēl mazāk dara kaut ko lietas labā.

Arī māksla var veicināt atjaunojošas pārmaiņas, lai pozitīvi ietekmētu planētu un kultūru. Šīs pārmaiņas sākas mūsu mākslas iestādēs, kur caur māksliniekiem tās nonāk pašā mākslā, bet caur mākslu sabiedrībā kopumā, kur tā kļūst jau par kultūru.

Iespējams, mākslinieki un mākslas organizācijas ir vieni no ietekmīgākajiem pārmaiņu veidotājiem pasaulē, jo tieši mākslinieki arvien vairāk cenšas izmantot savus darbus, lai runātu par vienaldzību pret klimata pārmaiņām, lai vizualizētu šīs pārmaiņu sekas un draudus savos darbos. Viņu mērķis ir radīt spēcīgu mākslas balsi, lai aicinātu uz tūlītēju, efektīvu un radošu rīcību, lai nodrošinātu drošu nākotni cilvēcei un visai dzīvībai uz Zemes.

Māksla var ne tikai parādīt, bet tā var likt mums sajūst pašas problēmas, ar kurām mēs saskaramies, kā arī tai ir svarīga loma, lai veicinātu pārveidojošo domāšanu, kas nepieciešama, lai attālinātu mūs no mūsu pašreizējās destruktīvās prakses un virzītos uz vides ilgtspēju, kas mums ir nepieciešama, lai aizsargātu dzīvi uz mūsu planētas.

Šī pētījuma mērķis ir aplūkot klimata pārmaiņu atspoguļojumu laikmetīgajā mākslā, kā arī uzzināt vairāk par māksliniekiem un mākslas organizācijām, kas izmanto laikmetīgo mākslu kā instrumentu, lai runātu par klimata pārmaiņām uz planētas.

Introduction

For many artists, nature has always been a source of inspiration for their creative work. But does nature really impact artists so much that they begin to focus on topical issues like climate change? Climate change affect everything that happens in nature directly.

Current climate change that we experience on planet Earth is transforming the world. Consequences, such as forest fires, heat waves, and floods, are increasingly affecting Europe and the rest of the world. Climate change also have destructive impact on nature, causing irreversible modifications in many ecosystems and, consequently, loss of biodiversity. Thus arises a question –

what is the role of art and creativity in solving such global challenges as climate change? Whether and how can art, art institutions and artists be involved in mitigating of these changes?

Climate change is a long-term change in weather conditions, in a period of at least 20 to 30 years, and is nowadays caused by global warming. Global warming is a complex process occurring due to natural and man-made factors. Climate change is characterized by air temperature, wind speed, precipitation and many other meteorological elements. We can talk about climate change when there is a long-term change in weather that is not typical to the area, such as rising of average temperatures, melting of glaciers and snow in the Arctic Region, heat waves in some regions and flooding in areas where flood have not been experienced before. Also, extinction of various plant and animal species in nature present evidence of climate change, all of which affect economy, environment, our health and daily lives.

Given that climate change is a complex and slow process and consequences are not visible immediately and everywhere, but rather in separate parts of the world and over a period of several years and even decades, majority of the society does not pay attention to these changes and related processes, or does not consider that they could be directly affected by these changes. It should be noted that issues connected with mitigation of climate change involve both political processes and redistribution of notable resources and investments, therefore agreeing on a to-do list is not easy (*Metodiskais materiāls starpdisciplināri izglītojošiem pasākumiem un aktivitātēm. 2017*).

While experiencing compelling environmental and social problems, climate change has become one of our greatest challenges. It is important to inform and educate society about climate change and to create an environmentally friendly attitude. Public attitude towards certain issue, and their actions is determined by the information received, therefore it is necessary to talk about these subjects so important for our planet.

How climate change is reflected in contemporary art? What artists and art organizations are using contemporary art as a tool to talk about climate change on the planet?

When art speaks

Art has always been a powerful tool that has helped to communicate, express and impart new visions, to enlighten people. Art allowed our ancestors to understand the surrounding environment, and the main task of art has always been to express one's attitude towards life and society, towards the most important problems of human existence by various means (Kaufmanis, Ternovecs 1941:7). Currently we need art to talk about climate change that destroys our planet more than ever.

When looking at the role of art in solving issues important to the society, the first question we could ask is "What is art?". Latvian explanatory dictionary of art and culture defines 'art' with four meanings: the first – "A form of social awareness figuratively reflecting objective reality", the second – "Creative, figurative representation of reality; an activity characterized by aesthetically

cognitive attitude towards reality” (*Spektors, A. 2017*). Two other meanings follow: “A set of works created by figuratively reflecting reality” and “a set of specific techniques, methods in the field of practical activity” (*Spektors, A. 2017*), the use of which is determined by purpose and context (*Stirāne, A., Bērziņa, A. 2018. Māksla kā iespēja pārmaiņām*). All four definitions indicate that art is a way to creatively reflect reality, or in other words – the language of art. The language of art speaks with society without sounds, with colors, lines, shapes, it communicates with volumes and textures, contrasts and proportions, thus it can easily become a tool for creating social impact, but artists and art institutions can become influential change makers in the world using the language of art.

When art is considered art not for it being art, but an instrument for other purposes, it can be said that it has instrumental value. Art that is mainly subject to social, economic, political, environmental and other purposes represents instrumental approach (Holden, 2006). When it comes to climate change, art is a means of communication through which the message reaches the society. It can help visualize these climate changes, their consequences and threats. Art can not only show the problems, but also make us feel them.

Artists and climate change

Artists have an important role in the process of creating a work of art. They are increasingly trying to use their work to talk about indifference towards climate change, to visualize the consequences and threats of climate change in their works, thus raising public awareness of the causes, effects and consequences of climate change around the world.

It is important to understand how climate change is reflected in contemporary art and how contemporary works of art about these issues so important to the entire world reach people. I chose to examine artists whose creative activities are directed towards talking about the dangers of climate change to the world.

Heat waves, forest fires and droughts are becoming more frequent around the world. Australian artist **Mandy Martin** (1952) has been trying to send a message on this topic to the public for years. Mandy Martin is a practising artist with a national and international reputation for conservation and landscape. She was born in 1952 in Adelaide and studied at the South Australian School of Art from 1972-75. Martin has held numerous exhibitions in Australia, Mexico and the USA. She has also been exhibited in, France, Germany, Japan, Taiwan and Italy. Her works are in many public and private collections including the National Gallery of Australia, the Art Gallery of New South Wales, the National Gallery of Victoria, The Art Gallery of South Australia and other state collections and regional galleries (*Mandy Martin*). She is lecturer at the School of Art, Australian National University, painting and drawing landscapes. Her oil paintings are richly

textured, but the concept of paintings is connected with the consequences of climate change in Australia – frequent fires (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Mandy Martin **Savannah burning 6** (*Artist Mandy Martin*)

Living in Australia, she has to face changing weather conditions every day, also her personal experience in connection with the vast fires has been a concern for her for years.

“I developed a need to talk about the spiritual connection to landscape, what are the special places in landscapes [...] My feeling is climate change is really beginning to change the landscapes of Australia and this is a critical moment to witness those changes” (*Colley, C. 2015. Artist Mandy Martin opens solo exhibition at Beaver Galleries, Canberra*).

M. Martin art has always been thematically concerned with commenting on the environment and those issues which impact on it. From the 1990s onwards, the land, the environment and the layers of Aboriginal and European culture have given her the materials to create her own vision of the human condition and its relationship to the natural world. During this period, Mandy has been coordinating art and environment projects (*Artist Mandy Martin*).

One of the causes of climate change is unsustainable and excessive consumption of goods and services. Artist **Chris Jordan** (1963) wants to talk about this problem through his art.

Chris Jordan is an artist, activist and photographer based in Seattle, Washington. Many of his works are created from photographs of garbage and mass consumption with the aim to raise awareness of how much people consume and waste, how people damage the planet Earth and how it greatly impacts wildlife (Figure 2).



Figure 2. Chris Jordan **Venus** (*Conversation with artist Chris Jordan*)

Chris Jordan's work explores the collective shadow of contemporary mass culture from a variety of photographic and conceptual perspectives. Edge-walking the lines between beauty and horror, abstraction and representation, the near and the far, the visible and the invisible, Jordan's images confront the enormous power of humanity's collective will.

He raises discussion about how people around the world (mostly) are materialistic beings. His works show the number of various materials we consume and waste, thus harming our planet. His works could definitely pave the way for future generations to become more politically involved in environmental issues and for "greener" environment.

Chris Jordan's works reach an increasingly wide international audience through exhibitions, books, websites, radio and TV interviews, as well as performances and regular visits to school around the world (*Miracles and Tragedies: Conveying the Wonder of Life Through Photographs*).

Artist **Robert Bowen** (1987), on the other hand, addresses the public with creatures that are partially animals, partially machines, capturing them in a frozen state. He depicts honeybees with a motorized head, sharks with a jet engine and whales with cores of a turbine engine (Figure 3)



Figure 3. Robert Bowen **Pink Pollinator** (*Robert Bowen. Portfolio*)

Bowen offers little hints regarding the origins of these hybrid beings, allowing us to wonder about the role of humans in their creation. Are these creatures' by-products of genetic patching, a symbol of wrong efforts to improve nature? Are they an attempt to allow living beings on the Earth to protect themselves from the threat of growing human population? Or are they the last-minute technologies replacing elements of the ecosystem, such as pollinators or ocean predators disappearing at an alarming rate? The artist living and working in San Francisco, Robert Bowen has been exhibiting his works of art throughout the United States for more than a decade. Bowen began his work using graffiti and street art, and attended art school and studied classical painting (*Robert Bowen*).

The artist talks about his concept of art: "I am continuing to focus on my fascination with animal/machinery hybrids. There are so many unanswered questions I have about them. Is this a not-so-distant future reality? A terrible road we should never go down? If the bees continue to disappear, should we design a replacement to pick up where they left off? Do we fiddle with apex predators to try to find out what makes an efficient killing machine? Or do we accept our fate and stop toying with Mother Nature since that is what got us into trouble in the first place. I'm continuing to play mad scientist in a laboratory that should never really exist. To juxtapose these prophetic tragedies, I have created a new series of creatures with a precious stone element to them, based on the idea that all people should protect nature and its fauna in the same way they safeguard their most prized jewels, because if you don't...you might end up with the former" (*Robert Bowen. Otherworks*).

Artist **Resa Blatman** (1977) also talks about climate change and environmental issues in her works. Resa Blatman received her MFA in painting from Boston University in 2006, and her BFA in graphic design from the Massachusetts College of Art and Design in 1995 (*About Resa Blatman. 2011*). Resa identifies her work as a visual commentary on climate change and environmental issues. Her artistic process is filled with intention; she creates heavily layered paintings and installations, combining paint, assemblage pieces, and intricately laser-cut forms that both connect and fragment the artwork. This complexity is meant to reveal nature's vast beauty, but also its delicate state when subject to the hands of modern humanity. (*Resa Blatman. Paintings*).

Inspired by decorative Victorian, Baroque, and romantic art, Blatman transforms traditional decorative objects into beautifully rendered micro-environments that are at once haunting and lovely. Ominous, dark clouds are a typical backdrop in her works, looming behind an array of painted and sculptural flora that wildly outgrow the frame in which they were once confined (Figure 4).



Figure 4. Resa Blatman **Gaia, Part 1** (*Resa Blatman*)

Blatman is modeling humanity's tendency to tame and mold nature, and nature's struggle to resist those efforts. Each of Blatman's sublime works is a living entity, gripping to the gallery walls and stretching toward the floor, actively trying to break from their mold and take root. Blatman's art is a glimpse into the great force of nature and its dynamic vitality. It breathes and lives, destroys and dies, and once again blooms and regenerates. There is a poetic beauty in nature's self destruction and rebirth, but that beauty can be lost when humanity interrupts this cycle and pushes nature beyond the point of recovery. (*Resa Blatman. Paintings*).

"Lush and representational depictions of nature is an ongoing focus in my work. My current paintings and installations speak specifically to a warming planet/environmental issue, their effect on our landscape and natural resources, and how we perceive the changes in the environment. To reflect this concept directly, the paintings' subjects and surfaces are heavily layered and sometimes the surfaces are split apart, with laser-cut forms that mimic tree branches, coral, and flora. This creates a physicality and metaphorical sound like the poetic violence of an iceberg cracking. As we become even more aware of the precarious nature of our habitat, this work speaks to the vulnerability of the earth that we so easily take for granted," says Resa Blatman (*Resa Blatman 2*).

Artist **Tess Felix** (1978) also puts emphasis on environmental pollution by transforming plastic debris into dynamic portraits depicting marine pollution. In her recent series "Ocean Eco Heroes", which was started in 2013, when most of the works was done, Felix portrays activists working to stop plastic waste (*Tess Felix*). She shows Beth Terry, author and activist, whose books and blogs promote plastic-free living and solutions to reduce our plastic footprint (*Beth Terry*) (Figure 5).



Figure 5. Tess Felikss **Beth Terry** (*Tess Felix*)

She creates her compositions from small pieces of plastic to highlight daily damage we cause to marine environment by flow of plastic bottles, balls, burnt and other plastic products. Climate change is contributing to drought which then can reduce the productivity of crop and grazing lands. Recent examples include the drought in California, which has resulted in farmers leaving half a million acres (*Jeremy Salvador*).

Artist **Jeremy Salvador** (1982) makes society think and fight over dwindling aquifers. One of his most popular works is “California Water Crisis” (2015) (Figure 6), which portrays a landscape created by the multi-year drought in the State of California. He paints in inks on coffee-stained pages of a court case involving California water rights. Salvador depicts a boat that is stranded on a parched lakebed, a powerful metaphor for a population that is ill-equipped to navigate the consequences of climate change (*Jeremy Salvador*).



Figure 6. Jeremy Salvador **California Water Crisis** (*Jeremy Salvador*)

Art organizations for climate changes

However, artists are not the only ones talking about climate change on the planet Earth through their artifacts, various art institutions have also been established that use contemporary art as a tool to speak to the society about dangers to existence of the Earth.

The question very topical today – climate change – makes us wonder whether and how influential people use their state to support environmental movement. Working with representatives of art, fashion, music and sports is a creative approach to building a culture of climate change that brings people together on a global scale.

One of institutions that works to create a strong arts voice to join with other concerned citizens in calling for immediate, effective and creative action to secure a safe future for humankind and for all life on Earth is “**CLIMARTE**”. It is an independent charity institution bringing together a broad alliance of arts organisations, practitioners, administrators, patrons and academics from across the spectrum of the arts sector advocating for immediate, effective and creative action to be taken to restore a safe climate, capable of supporting a healthy and sustainable environment. The organization was founded in 2010 at Australia as an independent charity. It is run by a team of climate-related art professionals, academics and activists (*Climarte*)

To achieve this goal, artistic activities of various kinds are being established, promoted and encouraged, inspiring actions on climate change. Forums to exchange information, ideas on sustainable artistic practices at individual and institutional levels are being organized, and the institution has formed an alliance of artistic practitioners and institutions that advocates immediate, effective and creative action on climate change. For example, the 2019 festival looked at ideas and concepts related to art and activism, public involvement to promote more action on climate change. “**ART + CLIMATE = CHANGE 2019**” festival featured 33 socially engaging exhibitions and events at leading museums and galleries in the Melbourne and Victoria area (*Climarte*).

Manuel Maqueda is an activist who has founded institutions to combat plastic pollution and created online media project “**El Plástico Mata**” (*Acerca de*). “**El Plástico Mata**” is an independent non-profit institution bringing together scientists, artists, activists and ordinary people with common vision of a plastic-free world and its harmful effects on health. Mission of this institution is to stop irresponsible use of plastics, preventing its harmful effect on the environment and human health (*Acerca de*). Its goal is to educate the society and to spread news, art, scientific research, books, documentaries and other materials that can help us better understand the problem, as well as promote social dialogue on ways to end our dependence on disposable plastics and protect the environment and citizens (*EL PLASTICO MATA*).

An acclaimed institution that brings together many artists from around the world is “**Art Works for Change**”. It was established in 2008 to expand upon the efforts of a team of dedicated

artists and social change leaders who since 2005 had produced a series of acclaimed traveling museum exhibitions focused on social and environmental themes. The founder of Art Works for Change is Randy Jane Rosenberg, who has more than 30 years of experience as an artist and curator with various art collections and exhibitions. Organization is located at Oakland, United States (*Our story*).

Art Works For Change is a non-profit institution that creates contemporary art exhibitions to address critical social and environmental issues. It strives to harness the transformative power of art to promote awareness, provoke dialogue, and inspire action. Exhibitions of the institution are funded by forward-thinking companies, foundations and individuals supporting their mission. (*Advisors and ambassadors*)

In each community hosting an exhibit, they partner with local institutions to create related programming that leverages the artwork to foster dialogue and build awareness of the issues addressed. In this way, our exhibitions serve as a crucible where artists, museums, advocacy institutions, and local community may unite as a collective force for change.

With the support of their venues, they bring global issues to local communities. Their exhibitions appear in some of the world's leading museums and art institutions. They use the exhibitions as a physical platform and forum for community to create programming, partnership outreach, and a public action component to each exhibition.

Conclusions

Examining various artists and art institutions that use contemporary art as an instrument to talk about climate change on the Earth, it can be concluded that contemporary art can not only show, but even make us feel the problems the entire world faces. Art can make us admit that we are a part of the nature and closely connected with it.

I believe art has a major role in transforming our way of thinking to direct people away from their current destructive practices and move towards environmental sustainability that the world needs to protect life on this planet.

In my opinion, art can be used as a means for spreading, examining and exchanging information, but artists are like visionaries and storytellers. Artists and art institutions are among the most influential change makers in the world. Through their powerful social and economic strength, they can promote regenerative change to positively impact the planet and culture.

Contemporary art could certainly be one of the ways to address people, make them think about their daily activities and change their habits.

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HOW TO ANALYZE INTERIOR DESIGN QUALITY

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Abstract

How to analyze interior design quality

Key Words: *interior design, assessment of values, pedagogical work, training of designers*

In the article the author gives an insight into a sequential system of common issues designed to map out any interior value to help students learn the components of interior design by evaluating already completed interiors. The system is designed as a tool for pedagogical work; by using a list of these issues the emerging interior designers are encouraged to gradually explore the existing quality of specific models of modern interior design and thus arrive at comprehensive conclusions. The criteria referred to in these matters can be used to analyse, in a comprehensive and professional way, all the key determinants of interior design in each particular case.

All 15 issues are combined into three blocks: the first is an introductory set for a general description of the object, as well as for determining the emotional impression the interior creates on inspection. These are followed by the aspects that make up the first impression: both colour and lighting issues and compositional techniques that amplify the mood.

The second block of questions refers to the spatial structure of the interior - placement, size, planning, functions, movement routes, taking into account the number of users and their needs, as well as the presence of the inclusive design. Structural elements are analysed: walls, floors, ceilings and apertures, doors, jambs, windows, windowsills, stairs, etc.

The third block of questions provides for the account on furniture and other interior objects, the organisation of waste management, the durability of the interior, and the presence of additional decorations. On concluding the analysis, proposals should be set forth on how the interior style can be described and its novelty determined. The application of the newly-created tool in the training of interior design students enhances their knowledge, skills and communication proficiency in accordance with the requirements set out in the profession standard.

Kopsavilkums

Kā apskatīt telpas interjera dizaina vērtības

Atslēgvārdi: *interjera dizains, vērtību izvērtējums, izglītība, dizaineru apmācība*

Autore sniedz ieskatu secīgā vienotu jautājumu sistēmā, kas paredzēta jebkuras iekštelpas vērtības plānveidīgai izzināšanai, lai palīdzētu studentiem apgūt interjera dizainu veidojošos lielumus, izvērtējot jau pabeigtus interjerus. Sistēma izveidota kā rīks pedagoģiskā darba vajadzībām; ar šiem jautājumiem topošie interjera dizaineri tiek mudināti pakāpeniski izzināt konkrētu mūsdienu interjera dizaina paraugu esošās kvalitātes, ļaujot nonākt pie visaptverošiem secinājumiem. Šie jautājumos minētie kritēriji ir izmantojami, lai vispusīgi un profesionāli secīgi izanalizētu visus galvenos interjera dizainu noteicošos faktorus katra gadījuma apskatā.

Visi 15 jautājumi apvienoti trijos blokos: pirmais ir ievadbloks objekta vispārīgam aprakstam, tā radītā emocionālā iespaids noteikšanai, kas sasaista ar apskatāmo telpu. Pēc tam tiek izvirzīti tie aspekti, kas veido pirmo iespaidu – gan krāsu un apgaismojuma jautājumi, gan kompozīcijas paņēmieni, kas noskaņu pastiprina.

Otrais jautājumu bloks attiecas uz interjera telpisko uzbūvi - izvietojuma vietu, lielumu, plānojumu, funkcijām, kustību ceļiem, ņemot vērā lietotājus, to daudzumu un vajadzības, kā arī iekļaujošā dizaina esamību. Tiek analizēti uzbūves elementi - sienas, grīdas, griesti un ailas, durvis, aplodas, logi, palodzes, kāpnes u. c.

Trešajā jautājumu blokā paredzēts stāstīt par mēbelēm un citiem iekārtas priekšmetiem, atkritumu aprites organizēšanu, interjera ilglaicīgumu, tiek skatīts, vai ir papildu dekorējums. Analīzi beidzot, tiek aicināts atklāt, kā iespējams raksturot interjera stilisko piederību un noteikt tā novitāti. Jaunizveidotā rīka lietošana interjera dizaina studentu apmācībā, uzlabo viņu zināšanas, prasmes un komunikācijas spējas atbilstoši profesijas standartā noteiktajām prasībām.

In this article the author presents a newly-created educational system of issues, a tool designed to map out any indoor value. Interior design is a part of an architecture that is not in any way detachable from it, whether in physical or theoretical terms. However, it can be recognized, inspected, studied, analysed and evaluated also separately from its outer shell, the architecture of the structure. When acquiring a profession it is a good thing to learn from what other professionals have done, and the profession of an interior designer is no exception. In teaching future interior designers and introducing the theory of all the issues that need to be resolved in interior planning, it

is desirable to use examples of the existing interiors, best in person, by inspecting and analysing them, or by viewing pictures or videos.

Thus, the target audience of the method is environmental and interior design students as well as the users of the method, educators. The aim of the method is to help emerging designers acquire a sequential indoor analysis and develop the ability to express themselves on all the key assessment criteria, as well as to provide educators with a useful tool for educating students in practice. It is only by observing real interiors, by understanding what has been successfully or unsuccessfully resolved, that it is possible for the students to approach the understanding of the nature of the profession more closely and methodically practise their spatial perception and their ability to speak about it. However, certain cases in the author's teaching experience have demonstrated that even the students who have mastered design well, when invited to tell about the values of a particular interior, tend to be confused and are unable to successively reveal the obvious qualities of the interior design, describe its structure, its constituent parts, and talk about the interior's basic principles in a planned way. Similarly, there are theoretical written tasks requiring students to provide a description of an interior design by highlighting its strengths and weaknesses and identifying its functional and artistic solutions, none of these aspects of interior design are observed, mentioned, or evaluated unless a plan of the issues under analysis is given in advance.

Therefore, the author has developed a tool that allows, through 15 consecutive questions, the whole indoor analysis process to be carried out gradually, mentioning all assessment criteria and logically moving from one aspect to another. The tool was created as a result of a step-by-step of a non-experimental design study, assessing a number of variable relationships, starting with the purely formal characteristics of the interiors to be evaluated, proceeding with the aspects affecting the perception of the user, taking into account the structure and functional solutions, as well as assessing the overall impression and the achieved impact on the student (Pipere 2016: 129).

The tool consists of a sequential set of 15 questions, combined into three blocks. Each block has a leading theme. The first block of questions is dedicated to the general information on the interior and the assessment of the first impression, the main objective of which is to recognize and put it into words, to tell the basic information about the spatial object to be explored, to describe one's feelings when taking it in. The order of questions for each specific interior can be changed slightly considering that first of all we speak about the most important, most noticeable, initial and essential impression. When describing the emotional impression that is essential for the interior exploration, Imants Lancmanis, the long-term director of the Rundāle Palace, approaches the inspection of palaces not just as an analytical art historian, but rather by yielding to the emotional experience. On entering a palace, he perceives every interior as a moving installation, as an artwork

that is constantly dynamic. He also points out that the initial impression of any building and any interior is of primary importance (Lancmanis 2019).

It is gainful to consider the criteria according to which the nominated works are assessed by the jury of the Latvian Architecture Award, one of the nominations being interior design: “All works submitted will be assessed on the same and equally important criteria: idea and concept, project unity or whether the work can be considered as one united whole, conformity with the project purpose, context and scale, care and thoroughness, as well as public significance and emotional impact” (Regulations of the LA Award). Consequently, the criterion of emotional impact is considered to be relevant also in this competitive assessment.

The first five questions to be raised by the methodical tool are listed below.

1. What is the type of this interior, what is designed for, when and where was it created, who are its owners, authors, performers, authors of the illustration?
2. What kind of emotional impression does it achieve, how is it aligned with the overall image of the building?
3. What is its total colour solution, what system of colouring shades is used?
4. What lighting and light fixtures are there?
5. What are the basic methods of composition used - symmetry, dynamics, balance, rhythm, etc.?

As mentioned above, before focusing on deeper analysis, the interior itself must be defined, such as “It's a public library” or, “It's an apartment in a multi-storey building”. It is important to determine whether the interior is intended for public use, or only for a certain range of users, for a family and their friends, for a closed organisation and its guests. It is important to establish its design/implementation time, who are its owners and to mention its authors, both the architect of the building and the author of the interior and the photographer, if we consider a visual image; it is one of the author's most fundamental rights to be mentioned (Copyright Act, existing version).

When designing a description of an interior, the above mentioned data are mandatory. The first impression and the means by which it is achieved can then be addressed. It is also important to take into account the image of the building itself and whether the interior is developed in conformity with it, whether it is consequential, complementary, or, on the contrary, contrasting, conflicting or otherwise counteracts the building. How to describe the overall emotional mood? There are as many choices as there are interiors, but we should name the feelings that this interior space creates: a neutral, even cool and business sensation, or agitation, expectation of something unusual, or an atmosphere of embarrassment or mystery. Two of the simplest conclusions may be “Yeah, I like it” or “I don't like it”. Although they represent an emotional response, one must try to explain more precisely as to what exactly had caused the particular pleasure or dislike. Is it the

fact that the interior in general resembles something that seems ugly, or is it the range of colors that makes one feel good?

The colour scheme, the system of hues, brightness or, on the contrary, monochrome solution - these are feelings that can be described in words. If the interior is composed of several spaces, it is advisable to specify whether the colour solution is similar or different and how the colour solutions interrelate to impact the sense of transition from one room to another.

For colours to be visible at all, lighting is important. It is of consequence to analyse the natural light of the day, from which direction it comes through the window, whether the window glazing is tinted, what solutions, scenarios, tonalities, moods are applied to artificial lighting. Care should be taken not to forget lighting fixtures and their performance.

The compositional structure of the interior, such as the dynamic arrangement of the rooms, monotonous or rhythmic composition of the elements, or symmetric windows on both sides of the entrance door, can also be very diverse and just as impactful as light and colour. One must be able to spot and name the compositional techniques.

The second block of question relates to the location, construction and usability of the interior. It corresponds to the art historian Ilze Martinsone's comprehensive definition of the term "interior", who considers it to be an interaction process in which the function meets the user in their system of aesthetic and ideological principles (Martinsone 2006: 33).

The following five issues are therefore to be addressed in the block:

6. What is the layout of the interior, its size, planning, functions, routes of movement?
7. Who are its users, their number and needs?
8. Does the interior have an inclusive design? How is environmental accessibility solved?
9. What about the walls, floors, ceilings – what are the materials, structure, finish?
10. Details of the interior structure – apertures, doors, jabs, windows, windowsills, stairs, etc.?

The location of the interior under analysis needs to be identified as it can be consequential not only in the physical sense (e.g. far from the entrance door, and it takes time to reach it), but also symbolically. The researcher believes that, for example, the position of the shop interior on the top floor of the building can symbolically represent its high values and that, in terms of its meaning and importance, it is superior to all the others on the lower floors. In addition, the analysis needs to allow for the actual size in square metres of the interiors. Whether this is the size of a small apartment, which is 40 square metres, or the area corresponding to a significant supermarket area, approximately 50 thousand square metres, will determine the scale and total number of details to be considered in each case. The interior plan will show the interrelation between its components, the main and auxiliary spaces, the pathways of movement, the functional zones. And all of this is inextricably linked to the everyday users of the interior, their number, their needs, their values. One

of the essential needs of interior users is compliance with their anthropometric data to be all taken into account when designing the specific parameters of the building. The individual needs of users are covered by a range of questions that are concerned with inclusive design and public buildings that have already been included in construction standards. Although there should be virtually no public interiors today that do not have access to the environment, in practice it is often the case that reality is different from theory. All these details must also be examined when analysing the particular interior.

It is then necessary to keep track of the main design planes of the interior, such as walls, floors, ceilings, their proportions and breaks (apertures for windows and doors, staircases), to give a detailed description of both the walls and the floors and the ceilings, assessing their shape, texture, interconnectedness, materiality and colour. Building elements, their materiality, finish, colour tone, character, proportions (a large, heavy sill compared to the size of the window aperture or monumental doors in comparison with the seemingly low ceiling) are of great importance.

It should be noted that doors may have different opening directions. It should be assessed if the directions are correctly selected; there may be single or two-leaved doors; they may be glazed and transparent or glazed with a non-transparent opal glass; they may be smooth or panelled - there are many different options. It should be mentioned that there may be doorless passages from one space into another, or sliding doors, lifting doors, folding doors. There are also sliding or folding walls that also perform the door function. Attention must be paid to the nature of the entrance door, it may be closed or uninviting or transparent and inviting. When describing the stairs, consideration must be given to what they connect, how wide they are, how they are constructed, their material, proportions, the overall impression. If there is a lift, how many persons it is intended for. There is a lot to tell about these matters, thus describing the interior under question.

Windows, too, are characterised by their design, the presence of curtains, blinds, shutters, and the proportion of windows and opening options, and by the type and material of frames. Windows and doors tend to be characterised by their fittings – handles, hinges, bolts, locks and everything that describes them.

The third block of questions complements the former as it is responsible for the techniques and elements that create the interior, and finally asks about its relevance to a set of characteristics of a style and its possible novelty.

11. What are the interior furnishings (furniture, heating appliances, plumbing, fittings)?
12. What is the waste handled, how is it organised in terms of time?
13. Are any decorations applied – ornaments, artworks, decors, etc.?
14. What style could the interior design be ascribed to?
15. Is this something new and special?

Furniture is usually easy to talk about, their function is easy to note (seating furniture, dining table, etc.) as is their materiality (wood, metal, plastic, leather), finish (bright and lacquered, for example). Although the visual impression here may be deceiving, because what we consider to be wood today is often not solid wood, but rather an artificial or synthetically formed analogous material, such as acrylic-coated MDF board or printed plastic-coated fibrewood. It is also difficult to distinguish between a high-quality laminated panel used to make furniture and a board fitted with natural veneer, which can only be detected when actually viewing the object under consideration and by carefully examining the pattern of the edges, but even then one can be mistaken. Upholstered furniture also may present problems when identifying the finishing material. In a similar way, it is difficult to distinguish between natural leather and synthetic, because they tend to be very much alike, and there is no telling their difference in photographs at all. Sometimes it is also impossible to distinguish leather from textile material in pictures.

Heating appliances – radiators, underfloor radiators, warm floor heating – also endow the interior with its own nature owing to the form or absence of it. Similarly, other equipment for different purposes and of different appearance in each room can be described.

The collection of waste can mostly be discussed only in the case of kitchen and technical spaces (in large public buildings and offices, including waiting rooms and toilets), but this issue, due to its importance along with the durability of the interior and the impact of its materials on health and the possibilities for reuse, is one of the most important problems today. As stated in the publication on architecture (to be fully referred to interior as part of architecture): “For a sustainable architecture, its main value is attributed to the invisible environmental outcome. It is difficult to include in form because most sustainable products and technologies do not have an architecturally clear impact on form” (Heiman 2020: 62).

Before the question of the interiors' relevance to a set of specific features of a style, we must consider the presence of decor and its nature, the impression it has on the overall interior and the possible purpose of its use in the interior design. Questions of style are very complicated, and their assessment is not the aim of this article, so it is not possible to address them in-depth, but it should be noted that different schools of researchers view styles very differently. However, the last criterion on the novelty of the interior in question is important enough and can be approached in different ways. One way is to assess its role in the author's creativity, another – in the context of Latvia's interior design as a whole, and the third – compared to similar interiors known to the appraiser.

Conclusions

The author's observations show that this 15-issue system, when used repeatedly and consistently on a daily basis, teaches students to take in and actually see how the interior is

composed, how it works for visitors or users. Application of the system for analysing other colleagues' works – the implemented interior design projects and their images – allows the designer to learn the skills necessary in their future day-to-day professional work with their clients, to analyse and clarify the objectives when developing a new interior, as well as methodically recount the concept of the project and its details.

Using the 15-question method, one can learn the skills to analyse and assess the interior design of a particular space. This method allows to think in a structured way about the values of the interior design under analysis. This tool can become an integral part of research and training processes.

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INTERACTIVE PROJECTION MAPPING IMPACT ON DEVELOPMENT AND SUSTAINABILITY OF ARTS

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Abstract

Interactive projection mapping impact on development and sustainability of arts

Key Words: *art, projection mapping, sustainability, interactive*

Recent progress in video projection techniques leads people in finding new possibilities in expressing creativity. Projection mapping is one of the latest techniques used to demonstrate art-made performances on any surface turning it into a dynamic display. The aim is to enliven traditional art with video-audio elements to create an illusion of physical interaction between the surface and the viewer. Newly this trend is being used in architecture and historical structures in public places presenting awaken art or animated actions of the object or related events. This has become an outstanding way to reach a wider audience to appreciate the historical heritage and art itself.

In the 70s artists searched for new methods to communicate with their audience. Since the development and integration of computers and technology into daily life, artists have been experimenting with various media in the art process. Interactive installations with digital animations and related software engineering can be considered under the framework of art sustainability. This art form has become a collaboration of arts, science, and technologies. Projections have been emerging as an important instrument for presentation and communication for all audiences distinctively.

The goal of the research: to explore the project mapping impact on art development and sustainability.

Methods of the research: theoretical: studying and exploring the literature and the internet resources of a topic, empirical: analyzing analog in similar fields, qualitative and non-experimental: creating a survey to understand people interest in the topic

Results: Understand the impact of technology development on art installations – creating interactive performances with projection mapping. Emphasize the need for digitalization to maintain arts sustainability.

Kopsavilkums

Interaktīvas projektoru kartēšanas ietekme uz mākslas attīstību un ilgtspējību

Atslēgvārdi: *māksla, projekcijas kartēšana, ilgtspējība, interaktivitāte*

Jaunāko tehnoloģiju progress video projektoru jomā rosina cilvēkus meklēt jaunas iespējas izteikt savu kreativitāti. Projekciju kartēšana ir viena no jaunākajām tehnikām, kas tiek izmantota, lai demonstrētu mākslinieciski izveidotu performanci, uz jebkuras virsmas, padarot to par dinamisku ekspozīciju. Mērķis ir atdzīvināt tradicionālo mākslu ar video-audio elementiem, lai radītu fiziskas saskarsmes ilūziju starp virsmu un skatītāju. Tā, piemēram, to var realizēt, demonstrējot uz arhitektūras un vēsturiskajiem objektiem publiskajās vietās, parādot atdzīvinātu mākslu vai animētas darbības, balstoties uz objekta īpatnībām vai noteiktu tematiku. Video elementu izmantošana ir saistoša un tā ir kļuvusi par izcilu veidu, kā sasniegt plašāku auditoriju, lai tai dotu iespēju novērtēt vēsturisko mantojumu un pašu mākslu.

Septiņdesmitajos gados mākslinieki meklēja jaunas metodes, lai komunicētu ar auditoriju. Kopā ar datoru un tehnoloģiju attīstību un integrēšanos ikdienas dzīvē, mākslinieki eksperimentēja ar vairākām mēdiju metodēm mākslas procesos. Mākslas ilgtspējības ietvaros var tikt apsvērta interaktīva instalācija kopā ar digitālām animācijām un attiecīgo programmatūras inženieriju. Šī mākslas forma ir kļuvusi par mākslas, zinātnes un tehnoloģiju savstarpēju mijiedarbību. Projekciju tehnoloģijas ir kļuvušas par nozīmīgu instrumentu prezentācijās un komunikācijā ar auditoriju.

Pētījuma mērķis: izpētīt projektoru kartēšanas metodes izmantošanas iespējas mākslā, veicinot tās ilgtspējību.

Pētījuma metodes: Teorētiskās: literatūras un interneta resursu izpēte un analīze; empīriskā: analoģu analīze, aptauja.

Rezultāti: analizēta tehnoloģiju attīstības ietekme uz mākslas instalācijām – radot interaktīvas performances ar projektoru kartēšanas palīdzību. Aktualizēta digitalizācijas nepieciešamība, lai saglabātu mākslas ilgtspējību.

Introduction

More frequently art is surrounded by the discussion of its sustainability in a manner of making it more advanced for the modern world surrounded by technology. Human interest in art is starting to divide into classic and extraordinary, making it more difficult to take someone's attention. The classic art may seem over dated and not enough appealing to the newer generation, wanting for more technically advanced experience. It is important to understand the need of the society for educational interaction with art, which has been more popular these days. While expecting to

interact with the surrounding environment, artists tend to emerge his/her own artwork with technology, making it more accessible to viewers. Thereby many museums starting to develop digital art performances where a person is surrounded by motion and objects of designed animation inspired by classical artworks.

Projection mapping is a projection technique that allows almost any surface or object to be converted into a 3D experience. (Vjekoslava 2018) It has developed as an innovative marketing tool that transforms everyday objects into life-like pieces of art. These objects may be complex industrial landscapes, such as buildings, small indoor objects, or entertainment stages. This effect is gained by using specialized software where two- or three-dimensional the object is spatially drawn (mapped) on the virtual program which mimics the real environment on which is to be projected. The software interacts with the chosen projector to fit any desired image, animation, or video onto the selected surface of that object. (Maniello 2020) Even though this technique becoming more favored among the viewers, it requires a great amount of work between artists, engineers, and other qualified professionals in the field of media.

Interactive art can be seen as a result of the traditions of exhibitions and art performances because of the dominant role of technology, the active contribution of the observers, and the desire to break the boundaries between life and art. (Paul 2002) This art installation form is audience-led, allowing viewers to interact with and become a part of artwork through activities such as walking, writing, sitting, or playing. With this, the role of the public observers has been changing from passive to active with a trace of viewers' experience. Artists are also exploring ways new media can transform traditional art forms such as painting and sculpture into an advanced, immersive experience. (Struppek 2006) In the process of developing interactive art, projection mapping can be effective in achieving needed results.

Projection mapping

Projection mapping know as video mapping is particular type of augmented reality. It is generated through digital processing, which interacts with an area that is not necessarily flat, projecting an image or a flow of images onto it.

The term *projection* means the act of projecting on a surface through a projector, while the technical word *mapping* indicates the surface volume tracking with the software on which to project, i.e., its breakdown into less complex geometries with which it is possible to interact. (Maniello 2020)

Perception from the viewer's perspective increases, with the addition of certain proposed information, which may both add and subtract the perceived and existing features. Augmented reality, however, allows to perceive and interact with physical reality, but uses different media to enrich it, for example through the use of smartphones, earphones, sensors, camcorders, or as in the

case of *projection mapping* with the use of a projector. (Maniello 2020) The geometric study and object (architectural monument or any other surface) survey are two key points in designing a projection on a surface structure that consists of several layers.

Projection mapping is a new frontier of art, technology, and visual design to create smart art and immediately recognizable modern areas. It is a sophisticated projection technique that transforms any type of surface into a dynamic display, turning any surface into a new communication media. Animations, videos, and lights effects can convey an advertising message, information, or describe the story of an object or environment. (Maniello 2020) The final result is an explosion of images that can engage the viewer with every event turning into mass illusion.

This digital art of projection mapping is now commonly employed in developed countries. It raises an ever-growing interest in the urban sphere, where it follows two prevailing directions. On the one hand, merely artistic performances, where the goal is to arouse *emotions* in the viewer: on the other hand, it entails more *complex* storytelling that is intended to tell the story of the place or object on which the video projection is performed.

While projection mapping has recently exploded into the consciousness of artists and advertisers everywhere, the history dates back longer than could be expected. However, while researching the topic of projection mapping is relevantly difficult to obtain information older than 3 years it is needed to clarify the academic name. The main academic name used is “Spatial Augmented Reality”. (Jones 2012)

History of Projection Mapping

This technique has many alternate names including the original academic term “spatial augmented reality” and “video mapping”. The history of projections dates back to the 1840s when powerful electric arc-lights were experimented with for the illumination of public monuments in Paris. (Schievelbusch 1995) This technique dates back to the late 1960s, where it was named the Madame Leota effect or shader lamps. The first known instance of projection onto a non-flat surface dates back to the 1968 opening of the Haunted Mansion ride in Disneyland. (Jones 2012) One more early example of projection mapping was the 1967 television movie “Magical Mystery Tour” during the “Blue Jay Way” scene, where images were projected onto George Harrison, including a cat’s face and a headless male torso with the words “Magical Mystery Boy” is written on its chest. (Maniello 2019)

Next known performance of projection mapping dates in 1980, with the immersive film installation “Displacements” by Michael Naimark. (Jones 2012) In this art installation a simple living room with two different performers was filmed with a help of a rotating camera. Giving an illusion of 180° amended reality. Then the filmed material was put through projection mapping as a result of creating rotating projection-mapped performance.

The greatest pioneers of technology are Disney Corporation, which had the earliest patent in the space. (Jones 2012) Entitled “Apparatus and method for projection upon a three-dimensional object”, 1991. A projection apparatus and method for vivid and realistic projection are disclosed, with applications to amusement and optical engineering. Contemplated applications of the invention also include video shopping applications and cosmetic applications. Graphics data is entered into a user interface and is processed to generate an output representing an image to be projected onto a three-dimensional object. This output controls a light filter, such as a plurality of optically superposed color composite liquid crystal panels, to selectively filter projected light so that an image having the desired appearance is projected upon the object. The projected image may be interactively modified and it may also be stored in memory and projected as part of an image sequence to create apparent motion in the object. (United States of America Patent No. US5325473A, 1991) It essentially describes a system for digitally painting an image onto “a contoured, three-dimensional object”.

Projection mapping started to get attraction when it was pursued in academia. “Spatial Augmented Reality” was created out of work by Ramesh Raskar, Greg Welch, Henry Fuchs, and Deepak Bandyopadhyay (UNC Cape Hill). (Raskar 1998) The research started with a paper “The Office of Future. It envisioned a world where projectors could cover any surface. The goal includes a better every day graphical display environment and 3D tele-immersion capabilities that allow distant people to feel as though they are together in a shared office space.

The more frequent use of this technology begins at the beginning of the 21st century, more specifically in 2005, with a sudden expansion and demand for a different and more recognizable way of entertainment and promotional activities that would leap from the conventional, already seen, methods. (Vjekoslava 2018)

Since In the last decade, advances in digital projection and computer technologies have lowered the barriers to projection mapping making it more available for use. In recent years this technique has also been widely used in the context of cultural heritage as it has proved to be an excellent edutainment tool. (Maniello 2020) Using projection mapping as a storytelling experience including adding kinetics to the art, tend to have longer audience engagement and wider social reach. It provides a new view on ordinary art that has been seen for decades. By using projection techniques that enhance an audience’s impression of sensory envelopment, many digital installations attempt to create immersive environments.

Interactive projection mapping as a way to connect art and people

Interactivity is the next step in the evolution of project mapping where a person can manipulate projected images in the environment of an installation by approaching them or touching the projected surfaces. (Mace 2020) Interactive art installations are generally computer-based and

frequently rely on sensors, which gauge things such as temperature, motions, proximity, and other meteorological phenomena that the maker has programmed to elicit responses based on participant action. In interactive artworks, both the audience and the machine work together in dialogue to produce a unique artwork for each audience to observe. (Muller, Edmonds, Connel 2007) This experience would be similar to virtual reality. It is a new platform that allows audiences to interact with sound, touch, and sight to affect art in real-time. Most experiences and events are non-interactive, partly because of the many inherent design problems in designing for interaction. (Rowe 2014)

Interactive projection mapping is the use of technology to manipulate and project imagery onto the surface by human interaction. Users can physically interact with projections to influence the visual display which appears to the audience. (Bimber 2006) The entire process of construction is extremely time-consuming and labor-intensive on large scale. It involves many stages of development, from the digitalizing of the artwork (Paul 2002), creation of animation, the digital creation of the artwork to connect all capacitive touchpoints to the IoT technologies. It takes not only the artist but also multi-disciplinary engineers to complete the set of interactive pieces. (Bimber 2006)

However, while analyzing the possibilities to connect projection mapping and art by studying analogs, the author has discovered a more affordable way to create an interactive experience between art and viewer. To create an interactive painting is needed a combination of electric paint, projected light, and capacitive sensors to make an engaging viewing experience. Electric paint is used to create wanted illustrations or elements to trigger sensors connected to an Arduino Uno (an open-source electronics platform based on easy-to-use hardware and software (WIAU 2018)) on the back of canvas by connecting the paint itself to the board via alligator clips. Arduino gathers proximity data and sends it to a Processing sketch. Each touched spot would be triggered accordingly.

When the viewer would touch a drawn shape, the paint immediately recognizes the interaction and triggers the animations, which are projected on top of the canvas itself to then disappear again. The outcome would be a living artwork with changing elements reflecting viewers' personal preferences. It could lead to embracing cultural heritage sustainability for wider social groups such as children and students to whom the interactive experience would be more exciting to explore.

Respondent Survey Analysis

Art cannot sustain without a viewer which means it can be forgotten or destroyed by times. With new technologies, it might obtain new existence in non-material form. To understand the need for art to be transformed into an interactive process of experience the author has used the study process quantitative research method in the form of a computerized survey.

The survey consists of twelve closed-ended and semi-closed questions and it was created on the Google Forms platform and forwarded using emails and social network facebook.com. The survey went on for 15 days from 18.02.2021 until 04.03.2021. 46 females and 16 males were surveyed, with the average age 25, the youngest respondent was 15 years old, the oldest was 45.

The first question of the survey – *How often do You visit art exhibitions?* - was created to learn about the frequency of attendance at art exhibitions. The first question helps to analyze the average demand for static exhibitions. It was found (see Fig.1) that 60% of respondents rarely visit any art exhibition, 26,7% have answered time to time, 5% - never, only 3,3% of respondents have answered that they frequently visit art exhibitions. 1,7% of respondents (1 person) have given a separate remark where she/he stated “If there would be a possibility, they would visit more often”. Obtained results reveal that most of the respondents visit exhibitions rarely what indicates that a greater part of the public visits art exhibitions.

How often do You visit art exhibitions?

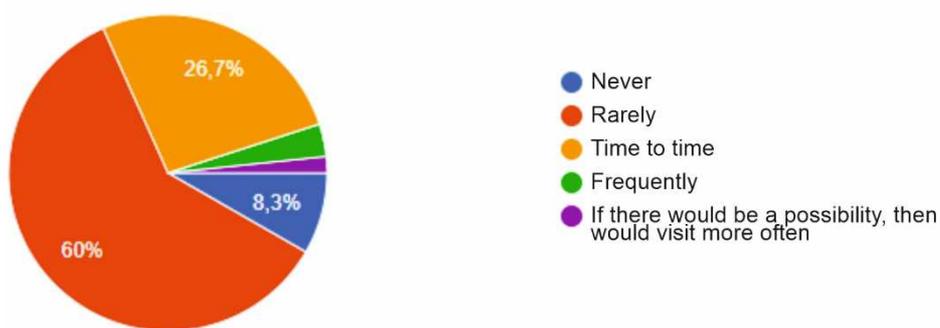


Fig. 1. Summary of responses on art exhibition visiting frequency

An important part of the survey was to understand the reason why a person visits an art exhibition. A question was designed – *What interests You to visit the exhibition?* – with options made by the article author to choose and additionally option *Other* to give an additional perspective on the reason why a person would attend to the exhibition. 53,2% of respondents have preferred the place of exhibition, 46,8% prefer originality of the whole exhibition, 40,3% choose to visit an art event based on the social media reviews, 33,9% - the popularity of the artist, 30,6% - exhibition opening event, 30,6% new technology usage in displaying artwork, 21% - an added value of the exhibition. The answers given in the field of *Other* was: “I am interested in another artist style”, “Interested in specific works of art”, “School excursion”, “Personally knows the artist”, “Does not attend to any”. Each of the answers takes 1,6% of the total number of responses (together 8%). Summarized results present the fact that most of the public choose an art exhibition based on the location close to them.

The following questions were set to acknowledge public awareness of projection mapping events taking place in Latvia – Staro Riga and Digital Art House. One of the questions was – *Have*

You participated in any of the “Staro Riga” event? – were 59,7% have answered No, 33,9% -Yes and 6,5% of respondents have not heard of this event. The results show that the public is informed of “Staro Riga”, but has not participated. In the wake of this question was given options to choose from to understand the main interest of “Staro Riga” viewers – *If yes, what was the most interesting You experienced?*. 50% have chosen that the most interesting was animations on buildings and 50% have chosen the most interesting – the realistic videos on building (example, dropping part of the building). 37,5% of respondents have chosen light shows as the most interesting, 37,5% - sound effects followed by the light show, 33,3% - light objects of different shape, 33,3% - art enlivening on different objects, 4,2% have noted a separate performance that was made on Dome church in the center of Riga Old Town and 8,4% have not participated and have not seen any of the light shows. The answers given reflect the fact that the viewers are most interested in animations and specific effects are given by artists, less are interested in art becoming alive.

The Digital Art House is the second main projection exhibition in Latvia where artists make classical art alive in a prodigious way using the new technologies in media. To learn the people's point of view was designed a set of questions were of them was – *Have You participated in any of Digital Art House exhibitions?* – were 91,8% answered No and 8,2% - Yes (see Fig. 2). The 8,2% have additionally answered the following question – *If yes, what are Your impressions?* – where the answers were: “It was an interesting experience”, “Fascinating. At times, a strange more emotional feeling arose”, “Interesting” twice, “Something unique with modern technology. Interesting”. Unfortunately, most of the respondents have not participated in any of Digital Art House performances, as a result, society is not aware of this institution.

Have You participated any of Digital Art House exhibitions?

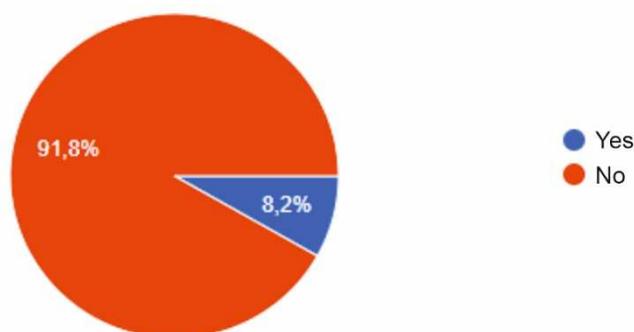


Fig. 2. Summary of responses on awarness of Digital Art House

Although the Staro Riga and Digital Art House performances are operated by projection mapping technologies and different media these are not interactive and cannot provide participation of viewers in any action. In the direction to learn the need of interactive exhibition was designed a question – *How often You would attend to interactive exhibition?*. 40,3% would attend to interactive

exhibition time to time, 37,1% - rarely, 14,5% - never, 3,2% - often. Other 4,8% of responses were given individually – “Have not been to any”, “There is no opportunity to attend to any as there is non in my city”, “At least once to have an impression of it”. As result, people are interested in interactive exhibitions and would take apart at least once to understand what is interactive exhibition and how it is made.

About Staro Riga was created one more question to analyze the point of view of the audience when they attend to any performance where an animation, video, or art would be shown on building with the help of projector – *What is your opinion about projecting works of art on public buildings with the help of projectors?*. 73,8% have given positive answers, 21,3% neutral, 1,6% negative, 1,6% answered that it would be great, 1,6% have shown opinion on the quality of the building – depends on the building un the location. From this emerges the fact that most of the respondent have a positive point of view about projecting artworks on buildings.

Additionally, were designed questions: *“Do You think this type of performance could be used for another event?”* and *“If yes, then which one?”*, with possible options and option Other. 95,2% thinks that projection performances could be used for any other event and 4,8% were negative and answered No. 83,1% considered projections on the building would be applicable for city festivals, 76,3% have chosen the 18. November, 66,1% prefers performances for Christmas, 50,8% - for use in academic facilities, 47,5% - graduation events, 37,3% - private parties, 32,2% - weddings and 3,4% noted that this technology equipment can be used for all previously mentioned events and purposes. Last question (*If yes, then which one?*) was created with multiple possible answers to be picked and results present that all mentioned events are suitable for projection performances and public would like to participate and use this method.

Conclusion

The growth of technologies in the field of digital art played a crucial role to create artworks to display. Digitalized art installations are starting to be shown not only in exhibition galleries but also on surfaces of cultural heritage objects such as buildings, monuments, and installations. The art is integrated with technology giving information about the content or emphasizing additionally with audio-visual elements with a help of a projector and synchronized software. These elements assemble relationships between image, perception, and space.

The impact of interactive art is more profound aesthetically than expected. The use of computers could be a way to balance artists' deficiencies. However, it might be considered that the art is no longer an achievement of the formal piece of work but a design made by the rules determined for evolution accordingly to the quality of the dialogue with the viewer.

The author of the article performed a survey of respondents, which included closed-ended and semi-closed questions to understand the public view on the situation of art exhibition development.

The article was designed based on the theoretical and empirical analysis where significant conclusions were made.

- People prefer to visit art exhibitions and would attend to them more often if exhibitions would be closer to location and more frequent.
- The main reason most art exhibitions are visited is the location where is placed the exhibition and originality of displaying the artworks.
- Most of respondents have not visited any of Staro Riga events what proves previous conclusion based on location. Any performance should be available in more than one region and/or city.
- Analyzing public preferences were noted that people are more interested in animated and surreal video usage on buildings additionally with light and sound effects.
- Respondents were not aware of Digital Art House and could not give any detailed information about the subject.
- Results show that people would prefer interactive exhibitions and would participate at least once to experience the illusion. It represents that society would participate more actively in interactive art exhibitions.
- Surveyed respondents are united positively that projecting art in exhibitions and on buildings can be used in more than one event that includes 18.November, Christmas and private occasions.

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LANDSCAPE IN LATVIAN TEXTILE ART. PERCEPTION OF NATURE AND RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE PLACE AS THE BASIS OF THE TEXTILE ARTIST'S IMAGE SYSTEM

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Abstract

Landscape in Latvian Textile Art. Perception of nature and relationships with the place as the basis of the textile artist's image system

Key Words: *Latvian Art, Textile Art, Landscape, Tapestry, Heimrāts' School, Sense of place*

The aim of the article is to provide an insight into the expression of the theme of nature in Latvian textile art after 1961. Special attention is paid to the factors that have influenced the artist's thematic choice and their role in the interpretation of the image. The study analyzes textiles containing images of nature, the authors of which gained higher education at the Latvian Academy of Arts in the period of 1961-1992.

The article provides a brief insight into the main research results obtained applying a combination of qualitative research methods, including formal analysis of textiles, analysis of publications, unstructured interviews, analysis of audio and video recordings, biographical method, case studies and field notes. The article includes an analytical overview of the information available in written sources regarding the expansion of the subject of nature in textile art, a summary of the main findings, in particular the designation of the image of the indigenous nature, and the circumstances influencing the development of narrative textiles. Based on the data obtained in the study, the convenience of attributing the image of nature in the explanation of textile work content is reviewed, emphasizing the correlation between artists personality, geographical experience, and intent of artwork. The article includes information about textile artists Rūdolfs Heimrāts, Aija Baumane, Ilma Austriņa, Edīte Pauls-Vīgnere, Dzintra Vilks.

Kopsavilkums

Ainava Latvijas tekstilmākslā. Dabas uztvere un attiecības ar vietu kā tekstilmākslinieka tēlu sistēmas pamats

Atslēgvārdi: *Latvijas māksla, Tekstilmāksla, Ainava, Gobelēntehnika, Heimrāta skola, Vietas izjūta*

Raksta mērķis ir sniegt ieskatu dabas tēmas izpausmē Latvijas tekstilmākslā pēc 1961. gada. Īpaša uzmanība tiek veltīta faktoriem, kas ietekmējuši mākslinieka tematisko izvēli un to nozīmei tēla interpretācijā.

Pētījumā tiek analizētas dabas tēlus saturošas tekstīlijas, kuru autori ieguva augstāko izglītību Latvijas Mākslas akadēmijā pagājušā gadsimta 70.-90.gados. Raksta ietvaros tiek sniegts pārskats par galvenajiem izpētes rezultātiem, kas iegūti izmantojot kombinētas kvalitatīvā pētījuma metodes, ieskaitot tekstīliju formālo analīzi, publikāciju analīzi, nestrukturētas intervijas, audio un video ierakstu analīzi, biogrāfisko datu analīzi, gadījuma izpēti un lauka piezīmes.

Raksts ietver analītisku pārskatu par rakstiskajos avotos pieejamo informāciju attiecībā uz dabas tēmas izvērsumu tekstilmākslā, galveno atziņu apkopojumu par vēsturiski lietoto terminoloģiju, konkrēti dzimtās dabas tēla apzīmējumu, un tēlaino tekstīliju attīstību ietekmējošajiem apstākļiem. Pamatojoties uz pētījumā iegūto datu materiālu, tiek pārskatīta dabas tēla attiecinājuma lietderība tekstīlijas satura skaidrojumā, akcentējot individuālās izpētes un interpretācijas nozīmi. Rakstā iekļautas ziņas par tekstilmāksliniekiem Rūdolfu Heimrātu, Aiju Baumanī, Ilmu Austriņu, Edīti Pauls-Vīgneri, Dzintru Vilks.

Introduction

At the end of the 1950s, the Latvian professional textile art indicated the search for a new way of artistic expression in the textile material. The changes were particularly influenced by the liberalist processes initiated by Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev (Knāviņa 2019: 63). The most important factor that affected the development of textile art was the opportunity to become at least partially familiar with the current art processes outside Iron curtain, which was given by the extensive exchange of international exhibitions (Bunkše 2019: 92).

In the 1960s, a new form of subject matter execution in textile material was developed in Latvian textile art. The large-scale narrative tapestry became the leading form of artistic expression. The abstract form language of textiles allowed for much more remarkable creative freedom of

expression, experimentation with shape and colour. During this time, as the leading theme emerged the various motifs of natural scenery. Textile landscapes treated as generalized images of nature did not attract the attention of researchers either during the Soviet years or later. Against the background of highly valued and demanded figurative compositions, they were positioned as an artistic weakness or unwillingness to focus on socially significant topics (Lamberga 1981, Raudzeņa 2008). It could be admitted that the acknowledged low genre of the landscape incarnated in textiles which conventionally perceived predominantly as a craft medium, evaluated as an even less substantial phenomenon of art history.

The article aims to provide an insight into the development of the theme of nature in Latvian textile art after 1961. Particularly attention is paid to the development of tapestry art in Latvia and its global conditions. The selection of narrative textiles in the context of landscape representation is analyzed in a comprehensive aspect. The question is whether the artist compiles the image depicted in the fibre as an aesthetically organized mosaic, or the concept is based on a particular experience that would allow it to interpret as a materialized perception of a specific setting. The study focuses on the textiles executed by professional artists, thus emphasizing the material-led interpretation of the subject matter. The study was conducted applying combined methods of qualitative research using interdisciplinary approach. The applied methods include formal analysis of visual sources, historical method, unstructured interviews, comparative analysis of written sources, biographical method, case studies and field notes.

The turn to the woven picture

The modernization processes in tapestry weaving had been taking place since the 1930s, reorienting the centuries-old French tradition of woven pictures in search of contemporary forms (Gerschultz 2016:6). The idea of re-popularizing the tapestry as a monumental work of art in its own right, rather than as a woven copy of a painting, in which the decisive role belongs to medium-specific composition and weaving structure, guided by the peculiarities of the material was particularly encouraged by French tapestry designer Jean Lurcat (1892-1966) (Wells 2019). Significant circumstance was the large format of the woven works, which moved textiles from being decorative objects with a limited function - pile rugs or upholstery - into the realm of monumental art. The tapestry weaving technique allows free compositional possibilities and the use of the image in a wide range from entirely realistic to abstract non-objective combinations of dyed yarn surfaces. This narrative feature of woven artwork became a novelty in Latvia at the beginning of the 60s.

It is admitted that the significant milestone and turning point in the development of Latvian textile art became Rūdolfs Heimrāts' (1926-1992) tapestry "To the Song Festival"(1960) (Kalniete 1989). Evaluating the events that might have been the reason for such an inherent creative

experiment, one must conclude that Heimrāts' interest in tapestry weaving was most likely evoked by his participation in the VI International Youth Festival in Moscow in 1957 (Knāviņa 2019: 73) where an extensive international exhibition of fine and applied arts was held also featuring French modern art (Флорковская 2016: 206).

The further development of tapestry art introduced by Heimrāts in Latvia is connected with the establishment of the Textile Art department at the Academy of Arts in 1961. As an industry leader and the head of Textile Art department, Heimrāts influenced the spread of the new textile art both in the direction of academic training and in his personal creative work. In 1974, Herbert Dubin wrote about Heimrāts in regard of his first solo exhibition that he had given tapestry "a place under the sun" (Dubins 1974).

With the rise of tapestries, not only the assessments of the technical achievement of textiles, emphasizing innovations in the use of texture, colour, or ornamentation, appear in industry reviews of the 1970s, but also critiques of their thematic orientation. Writing about the First Soviet Union Tapestry Exhibition in Moscow in 1971, art historian Tatjana Suta mentioned three textiles devoted to the theme of nature (E. Vīgnere "Green Land" (1970), A. Baumane "The Storm" 1970) and R. Bogustova "Amber" (1971) and described them as vivid representations of native nature (Suta 1972). In the following review of the textile art events in 1973, T. Suta states that "nature has always been the main source of inspiration for textile artists (unfortunately, almost the only one), it provides opportunities for countless interpretation of the decorative image" (Suta 1973). A metaphorical interpretation of nature can be seen in the composition "Whirlpool" by Baumane, an associative image of nature in Raitis Rubenis' textile "Meadows Blossom". Aina Muze's "Farms" and Sarma Eglīte's "First Snow" are mentioned, noting that they are the most successful in the series of nature pictures. In her 1977 report on the emergence of the art image in Soviet tapestry, Suta summarizes that the content of art images is most often associated with impressions of the nature of the homeland and foreign countries or music (Suta 1977: 52). However, already in the evaluation of the 1970s in Latvian textile art in 1981, Dace Lambergā expresses a very critical attitude towards the over-represented use of the image of nature in textiles, pointing out that many representations of seasons and daytime periods are no longer taken seriously (Lambergā 1981: 40). In the year of the 25th anniversary of Textile Art Department, Inese Baranovska, in her review of the 4th Textile Art Exhibition, concludes that nature and its motifs, the poetic moods of the different seasons have always influenced the compositions of textile artists, have become an inexhaustible golden source of inspiration (Baranovska 1986).

To summarize the overview of the thematic tendency in textile art, it is worth mentioning one of the few scientific studies in the field of textile art, the bachelor's thesis by Līga Gaile, which examines the development of textile art in the 90s of 20th century, and in which, in terms of the

theme of the artworks, it is stated that the most popular textile artists are representations of natural beauties, as well as interpretations of historical themes, legends, stories (Gaile 2001). Thus, if trace the choice of themes of interest to textile artists over a period of thirty years, can be concluded that representations of nature have remained as a topical theme in all the work of textile artists trained in the traditions of Heimrāts' School. One can also conclude that the expansion of textile content to include the theme of nature and its associated imagery has not aroused further research interest. This is also supported by the introduction of a generic designation of the image of indigenous nature, which precluded an interpretation of the individual view. Moreover, it can be assumed that the conditionality of nature imagery and form brought the technical qualities of textiles to the fore, resulting in the predominance of craft ingredients over the content of the idea where an abstract textile composition expressed in nature imagery approached ornamental textile style appeared in earlier decades. However, the pronounced predominance of nature representations can be perceived as a specific indicator of creative thought, revealing a common tendency, and drawing attention to a detailed study of the reasons and circumstances of its production.

The image of nature in the perception of a textile artist

When examining the textiles created in the 1970s -1990s, the theme of nature can be identified both as a typical feature of the pictorial design and as the core of individual artists' creative work. A significant number of compositions depict impressions of nature and landscape motifs, the content of which is based on the colour of the fiber, texture, and their relationships in the fabric structure. Although there are similarities in the artists choice of motifs and names, such as the extensive theme of the sea, the seasons, the representations of forests and meadows, there is no reason to presume that they could be created under the influence of common generalizations. On the contrary, the choice and use of the image of nature reveals the individual experience of each artist and his own approach to the portrayal of the subject. Moreover, in Latvia, there is no homogeneous landscape common to all regions (Nikodemus 2018: 571), which could justify applying the term as *the image of indigenous nature* to all textiles. Rather, it is decisive to speak of the correlation of special forms of nature characteristic of each region with the content of the images created and the specifics of their use.

In this context, reference can be made to a number of studies on the specifics of landscape and spatial perception. For example, the phenomenon of topophilia or love of place (Tuan 1974) described by the American geographer Ji-Fu Tuan, which explains the individual's relationship to place and space in the context of personal and social experiences. Studies of humanistic geography that actualize the human senses, that is, the importance of subjective experience in the perception of landscape and the formation of relationships of belonging (Bunkše 2007: 226). As for Latvian cultural tradition, it has developed largely based on a sense of local belonging (Kursīte 2014). This

tradition also includes homemade textiles, which were created primarily in connection with the lifestyle of individual farmers, where the availability of fibers determined by local conditions, locally sourced greenery and impressions observed in the environment formed the characteristics of traditional fabrics. Professional academically trained textile artists were largely regarded as inheritors of this tradition, as knowledge was based on the one hand on the study of folk-art heritage and on the other hand on direct observations of nature (Heimrāts 1985), which generally created an analogous approach to design tasks, texture combinations in an organic way became the basis of textile imagery.

Furthermore, the idiosyncrasy of the senses involved in the perception of the landscape also become important, which in the mindset of the textile artist brings to the fore visual impressions combined with tactile sensations, characterized not only by direct tactical associations of experience, but also the understanding of the technical solution necessary for the handling of textiles, or the reflection of the perceived impression in the woven material. For example, Ilma Austriņa (1940) describes this process: “I see immediately in the material: fog - a beautiful sheep wool, grass, these reliefs - it must be woven with a certain texture. Maybe earlier that was weaker, but over the years it has intensified” (Austriņa 2019). Edīte Pauls Vīgnere (1939) also emphasizes the importance of sensory perception in creative work, adding to colour the senses of touch, smell, and taste, focusing on images evoked by memories, associated only with places and events important in personal experience (Pauls-Vīgnere 2020). Dzintra Vilks (1948), while justifying the fragmentary appearance of textiles dedicated to the sea in her oeuvre, emphasizes that attachment to the setting is crucial when creating an image. That makes a particular story (Vilks 2020). As the study of textiles dedicated to the theme of nature shows in relation to the importance of this theme in the author's work in general, it must be concluded that the representations of nature are not accidental. This causality is especially detectable in the oeuvre of textile artists with regular exhibitions and a wide range of work. These are artists whose impressions of environmental observations form the core of the imagery of the creative work. The study of typical cases shows that in the images have direct connection with the artist's individual experiences, past or existing relationships with certain places, sensory impressions gained there, which, as a rule, both influence the direction of creative reflection and form author-specific image systems.

In particular, the example of such a presumption is the oeuvre of textile artist Aija Baumane (1943-2019). Baumane's creative period encompasses the late 1960s till 2019. According to formal analysis, most of the artworks relate to the theme of nature. Baumane's creative signature is characterized by a moderately laconic expression in colour, form, and compositional structure. The images contained in the textiles are usually abstracted to the sign and are revealed in a symbolic sense. The high degree of generalization allows interpreting these compositions as general images

of Latvian nature, as abstract decorative fabrics, but the facts from the author's biography consequently detect the connection of these forms with a specific place. The artist has said: "I am always connected with this place, with this region, because there is my home where I came from, and which I take care of with my many brothers and sisters. I always spend summers there and every free time I can find a way to go there ... It is a place which frees and recharges me emotionally, and somehow, I always find new tasks, sometimes without doing anything. There are many of my ideas out there. One of the diverse ones is the river" (Baumane 2009). The river is one of the central figures in Baumane's work. It appears both in 1968 in tapestry "Hillfort" as the river guardian, as a symbol of time in the most recent works, as in the mythical Jordan, as an indispensable lifeline throughout the work, and creates obvious scenic references of the territories of personal significance. Considering the information obtained during the research of the biographical data, the formal research of the material sources and the results of the field work, it can be stated that there is a demonstrable correlation between the images created by the author and the perception of a particular place.

Conclusions

Since the 1960s, with the appropriation of the expressive possibilities of woven painting or tapestry technique, textiles have transformed from decorative ornamented components of household interiors into visual art objects, becoming a materialized evidence of the artistic cognition. The most popular and frequently represented theme in the textiles of this period were images of nature and landscapes. The nature, landscape or their motifs in textiles usually appear as abstract combinations of colours and textures, but there is no reason to conclude that they are arrangements of general subject matter composed only for decorative purposes. The analysis of the data collected in the study proves a direct connection between the textile artwork content and its intention and the artist's individual experience. In conclusion, selecting the image of nature is based on the artist's correlation with particular settings as the territories and the landscapes of significant personal experience.

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CONTEMPORARY ART EXHIBITION RHETORIC: THE CASE OF DAUGAVPILS MARK ROTHKO ART CENTRE

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Abstract

Contemporary Art Exhibition Rhetoric: The Case of Daugavpils Mark Rothko Art Centre

Key Words: *contemporary art, exhibition management, exhibition rhetoric, art centre*

Renewal of Latvia's independence came with fundamental shifts in the country's political and socio-economic systems as well as in art. The 1990s saw the emergence of new institutions that altered cultural organisations to the core, a change way more profound than mere fine-tuning of management models and functions. The emergence of creative industries, new media and technologies diversified exhibition spaces and projects and boosted contemporary art. A highlight of 2013 was one of the 21st century's most ambitious cultural projects in Eastern Europe – Daugavpils experienced the opening of a new contemporary art centre named after Mark Rothko, the father of abstract expressionism. From the word go, the aspirations of Daugavpils Mark Rothko Art Centre went beyond displaying the work of the world-renowned artist to include facilitation of new and unique cultural products and services. Eight years into existence, the centre has implemented more than three hundred exhibition projects in various media, a substantial segment for research and analysis. Essentially, robust analysis of contemporary exhibition projects goes beyond examining the basic management principles for culture and art (discover, evaluate, develop, fulfil). A more comprehensive perspective also requires tracing the impact of the art institution in question on the development tendencies of artists' creative outputs and broader artistic processes.

The study aims to analyse the management of contemporary art exhibitions in Daugavpils Mark Rothko Art Centre by establishing its basic principles regarding the making of artistic content. The analysis will involve describing the rhetoric of the implemented art projects and reviewing their impact on the development of artistic processes on regional, national and international levels.

Kopsavilkums

Laikmetīgās mākslas izstāžu retorika: Daugavpils Marka Rotko centra piemērs

Atslēgvārdi: *laikmetīgā māksla, izstāžu menedžments, izstāžu retorika, mākslas centrs*

Līdz ar neatkarības atgūšanu Latvijā mainījās ne tikai politiskā un ekonomiski sociālā, bet arī mākslas sistēma. 20. gs. 90. gados veidojās jaunas institūcijas, mainot ne tikai kultūras iestāžu pārvaldes un darbības modeļus, bet arī saturu. Radošo industriju, jauno mediju un tehnoloģiju ienākšana sekmēja izstāžu telpu un projektu dažādību un laikmetīgās mākslas procesu attīstību. 2013. gadā Daugavpilī tika īstenots viens no 21. gadsimta ambiciozākajiem kultūras projektiem Austrumeiropā – abstraktā ekspresionisma pamatlicēja Marka Rotko vārdā nosauktā laikmetīgās mākslas centra atklāšana. Daugavpils Marka Rotko mākslas centra vīzija jau sākotnēji bija ne tikai rādīt pasaulslavenā mākslinieka mākslas darbus, bet arī sekmēt jaunu, unikālu kultūras produktu izveidi un kultūras pakalpojumu attīstību. Astoņu pastāvēšanas gadu laikā mākslas centrs ir realizējis vairāk nekā 300 izstāžu projektus dažādos mākslas medijos, kas ir nozīmīgs pētnieciskās analīzes segments. Laikmetīgās mākslas izstāžu projektu analīze ietver sevī ne tikai kultūras un mākslas menedžmenta pamatprincipu (atklāt, novērtēt, attīstīt un realizēt) īstenošanas izpēti, bet arī mākslas institūcijas ietekmi uz mākslas darbu radīšanas un mākslas procesu attīstības tendencēm.

Pētījuma mērķis ir veikt Daugavpils Marka Rotko mākslas centra laikmetīgās mākslas izstāžu menedžmenta analīzi, nosakot mākslas satura veidošanas pamatprincipus, raksturojot realizēto mākslas projektu retoriku un to ietekmi uz mākslas procesu attīstību reģionālā, valstiskā un starptautiskā līmenī.

Introduction

Until fairly recently, Mark Rothko's (originally – Marcus Rothkowitz) birth in the Russian Empire town of Dvinsk (present-day Daugavpils, Latvia) was a little-discussed fact in international circles. The idea of Daugavpils Mark Rothko Art Centre (hereafter – the Rothko Centre) was proposed in 2002, right before the centenary of the world-renowned artist, founder of the abstract expressionist movement. From the word go, the art centre's aspirations were largely focused on shaping the international image of Latvia and Daugavpils and boosting their competitiveness on the global cultural stage through new and unique cultural products and services.

Describing Latvia's art scene in the 1990s, art theorist and head of the country's Contemporary Art Centre Solvita Krese observed that during the course of the 20th century, exhibitions had become the leading medium through which the public learnt about art, meaning that an exhibition became a chief communicator and a primary participant in the meaning-making processes around a work of art (Krese 2010: 62). This conclusion also applies to 21st-century Latvian art. The Rothko Centre's exhibition policy rests on seeking a common language about art through inclusive dialogues that should put the institution at the epicentre of European and global cultural trends and give the residents of Daugavpils and Latvia as well as tourists from around the world direct access to topmost specimens of professional art.

Between 2013 and 2020, the Rothko Centre has implemented more than 300 exhibition projects that have attracted at least 90 thousand visitors, a high-performance indicator for a regional art space. A thoughtful and strategically planned distribution of exhibition cycles or seasons has been a key factor that has enabled the art centre to reach such impressive numbers. Every year, the centre opened five (from 2020 onwards – four) exhibition seasons. Nearly all of them featured up to seven art projects in painting, graphic art, textile, ceramics or photography. Invariably, the centre's permanent and temporary exhibitions have been planned and implemented through a mindful balancing of national and international projects, with a deliberate focus on contemporary art and a strong emphasis on synthesis and dialogue among artists who represent different media and generations.

Quantitative data analysis

Quantitative data analysis indicators of the present study enable the authors to evaluate the Rothko Centre's exhibitions in terms of represented art media and authorship, the latter subcategorised as domestic or international and individual or cooperative.

The tendency to balance out domestic and international art projects in the Rothko Centre's planning documents is backed by statistics. Over the past eight years, 49% of the exhibitions were international projects. A significant proportion of the remaining 51% exhibitions categorised as domestic was created by artists from the Latgale Region (8% of the total amount) and Daugavpils City (also 8%).

Exhibition analysis according to authorship suggests that the predominant type has been single-artist solo shows (61 %), followed by group exhibitions (23%), symposium exhibitions (12%) and juried exhibitions (4%). These two (symposium and juried exhibitions) have specific selection rules stipulated in a ratified by-law, which states that the selection is performed by the art centre's artistic committee rather than by a curator or a group of authors (Figure 1).

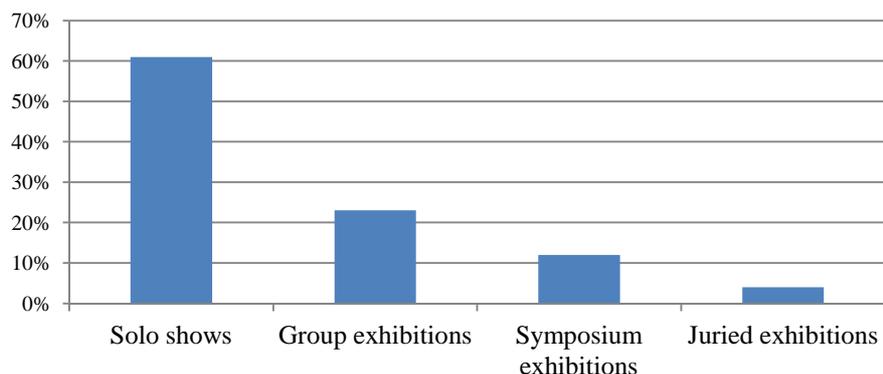


Figure 1. Exhibition analysis according to authorship

The Rothko Centre also offered a few retrospective anniversary exhibitions by prominent Latvian artists, such as “Substance and Form. Pathos and Resignation” by Džemma Skulme (2015, curator – Inga Šteimane; Picture 1) and “Single Time Tariff” by Gunārs Krollis (2017, curator – Māris Čačka). Solo exhibitions by world-renowned artists that stand out with form rather than contents deserve a special mention in the analysis. That is to say, in these cases, the selection of specific artworks was secondary to the primary focus – the iconic persona of the featured artist. Here we should mention an exhibition of Salvador Dali’s illustrations and lithographs from a private collection – “Surrealism Turned Matter” (2013), the single-painting exhibition from the Trondheim Art Museum – Edvard Munch’s “The Portrait of Solicitor Ludvig Meyer” (2017) and several exhibitions of Marc Chagall from the Vitebsk Marc Chagall Museum collection – “Marc Chagall and the Painters of the European Avant-Garde” (2014; Picture 2), “Marc Chagall. Dead Souls” (2016) and “Marc Chagall, Jonas Daniliauskas. Chagall One and Two” (2018).

The dominant art medium across the centre’s exhibition projects has been painting (44% of the total amount), followed by ceramics (19%) and mixed media (17%). Graphic art (10%), textile and photography (5%) are comparatively less represented (Figure 2).

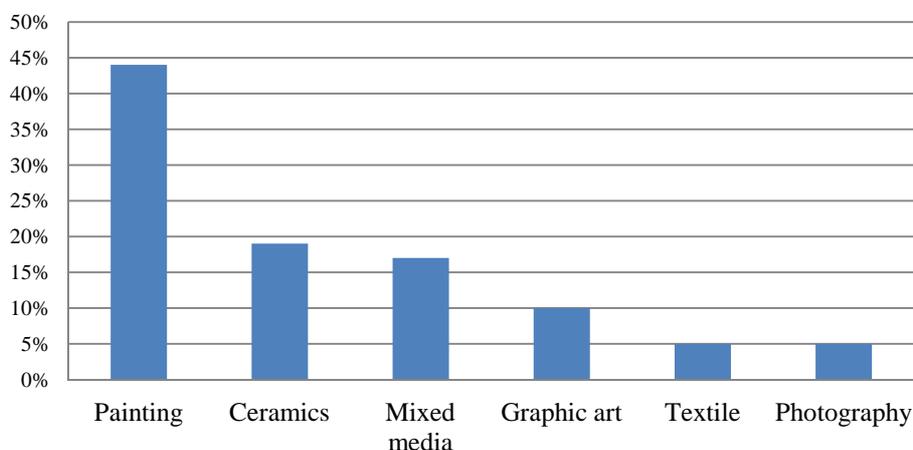


Figure 2. The dominant art medium across the centre’s exhibition projects

A narrative analysis of the Rothko Centre's art exhibitions suggests that the consolidating trend has been the contemporary twist of the displayed projects. Here, 'contemporary' means reflective of the here and now and indicative of the present-day artists' creative reflections. Describing contemporary art exhibitions at the Rothko Centre, art theorist Ingrīda Burāne explains that the institution's carefully planned exhibition programme mainly includes "subjectless painting" because, in the sense of classic abstractionism, Latvian art has very few specimens that could be put in line with those approbated in the global art history discourse. It is not a question of quality, but the result of a different approach, a different way of thinking and understanding, evolved from the country's distinctive painting school and a profound national identity, both of which have developed from a particular way of perceiving, exploring and making sense of the world, rooted in the connection between the visual reality and the cognitive codes derived from natural processes (Burāne 2017). Obviously, this extremely valid argument concerns the exhibitions of Latvian artists rather than the art centre's international projects. In 2014, Daugavpils Mark Rothko Art Centre launched a series of exhibitions to highlight Latvian contemporary art. It included three exhibition projects: "Latvian Contemporary Painting" (2014, curator – Māris Čačka; Picture 3), "Latvian Contemporary Ceramics" (2015, curator – Valentīns Petjko) and "Latvian Contemporary Watercolour" (2018, curator – Baiba Priedīte). In the catalogue of the "Latvian Contemporary Painting" exhibition, Valentīns Petjko admits: "Contemporary art is such a vague and elastic term that it seems to undermine its own validity, even though the art itself is always contemporary". Petjko prefers the term 'provisional', although its sustainability in 21st-century Latvian art will need to undergo a test of time (Petjko 2014). The central message of this exhibition series was to display the latest works of a new generation of Latvian artists who had boldly announced themselves in the country's art scene and left a distinct imprint on the 21st-century art processes.

Following the basic management principles for art

The Rothko Centre follows the basic management principles for culture and art in keeping with the fundamental functions of cultural management: discover, evaluate, develop, and fulfil (Bendiksens, 2008). New exhibition projects at the centre may be logical outcomes of consistent prior efforts or fortunate coincidences. Pre-planned annual art symposia, which have become established traditions, promote creativity and art communication across borders. Each iteration of the annual group exhibition of the Latgale Region artists explores a different topic and supports the continued creativity of locally-based artists, enables the public to trace the professional growth of emerging artists and provides opportunities for established creators to perfect their chosen artistic style or test new forms of expression. The centre's solo exhibitions rely on personal contacts and feedback; that is to say, some of these projects rest on curatorial cooperation ties with the chosen artists, others are organised after evaluating individual applications made by aspiring creators, and

still others are tokens of appreciation to standout symposium participants. Group exhibitions are mainly organised as cooperation projects with domestic and international galleries. Attracting new cooperation partners remains essential to generate a steady stream of international exhibition projects. The Rothko Centre has made several exhibitions with the Pashmin Art Consortium (Germany), the Vitebsk Marc Chagall Museum (Belarus), A-Gallery and the Alexandre Vassiliev Foundation (Lithuania). The serendipity principle is traceable in artist initiatives when they approach the centre with their offers. Likewise, it is linked to the Rothko centre's international presence and successful communication efforts that promote interest in the institution as a significant exhibition platform. Mark Rothko's name is the magnet that attracts abstract artists worldwide and motivates them to exhibit at the contemporary art centre that bears the genius artist's name. A fairly recent example is the American multimedia artist Marietta Patricia Leis who approached the centre with her exhibition project "Air" (2019, curator – Tatjana Černova; Picture 4) and the German conceptual artist, painter and filmmaker Karo Jost who offered the centre her exhibition "Final Traces of the Abstract Expressionists" (2020, curator – Tatjana Černova). In 2000, Karo Jost started her global project "Streetprints", which was based on actual imprints of street and pavement reliefs on canvas, a specific method for making invisible traces of the past visible again, depicting them authentically and placing them in a current, contemporary context. The Rothko Centre featured 'streetprints' from Mark Rothko's former studio and the traces discovered in the streets of his native city (Černova 2020).

The following stage in exhibition management at the Rothko Centre implies researching exhibition projects according to specific criteria: artistic quality, financial costs, feedback, foreseeable and unforeseeable risks. Foreseeable risks include transportation hazards (especially in ceramic projects). In addition, the 2020 exhibition season highlighted the risks associated with the Covid-19 pandemic – those were to do with restricted movement, temporary exhibitions closings and rearrangements in the exhibition calendar to shift some of the upcoming projects.

Development of exhibitions from an initial idea into a finished project largely rests on curator shoulders. Their work includes proposing a concept, designing a layout and maintaining active communication with exhibition authors. Curatorial work is essential for the centre's continued existence and successful development. Implementing ambitious projects is both a challenge and a testament to curatorial professionalism. The Rothko Centre was the first institution in the Baltics to display original works by Mark Rothko, the father of abstract expressionism, and to organise exhibitions of the renowned American artist Hunt Slonem and the world-famous Norwegian artist Edvard Munch. These shows were testaments to the high levels of international communication and exhibition management at the institution.

Implementation of art projects, the final stage in executing the fundamental management principles for art, implies feedback. Artist feedback includes donating their work to the Rothko Centre's art collection. These donations are testaments to successful cooperation and a form of gratitude for receiving an art project on the centre's premises. Feedback also includes publicity in mass media, the general resonance of each project and its visiting numbers.

Exhibition rhetoric

Within the present study, contemporary art exhibition rhetoric means not just the concept and content analysis of contemporary art shows but also the impacts of the Rothko Centre as an art platform and its exhibition guidelines on present-day artistic processes.

A significant principle discussed earlier in the paper concerns an equal distribution of domestic and international exhibition projects. The location of the art centre in the city of Daugavpils and its affiliation with the Latgale Region, rather logically, suggests that it works towards strengthening regional identity through the language of the arts. By supporting the artists based in Daugavpils and the Latgale Region, providing exhibition spaces, designing exhibitions and doing curatorial work, the centre promotes local creativity and prepares solo shows that rank top on each artist's professional résumé. Daugavpils-based artists Valda Mežbārde, Nataļja Marinoha, Dace Pudāne and Ilona Linarte-Ruža have created a number of works expressly for their shows at the Rothko Centre – brilliant specimens of each artists' creative style. The art centre maintains active cooperation with local artists, which enables the public to follow their professional growth and motivates the creators to become involved in different cultural events and initiatives proposed by the centre.

In addition, the regional aspect plays a vital role in the exhibition projects of ethnic diasporas, highlighting the regional presence of ethnic minorities and introducing Jewish, Polish and Lithuanian artists. It is another form of dialogue that promotes cooperation and integration of several ethnic groups because, historically, Daugavpils has developed as a juncture of cultures and ethnicities.

International exhibition rhetoric is characterised by ethnic and national identity, historical remarks and parallel art philosophies, with Mark Rothko's persona and biography as the running thread. Several exhibition projects have direct or indirect connections to Mark Rothko. A vital conceptual line in the Rothko Centre's exhibition policy is the fate of the Jewish people. Mark Rothko was born in a Jewish family and was the only one out of four children to get religious education. Talmud studies in a local cheder had a significant impact on his personality and identity. The exile- and survival-themed solo show of the Polish Jewish artist Moshe Kupferman – "Various Purple Grey" (2017, curator – Farid Zaletilo), living testaments of the past featured in the solo show of the prominent Slovak photographer Yuri Dojc – "The Last Folio" (2015, curators – Katya

Krausova and Farida Zaletilo) and the controversial works by the world-renowned American artist and founder of the “No!art” movement, Boris Lurie, displayed in his solo show “Artist and Witness” (2019, curator – Farida Zaletilo; Picture 5), told about the harsh fate of Jewish communities during World War II and echoed the conceptual orientation of Mark Rothko’s surrealist period.

In 1913, Marcus Rothkowitz, together with his mother and sisters, left his native Dvinsk for the United States of America to join his father, who had emigrated a few years earlier. It was a breaking point in the young man’s identity formation. The theme of emigration and émigré artists was reflected in the exhibitions of Latvian-born American artists Sigurds Vidzirkste, Daina Dangija and Aija Meisters, exposing similar narratives and motifs in their biographies and creative legacies. For instance, Dagnija’s show “Female Power and Freedom” (2015) covered all the key periods in the artist’s creative biography and told about the fates of émigré Latvians in the language of the arts (Petjko 2015).

Abstractionism as a form and a language used by Rothko is another significant parallel that re-emerges in most of the centre’s exhibition projects. A case in point is “The Beauty of Chance”, a solo show by Norwegian artist Jon Arne Mogstad held at the Rothko Centre in 2018 (Picture 6). Art theorist Iliana Veinberga writes in her exhibition review that the show exposes a similar technique to Rothko’s and justifies drawing more direct stylistic parallels with Rothko’s abstractionist vector featured in the name of the art centre (Veinberga 2018).

Conclusion

Exhibition management and contents at Daugavpils Mark Rothko Art Centre match the institution’s action principles – to promote outstanding artistic creativity and its accessibility through international and domestic exhibition projects in different art media. The Rothko Centre’s exhibition programme and concept are connected mainly to Mark Rothko’s name and the display of his originals. Through them, the presence of the genius artist in his native city boosts the numbers of incoming tourists, attracts creators to the centre’s art symposia, making the institution a visible presence in international artistic circles, a coveted partner in cooperation projects and a prime venue for solo shows by stellar artists. The art centre is a significant force that shapes development trends in regional, national and international art by making prime artistic outputs available to a broad viewership, raising public awareness and understanding of contemporary art, stimulating creativity and contributing to art education through its exhibitions. The key component of the Rothko Centre’s contemporary art exhibition rhetoric is creative dialogue – co-creation, cooperation and sharing.

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Pictures



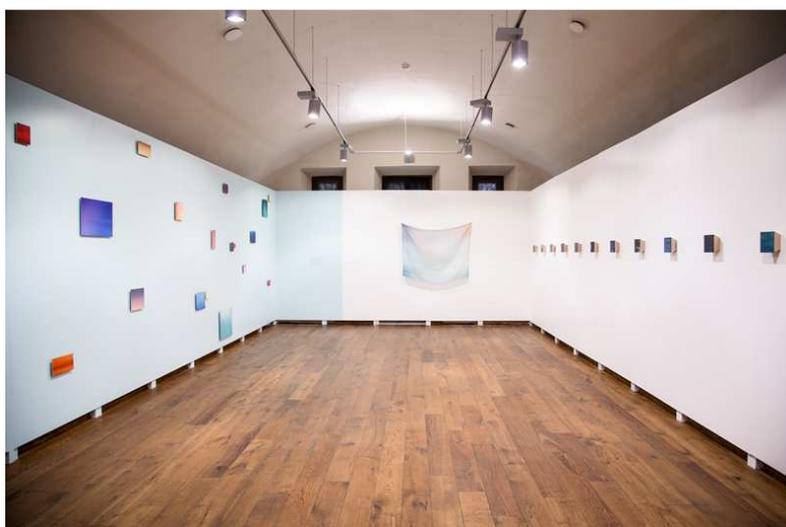
Picture 1. **Džemma Skulme. Substance and Form. Pathos and Resignation** (2015).
View from the Exhibition (Daugavpils Mark Rothko Art Centre archive)



Picture 2. **Marc Chagall and the Painters of the European Avant-Garde** (2014).
View from the exhibition (Daugavpils Mark Rothko Art Centre archive)



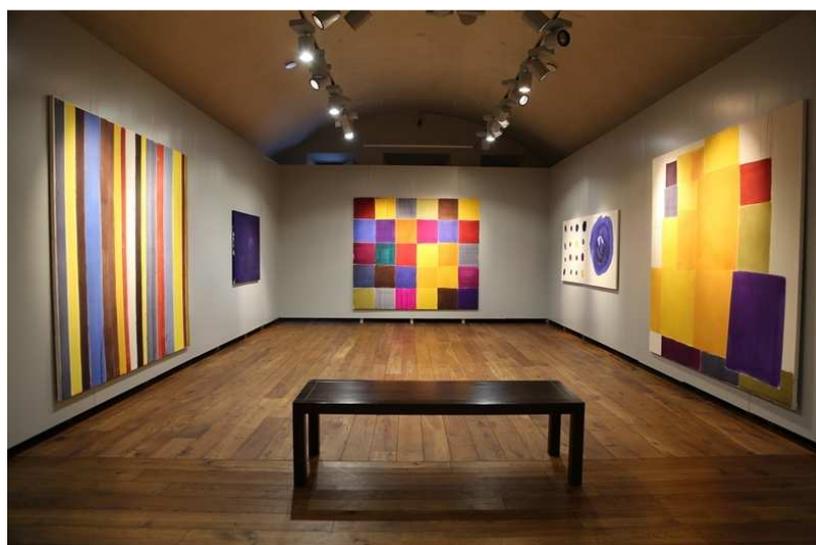
Picture 3. **Latvian Contemporary Painting** (2014).
View from the exhibition (Daugavpils Mark Rothko Art Centre archive)



Picture 4. **Marietta Patricia Leis. Air** (2019).
View from the exhibition (Daugavpils Mark Rothko Art Centre archive)



Picture 5. **Boris Lurie. Artist and Witness** (2019).
View from the exhibition (Daugavpils Mark Rothko Art Centre archive)



Picture 6. **Jon Arne Mogstad. The Beauty of Chance** (2018).
View from the exhibition (Daugavpils Mark Rothko Art Centre archive)

ARRANGEMENT OF LIVONIAN AND LATGALIAN POPULATION CENTRES AND TRAFFIC ROUTES UNTIL THE 13th CENTURY – THE BASIS OF THE MODERN POPULATION SYSTEM IN NORTH-CENTRAL AND EASTERN LATVIA

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Abstract

Arrangement of Livonian and Latgalian population centres and traffic routes until the 13th century - the basis of the modern population system in North-Central and Eastern Latvia

Key Words: *Baltic tribes, cultural identity, economic activity, intensively populated settlement, Latgalians, Livs, population centres*

The location of settlements and cities in the territory of modern Latvia has not developed by accident. The people who lived here over many thousands of years well acquainted with the local geographical and climatic conditions knew how to install inhabitations using terrain features and natural resources. Representatives of different ethnic communities developed cultural traditions and building skills, promoted trade links through waterways. Gradually, the representatives of Finno-Ugric and Baltic tribes, under the influence of various natural processes and historical events, developed the location of population centres and set up earth road tracing for traffic. In the territory of Latvia, until the entry of German crusaders, the basis for a modern population system was created. **Aims of paper:** analyzing an impact of the ancient location of population centres and road tracing on the economic growth and local people's well-being today. **Methodology:** analysis of archive documents and cartographic materials, published information, photo fixations. **Research problem:** today, various territorial development projects are being developed, ignoring the evolution of settlement development and cultural identity, the historically established hierarchy of population centres that was influenced by economic activities of local people and traffic routes for communication; unsuccessful and ill-considered solutions cause significant damage to the economy. **Research novelty:** analysis of the ancient Livonian and Latgalian settlements and traffic for trade relations and its early development created opportunities for the basis of the modern population system in North-central and Eastern Latvia. **Applications to practice:** research will help to find successful solutions for quality improvement of urban spaces and promoting the economic activities of people.

Kopsavilkums

Livonijas un Latgales iedzīvotāju centru un satiksmes ceļu izvietojums līdz 13. gadsimtam – mūsdienu apdzīvotuma sistēmas pamats Vidzemē un Austrumlatvijā

Atslēgvārdi: *apdzīvotības centri, baltu ciltis, ekonomiskā aktivitāte, blīvi apdzīvota vieta, kultūras identitāte, latgalieši, lībieši*

Apdzīvoto vietu un pilsētu izvietojums mūsdienu Latvijā nav veidojies nejauši. Cilvēki, dzīvojot šeit daudzus gadu tūkstošus, labi iepazīna vietējos ģeogrāfiskos un klimatiskos apstākļus un zināja, kā ierīkot dzīvesvietas, izmantojot reljefu un dabas resursus. Dažādu etnisko kopienu pārstāvji attīstīja kultūras tradīcijas un būvniecības prasmes, veicināja tirdzniecības sakarus, izmantojot ūdensceļus. Somugru un baltu cilšu pārstāvji dažādu dabas procesu un vēsturisku notikumu ietekmē pamazām radīja apdzīvotu vietu teritoriālo izvietojumu un satiksmes ceļu tīklu, kas veido pamatu mūsdienu apdzīvotuma struktūrai Latvijas teritorijā. **Darba mērķi:** analizēt seno iedzīvotāju apdzīvotības centru un ceļu izvietojuma ietekmi uz mūsdienu ekonomisko izaugsmi un vietējo iedzīvotāju labklājību. **Metodika:** arhīva dokumentu un kartogrāfisko materiālu, publicētās informācijas, foto fiksāciju analīze. **Pētījuma problēma:** šodien tiek izstrādāti dažādi teritoriālās attīstības projekti, neņemot vērā apdzīvoto vietu attīstības un kultūras identitātes evolūciju, vēsturiski izveidojušos apdzīvotības centru hierarhiju, kas ietekmēja vietējo cilvēku ekonomiskā darbību un satiksmes iespējas saziņai, tādēļ neveiksmīgi un nepārdomāti risinājumi rada ievērojamu kaitējumu ekonomikai. **Pētījuma novitāte:** seno līvu un latgaļu apdzīvoto vietu un transporta sistēmas agrīnās attīstības analīze un tās ietekme uz mūsdienu iedzīvotāju apdzīvotību Vidzemē un Austrumlatvijā. **Praktiskā izmantošana:** pētījumi palīdzēs atrast veiksmīgus risinājumus pilsētvides kvalitātes uzlabošanai un cilvēku ekonomiskās aktivitātes veicināšanai.

Introduction

In Europe, about 13 000 years ago, the Baltic Ice Lake of glacial meltwater was formed in the southern and central parts of the present-day Baltic Sea Basin. A relatively warmer period began. At the end of the Old Stone Age or the Paleolithic, a lakebed of glacial origin as a result of the last

icing was created in the area of Eastern Latvia. During the first stage of Lake Lubāns (Latgalian: *Lubōns*) formation, most of the areas of Lubāns Plain (Latvian: *Lubāna līdzenums*) was still covered by glacial massifs. The network of rivers had not yet been formed. Several water basins were created during glaciers melting and retreat. Rivers played an important role in feeding basins with water and supplying ruin material in the second stage of formation. Lubāns glacial meltwater basin occupied a much larger area than at the end of the Last Glacial Period. Sediments precipitated in glacial meltwater basins. The water level reached 113 metres above sea level. A cold and dry climate prevailed on the shores of the Baltic Ice Lake. Water flowed rapidly, lowering a lake water level. Lubāns lakebed filled with cold, organic matter-poor meltwater became an oligotrophic freshwater lake. Glacial meltwater drained. Shallow freshwater Lake Lubāns with flat shores, by its origin, belongs to a family of vast lakes, such as Lake Peipus (Latvian: *Peipusa ezers*), Lake Pskov (Latvian: *Pleskavas ezers*, Estonian: *Pihkva järv*, Russian: *Псковское озеро*), the second-largest lake in the Peipus–Pskov freshwater lake system (Estonian: *Peipsi-Pihkva järv*, Russian: *Псковско-Чудское озеро*, *Чудско-Псковское озеро*), and Lake Ladoga. About 12 000 years ago, these depressions were connected. The runoff of the lowland to Lake Pskov could have taken place along the Iča ancient river bed in the opposite direction. As a result of the basin swamping and the slow wave-like movement of Pļaviņas dolomite fold, the runoff to the Daugava (Fig. 1) broke along the Aiviekste River (Latgalian: *Evikšta*, in folk songs: *Īvaisīte*), (Fig. 1) and the drain was disconnected. In the early Post-Glacial Period about 11 700 years ago, the climate became warmer, aquatic plants and fauna were established in shallow bays of Lubāns (Fig. 1), the largest lake in Latvia.

In the Post Glacial Age, Lake Lubāns with an extensive network of rivers (nine rivers flow into the lake) was formed. Aiviekste, the only river that flows from wide Lake Lubāns, has established its course in the western part of the East-Latvian Lowland (Latvian: *Austrumlatvijas zemiene*), where it collects water from a large drainage basin with its tributaries. It flows into the Daugava from the right, carrying with it the large amount of water that other rivers discharge into the lake (Tomāss 1937: 67). Initially, the river flows through a wide, flat depression near the lake. Later, the Aiviekste River Valley narrows considerably. The Aiviekste River Basin was bounded on the east by the Latgale highlands (Latvian: *Latgales augstiene*), and on the west by the Central Vidzeme Upland (Latvia: *Vidzemes Centrālā augstiene*). A watershed of the basin has formed. Its lowest point was at the river source in the northern part of Lake Lubāns, where in the low, flat clans on both sides of the Aiviekste it moves along the lake itself and close to Zvidze and Blind lakes. Further, delimiting the Aiviekste tributary of Iča from the Rēzekne River (Latgalian: *Rēzne*, *Rēznis*) flowing into Lake Lubāns, the watershed gradually rises and moves along the slope of the Latgale highlands to the southeast, where the lake-rich area approaches the Rēzekne River. Its source to the east of Lake Rāzna was found in a wide and flat depression in the middle of the highlands. The

watershed turns rapidly to the northeast and in the further course separates tributaries of the Aiviekste and Mude (also Mudava, Mudve, Russian: Великая /Velikaya/) rivers. Reaching vast Orlov Bog, the watershed turns west. Separating the Iča and Balupe basins, it reaches the Pededze River estuary and comes to the side of Vidzeme /the Middle Land/ (Livonian: *Vidūmō*, Lithuanian: *Vidžemė*, Polish: *Liwonia*, Estonian: *Läti Liivimaa*, German: *Zentral-Livland*) (Tomāss 1937: 69).

In the subarctic or boreal climate, tundra vegetation prevailed. Herds of reindeer followed melting glaciers, while hunters followed reindeer to obtain food from hunting and fishing. Wandering reindeer hunters from areas between the Vistula and Dnieper rivers entered the area of present-day Latvia that became the farthest northern border of the Paleolithic human population on the east coast of the Baltic Sea. The oldest known human settlement was formed shortly after the Last Glacial Period retreat about 11 000 years ago. Conditions suitable for human life gradually appeared around 9000 BC. Closed groups of people with families and their leader lived in small, mobile settlements near lakes and rivers. About 30–40 people stayed in one settlement. Glacial meltwater washed away various geological sediments and created the Daugava River Valley filled with water at the beginning of its formation. The Daugava (Livonian: *Vēna*, Latgalian: *Daugova*, Estonian: *Väina*, German: *Diina*, Polish: *Dźwina*, Russian: *Западная Двина*, Scandinavian: *Dyna*) River flowed into the Baltic Ice Lake in the area of present-day Salaspils. Branching streams, creating shoals and islands became evidence. The largest island was Dole (Latvian: *Doles sala*) formed by alluvial flows. An elongated promontory stretching into the Baltic Ice Lake has formed in the immediate vicinity of the Daugava paleodelta. Steep banks turned into the sandy delta. Human life became possible already in the Paleolithic or the Old Stone Age, and in the Daugava River lower reaches, evidence of the first inhabitants was kept since the 9th millennium BC. On the 11–12 metres high bank of the Daugava, wandering reindeer hunters who belonged to the Late Paleolithic cultures established the Laukskola settlement of Salaspils (Latvian: *Salaspils Laukskolas apmetne*) inhabited from the 9th to 8th millennium BC. This oldest known human dwelling place at the foot of the riverbank cape 2–3 km from the Baltic Ice Lake became the beginning for the next settlement complex on the Daugava River right shore (Zagorska 1974: 84). The first entrants were nomadic hunting tribes that relied on reindeer hunting in their economy. Hunter-fisher's representatives were able to reach the area of present-day Latvia in the second half of the 9th millennium BC. They have been staying on the high bank of the Daugava near its turns, entered the Dviete River Valley and its floodplain and created settlements on riverbanks and lakeshores. In the early boreal, reindeer withdrew from the Eastern Baltic but the influence of the oldest population was strong (Zagorska 1972a: 26). At the turn of the Paleolithic and Mesolithic eras, people lived also on a high and driest sandy hill of Lipši near the Daugava. Latvian archaeologist, Doctor of Historical Sciences Ilga Zagoraka (born Grīnberga; 1941) believes that the ancient

population near the Daugava would be attributable to a wider area (Daiga 1975: 31) and the end of the Paleolithic or the beginning of the Mesolithic (Zagorska 1975: 101). The oldest evidence of human population has been found on the western shore of Lake Lubāns, and it dates back to the 9th–8th millennium BC immediately after the end of the Ice Age.

A glacier that covered Northern Europe retreated. The Baltic Ice Lake created by melting waters had a significantly higher water level than the modern Baltic Sea formed by saltwater that flowed into the lake bed. Later, the Baltic Ice Lake was connected to the North Sea and the Atlantic Ocean due to lower water levels and retreated from the high shore, leaving low plains. Geologists believe that the Baltic Ice Lake turned into a sea in the 9th–8th millennium BC when the climate became warmer. Shoals and wind-blown sand dunes formed in the process of water retreat blocked part of the water and created several lakes in the lowlands of the coast, where it was not yet possible for people to settle permanently. Just then, when the sea level dropped and the seashore took on its current shape, people could live in the vicinity of Saka. Near Upesmuiža, where ancient people probably had a settlement, the so-called chief's wand and bone dagger with drawings (9th–8th millennium BC), the most important artworks in the Eastern Baltic, were found in the Saka River. At the end of the Late Paleolithic, migrant hunters temporarily stayed on the Lielupe River (Fig. 1) shore. Avotiņi settlement is considered to be the oldest inhabitation in Semigallia. Accessories related to the end of the Paleolithic were found on separate twenty-metre-high scenic Kņāvi Hill that offers a wide view of the South Susēja River Valley and its surroundings.

During the Mesolithic, the climate changed several times, causing significant changes in environmental and human living conditions. In the Early Mesolithic that corresponded to the Pre-Boreal Climatic interval, people settled permanently on riverbanks and lakeshores and subsisted from hunting, fishing and wild plant gathering. High Hills (Latvian: *Kraukļu kalni*, *Augstie kalni*, in the present-day town of *Aizkraukle*) on the Daugava right shore about 40 metres above the river level had been inhabited. Lake Burtnieks (Latvian: *Burtnieku ezers*, Livonian: *Astigerve*) (Fig. 1) called in ancient times *Astijärv* or *Aster* that in translation means the lake of dishes became the source of the Salaca (Estonian: *Salatsi jõgi*, German: *Salis*, Latvian: *Salaca*, Livonian: *Salatsa*) River (Fig. 1) that enters the Gulf of Riga (Estonian: *Liivi laht* /Gulf of Livonia/ also *Riia laht* /Bay of Riga/, Latvian: *Rīgas jūras līcis* also *Rīgas līcis*, Livonian: *Rīgõ lop*). This large gulf of the Baltic Sea now is bounded by the north coast of modern Latvia and the west coast of Estonia. Seven rivers as the Aunupe or Aunupīte, Bauņupīte (also Latvian: *Beķerupīte*, *Jenčupīte*), Briede (earlier Latvian: *Līdace*), Dūre (also Latvian: *Dūrupe*, *Kalla*, *Kulla*), Ēķīnupe (also Latvian: *Eiķenu upe*, *Ēķene*), Rūja (Estonian: *Ruhja jõgi*, *Ruhijõgi*) and Seda (Estonian: *Sāde* or *Seda jõgi*, German: *Sedde Fluss*) enter this lake. Settlements at confluences of waters were abundant in fish and

waterfowl and provided opportunities for human subsistence – fishing and hunting. The concentration of human settlements around lakes was a peculiar feature of the Mesolithic.

Zvejnieki settlements on Burtnieks lakeshores developed near burial ground, where a double burial made for a period of the 8th–5th millennium BC was similar burials that can be found in Estonia, Finland and Northwest Russia, reaching the middle of the Volga River. Research under the leadership of Candidate of Historical Sciences (1967), historian and archaeologist Francis Zagorskis (1929–1986) was carried out in settlements of Zvejnieki I (Late Neolithic) and Zvejnieki II (Mesolithic) (Zagorska 1971: 64). The population of Zvejnieki settlement II (Latvian: *Zvejnieku apmetne*) can be attributed to the middle of the 8th millennium BC (Zagorska 1978: 90) but it is not possible to accurately determine the beginning of this long-inhabited settlement (Zagorskis 1974: 85). People's daily life was related to fishing. On a small hill in the farmstead's former vegetable garden, archaeologists were looking for distribution limits of this settlement formed along the whole length of the northern slope from the hilltop to swampy meadows. A small depression and a bay of the lake refers to the 5th millennium BC. Archaeological materials obtained in the settlement's central and eastern parts date back to the early Atlantic Climate period (Zagorskis&Zagorska 1976: 97). Also, geologists attribute the end of the lime formation process in the lake to this period (Zagorska 1972b: 107). Items found in this settlement can date from the 7th to 6th millennium BC (Zagorskis&Zagorska 1973: 76). The northeast part of the settlement's periphery can be attributed to the Middle and Late Mesolithic (Zagorskis 1978: 94).

The Middle Mesolithic corresponded to Lake Ancilus or the freshwater stage of the Baltic Sea Basin. In the early Atlantic Climate period, the climate occurred warmer. Tundra plains were overgrown with forest. Flora and fauna changed. Reindeers died or moved further north. Animals lived near water in lowlands. Human life transformed radically. Settlements were changed to improve existential conditions. Still, there were closed groups of families and their leaders that began to establish permanent settlements and obtained food near dwellings. The earliest human settlements were located on Lubāns Plain with its broad surrounding lowland and small rivers. Some settlements existed for several thousand years. An integrated hunter-fisher economy became established in Sūļagals settlement (Latvian: *Sūļagala apmetne*; around 7600 BC–4500 BC) on the right shore of the upper reaches of the Suļka River flowing from Bobra swamp south of the Suļka that enters Lake Lubāns (Loze 1980b: 76). Sūļagals (Latgalian: *Sūļagols*) was an island in a lake at that time. Bogs were formed in overgrown bays of Lubāns about 5000–7000 years ago. The low type swamp White Clans (Latvian: *Baltie klāni*) and Bērzpils, Lagaži–Šnitki, Sala swamps adjoined Lubāns from the north. Sūļagals, Ideņi, Malmuta–Zamari, Lubāns bogs were in its south side. Lake Lubāns clans (Latvian: *Lubāna ezera klāni* or *mitrājs*) became one of the largest wetlands in Europe. Research in about thirty settlements near Lubāns allowed identifying more than nine

different cultures. Sūļagals settlement belongs to the small group of Mesolithic settlements on Lubāns Plain (Loze 1982a: 90).

In the Late Mesolithic, the Baltic Sea Basin corresponded to the stage of its foregoer the Littorina Sea. Its level was about two metres higher than the modern level. Island of *Holme* (in Germanic languages: a small islet) in the Daugava River were formed only after the level of the Littorina Sea (5th–2nd millennium BC) decreased by five metres. The population was related to the first half of the Atlantic Climate period. Fauna diversified in warm climatic conditions. The hunter-fisher-gatherer society reached its apogee. Zvidze settlement at the end of the moraine that now forms a peninsula in low bogs was inhabited for about three thousand years to the 4th millennium BC (Loze 1984: 65). The primary population of Zvidziena settlement (Latvian: *Zvidzienas kroga apmetne*) on the Zvidze River left bank about 300 metres at its source from Lake Zvidze can be attributed to the Middle and Late Mesolithic (Loze 1982b: 91). The Aiviekste tributary of Zvidze flows out of Lake Zvidze and slowly meanders along meadows next to the Aiviekste and flows into it below both lakes of Baltezers. This river serves to drain clans. Aiviekste has established its course in the western part of the East-Latvian Lowland, where it collects water from a large drainage basin with its tributaries. It flows into the Daugava from the right, carrying with it the large amount of water that other rivers discharge into the lake (Tomāss 1937: 67). Initially, the river flows through a rather wide, flat depression near the lake, but later the Aiviekste River Valley narrows considerably. The Aiviekste River Basin is bounded on the east by the Latgale highlands, but on the west by the Central Vidzeme Upland, where the watershed of the basin has also formed. Downstream of the Zvidze, the Aiviekste receives from the right a new tributary of Piestiņa called also Osa (Tomāss 1937: 74). On the right bank of the Piestiņa ancient river bed, Osa settlement near Lubāns ancient water area belongs to the end of the Mesolithic. The population of Osa settlement dates back to the second half of the 5th millennium BC or even a little earlier in the first half of the 5th millennium BC (Zagorskis 1970: 73). Sharpened stakes in pairs for light above-ground huts were driven in the ground of the terrace on the flat river shore (Zagorskis 1984: 113).

The Early Neolithic corresponded to the warmest Post-Glacial period when was the peak period of broadleaf forests. Local flora changed in the area of Latvia. Spruce stands replaced broadleaf forests, and their distribution reached the maximum. Representatives of forest fauna were joined by domesticated animals – cattle, sheep, goats and pigs. People engaged in hunting and fishing and used wild plants. The Early Neolithic was marked by the introduction of pottery-making and witnessed the beginnings of animal husbandry and farming. There were two types of houses. Quadrangular one- and two-room above-ground huts with wicker walls made of stakes dug into the soil and gable roofs of twigs and reeds. A fireplace was in the room. Oval or round structures were sunk into the soil and covered with conical roofs (Loze 1975b: 62–63). The intense population of

Zvidze also Zvidziena settlement on the south coast of Lake Zvidze dates back to 6315 (+60 or –60) and 5440 (+80 or –80) years (Loze 1984: 65). The beginning of the livelihood changing process of Zvidze settlement is documented. It shows the transition from the livelihood strategy of hunters and collectors to farming and the continuity of the population, points to the useful use of the land and reflects the local community's views on the long-term use of the chosen habitation and its suitability to other livelihood strategies (Loze 1982b: 91). The primary population of the Early Neolithic Zvidziena settlement (Loze 1975a: 52) related to the second half of the Atlantic Climate period (Loze 1982b: 92–93).

In Lubāns clans, Iča settlement on the bank of the Iča ancient river bed in its lower reaches near Lake Lubāns existed during the second half of the 5th millennium BC–the 4th millennium BC upstream of the Vējupīte River (also *Vējezers*) estuary into the Iča River, where it had its last bend (Loze 1990: 106). The central part of Iča fisher-craftsmen settlement I was inhabited in the middle and the second half of the 3rd millennium BC. The origins of Zvejsala settlement on the relief elevation of the right bank of the Malta ancient river bed three kilometres from a river that enters Lake Lubāns can be traced back to the first half of 3rd millennium BC. The most intense population coincides with the beginning and middle of the second half of the 3rd millennium BC (Loze 1970: 53). The initial population of Eiņi settlement dates back to 4250–4200 (Loze 2005: 62–64). Malmuta settlement II at the Malmuta (or *Melmane*, Latgalian: *Malmana*, *Malmuna*) River former estuary into Lake Lubāns covers a wide period from the second half of the 3rd millennium BC to the early 1st millennium BC and became the significant Neolithic excavation site in Eastern Latvia (Loze 1964: 11). Materials obtained here belong to the Early, Middle and Late Neolithic (Loze 1970: 53). Course of the Malmuta, one of the largest rivers of Lake Lubāns, is calm, as it begins on a plain and flows through a flat place. The Malmuta flows out of Kņovu Bog. In search of a more favourable bed, the river forms sharp bends and receives several tributaries, mainly from the left, which bring it water from wide bogs and the shallow watershed of the Daugava River and Lake Lubāns (Tomāss 1937: 42). The number of settlements increased due to favourable climatic and environmental conditions. Zvejnieki settlement I on the bank of the Rūja ancient river near its mouth at the eastern end of Lake Burtnieks was densely populated in the second half of the 3rd millennium BC. It became one of the largest human-populated places in Northern Europe (Zagorska 1971: 63). In a common low hollow on the southwest edge of Gulbene mound rampart, Great Lake Virāne and Small Lake Virāne were connected by an intermediate stream that receives water from swampy forests. The Virāne River takes them to the Tirza River.

The Middle Neolithic corresponded to the colder Sub-Boreal Climate period. Fishers stayed all year round on the shores of the ancient sea lagoon and used seasonal dwellings for a shorter period of time only in favourable conditions for hunting and fishing. Oval or round above-ground

huts with conical or domed roofs and rectangular above-ground huts covered by gable roofs were built (Loze 1975b: 63). More than twenty-five Neolithic settlements inhabited around 4500–1500 BC located near mouths or sources of small rivers. In the inland area of Semigallia, swampy forests, mineral-rich springs and bogs were in the vicinity of Lake Zebrus. The Zušumuiža River drain begins on its west shore. It enters the Bērze River, connecting Zebrus and Svēte lakes with Zebrus, Elku and Lūmaiņi bogs to the Lielupe. Lejascīsku settlement was established on 30 metres high steep shores of Lake Zebrus. In the same depression not far to the south, Lake Svēte is separated by Svēte Bog. In the past, two lakes were combined.

The first people arrived in the vicinity of Mazsalaca in the 5th–3rd millennium BC and appeared on Riņņu Hill of Vecate, Kaulēni Hill (Latvian: *Kaulēnkalns*), Zvejnieki. They fished and hunted in the immediate vicinity and further afield but ancient people did not settle here for permanent living. The stone battle-axe dating back to the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC testifies to the carriers of ancient culture in the area of present-day Latvia. The earliest human settlements in Northern Europe on Kaulēni Hill were inhabited from the mid-4th millennium to the mid-2nd millennium BC on the Salaca River right bank and directly opposite on small, solitary Riņņu Hill (Latvian: *Riņņukalns*) called also Krumiši Hill (Latvian: *Kurmišu kalns*) on the Salaca left bank near its source and the Rūja River enters Lake Burtnieks. Riņņi settlement was intensively populated at the beginning and in the mid-2nd millennium BC. A hollow stone below the Salaca water level was an ancient cult site northwest of Riņņu Hill. In the northwestern part of Burtnieks five kilometres from Zvejnieki settlement on the left bank of the Rūja ancient river bed (Zagorskis 1966: 13), the Neolithic settlement in the second half of the 3rd millennium BC may have been in Pantene Bog, where a grove of sacred oaks surrounded a spring flowing from an islet that has been inhabited for a long time. The surface runoff of Pantene spring water is the longest in the Baltics. The once intensively populated Braukši settlement II on the Rūja River shore near Lake Burtnieks was founded. Another Neolithic settlement (4th–2nd millennium BC) was discovered on the bank of the Rūja ancient river bed. Swamping of Lake Lubāns Depression (Latvian: *Lubāna ezera ieplaka*) continued, and entry of population into Lake Lubāns Wetland (Latvian: *Lubāna mitrājs*) can be dated to 2940–2850 BC. New populated places indicate demographic changes. Malmuta settlement I on the left bank of the Malmuta River that begins on the east edge of Blind Bog (Latvian: *Aklais purvs*) can be dated to the mid-3rd millennium BC. Suļka bog settlement at the Suļka River mouth dates back to the middle and the second half of the 3rd millennium BC. In Lubāns Plain, one of the most important rivers Rēzekne meanders between moraine hills in its upper and middle reaches and flows through Lake Kaunata and along the ancient valley. The inflow in the upper part of the river basin is mainly from lakes, and in the lower part – from bogs. Small elevations above surrounding marshy areas on the east shore of Lake Lubāns marked Kvāpāni settlement I on the left bank of the

Rēzekne ancient river and Kvāpāni settlement II on the right bank of the Rēzekne ancient river (Loze 1975c: 56) at its bend. Once in the middle of the peat bog of Lubāns clans, rectangular standing wooden pile-huts were in long-lived Kvāpāni settlement II in lower reaches of the Rēzekne River that enters Lake Lubāns (Loze 1978b: 53). The settlement dates back to the mid-3rd millennium BC, although there were indications of a much earlier (Early Neolithic) and later (Late Neolithic) population (Loze 1980b: 75). A book “*Lubāna mitrāja apdzīvotība akmens laikmetā*” /Population of Lake Lubāns Wetland in the Stone Age/ (2015) written by an archaeologist, Dr. habil. hist. Doctor of Historical Sciences (1972) Ilze Biruta Loze (b. 1936) includes research on Kvāpāni settlement II. Another settlement on Lubāns Lake shores developed north of Ideņi Hill (Loze 1978b: 54) that offers a great view of a lake and across wide Lubāns Plain. Īdeņi fisher settlement called in ancient writings Iudiņi village (Latvian: *Ūdeņu ciems*) developed at the southwestern end of Īdeņi Island, behind which the lowland begins. Ideņi settlement on an elongated elevation in the east of Ideņi Hill had a relatively complex defensive system and evidence of its original population as early as the Middle Neolithic (Loze 1975c: 58). Upesgals settlement (Latvian: *Upesgala līča apmetne*; 3rd millennium BC) on the right bank of the Iča ancient river bed was temporarily inhabited during the Iron Age and together with Zvejsala settlement and both Kvāpāni settlements formed a group of settlements in Lubāns Depression. The population grew, and the location of Kvāpāni settlement II and Suļka settlement on new, strong lowered shorelines near Lake Lubāns and Dzedziekste, Piestiņa, Nainiekste and other settlements in the Aiviekste Grand Waterway system testified for the development of new swampy areas and the integration of inhabitants into new, initially possibly unexplored environment. Before 3760 years, people set up dwellings a few hundred metres from the common estuary of the confluence of the Lagaža and Piestiņa rivers in the Aiviekste on the edge of Lagaža–Šnitki Bog. Piestiņa settlement on the left bank of the Piestiņa ancient riverbed, the left tributary of the Balupe River, dates back from the mid-3rd millennium BC to the first half of the 2nd millennium BC (Zagorskis 1964: 32) and corresponds to the Atlantic Climate period. Piestiņa settlement in the swampy place at a small river bay developed on the west of Osa settlement and more than one kilometre from the Piestiņa enters the Aiviekste River. Thousands of years ago, people lived on banks of the Abaine or Abaiņa River that absorbed waters of Lake Eiņi and flowed through Lake Abains. The population of Nainiekste bog settlement on the Nainiekste River right bank at its enters the Abaine near Lake Nainieks dates from the second half of the 3rd millennium BC to the early 1st millennium BC (Loze 1964: 11). The population of the Middle Neolithic Aora II, Nainiekete, Piestiņa and Suļka settlements appeared in the Early Neolithic. On the left bank of the Aiviekste ancient river bed, the Middle Neolithic Dzedziekste settlement on a small island-type elevation developed in a shallow vicinity of Lake Lubāns. Dzedziekste settlement I on the Aiviekste right bank (Loze 1972: 87) located opposite the

Abaine mouth. Its natural source was in the southern part of White Clans. Proof of this was two ancient settlements on the left bank of the Abaine River, where it enters the Aiviekste, two settlements on the Abora River shores, ancient settlements at the Abaine right tributary of Nainiekste, Lake Eiņi and the Aiviekste small right tributary of Dzedziekste that now located between the Pededze Canal and the Pededze ancient river bed that probably is a meander or one of the regular sinuous curves on the right bank of the Aiviekste ancient river bed or else its bend of the river bed. Līčagals settlement developed on the right bank of the Aiviekste ancient river bed. The Pededze River changed its bed and Dzirnavsaliņa /Mill Islet/ shoal was formed. Dzirnavsala settlement located on the left bank of the Pededze that now is the Pededze ancient river bed, so the Pededze Canal has been excavated much further. The Neolithic settlement was on the left bank of the Aiviekste tributary of Dzedziekste, and other located below the Abaine mouth (Loze 1971: 46). The waterway of Pededze and Aiviekste connects the highest area of Estonia with our largest river Daugava. An extensive water system by adding Lake Lubāns with its inflowing rivers and attached lakes is formed, and in Latvia, it is one of the largest in terms of the number of rivers and lakes and also the richness of water. In the centre of the system is Lake Lubāns, through which the Aiviekste receives most of its upstream waters, except for the Pededze with its tributaries, which flow directly into the Aiviekste (Tomāss 1937: 4).

As water sat, residents moved to lower places. The Middle Neolithic settlement of Asne II was located on the right bank of the Asne or Asnupīte River, one of the three small rivers flowing into the western part of Lake Lubāns. People arranged dwellings in an environment that differs from Zvidze surroundings and practised the same economic regime in new settlements, although they were no longer related to predecessors' ideas of the need to continue inhabiting in a "specially selected place". The acquisition of new territories stabilized the economic regime and expanded human activities. Residents began to graze domesticated livestock and cultivate cereals. Swampy areas were subject to changes in a water level regime, therefore inhabitants of these areas moved several times to bog islands and peninsulas on higher places during certain Neolithic periods. An elevated part of the settlement was in a sandy place but houses closer to the river were in a swampy place. In the second and third quarters of the 3rd millennium BC, the population of Zvidziena settlement corresponds to the end of the Atlantic Climate and the beginning of the Sub-Boreal Climate periods (Loze 1982b: 92). Zvidziena pub settlement reflects the continuous population (Loze 1978a: 52). It is not known how the population was influenced by social aspects, ancestors and events in the past. The social values of this place together with shelter and economic functions were able to ensure population continuity. In the Middle Neolithic, there were coastal settlements in low places, where a peat layer has formed (Osa, Abora II, Dzedziekste, Nainiekste, Piestiņa), on

mineral ground elevations (Abaine II, Kvāpāni I, Kvāpāni II, Malmuta II, Zvejsala, Jašubova, Dzedziekste II, Upesgals), on slopes (Zvidziena) and swamp settlements (Suļka) (Loze 1980a: 72).

A new impulse towards economic development was linked to human migration from the northeast. New culture appeared in the East Baltic starting from 3400 BC. Immigrants had primitive farming and created small settlements. A widely held view is that these tribes were the first Indo-Europeans, ancestors of the later Baltic peoples. In the middle and the second half of the 3rd millennium BC, the Finno-Ugrian peoples, ancestors of the Livs and Estonians, arrived (Apals 1996: 21). A large number of settlements at Great Lake Ludza that was included in the waterway connected with the Mude River Basin (Fig. 1) indicates a dense population. Kreiči settlement on the western slope of gravel Green Hill (Latvian: *Zaļais kalniņš*) inhabited by Finno-Ugric Tribes can be traced back to the second half of the 3rd millennium BC and became a population centre near the Isnauda River enters Great Lake Ludza. A narrow strip along the hillside joined the lake. Probably, houses located on the lakeshore. Newcomers considered ancestors of the Baltic Finns settled near water even next local residents (settlements of Kvāpāni I and Kvāpāni II) and contributed to cultural interaction. Some local people were excluded from traditional settlements. The Neolithic society based on a family was a hunter-fisher community that consisted of blood relatives united by teamwork. Newcomers in the community came through marriage from other families. Settlements were often moved on in search of better hunting and fishing grounds. The water level decreased in Great Lake Ludza, and the main centre of Kreiči settlement on a 12–18 metres wide semicircular strip along the base of a slope stretching into a marshy lowland of the overgrown lake was moved closer to water from the turn of the 3rd and 2nd millennium to the first half of the 2nd millennium BC. The necessity of a stake delimitation in the lower part of the settlement by the end of the first half of the 2nd millennium BC could be explained by the rising water level in the lake. Jurizdika settlement located on a bank promontory of Great Lake Ludza (Graudonis&Urtāns 1961). A small peninsula of an advantageous urban location made by a strip of sand on the opposite northeast shore stretches for more than a kilometre along the northern bank of the Ludza River, ending at Šelupinki.

Natural conditions determined that fishing and hunting was the main job of inhabitants of settlements around Lubāns, and its western shore became one of the most densely populated areas and larger centres in the Eastern Baltic. Lake Lubāns with the Malmuta and Teicija (also Latvian: *Teiča*, *Teiša*, Latgalian: *Teiceja*) rivers from the east and the Aiviekste with its tributary of Īsliene from the west had the most important impact on areas around ancient Barkava, the natural boundary of which was determined by the large Teiči Bog (Latvian: *Teiču purvs*) from the south and by forests on the north. The geographical environment of the Post Ice Age and Lubāns, the largest lake in Eastern Latvia, with its confluences of the Rēzekne, Malta, Malmuta, Lisiņi and other small rivers determined the origin site of Varakļāni as a settlement on the left bank Malmuta River left

tributary of Kažova or Kažava also Kažavka, Kažauka in the upstream that was not permanently inhabited, because inhabitants stayed here irregularly until the beginning of our era. The nearest were settlements of Zvejsala, Suļka, Jašubova un Malmuta estuary, which were located on the southern shore of Lubāns. Later, farming and animal husbandry became the most important job of inhabitants. Populated areas also included lowlands and hills. The typical location of settlements was near lakes. The processing of various materials was expanded in settlements. The ethnicity and language of inhabitants settled around Lubāns are not known, however, the oldest inhabitants were Europeans who came here from the southern and southwestern regions, Central Europe and the southern coastal areas of the Baltic Sea, where Mesolithic culture had much in common with the finds on the shores of Lubāns. Linguistics, especially place-names, could help to explain the ethnicity of the population, however, some similarly sounding place-names can be found both in the vicinity of Lake Lubāns and in Central Europe. The name *Lubāns* (also *Lubahn*, *Luban*, *Lubon*) has one of repeatedly occurs 14th–15th-century toponyms of the Elbe River Basin registered by the German linguist Reinhold Trautmann (1883–1951), but it is not known how old these place names are, as well as the designation of Lake Lubāns (*lacus Lubanus*), which first appeared in historical sources since 1305. Presumably, this name must be much older, because at least in the last four thousand years, since the ancient Baltics can be traced here, the ethnic composition of the population has not changed significantly. The place-name *Lubāns* that can be found in about 14 other places in Latvia is a word of Baltic origin, and is probably even older. The linguist Kārlis Kurcalts (1907–1978) believed that this may refer to the era of the lexical communion of the Indo-European language. This is also evidenced by some other toponyms of the Lake Lubāns Basin, such as Abora, Abaine, Asne, Malta, Piesta.

About fifteen ancient settlements were closely related to local natural conditions on the Daugava River left shore. In the Dviete River Valley, all settlements of the Stone Age were located in the lower, flooded part. It was more densely populated since the Neolithic and inhabited by Finno-Ugric hunter-fisher Tribes in the Middle Neolithic. Munči settlement (Latvian: *Dvietes Munču apmetne*) developed on the Dviete River left shore, where it enters the Daugava. Two hunter-fisher settlements were located on the Dviete River right shore at its source of Lake Dviete. Settlements of Dzenīši and Berezovka on the Dviete River shores probably also were established in the Neolithic. The settlement of Atāli or Putnu sala /Bird Island/ (Latvian: *Atālu* or *Putnu salas apmetne*) was on the Dviete right bank. Evidence of the Middle Neolithic was found in Vecaine settlement on the west shore of Lake Skuķi, near which two hunter-fisher settlements were located. The Neolithic settlement developed on a flat elevation between the lakes of Dviete and Skuķi. Grīva settlement at the Dviete ancient river mouth located on the west shore of Lake Skuķi. Sloboda

settlement at the Viesīte River mouth was established on the left bank of the Dviete ancient river bed.

In the area of present-day Latvia, the early settlements began to form along great lakes and rivers that were used for traffic and trade links in the following centuries. **Aims of paper:** analyzing an impact of the ancient location of population centres and road tracing on the economic growth and local people's well-being today. **Research problem:** today, various territorial development projects are being developed, ignoring the evolution of settlement development and cultural identity, the historically established hierarchy of population centres that was influenced by the economic activities of local people and traffic routes for communication; unsuccessful and ill-considered solutions cause significant damage to the economy. **Methodology:** analysis of archive documents, cartographic materials, published information, photo fixations.

Changes in population structure related to the arrival of the earliest Baltic tribes

Newcomers regarded as ancestors of Baltic peoples were marked by significant dietary changes associated with farming and stock-keeping on highlands and valleys of rivers, where agricultural conditions were favourable. Previously established settlements continued existing during this period, and new ones were established. The Neolithic appeared features of a productive economy – farming and animal husbandry. The arrangement of settlements around lakes and clusters of settlements as centres were determined by the nature of the hunting-gathering economy. Due to the influx of immigrants, the population grew rapidly, while deterioration of the climate led to a fall in the total biomass of natural resources. As newcomers occupied the same ecological niche as aboriginal inhabitants, pressure on the environment increased. The solution to this crisis situation was sought through the introduction of elements of the production economy. The new economic model developed. Hunting and fishing were still of prime importance. Stock-keeping and farming formed a “compensation fund” in the balance of subsistence resources. At the end of the Neolithic Age, the earliest Baltic Tribes engaged in farming appeared in the Dviete River Valley.

Geographical advantage and proximity of fertile land to the river were reasons for 3600 years long continuous and uninterrupted population on the over flood terrace of the Daugava River right bank. Lejasbitēni settlement (3rd millennium BC–1st quarter of the 2nd millennium BC) was a populated site, from which Lejasziedi settlement along the Daugava located in the west. Residents of Lejasbitēni settlement also lived in Lejasziedi settlement in the 2nd and 1st millennium BC. The Selonians lived on the border of the Lithuanian lands and also on the Daugava right and left shores. The settlement of Loxten, Lokesten also Louxten (Latvian: *Lokstene*, *Lokstiņa*) on a promontory was built near the Lokstiņa or Lokstene River estuary in the Daugava and has been inhabited since the 3rd century BC. The first inhabitants settled on a dolomite cliff with steep slopes at a time when the establishment of the original community began to collapse and the wealthiest families emerged

in society. The population was engaged in farming and animal husbandry. At this time, log dwellings and craftsmen workshops of ancient Loxten was fortified by a stone wall. Loxten settlement was separated by a moat and a rampart in the northwest side.

In Lubāns Depression, Asne settlement I was inhabited several times. The early development of the settlement dates back to the mid-3rd millennium BC. The Late Neolithic settlement on the slightly elevated Asnupīte River left shore located in new, strong lowered shorelines near its mouth in Lake Lubāns opposite the “abyss” formed by the bog that could not be surprised. People caught fish and hunted waterbirds in one of the deepest places of the ancient Lubāns water area between the river mouth and the low island of Akmeņsala /Stone Island/. Rough Shoal (Latvian: *Bargais sēklis*) was located behind Middle Shoal (Latvian: *Vidsēklis*) at the southern end of the lake. The Great Pelečāre Bog expanded between White Clans in the Zvidze River Basin, Lake Eiņi, forests and settlements of Smaudži by semicircular wooden pole-construction huts. In the uplift of Lubāns Plain, Abora settlement I (3rd millennium BC–second quarter of the 2nd millennium BC) on a hill above surrounding marshes on the right bank of the Aiviekste ancient river bed near its connection with the Abaine ancient river bed and Abora settlement II on the bank of a small bog river of Abora at its enter the ancient Aiviekste tributary of Abaine was inhabited from the 3rd millennium BC to the first quarter of the 2nd millennium BC and named after the Abora or Aboia River, the short tributary of the Abaine lower reaches. Poles and stakes used as piles to expand the living space were not laid out in a planned manner and indicated an intense population of Abora settlement I that represented the Late Neolithic culture in the middle part of the East Baltic region and continued for a long time until the early 1st millennium BC (Loze 1964: 11). The complicated situation of the Aiviekste ancient river bed (small and narrow Abora River today) formed at the level of 88.5 metres above sea level and the location of Abora settlement I on a slope were discovered during paleogeographic field works. The data 3870 ±70–3770 ±60 BC belongs to the regression time of Lake Lubāns when the water level lowered to 89.5–90 metres (Loze 1971: 46). Ancient residents lived not only on the uplift but also on the coastal slope because the settlement area was divided into two zones. The central populated area covered most of the settlement. Typical pile-dwelling for the intense population at the top of a slope dates back to 2780/2620–2680/2470 BC. The Late Neolithic and Early Bronze Age Abaine settlement I on the Abaine River left shore at the Aiviekste River mouth were included in the tributary system of the Aiviekste left shore. Iča settlement dates back to the last quarter of the 3rd millennium BC–the first quarter of the 2nd millennium BC but the Early Bronze Age population dates back to the second quarter of the 2nd millennium BC (Loze 1990: 109). A small population of Zvejsala settlement can be traced back to the Late Neolithic and Bronze Ages, as well as the Iron Age (Loze 1970: 53). In Lubāns Depression, Eiņi bog settlement along the right bank of the Aiviekste left tributary of ancient Abaine River and its new bed north of

Lake Eiņi and west of the Zvidze River located far from relatively high shorelines of Lubāns ancient water area and became one of the main Late Neolithic populated places that correspond to height marks of the Mesolithic and Early Neolithic settlements (Smaudži). The population cycle depended on fluctuations of Lubāns. Probably, the population of Eiņi settlement corresponds to 2500–2350 BC that can be attributed to the first half of the 2nd millennium BC (Loze 1968: 62) was stopped before the water level of Lake Lubāns rose catastrophically that is recorded in Abora settlement I (Loze 2005: 62–64). In Lubāns Plain, Lagaža settlement (Loze 1969: 41) dated to the second and third quarters of the 2nd millennium BC was created at the confluence of the small Lagaža River and the Balupe River tributary called Section (Latvian: *Posms*) more than a hundred metres from their common estuary in the Aiviekste. Rows of poles and stakes dug into the mainland marked contours of one- or two-room houses. The northwest-southeast and northeast-southwest oriented rectangular wooden houses help to follow the evolution of ancient housing and to reconstruct a layout of the settlement, where ritual activities took place. The construction of Zvidziena pub settlement in its last development stage was influenced by the Late Neolithic culture (Loze 1974: 41). Poles driven vertically into the ground were arranged in two rows for rectangular one-, two- or three-room houses that had extensions or porches. A massive middle beam supported the gable roof. Quadrangular houses of stakes or logs must be considered the main building type. Round or oval houses covered by conical roofs were incomparably less common (Loze 1975b: 63–64). Cultural carriers that archaeologists consider unanimously to be Indo-European Tribes who came into contact with Baltic Finnish Tribes already living here before only in the Late Neolithic since the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC reached the shores of Lubāns.

In Pāvilosta near the Saka River on the Baltic coast of Western Courland, archaeologist Pēteris Stepiņš (1914–1999) acquired objects dating back to the 3rd–2nd millennium BC during a test excavation. Inhabitants from the southwest entered the Baltics in the early 2nd millennium BC, and their culture spread along the sea in Courland. Archaeologists believe that animal husbandry and farming was introduced with the emergence of this ancient Baltic culture. In uncovered ancient houses of the Sārnate bog settlement, many wooden objects were obtained during excavations. It is believed that ancient inhabitants of the European continent were cultural carriers of finds in Sārnate settlement, according to its arrangement on the ancient lakeshore near the sea can also judge the lifestyle of other inhabitants on the seashore near Courland in the Middle Neolithic Age when people were hunting animals and fishing for their livelihood. About five thousand years ago, people had settled in a hollow, where fishermen and hunters established Siliņupe settlement (3rd–2nd millennium BC). Later, as the water level rose, the settlement became swampy and was abandoned. The level of the Baltic Sea gradually stabilized only at the end of the Neolithic and the beginning of the Bronze Age when around the 2nd millennium BC, the shoreline took on the

appearance it still has today. During this time, the Riga River could have formed. In its vicinity as throughout the rest area of present-day Latvia, ancestors of the Balts came from the south at the beginning of the 2nd millennium BC.

In the Late Neolithic, due to climatic conditions and water-level lowering in ancient lakes, residents moved their dwellings closer to lakeshores from the late 3rd millennium to the mid-2nd millennium BC (Vankina 1959: 11). Already in the Stone and Bronze Ages, people lived by Lake Usma. Nothing is known about the way of life and culture of ancient inhabitants on its western lakeshore around the Engure River. Beautiful banks of the Abava River and its tributaries in ancient valleys have attracted the attention of people. Presumably, soon after the glacier retreated to the north, the first inhabitants came to live here. In Northern Courland, evidence of the Mesolithic has been found only in the vicinity of the Lower Winda (Latvian: *Venta*) and Užava rivers. A short distance from these sites to Matkule, whose Finno-Ugric name (Livonian: *matt* /to bury/ + *kūla* /village/) indicates thousands of years of Finno-Ugric residence here, suggests that the Abava River middle reaches was also the area of activity of Stone Age hunters and fishermen. In the Abava River Ancient Valley near Tojāti, finds that dates back to the 2nd millennium BC belonged to culture represented by our distant ancestors of Baltic Tribes. Stone battle axes that were characteristic of this culture and had a very wide range of distribution in Eastern Europe was found in the vicinity of Kandava and Stende. Professor at the University of Königsberg Max Ebert (1879–1929) excavated prehistoric tombs in Matkule Tojāti. On about 500 metres long strip of the Abava River Valley, he discovered a settlement of ancestors of Baltic peoples on the Tojāti River left shore in the southeast of the modern town of Sabile (German: *Zabeln*). Flint items and antiquities that were found in Tojāti settlement inhabited from the first half of the 2nd millennium BC until the mid-2nd millennium BC show that ancestors of Baltic Tribes had come to live permanently on the Abava banks and engaged in animal husbandry, knew primitive farming and differed from Finno-Ugric inhabitants who were mainly hunters and fishermen. In the Abava River middle reaches, Baltic and Finno-Ugric Tribes lived side by side for more than 3000 years and formed an ethnically mixed area but stone axes found in many sites as Tojāti, Briņķi, Pavasari, Dziras, Grīnupi and elsewhere on banks of the Abava and its tributaries create confusion. Since the Late Neolithic, people have lived at the western foot of Imbare Hill in the Salanta River Valley. Ancient Baltic battle axes that were found the upstream of the Durbe and Tebra rivers may have been found also in the vicinity of the Saka River. Individual finds of bronze axes dating back to the 1st millennium BC were obtained in the Durbe River near Cīrava and Laža hillforts. The origin of this culture can be found in Central Europe, in areas of the Elbe and Oder rivers' basins, from where our distant ancestors entered the Baltics. Staying in their homeland, Baltic Tribes had close contacts with their southern neighbours, the Thracians (Latin: *Thraci*). Archaeology shows that the Slavs had the most intensive cultural

contacts with West Baltic Tribes and little with the Germans and southern neighbours in the 5th–2nd century BC. A very large region of Eastern Europe from the Lower Vistula and the Southeastern coast of the Baltic Sea to the Oka upstream and the Dnieper forest-steppe (Latvian: *Piedņepras meža stepe*) was already inhabited by Baltic Tribes in the 1st millennium BC. Archaeological and dialectological data show that the Balts had differentiated into three major groups at this time: the western group (East Prussian culture that was widespread between the Nemunas and the Vistula), the central group (a culture that was widespread in the territory of Lithuania, Latvia and Belarus) and the Dnieper group (Dnieper-Daugava Culture, Yuhnova Culture and the Upper Oka Culture). Finno-Ugric Tribes were the neighbours of Baltic Tribes, but in the south, they had close contact with the tribes in the Dnieper region. Regional differences levelled off at the beginning of the 1st millennium BC and the Slavs began to form as a separate Indo-European ethnolinguistic unit. The Slavic language as one of the Indo-European languages was formed, as Peripheral Western Baltic dialect interacted with tribes spoken in one of the dialects of the ancient European linguistic community. Due to the participation of the Western Balts, the Slavic language was close to the Baltic languages but did not cover all the Baltic languages. Lithuanian linguist Vytautas Juozapas Mažiulis (1926–2009) believed that relations between the Balts and the Slavs mainly concerned a time when the common Baltic language had already been differentiated into dialect groups. In terms of language, the Slavs mainly approached the Western Balts (Sedovs 1977: 34–36). Newcomers regarded as ancestors of Baltic peoples who were marked by significant dietary changes associated with farming and stock-keeping arrived on highlands and valleys of rivers, where agricultural conditions were favourable. Previously established settlements continued existing during this period, and new ones were established.

The Early Bronze Age witnessed the transition from an economy based on food procurement to one based on food production. Stock-keeping and farming became increasingly important. In the mid-2nd millennium BC, the dry and relatively warm Sub-Boreal Climate was replaced by the cooler and wetter Sub-Atlantic Climate. Deterioration of climate adversely affected the growth of wildlife, bird and fish populations and narrowed livelihoods of hunter-fisher communities. Crop cultivation and keeping of domestic animals gained importance. Radical changes took place in human life at the turn of the 2nd and 1st millennium BC. Animal husbandry became the main sector of the economy. Trade-in goods expanded and became regular. Due to the introduction of the production economy, the cult of the Sun, Moon, fertility, ancestors became much stronger. The transition to patriarchy was completed in society. It was connected with the expansion of the concept of property and introduced the disintegration of the genus community. Patriarchal tribes became organized economic units that were more tightly closed and managed wealth – new means of production and livestock. Relationships of subordination developed in society. Military clashes intensified between

male-led communities (Graudonis 1960: 9). The last development stage of the Kreiči settlement dates back to the second half of the 2nd millennium BC and the mid-1st millennium BC (Zagorskis 1959: 8). There was the influence of the Balts at the end of settlement's existence, and hunter-fisher communities were familiar with animal husbandry and farming. The water level rose in Great Lake Ludza. The swampy part of the settlement overflowed. It was the reason for its abandonment. People moved higher up the hill. The temporary settlement was created (Zagorskis 1960: 12).

Wet, marshy soils on relatively densely populated lakeshores were not suitable for agricultural development. Positions of settlements changed as the use of intensively populated ecological zones reduced sharply or even stopped. Many hunter-fisher settlements on lakeshores were abandoned in the middle and the second half of the 2nd millennium BC. Iča settlement II on the Iča River shores developed in the vicinity of Lake Lubāns. The Aiviekste right tributary of Iča that carries water from a wide area begins in the northern part of the Latgale highlands and makes in its course a large bend to overflow the highest places. Iča has a very rich network of tributaries, especially in the lower reaches. At the end of the river flow, smaller bog lakes near the river are in low Lubāns clans (Tomāss 1937: 73). On the right bank of the 60–70 metres wide Aiviekste, the population of Abora settlement I on a small island-like elevation in the depression (lake-bog lowland) developed in the Early Bronze Age. Zvidziena pub settlement had a temporary population (Loze 1976: 68). Population density decreased on Lubāns Plain. It can be regarded as a separate region with unique physical geographic conditions in marshy lowlands. New areas more suitable for animal husbandry and farming began to acquire. The population expanded outside the lowland. High spots in terrains and raised-relief areas in valleys of large rivers appeared. Unfortunately, dwelling places may not have been inhabited for a long time. These residents are almost unknown, so there are no data on economic activities. Little rural settlements were often displaced, so no significant evidence was left. The new situation was characterized by small open settlements with the almost complete absence of hillforts as centres. On the plain, it was reflected in Brikuļi fortified settlement dates back to the second half of the Bronze Age. The relief elevation bounded by steep slopes on three sides at the southwestern end of Ideņi Hill near surrounding bogs at the southeastern lakeshore became natural obstacles for the enemy in the event of an attack. Open and flat east and south slopes that were weak points for easier overcome determined the defensive system of the Brikuļi settlement. Initially, people lived in a depression on a hill protected from prevailing winds. Later they inhabited the rest area as well (Loze&Vasks 1974: 48, 50). The settlement on the east, south and partly the west sides was bounded by ditches. Fortifications created by palisades (Vasks 1994: 113) formed two lines at the edges of the plateau. Sunken elongated or round huts dug into the soil and above-ground rectangular pole-construction houses were placed very densely inside near palisades. Recessed parts of huts had a round, oval or irregular layout. Houses were oriented along

the northwestern slope (Vasks 1975: 94). The fortified settlement originated in the mid-1st millennium BC was inhabited until the end of the 1st millennium AD (Vasks 1978: 84, 86). Materials dating back to the first half of the 1st millennium AD have not been obtained. The question of population continuity remains open (Vasks 1980: 112).

As management became more diverse, some areas were no longer disadvantaged for livestock and farming, therefore, people were looking for new living sites. Territorial population changed. At the end of the 2nd millennium BC, hillforts began to appear in the territory of Western Latvia. On a steep land protrusion of the Winda River left shore, the scholar relied on such a Baltic-Germanic linguist August Johann Gottfried Bielenstein (1826–1907), and discovered and first described Belte Hill of Padure bounded on the north by a deep ravine of the Kukupīte River and on the southside by a deep ravine with a bog. Professor Andrejs Vasks led the archaeological research of Belte Hill. A sample taken from the charcoal of the hearth dates from 1260 to 930 BC. Material obtained from an excavation at this hillfort confirmed the presence of the Balto-Finnic peoples. An initial population distinguished three stages, so not all the time of a population belonged to one of the ancient *Baltic tribes* of the Cours or Curonians (Curonian: *Korsi*; Old Norse: *Kúrir*; German: *Kuren*; Latvian: *kurši*; Russian: *кypшuu*; Old East Slavic: *кърсць*; Lithuanian: *kuršiai*; Estonian: *kuralased*; Polish: *Kurowie*). Archaeologist Mugerēvičs, who conducted research in the Lower Winda area, concluded that on Pabērzkalns Hillfort, the fortification on a narrow plateau bounded by two parallel natural ramparts was probably created under Swedish influence. Later it was raised and strengthened by pole structures. To the south, the Scandinavians were temporarily found in the settlement of Priednieki. Under the leadership of Professor Vasks, an archaeological excavation of a gravel hill was carried out and three population periods were established: discovered evidence from the 8th–6th millennium BC of the Mesolithic Age and sites associated with settlement population from the 1st millennium BC of the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age. There was no break in the population between the Early Iron Age and subsequent periods of the Iron Age. In the Bronze Age, the oldest population was localized in the southern part of the settlement, but later – in the northern part of the settlement.

A view of the Daugava River Ancient Valley and the Highland (Latvian: *Augšzeme*) opens from a gravel hill, one of the smallest hillfort dating back to the end of the 2nd millennium BC and the 1st millennium BC. In the mid-1st millennium BC on high, steep banks at the confluence of two rivers, also beside shoals and at large rivers estuaries or lakes on farmlands close to game-rich forests began to create hillforts, which became too narrow, as the population increased. At the end of the 1st millennium BC, craftsmen and tradesmen began to install urban settlements adapted to the relief close to marketplaces at road junctions next to shallow fords, where rivers or streams may be crossed and there were no hillforts. In addition, they turned to agriculture and fishing. Rural

settlements were set up at waters in newly developed areas on dry land suitable for farming. A wooden fence and a ditch surrounded groups of timber structures.

The number of open settlements in the Daugava River Basin grew. The use of improved farming techniques in soil tillage and animal husbandry enabled the maintenance of sufficient economic potential in small economic units. This may be explained by a smaller degree of hierarchical division, which stimulated the formation of a new aristocratic social stratum and led to military conflicts precipitated by the influx of new groups of the Eastern Balts. A hierarchy of settlements was formed. There was a differentiation among occupation sites. Early hillforts were built to exploit a rise in elevation for defensive advantage. Fortifications follow the contours of a hill and consists of lines of earthworks with defensive walls and external ditches. Fortified dwellings on hillforts as centres of power appeared along with previously distributed open-type rural settlements. Assessing the nature of fortresses on hillforts, it can be concluded that there were areas with higher social complexity and those where it was lower. Patriarchal communities lived there in the 1st millennium BC. The transition to a production economy was complete by the middle of the Bronze Age. The dominant position of stock-keeping and farming in the economy increased the carrying capacity of the environment, population size and density. The new economic model could produce food surplus and accumulation in excess of subsistence requirements. The way was open for the unequal development of society. Economically successful communities became prominent. Fortified places on hillforts appeared alongside open settlements.

In the 1st millennium BC, Baltic Tribes already inhabited a very large region of Eastern Europe from the Lower Vistula and the Southeastern coast of the Baltic Sea to the Oka upstream and the Dnieper forest-steppe (Latvian: *Piedņepras meža stepe*). Archaeological and dialectological data show that at this time the Balts had differentiated into three major groups: the western group (East Prussian culture that was widespread between the Nemunas and the Vistula), the central group (a culture that was widespread in the territory of Lithuania, Latvia and Belarus) and the Dnieper group (Dnieper-Daugava Culture, Yuhnova Culture and the Upper Oka Culture). Finno-Ugric Tribes were the neighbours of Baltic Tribes, but in the south, they had close contact with the tribes in the Dnieper region (Sedovs 1977: 34–35). Regional differences levelled off at the beginning of the 1st millennium BC and the Slavs began to form as a separate Indo-European ethnolinguistic unit. The Slavic language as one of the Indo-European languages was formed, as Peripheral Western Baltic dialect interacted with tribes spoken in one of the dialects of the ancient European linguistic community. Due to the participation of the Western Balts, the Slavic language was close to the Baltic languages but did not cover all the Baltic languages. Lithuanian linguist Vytautas Juozapas Mažiulis (1926–2009) believed that relations between the Balts and the Slavs mainly concerned a time when the common Baltic language had already been differentiated into dialect groups. In terms

of language, the Slavs mainly approached the Western Balts. Archaeology shows that the Slavs had the most intensive cultural contacts in the 5th–2nd century BC with West Baltic Tribes, but with the Germans and southern neighbours there was little (Sedovs 1977: 36).

Since the 2nd millennium BC, members of different minority ethnic groups arrived on Dole Island in the Lower Daugava area. Earlier fortifications of poles were built for the settlement on its north and west sides (Graudonis 1968a: 21). The earliest population refers to the 1st millennium BC opposite the Rauši settlement (Daiga 1972: 61) that developed on the upper part of Dole in the 2nd and 1st millennium BC. The top of Dole Island was inhabited for a long time (Šnore 1970: 67). In Vecdole, the earliest population was temporary in the 1st millennium BC (Atgāzis 1968: 49) when a settlement existed for a short time on the northeast side of Dole Island opposite the top of the shoal (Latvian: *Ķērsēklis* or *Šķērsēklis*). The choice of location was determined by the important site at shoals of the Daugava. Rapids above Rumbula or Rumbule were a difficult place to navigate (Atgāzis 1967: 22). People operated west of the high riverbank cape on the Daugava left shore, where living conditions as good meadows, fertile soil, microclimate, fishing places were very favourable. Daugmale settlement by the Varžupīte River enters existed since the second half of the 2nd millennium BC (Urtāns 1967: 79) when ancient inhabitants came (Urtāns 1970: 68).

On the Daugava right shore, four fortified settlements had already formed from the 2nd to the 1st millennium BC. Altiena (Latvian: *Altene*) surroundings were inhabited at this time. There was a fortified dwelling place before the construction of the German stone fortress in Altiena. In a convenient place on the steep northern slope terrace of Monks' Hill (Latvian: *Kokneses Mūkukalns*; abandoned in the 10th century) below the Pērse River estuary, the oldest population began in the first half of the 1st millennium BC. No special earthworks were carried out for defence on the twelve-metres-high limestone ridge. The fortification with the entrance at the narrow end of the flat-topped hillfort was protected by three moats and ramparts on a high limestone in a convenient location. The long plateau was surrounded around the perimeter by a double row fence of pillars with a braid of twigs, which later was replaced by a palisade on a steep earth wall strengthened with stones. Standing timber buildings (Latvian: *stāvkoku būves*) approached the inner edge of the palisade. Academician Harry Moora (1900–1968) attributed this dwelling place to a group of fortified settlements. Hunting dominated on the farm. Animal husbandry, fishing and farming were also important. At the beginning of the most recent period of the population, people moved to live on the edge of a plateau that rises 36 metres above the level of the Daugava. The northern slope was made steeper, and a strong wall along the slope was built. The terrace expanded at the bottom of the depression was strengthened by wooden defensive structures. Human life was most intense in the second half of the 1st millennium BC and the beginning of our era when fortifications were built along the beginning of the hillslope. There were wide ditches. A rampart from sand taken at the foot

was made in two ways. Stones were laid and stakes were driven to contain the rampart for oak log protection structures above it. In the final stage of the Monks' Hill population, a large pile of stones along the northern and northeastern edges enclosed the whole inhabited plateau. Rectangular pole-construction houses were used for dwellings with stone fireplaces (AIM 1961: 3–4). Lack of materials does not allow to determine the ethnic affiliation of Monks' Hill residents. Probably, they were the Balts, whose main source of livelihood was animal husbandry. Livestock farming became dominant by the late 1st millennium BC but fishing and hunting also played an economic role. They gathered natural products. The population on Monks' Hill ended in the mid-1st millennium AD. Later this hill was used as a hiding place or was inhabited temporarily (Graudonis 1963: 9). On the Daugava River ancient bank, the north-west-southeast-oriented Wine Hill of Stukmaņi (Latvian: *Stukmaņu Vīnakalns*) has been inhabited since the 1st millennium BC, and it seems that the first people settled here. People began to inhabit a narrow strip of land with steep slopes at estuaries of the Ogre and Urga rivers on the Daugava right shore and created a small fortified settlement (the 1st millennium BC–the beginning of our era) on *elevated relief of* Ķente Hill. A lake located on the west side. Later, the hill became a hiding place (2nd–5th centuries AD). Since the 2nd century BC, the Daugava has become one of the most important traffic routes leading to the Volga and the Dnieper and an artery promoting intercultural contact and economic development.

Functional diversity of populated places due to the complex nature of farming

At the beginning of the Late Bronze Age, livestock and farming began to gain more importance and played a major role while hunting and fishing were ancillary industries. The population was mainly engaged in agriculture. The farm had a complex character, and wet soils on densely populated lakeshores were not suitable for farming. In the Bronze Age, a new culture emerged in the interaction between ancient Baltic Finnish and Baltic traditions that played an important role in the final formation of Baltic Tribes living on the shores of Lake Lubāns. The Aiviekste River bed clogging caused lakeshore flooding and swamping, and the water level of Lake Lubāns rose and reached its maximum in the second half of the Sub-Boreal Climate period, so the size of Lubāns Plain and flood-protected areas decreased sharply. Due to economic, ecological and social changes, Lubāns Plain began to lose the status of a densely populated area (Loze 1969: 41). In Lubāns Depression, the secondary population of Zvejsala settlement and Malmuta settlement I date back to the 1st millennium BC and the 1st millennium AD, Kvāpāni settlement II was resettled temporarily and Kvāpāni settlement III on the left bank of the Rēzekne River runoff of Sausne was seasonal (Loze 1977: 46). Inhabitants of the lowland began to leave overflowing settlements and gradually moved their homes from lakeshores to higher hills, where established new settlements in the 1st millennium BC. These were fortified settlements or hillforts. The Late Bronze Age population was on hillforts of Pļuskova (also Pleskava, inhabited from the 1st to the 12th century)

and Aizkārkle (also Bozēni or Lisiņa, inhabited until the 9th–12th centuries) on the Lisiņa (Latvian: *Lisna*, *Lisena*, Latgalian: *Lisine*) left shore also in its upstream of the Nadziņa River that starts from three branches in Teiči Bog. Lake Lisiņš is the source of the middle of them. The Lisiņa ancient river of Veclisiņa enters Lake Lubāns. Life also continued in open settlements or villages. Jersika unfortified settlement (Turlajs 2012: 172) between deep ravines of two rivers on the Daugava right shore was inhabited from the 1st millennium BC (Graudonis&Urtāns 1961). In the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age, hillforts as a type of earthworks for fortified refuges or defended settlements were created in Central and Western Europe until the Roman conquest. Hillforts were used also in the post-Roman period. In the Latgale highlands, several groups of hillforts can be recognized (Vasks 1994).

Probably, the Bronze Age settlement on the peninsula nearby the Rēzekne River left tributary of Malta east of Lake Rušons (Latgalian: *Rušonys azars*) lasted for about 1000 years. People lived also in the western part of Lake Rušons. The Rēzekne River, which source to the east of Lake Rāzna is found in a wide and flat depression in the middle of the Latgale highlands, connects large lakes of Lubāns and Rāzna and is the largest tributary of Lubāns. The Malta River begins in an area rich in hills and lakes in the middle of the Latgale highlands south of Lake Rāzna and is the second-longest tributary of Lake Lubāns. Its left tributary Balda begins a little further south and can be considered the second source of the Malta River (Tomāss 1937: 38, 41). On a long relief elevation between the bog and the wet meadow adjacent to the lake, stones placed in a semicircle testified to Kristapiņi unfortified settlement (Briede 1982: 54) inhabited from the late 1st millennium BC to the mid-1st millennium AD (Briede 1980: 29). Unfortified settlements inhabited for a long time should be considered as rural villages. In the southeastern part of the elevation in Kristapiņi burial ground established (Briede 1978: 20) instead of a settlement inhabited in the late 1st millennium BC—the beginning of our era, the Latgalians were buried from the 7th–8th to the 12th–13th centuries (Kuniga 1988: 92). An ancient settlement was also on a promontory that reaches the lake. Kurtosha or Rušons Hillfort (Latvian: *Kurtoša* or *Rušona pilskalns*) rises less than one kilometre north of Lake Rušons. Lakeshores include Upursala /Victim Island/ or Lielā sala /Big Island/ inhabited in the late 1st millennium BC—the beginning of our era. Upursala is closer to the northern lakeshore, where is a cove. Upurakmens /Sacrificial Stone/ for a place of worship (Urtāns 1982: 133) located at the highest point in the central part of the island used by inhabitants of Kristapiņi settlement, Rušons Hillfort and residents of small Liepa /Linden tree/ Island between Upursala and burial ground.

People also lived on lakeshores directly near the water. As the lake level rised, they settled in larger areas to develop farming. Open settlements were types of residence in the following centuries. Zvirgzdene Kivti unfortified settlement on about four metres high hill named Big Apariņš (Turlajs 2012: 136) developed on the northern shore of Lake Cirma in the 1st millennium BC (Šnore

1959: 23). In the late 1st millennium BC, settlements were created in the driest, highest places on banks of rivers or lakes. The settlement in a terraced depression on a ten-metres-high hill on the Eša (also Latvian: *Ežezers*, *Jēša* or *Ješa ezers*, *Ješezers*, *Eža ezers*) lakeshores existed for a long time dates back to the time before our era and was used intermittently until about the 10th century AD. A small terrace between the hill and the lake was inhabited as well (Cimermane 1968: 56). Strautmaļi settlement was located in a very flat place on the high bank of the Daugava River. On the northeast shore of Lake Pakalnis (also Latvian: *Pakalņa*, *Pakalniņu* or *Pikalnes ezers*), the Balts established stand-alone round Gūtiņi or Gūteņi Hillfort. The triangular plateau by rounded corners inhabited from the late 1st millennium BC to the mid-1st millennium AD was encircled by circular fortifications. Small one- or two-room above-ground or sunken pole-construction rectangular wooden houses were built on the edges of the plateau. The yard was left undeveloped (Radiņš 1980: 85).

Population structure changed. The use of intensively populated ecological zones decreased significantly or even ceased. New areas more suitable for husbandry and farming on moraines and ancient river valleys began to develop. Farming was extensive in nature, so after a year or two, it was necessary to set up a new field and leave the old one to pasture. Techniques for maintaining land fertility were improved. In the early 1st millennium BC, the Baltic community began to inhabit a southeast-northwest-oriented flat depression on a twenty-metres-high Madalāni Hill on the west shore of Lake Great Dubuļi. Fishing and hunting were important for people who lived here for many centuries (Urtāns 1988: 142). In the 1st millennium BC, the oldest fortification of a horizontal log defensive wall supported on both sides by poles or stakes was built three metres from the edge of the current hillfort (not depression). The oldest plateau was 2–3 metres narrower than it was in the 13th century (Urtāns 1982: 127). Rural settlements became more stable, so they could be inhabited for a long time. Such was the Plāteri settlement inhabited in the 1st millennium BC and other near good fishing areas and the significant traffic artery of Daugava. The main population stage of Kerkūzi settlement began in the late 1st millennium BC. Sunken huts and above-ground pole-construction and log houses on the upper floodplain was bounded in the east by the edge of a floodplain terrace, in the west by a steep slope and in the south by a ravine of the Šaltepka River that enters the Daugava on its left shore. The relief turned into a flat field in the north. The earliest population was not intense (Vasks 1988: 145–146). The Baltic Finns' influence on the Balts was indicated (Atgāzis 1976: 24) in Jaunlīve settlement on a relief elevation of the Daugava left shore that was not subject to flooding and has been inhabited since the 1st millennium BC (Atgāzis 1972: 46). South of Daugmale settlement in the 1st millennium BC and the first centuries in our era, people used a round plateau of Sakaiņi Hillfort fortified by two terraces (Urtāns 1970: 68).

The importance of hillforts increased, economic activities developed in their vicinity and outer sections were created. Since the 1st millennium BC, people had come to live on Naujine (Latvian: *Naujene*, also *Vecpils*) Hillfort at the river bend in a hard-to-reach place between two ravines on the steep right bank of the Daugava River Valley in the long-populated vicinity, where a flat area without large rivers and lakes meets two magnificent Daugava arches. On the Daugava right shore, Asote (Latin: *Aszute*, Latgalian: *Osota*) Hill by ten-metres-high slopes at the end of the moraine plateau have been inhabited since the 1st millennium BC. The fortified living site opened view on the Daugava River Valley, Ābeļu Island and Dignāja forests were overflowed from the north, east and south sides by the Aiviekste tributary of Asote (also Latvian: *Lagzde*, *Lazdupīte*, now *Dārzupīte*). A rampart was formed on the shallow northwestern edge. An elongated plateau of heavily fortified Dignāja Hillfort (Turlajs 2012: 172) in the southern part of a bigger hill at the Skujupīte River enters the Daugava was most densely populated in the second half of the 1st millennium BC.

On the Daugava right bank in its lower reaches, people began to live in a fortified settlement on Spoliši Hill (Latvian: *Spoliškalns* or *Mūkukalns*) installed in the early 1st millennium BC. A fortified short-term living site coexisted face to face Daugmale settlement in the late 1st millennium BC. The early population of the fortified settlement on Wine Hill (Latvian: *Vīnakalns*) delimited by the Daugava River Valley on the south side and the ancient bed of a smaller river at the eastern foot was met on the northern slope of the hill, as on Spoliši and Asote hills. During later reconstructions, a ditch related to the fortification system of the settlement was excavated on the less modified west side of the depression. Probably, later fortifications of poles were built around Wine Hill, similarly to earlier fortresses of settlements on Spoliši and Ķivuti hills. Later, people inhabited the quadrangular plateau surrounded by wide fortifications that were formed by a great sand rampart to expand the plateau and to make steeper hillslopes. In the north, both sides of entrances built through fortifications were strengthened with large stacks of stones. The plateau had not been built up for a long time. Later, quadrangular houses of poles were built. Entrances to buildings led from the side of the courtyard. Residents of Wine Hill involved in exchange activities, engaged in animal husbandry, farming, hunting, fishing, gathering wild products, processed in small quantities imported bronze. The fortified settlement inhabited by the Baltic community existed in the middle and the second half of the 1st millennium BC (Graudonis 1968b: 59). On a hill formed by a deep ravine of two converging streams, naturally well-protected 17-metres-high Kalnaziedi Hillfort was created on the Daugava right shore. Flower Stream was the largest. It flowed around the northeastern edge and the southern end of the hillfort, whose edges on three sides were made steeper. A simple protection system was created using elementary techniques. Houses were placed

densely along the perimeter of the rounded square plateau inhabited from the late 1st millennium BC to the beginning of our era (Stubavs&Jefimova 1982: 114).

Evidence regarding the economic situation and social relations in the Daugava River Basin points to the existence of low-level chiefdoms. The concentration of significant material resources and manpower at certain times and places, the dominance of a production economy, an increase in the population amount and density, the formation of more distinct boundaries between separate regions, territorial conflicts, exchange contacts associated with bronze and metal-working activities promoted hillforts as the main centres of redistribution point to the existence of a hierarchical society. However, this socioeconomic system was based on a very shaky foundation, consisting of a balanced stock-keeping – farming economy. The decrease in the combined production of stock-keeping and farming also led to a decline in exchange activity. The manufacture of iron objects was no longer dependent on hard-to-obtain imported raw materials so that the monopoly situation of large centres was adversely affected.

The changing situation was illustrated by the fact that occupation terminated at hillforts such as Ķivuti, Wine and Kļauģi hills along the Lower Daugava in the late 1st millennium BC and the early 1st millennium AD. An open settlement was created next to fortified Kļauģi Hill protected by a wall built of unloading stones and then filling the ground (Graudonis&Urtāns 1961). Strautnieki settlement of Ķekava on the Dry Daugava shore northeast of Kļauģi Hill was seasonal. The earliest population that dates back to the 1st millennium BC corresponds to the existence of Kļauģi Hill (Atgāzis 1969: 25). In the Daugava lower reaches, unfortified settlements were also known in addition to fortified settlements. Occasional or the periodic population was in Salaspils settlement, where safe fortifications of the respective time have not been found yet. In Salaspils unfortified settlement (Stubavs 1974: 59), the early population in the 1st millennium BC and the beginning of our era was characterized by rare wooden construction (Stubavs 1969: 47). Already during the existence of the ancient Livonian populated site in Salaspils (Stubavs 1968: 74), the first shelters on hillforts appeared in the area of present-day Latvia and became dominant in the following the 1st–4th centuries AD but not the only hillfort type (Stubavs 1969: 51). In the 1st millennium BC, a settlement could be on the hill near Lipši used by nomads in the Mesolithic era, and Laukskola settlements were also inhabited (Zariņa 1968: 80). The Baltic community settled here in the first half of the 1st millennium BC (Zariņa 1970: 73).

About a hundred hillforts could have been inhabited during the Late Bronze Age (Brikuļi, Ķivuti, Spolīši and Wine hills) and the Earliest Iron Age. On Dole Island, where the dead were previously buried (Graudonis 1968a: 21), the Daugava Livs (Latvian: *daugavieši*, Latin: *Dunenses*, German: *Sissegal*, *Sisselgal*) or *Vienalenses* (Heinrici 1993: 365) referred to as “the upper Livs” (Latin: *livones superiores*) had established a fortified settlement (9th–8th centuries BC) on Ķivuti

Hill (Latvian: *Doles Ķivutkalns*), to which the name from the Livonian word *kiv* /stone/ was given. This hill on a sandy tongue of land formed by the former bank of the Daugava River and an ancient river bed called Pižaga (Graudonis 1967: 29) was continuously inhabited. Fishing was important for the food supply of initial inhabitants. The elongated plateau oriented in the northwest-southeast direction was bounded by flat slopes. A hillside facing the Daugava was a cliff. Other slopes had to be flooded. In the second stage of construction, the settlement on Ķivuti Hill was fortified by the rampart on the base of stones stacked in two parallel rows. The plateau was surrounded by a wide strip of fortifications. Rectangular or elongated above-ground or slightly sunken houses of poles were placed close to the defensive wall. Wooden structures accessed the inner edge of ring-type fortifications that covered the plateau. In the early 1st millennium BC, people belonging to the Baltic ethnic group settled on Ķivuti Hill. Husbandry and farming were the main branches of their farm. Hunting was less important. Some buildings were located in a large vacant hillfort's yard in the middle of the plateau. There was a potter's workplace in the northwestern part of the settlement. The southwestern part was occupied by houses that very differed from buildings in the settlement. Probably, there was a place of worship. Ķivuti fortified settlement became a significant centre of bronze processing and exchange in the Daugava lower reaches. It was abandoned before the beginning of our era. In the third stage, grandiose transformations were carried out on the outskirts of the settlement. The flat northern slope of a sandhill raised with clay pavements, trees and sand was reinforced by poles. The wide and up to three metres high rampart included chambers of trees and was filled with loose sand. There were two parallel rows of chambers on the side of the plateau: larger inside the rampart and smaller outside. In the fourth stage, the rampart was moved out by 2–3 metres with an additional wall on the south, east and partly also west sides. In the Bronze Age, the Daugava River Basin contained separate regions, and each was internally more closely integrated (Vasks 1994). In one such region, Ķivuti Hill was the oldest fortress located closest to the Daugava mouth in a population cluster formed by eight hillforts close to each other and at least ten open settlements on the Daugava shore up to the Ogre River.

Direct exchange with Scandinavia across the Baltic Sea and the use of the Daugava Waterway for long-distance trade became important. Livestock and farming were the main economic sectors. Lifestyle, social relations, religious and mythological notions changed. Compared to hunter-fisher communities, social complexity increased in the Bronze Age Societies. A new type of dwelling place appeared. The most difficult-to-access naturally protected promontories at the tributaries of large rivers, the ends of highlands and isolated hills were chosen for fortified settlements. The scope of fortification works depended on the ability of the particular community to mobilize necessary human and material resources. There were often places, where natural relief was not altered, and only wooden walls were created. Sometimes next to hillforts, where large earthworks were carried

out, strong fortifications were built. Some houses were slightly sunk into the ground but mainly above-ground structures of poles were built. The construction of hillforts indicated the possibility of military conflicts.

In the contact zone between the Finnic Livonians and the Balts, the earliest population related to the fortified settlement on the Hill of Goods (Latvian: *Dievukalns*, *Cepures* or *Karātavu kalns*, *Taurētājkalns*, *Upurkalns*) inhabited by the Balts from the first half of the 1st millennium BC up to the 6th–8th centuries AD east of the Daugava River right tributary of Rumbiņa or Rumbene. The site name Lennewarde (Latvian: *Lielvārde*.) of the continuously inhabited place of the Hill of Goods on a high strip of land surrounded by a deep ravine to the north and the east, most likely, originated from the Scandinavian word *warde* (Latvian: *piestātne*, *krāvums* or *krauja ar signālugunskuru*) (Zariņa 1980: 121). In ancient times, the geographical situation of the Hill of Goods on the Rumbiņa left bank at its mouth in the Daugava was more advantageous and it was easier to protect than opposite Lielvārde Hillfort. The Livs and Latgalians lived in the settlement on High Hills (Urtāns 1977: 67) in the 1st millennium BC (Urtāns 1976: 89). Loxten settlement on a ten-metre-high dolomite cliff with steep slopes was separated by a moat and a rampart on the northwest side. Banks of the Daugava and Lokstiņa were connected by walls to protect log houses and craftsman's workshop (Mugurēvičs 1964: 12). People, probably the Balts, engaged in farming (Mugurēvičs 1963: 10). The earlier population of Koknese fortified settlement dates back to the late 1st millennium BC. Sunken pole-construction rectangular huts dominated in the plateau. Its middle was sparsely populated (Stubavs 1966: 25). The hill became a refuge for a few centuries (Stubavs 1967: 35). On the Daugava River right shore, people created a small fortified settlement (the 1st millennium BC–the beginning of our era) on Ķente Hill of a narrow strip of land with steep slopes at estuaries of the Ogre and Urga Rivers. A lake located on the west side. Later, the hill became a hiding place (2nd–5th centuries) (Graudonis&Urtāns 1961).

The Latgalians together with the Cours created the Baltic tribe Semigallians, who since the 1st millennium BC lived on Dobeles Hillfort with steep slopes on three sides on the Bērze (also *Bersene*) or Bērzupe River right shore. Around the year 100, the Latgalians got Upper Courland (Latvian: *Kursas „augšzeme”* or *Augškurzeme*) and Finno-Ugric Tribal lands north of the Daugava and in the Lielupe plain to the Daugava, as well as on the Svēte River (begins in Lithuania) shores and partly in Western Vidzeme.

Changes in population structure related to forming of fortified dwelling places

The Krivichs who, according to some researchers, were of Slavic origin began migration along waterways to the north and formed tribal associations. In the mid-1st millennium BC, they expelled Finno-Ugric Tribes that lived in an area of Lake Ladoga. Ancestors of the Livs walked along the Neva (Latvian: *Ņeva*, Russian: *Нева*) River that flows out of Lake Ladoga and reached

the Baltic Sea and settled on an area along the eastern shore of the Gulf of Riga approximately from the Salaca River mouth, where a port was installed. Livonian villages created by six to ten groups of buildings close together along the Baltic coastline differed from Lithuanian and German villages constructed with streets. Big Apariņš, the first completely explored Finnish settlement in the territory of Latvia, was the most intensively inhabited in the 3rd–6th centuries AD. On the peninsula in Lake Zvirgzdene, Finno-Ugric Tribes and later arrivals of Baltic Tribes built pillar and log houses from the late 1st millennium BC until the 6th–7th centuries AD (Vasks 2016: 24) and were engaged in farming (Šnore 1959: 23). Sārums Hill (Latvian: *Sārumkalns* also *Upurkalns* or *Lielais kalns*), one of the oldest and largest hillforts in the territory of Latvia, was inhabited near the Kapupīte River estuary in the Rauna left tributary of Vaive probably before our era and was associated with the presence of Finno-Ugric people in the 1st–6th centuries AD.

The history of Riga begins as early as the 2nd century AD with a settlement named *Duna urbs* at a natural harbour not far upriver from the Daugava mouth. Riga was not an organic product of its territory and had not grown up as a centre of a wide cultural region but has emerged at the beginning and end of trade relations, where inland roads change to sea routes. Coastal lowlands barren sand and swamps, meadows and pastures in hollows, the fish-rich Daugava and its tributaries, a wide barrier of wandering dunes – such nature could not connect the ancient Latvian tribes who had highly developed agriculture. This place could be used by primitive hunters, fishermen and stockbreeders who lived here in the Stone Age. On the Lower Daugava right shore, a settlement existed in the 2nd century on a peninsula surrounded by the Daugava and its ancient branch Speķupe. It stopped against Kube Hill or Ancient Hill (Latvian: *Senais kalns*, Latin: *Mons Antiquus*) threw a circle and entered the Daugava. Part of the tributary from its turn at the hill was called Riga, Rīdzene or the Rīdziņa (*Rising*) River. Since the founding of Riga, the Curonians have come to live here or visited it as merchants.

In the Earliest Iron Age, farming as the dominant economic activity gradually emerged by using improved tools. The development in Lubāns Plain was limited by the lack of suitable sites free from flooding, so that in the Middle and Late Iron Ages, settlements developed in the same places used earlier (Vasks 1994). The left shore of the Daugava tributary of Aiviekste from the beginning of our era was mixed inhabited by the Latgalian and Selonians or upper people who got its name from the Livonian word *sälli*, one of the ancient Baltic tribes that later formed the Latvian nation. The population of Kerkūzi settlement continued in the first half of the 1st millennium AD. Pole-construction houses lasted to exist at the beginning of this stage but another-type buildings had elongated rounded depressions at the ends reached in the ground. The primary dwelling was made of cone-shaped cards. Sandy floors in above-ground log houses existed in the second quarter of the

1st millennium AD. Three houses at a distance of 15 metres from each other created a building complex delimited by palisades (Vasks 1988: 145–146).

Starting with the Early Iron Age, the lands inhabited by the Balts and Baltic Finns can be distinguished. Lake Burtnieks became the natural border of populated areas of Baltic and Finno-Ugric tribes. At least until the 4th century, the entire northern part of Eastern Europe was inhabited by Finno-Ugric-speaking tribes.

In ancient times, the Daugava River shore was densely built-up. The number of buildings decreased, as the distance from the river moved. Spoļiši Hill on the Daugava right shore in its lower reaches was fortified strongly at the beginning of our era. A pile of stones was built along the northern part of the settlement, where log houses of smoke rooms with slightly recessed hearths were located. The defensive system was changed in the 3rd century, and hillslopes were made steeper. In the southern part of Spoļiši settlement surrounded by a stone-earth rampart and defensive walls of strong poles, pile dwellings in depressions were oriented towards the lake. A rectangular house with a sunken fireplace dates back to around 400 AD (Graudonis&Urtāns 1961). Laukskola settlement along the Daugava right shore occupied a wide strip opposite Daugmale. The oldest population dates back to the first half of the 1st millennium AD (Zariņa 1969: 59) when Baltic Tribes lived here (Zariņa 1970: 73) in houses sunken into the ground (Zariņa 1968: 80). The earliest population of Vilmaņi settlement III at the Razboja River right shore, where it enters the Daugava, could have been not only in the 2nd–4th centuries but also in the time before our era. Archaeologists uncovered pits of poles related to buildings and fences around them, as well as fences of an economic nature. Even unrelated locations showed that they had existed for a long time (Zagorska 1988: 153). The 1st–the 6th century-building was in the southern part of Tanīsa Hill of Rauna. The population continued on Dignāja Hillfort, Monks' Hill and Daugmale, where a more intense population was in the early and in the middle of the 1st millennium AD (Urtāns 1967: 42). At the same time, the number of rural settlements increased, including Kerkūzi and Zvirgzdene Kivti settlements and the iron mining place in Spietiņi settlement where inhabitants engaged in farming but the most intense population was from the 2nd to the 4th–5th centuries.

Kalnaziedi Hillfort on the Daugava River shore was not used intensively. A log wall supported by stakes driven into the ground on both sides along the edge of a relatively large plateau showed (Urtāns 1964: 29) that it was not typical of a fortified settlement served as a refuge and characterized by low population density. It is not necessary to understand the concept of “a shelter hillfort” as a completely uninhabited fortification. Archaeologist, Doctor of History Vladislavs Urtāns (1921–1989) dates Kalnaziedi Hillfort from the 3rd to the 10th century. Its early population was associated with the Balts in the time when the patriarchal community began to disintegrate and part of residents moved to open settlements. Kalnaziedi Hillfort was not characterized by economic

activities with raw materials and imported items that were typical for other hillforts near the Daugava River at the same time, for example, Kļauģi Hill, fortified settlements on the Hill of Goods, Koknese and Ķivuti Hill (Stubavs&Jefimova 1982: 118–120). Hillforts as fortified settlements for communities either ceased to exist with the community itself or turned into places of refuge, where people escaped during an enemy attack (Graudonis&Urtāns 1961). Some hillforts were abandoned but this phenomenon was not general. Settlements changed their location.

The Early Iron Age hillforts were not built in the middle and lower reaches of the Mude River, as residents lived in open settlements. Only several similar hillforts-shelters were near Lake Sebezskoye or Sebez (Russian: Себежское озеро) in the Daugava River Basin with its adjacent lands of the Upper Mude. There was no specific system in the location of hillforts-shelters. However, Izborsk (Russian: Изборск; Estonian: *Irboska*; Latvian historically: *Izbārste*) at Lake Pskov did not have a similar fortified settlement. It is not known whether a fortified populated place or early medieval Pskov (also *Plezcowe*, Estonian: *Pihkva*, Russian: Псков, Krivichean: Пльсковъ) grew instead of an earlier village. The Slavs who settled here in the middle of the 1st millennium AD lived only in villages. Probably, local feudal aristocracy concentrated here, just as it was in Novgorod (also *Nogarden* or *Nogarten*; around the 5th–6th century) to the northwest of Valdai Hills (Sedovs 1971: 8–10). In the Early Iron Age, the Krivichs established a fortified settlement (the 1st millennium) on a promontory of the strip of land by the Pskov River estuary in the Mude, and members of Baltic Tribes began to build a fence enclosed building complexes on the tops of hills, where horizontally laid logs made rectangular, polygonal and irregular structures with cross corners that appropriate to the natural terrain. Wooden barks covered with clay had a flat single- or double-sloped roof made of beams. Floors led out with stones replaced clay floors. The hill was surrounded by defensive structures of logs that became fortification walls and new structural elements in the spatial organization of original settlements. A high tower-like building (*arx munitiois*) that protected the entrance was included in defensive structures.

The first half of the 1st millennium AD was the second period of Baltic-Slavic relations. The Slavs and the Western Balts moved intensively to the southeast, and the Slavs became neighbours for the Balts not only in the west but also in a long strip in the south. The convergence of languages contributed to the fact that the borders between the Baltic and Slavic lands were not stable. Archaeology also records the movement in the opposite direction – from the forest strip to stepping areas of the Dnieper. Conditionally, this period can be called the period of the Baltic and Slavic Association. The language and culture of each of them developed independently, but the Balts and Slavs, living alternately in a large area with changing borders, in the same geographical environment and in similar economic conditions, also developed language contacts (Sedovs 1977: 36–37). Around the 4th century, Russian, Ukrainian and Belarusian ancestors founded Kiev instead

of an important marketplace on the Dniepr to the south from Valday Hills. An unfortified settlement at the hillfort on the steep bank (Russian: *древнейшее городище Свинеческ*) by the Svinec (Russian: *река Свинец*) River enters the Dniepr promoted the growth of the fortified settlement complex of Gnyozdovo (Russian: *Гнёздово*) that became the origin of Smolensk (Russian: *Смоленск*) in the 4th century.

Changes in population structure due to forming cultural-ethnic groups

In Europe, Roman roads have been the main means of communication for many centuries and made possible to move troops quickly in newly established provinces. In the 4th–5th centuries the Romans last updated the map of roads, which copy in the French city of Alsace (Latvian: *Elzasa*) was made by a monk in the 13th century: track of road started from Rome and led to one of the Etruscan capitals (*Capitae Etruriae*) Arezzo (Latin: *Arretium*), a Roman city of Firenze (Latvian: *Florence*, Latin: *Florentia*), Ravenna, Bologna (Latvian: *Boloņa*, Latin: *Bononia*), Portavium, Venice (Latvian: *Venēcija*), the Adriatic port of Aquileia founded as a colony by the Romans in 180–181 BC along the Natiso River, the Roman military settlement (*castrum*) with the marketplace and the naval base Carnunto (Latin: *Carnuntum*), which on the map was near a Roman military camp of Vindobona on the site of the modern city of Vienna (Latvian: *Vīne*, German: *Wien*) in Austria, crossed the Danube (Latvian: *Donava*) River and the mountain range. Northern Europe and the Amber Road that was officially called *Via Sucinaria Romana* by the Romans were not marked on the map beyond the Danube. In the 1st century AD, this branch that from the Mediterranean Sea coast led to the Prussian tradecraft centre of Truso on shores of the Vistula Lagoon, Sambian village of Palweniken and the fishing village of Skanevik by the Baltic Sea provided trade exchanges with Southern European and Scandinavian countries. Flemish cartographer Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598) in Antwerp (Latvian: *Antverpene*) published (1591) in small numbers an illustrated ancient Roman road map *Fragmenta tabulae antiquae*, copies of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* /The Peutinger Cart/, where ancient cities of Rome, Constantinople and Antioch were specially decorated. The original does not contain the Iberian Peninsula and the western part of the British Isles, which could be in the map's missing part which researchers reconstruct. The shortest (and possibly oldest) road from alpine areas led through Biskupin (Polish: *Biskupinie*) to the Baltic coastline (nowadays Poland and Lithuania). Polish archaeologists Józef Kostrzewski (1885–1969) and Zdzisław Rajewski (1907–1974) discovered a large fortified settlement of Biskupin that belongs to periods of the Late Bronze Age and Early Iron Age (800–650 BC and 650–475 BC) and was covered by log fences or palisades on a peninsula of Lake Biskupinskie in north-central Poland. All homes had a similar area, divided into two parts: a vestibule and the main chamber. The big room had a fireplace in the centre and a large bed on the left where a whole family of eight to ten persons could sleep. The whole settlement is thought to have had about 800–1000 inhabitants. The only access into the

village was over a 250 m long bridge running from the south shore of the lake to a single gateway on the rampart, probably surmounted by a guard tower. Arrangement in parallel rows of equal wooden dwellings covered with gable roofs testified that there were no material differences in Slavic tribal society.

Most of the currently known Roman coins dating back to the end of the 4th century reached the present territory of Latvia along the Amber Road, whose starting point at the northern border of the Roman Empire was the city of Carnunta on the Danube River, and which passed through Pannonia, a province of the Roman Empire bounded on the north and east by the Danube, and further along the shortest route to the Southeastern coast of the Baltic Sea, where the Baltic peoples lived. Two of these coins were obtained on *Holme* Island at the crossroads of major traffic routes in the Daugava River lower reaches only a few kilometres from Laukskola settlement of Salaspils, Ķivuti Hill, a large early medieval craft and shopping centre on Daugmale Hillfort and Rauši settlement at the top of Dole Island, where the Semigallians and Livs had an important role in trade.

Tribes of characteristic anthropological features moved to the north already in the 1st–4th centuries, an unprecedented culture in the second half of the 4th century and the early the 5th century appeared in the central part of Lithuania, where during the 5th–8th centuries, a completely new phenomenon can only be explained by migration of new tribes linked closely to the Great Peoples' Walk. Under its influence, new tribes that represented a very archaic branch of the Northern European race came from the east (southeast) to Lithuania and Latvia and probably were the first Eastern Baltic Tribes in the Baltics. Human migration directed mainly to the north did not affect Samogitia, only slightly to its northwest. A common cultural area inhabited by tribes of the same origin was formed on the Nemunas River right shore. Representatives of these tribes arrived in Semigallia and sharply differed from local peoples in the 5th–9th centuries. This event was linked with socio-economic factors. Areas inhabited by the Semigallians narrowed. It was more concentrated on the Lielupe River banks, where people acquired fertile floodplains and lived in unprotected settlements from the 5th to 10th century. A sunken house by a fireplace at one end and an extension at the other end located in Semigallian farmer's homestead at the bend of the ancient river on the Daugava left shore and indicate the separation of individual farmers from the community in areas inhabited by the Semigallians at least as early as the 5th century (Urtāns 1969: 56–57). Only some hillforts were permanently inhabited. On the Daugava left bank, indigenous peoples of the Dviete River Valley have been the Selonians who created all the known populated sites of the Iron Age on the shores of the ancient valley. The southern area inhabited by the Selonians included Stupeļi Hill and reached inside the territory of Lithuania, from which trade route and warpath led to large population centres on the Daugava shores and the Aiviekste River estuary in the Daugava, where the processing of iron improved. Blacksmiths as a special order of craftsmen

began. Silver entered the path of exchange in the Baltics since the 5th century and promoted social differentiation of society that was more pronounced in the 5th–6th century. Earth roads not only provided traffic from the Lithuanian lands to the largest population centres near the Daugava but also connected the centres of the various lands on the Daugava shores. The Selonians lived also on Kalnaziedi Hillfort during the second half of the 1st millennium (Stubavs&Jefimova 1982: 118–120). The beginning of the population in the Selonian settlement at the southern foot of Dignāja Hillfort dates from the 6th to the 7th century.

The Selonians built a fortification on the plateau of Sēlpils Hillfort above a twenty metres high natural, slightly to the east sloping dolomite rock. A defensive wall was installed in the lower eastern part of the plateau. Animals were housed in farm buildings made of logs. Wooden construction (6th–7th century) adjusted to the base of the cliff. Sēlpils Hillfort with an outer section, a marketplace and an ancient town on the slope of the Daugava left shore became the Selonian main political and military centre (6th–12th century) opposite the Latgalian Oliņš Hill (Latvian: *Oliņkalns* or *Alenes pilskalns*). In Lithuania, an old road from Aukštaitija /Upper lands/, where several fortified ancient sites in the direction of the Utena–Kupiškis road were placed, passed some hillforts and entered Selonia. It further led along Lake Sauka to the Daugava, where on the right bank, fortified settlements of High Hills, Monks' Hill, Koknese fortified settlement and Asote Hillfort had already been established. The Daugava in the vicinity of High Hills was more than three metres deep, and its depth near Koknese Hillfort reached almost four metres. The Daugava River before the Pērse River mouth was even deeper, and the slow current flow allowed to move with rafts in summer and on the ice in winter.

At the turn of the 6th–7th centuries, an unprecedented culture that appeared in Semigallia was known also in areas inhabited by the Selonians. It is believed that the Selonians originally lived in large areas on the Daugava River right and left shores and in the northeastern part of Lithuania. Some of these tribes entered possibly in Vidzeme and the West part of Latgalia, and also in Southern Courland around the turn of the 8th–9th centuries. On the Daugava right shore to the west of its tributary of Aiviekste, the Semigallians from the Lielupe River Basin and newcomers from the central part of Lithuania formed the Latgalian cultural-ethnic group in the 5th/6th–7th centuries. Areas on the Daugava right bank inhabited by the Selonians have been taken over by the Latgalian since the 7th century. The presence of the Livonian, Selonian and Latgalian cultures can be traced on the over flood terrace of the Daugava River right shore. In the Dubna River Basin and near rivers that flow into Lake Lubāns, the Latgalian cultural-ethnic group also was formed (Deņisova 1990: 79–81). Since the 6th–7th centuries, members of the Eastern Baltic tribe Latgalian or Lettigallians (Latvian: *leti*) called Latvians (Latvian: *latvieši*, Livonian: *leṭlizt*) were traceable archaeologically safe in basin districts of the Mude River and the Daugava northern bank. The origins of Latgalian

genesis and primary inhabited areas were outside of modern Latvia. Scientists do not have enough materials about the ancient history of the Latgalians. It can be judged in some detail only for the final period of Latgalian ethnic history relating to the 1st millennium AD in areas of modern Lithuania and Latvia. Around the year 600, Finno-Ugric (Baltic-Finnic) Tribes migrated from areas of present-day Southern Estonia and Northern Latvia to Southern Finland, either in later West Karelia. This took place in the later Atsele Land and its surroundings in Southern Estonia and Northern Latvia. Invasion of Latgalian Tribes from the south to the Daugava River played a role in launching this process. The interaction of representatives of two ethnic groups determined the fate of many tribes and the borders of lands. Relations between the Balts and Baltic Finns who lived in the area of Latvia even before the arrival of the Balts were decisive in ethnic processes for several thousand years.

In the Middle Iron Age, class relations developed in the following centuries. Hillforts began to be fortified and converted into feudal dwelling places. On the Daugava right bank, Ķente Hillfort with two plateaus, inhabited permanently by members of Finno-Ugric and Baltic tribes, dates back to the 5th century. Livonian-Estonian influence manifested, so it is difficult to determine the ethnicity of the population. Probably, even before the creation of Ķente Hillfort, representatives of different ethnic communities had united in a local group. The Balts predominated in a mixed population (Graudonis&Urtāns 1961). A linguist, candidate of philological sciences Valija Dambe (1912–1995) considered that the word “*Ķente*” has a Semigallian origin. Semigallian and Latgalian local culture dominated from the 5th–6th to the early 9th century in the hillfort’s second population stage (Stubavs 1959: 24–25). From the 5th to the 7th century, buildings for residents attached the walls of ramparts on the edges of the plateau protected by three ramparts from the south and two ramparts with wooden walls and ditches from the north sides. The defensive wall supported by poles dug in the ground was created on the north side of the southern rampart. The protective system reached a width of 17 metres. Residents used not only the main plateau occupied by small buildings but also the heavily fortified wide area between the first and second southern ramparts (Graudonis&Urtāns 1961). There were two permanently inhabited plateaus on Ķente Hillfort inhabited by members of Finno-Ugric and Baltic tribes, and the fortification system was radically changed three times. Initially, the smallest plateau was strongly fortified on the southside, where the natural terrain of the hill was considered suitable for protection, therefore, there were no ramparts. Log houses on foundations of the stone layer were connected with defensive walls, forming fortifications in several screen lines. The main entrance to the settlement led across moats, but the additional entrance on the east side of the settlement led up along the slope to the gate in the defensive wall of the plateau. Later formed ramparts have maintained a design of the protective system for the heavily fortified plateau. A structure with a 5–6 metres wide base was built in the

first southern rampart along its entire length, and the earth wall was reinforced with 3–5 layers of wooden lattice choices laid with interlayers of earth, which were similarly found in Tērvete, in Opole and *Poznań* hillforts (in Poland) and in Aukštadvaris (in Lithuania). The second southern rampart and the front rampart had no wooden structure. Above-ground defensive structures were log buildings reinforced with buried poles. It is possible that the fortifications of the second southern rampart had a tower-like body. In the last stage of population, the protective system of the hillfort and planning of construction drastically changed: the plateau on the northside became the main residence of inhabitants. An undeveloped outer section between the northern rampart and the forewall strengthened the protection of the hillfort from the north, but the southern side, where the main road led, was fortified more strongly – with three ramparts. The first southern rampart was raised with a new dam, but the additional entrance was eliminated. The main passage across the outer section was arranged at the eastern end of the first northern rampart (8th–11th century), in which core built-in double-row wooden chambers (mid-8th century) provided stability of foundations for the surface wooden fortress therefore considered to be a significant achievement in the history of the hillforts' fortification technology. It is believed that the construction of the two-chamber band and the intermediate band had developed on the spot and was not a cultural borrowing. In the strip along both slopes of Ķente Hillfort to the south of ramparts, there was a settlement with dwellings and farm buildings, which were originally sunk into the ground, and partly subterranean buildings with a slightly recessed entrance, which were built on hillforts (6th–7th century) in the territory of Belarus. There were similar structures in the settlement of Daugmale and Iru Hillfort (Estonia). In the 7th–8th centuries, the iron mining furnace was in the outer section of the southern settlement, where above-ground and sunken houses along both sides of the hill were densely placed in the 8th century. Only above-ground houses were built at the edge of a swamp on either side of the hill. Protective structures were installed into the defensive wall south of the second southern rampart that included the partially inhabited miniature plateau. The first southern rampart with a built-in frame of wooden ranges differed from the chamber-shaped frame included in the first northern rampart, thus, both protective building types were used in Ķente Hillfort. Both building types later disappeared in Ķente settlement, and since the 8th–9th century, there were only surface log houses. Initially, only surface structures were built in the settlement at the eastern foot of the hill, but the settlement lying north of the hillfort was sparsely built up. The settlement at the western foot of the hill did not build as intensively as the eastern settlement, so there was a forge. At least in the 8th century after the creation of a strong fortress, the hillfort had become a fortified residence for a noble and his congregations that refers to a period of military democracy. North-south or west-east oriented equally arranged structures in the 8th century formed building along the outer slope of the hill. An undeveloped common area was left in the settlement centre. A strictly regular location

of buildings testified to settlement building traditions. An ancient town (5th/6th–7th century, ceased to exist around 800) near a harbour at the Ogre River enters the Daugava developed as a craft centre and became the forerunner of city-type settlements (Deņisova 1990: 79–81). The hillfort and its settlement abandoned after a fire disaster in the first half of the 9th century were not rebuilt.

The plateau of Koknese Hillfort was densely built up during the 5th–9th centuries and log houses were applicable only to the fortified area (Stubavs 1967: 35). Fortified hillforts became centres of districts and were used as refuges in times of danger. The importance of hillforts as larger or smaller centres grew once again in the third quarter of the 1st millennium AD. Hillforts-fortresses by chronological division and structure differed from hillforts inhabited earlier, which were strengthened.

The Slavs infiltrated the southern and eastern parts of ancient regions of the Balts and gradually settled in the Dnieper upper reaches, as well as in part of the territory occupied by the Daugava and Nemunas River basins and in the area between the Volga and Oka rivers. The next stage of Baltic-Slavic relations began in the 6th century AD. Archaeological material and many surviving Baltic origin names of waters in this area show that the Slavs here not only met the Balts but for some time lived with them in the same territory, gradually mixing. Accommodation of the Slavs in regions of the Dnieper, Oka and other groups of the Balts created a symbiosis of Slavic-Baltic culture and language. An ancient Russian ethnos and culture developed with the intensive participation of the Baltic ethnic component. The differentiation of the ancient Baltic tribes also had an effect on the ethnic structure of the Eastern Slavs. **The** Smolensk and Polotsk Krivics were formed with the participation of a group of the Baltic tribes, who were descendants of the Dnieper-Daugava cultural carriers. The history of the Southern and Eastern Balts was closely intertwined with the Slavic ethnogenesis (Sedovs 1977: 37). Historian, archivist Roberts Malvess (1905–1982) believed that the Daugava-Dnieper Waterway has been used for shipping since the 5th century (Zalsters 1990: 132). In the mid-5th century, residents of settlements in areas of Dniepr River upstream and Tushemlya Hillfort at the confluence of the Tushemlya and Sozh Rivers represented Tushemlya culture (Russian: *Тушемлинская (банцеровская) культура*, Latvian: *Tušeņļas kultūra*). Since the 6th century, the Slavic migration to the Dnieper River Basin areas decided the fate of the Eastern Balts. During the 5th–9th/10th centuries, the Balts resumed establishing permanent shelters (Šterns 2002: 108). The traditional division is the Western, the Eastern and the Dnieper Balts. The concept of the Dnieper Balts covers the Baltic cultures in the upper reaches of the Dnieper and Oka Rivers and the Daugava middle reaches. Now, these are territories of Belarus, the Russian Federation, Ukraine (Vitkūnas&Zabiela 2017: 25). The Latgalians of the southern part of North-Central Latvia and tribes of the central part of Lithuania were so similar in anthropological terms that their kinship and common origin leaves no doubt. This confirms the migration of the

Latgalians through the middle of Lithuania. Research makes it necessary to separate one in the southern part of North-Central Latvia, Selonia and the West part of Latgalia but another in the East part of Latgalia. Both Latgalian anthropological types were closely related. The Eastern Latgalians had great anthropological similarity with the Krivics of Daugava River upstream and enter through the territory of North Belarus. It was observed “demographic pressure” in the direction from south to north. Eastern Baltic tribes came to Semigallia, also to North-Central Latvia and Latgalia, where they reappeared. This phenomenon dates back to the last centuries of the 1st millennium AD and was confirmed by archaeological materials in Lithuania (Deņisova 1990: 79–81). On the Daugava right shore, the Balts living in the southern part of North-Central Latvia, Semigallia and Augšzeme, Northern and Central Lithuania were divided by archaeologists into the eastern group associated with Selonian ancestors and the western group of Semigallian and Samogitian ancestors. Residents of the southern part of North-Central Latvia were considered to be the Gauja Semigallians.

The Latgalians reached Lake Ludza in the 8th century. In the Hypatian Codex (Russian: *Ипатьевская летопись*), the most important source of historical data for Southern Rus’ known as Hypatian Letopis or Ipatiev Letopis, dating back to 1173 or 1177, were mentioned early routes near the waterway and Ludza (Polish: *Lucyn*, German: *Ludsen*, Russian: *Людза*) as *Людчин*. It included the Tale of Bygone Years known in English-language historiography as Rus’ Primary Chronicle about the history of Kievan Rus’ (879–1240) from 850 to 1110. Well-established Kīši Hill (Latvian: *Kīšukalns*) of Zvirgzdene or Jeršovka near Lake Ludza dates back to the 8th–9th centuries. It was not the central fortress in the 10th century and belonged to hillforts’ types with plateau fortified by a rampart and ditch at one end. A large outer section at the other end was fenced by palisades behind the ditch. An ancient town on the slopes of the Budjanka Peninsula strip was inhabited by the Latgalians who kept in touch with its eastern neighbours. The population ended in the 13th century (Šnore 1960: 3).

Changes in population structure related to the formation of governmental units

The average air temperature in the Northern Hemisphere began to fall again, reaching a minimum about 2000 years ago. During this time, human migration to the south (part of the Great Peoples’ Walk) began from Scandinavia. It was one of the last parts of Europe to become habitable when glaciers released their icy grip more than 10 000 years ago. During the Viking Age, it became relatively warmer. The average air temperature peaked. People settled in Iceland and Greenland (Greenlandic: *Kalaallit Nunaat*, Danish: *Grønland*). Traditions of early medieval town building were formed in the 7th–12th-century remarkable trade centre of Ralswiek (Petrenko&Urtāns 2012: 91–92). Around 650, the earliest fortified urban settlement in the Baltics was established at the navigable Ālande River enters the lake (Šterns 2002: 45). The Cours and possibly the Livs together with Scandinavian immigrants participated in the formation of settlements and optimal management

systems. The polytechnic population in a small area contributed to cultural changes of local people in the 7th–8th centuries (Šnē 2008: 182). The fortified settlement complex in Seaborg (7th–9th/10th century) was perceived as a city. This colony centre existed until 850 when the Cours destroyed it during the uprising. Extensive trade between the Scandinavians and Estonians took place on the Eastern coast of the Baltic Sea, where many rivers are in present-day North-West and Central Russia. In the 8th century, the formation of early cities related to distance selling began. The rich and vital connection between the Arab Lands and Northern Europe passed through *Austrvegr*, which means the Eastern Road, and through it Arabic silver and countless riches flowed, merchants, craftsmen and warriors travelled. The Eastern Road was essentially a continuation of the River Road that crossed the East Baltic and along the north coast of the Estonian lands went to the Gulf of Finland and the Neva – the upper reaches of Lake Ladoga. The Slavs created early fortified settlements in the 8th–9th centuries and promoted traffic to the Baltic, White, Black and Azov Seas. Staraya Ladoga (Russian: *Старая Ладога*, Latvian: *Vecā Ladoga*) settlement on the left shore of the Volkhov River near its enters Lake Ladoga and Gnyozdovo near the Dniepr became important trade centres such as the Danish Viking Age trade centre of Hedeby (Latvian: *Hedebija*, German: *Haithabu*), European proto-cities of Björkö (800–975) and Helgö on Swedish islands. Several fortified sites were made on densely populated areas in the Mude River lower reaches and near small rivers that also enter Lake Pskov. The Pskovian Krivichs formed the tribe association, and early fortified hillforts appeared in the 8th century. Road branches led up to the Daugava and Gauja (Estonian: *Koiva*) Rivers (Fig. 1). People had also settled in the ancient valley of the Gauja River and its tributary valleys. Two strategically important earth roads started in the Daugava River lower reaches: the road towards the north along the seaside walked on the east coast of the Gulf of Riga to Sakala (Estonian: *Sakala*, Latin: *Saccalia*) County on the coast of the Gulf of Finland and its centres on Rūjiena Hillfort by the Rūja River, Naukšēnu Kābele Hill and important traffic centre with a fortress on Viljandi Hillfort. Its permanent settlement established in the 12th century was first-mentioned as *Falamus* in commentaries on the map of *Tabula Rogeriana* /The Book of Roger/. The other road along the Gauja River shore moved northeast, crossed the Ugaunian or Ugannian (Estonian: *ugalased*, Latvian: *ugauņi*) Lands. *Tabula Rogeriana* drew in 1154 by Arab scientist, geographer and cartographer Abu Abdullah Muhammad al-Idrisi al-Qurtubi al-Hasani as-Sabti or simply al-Idrisi (Latin: *Dreses*; 1100–1165) for the Norman King Roger II of Sicily who commissioned this work around 1138. The book written in Arabic was divided into seven climate zones (in keeping with the established Ptolemaic system), each of which was sub-divided into ten sections that contain maps showing the Eurasian continent in its entirety but only the northern part of the African continent. Ten manuscript copies of this book currently survive, five of which have complete text and eight of which have maps. Two are in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France,

including the oldest that dated to about 1325. Another copy made in Cairo in 1553 is in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. It was acquired in 1692. The most complete manuscript that includes the world map and all seventy sectional maps is kept in Istanbul.

In the first half of the Late Iron Age, society was organised into chiefdoms or hierarchical political organizations in non-industrial societies usually based on kinship (Latvian: *radniecība*). Leadership was monopolized by legitimate senior members of select families. Ethnic cultures underwent complicated changes by developing Finnic (Livs, Estonians) and Baltic (Latgalian, Selonians, Cours, Semigallians) peoples.

The Vikings travelled by sea and tried to strengthen in the Lower Daugava area since the mid-9th century. Kiev provided cooperation with Constantinople and Swedish craftsmen and merchants who set up a marketplace in Björkö on an island in Lake Mälaren. An equal union of military congregations took part in common campaigns. The Vikings picked up (kidnapped) the Estonians and members of Slavic peoples in 859, and have driven away. A period of confusion began. In 862, according to Nestor's chronicle, ambassadors of local Finno-Ugric and Slavic tribes went to Swedish Vikings and invited their chiefs to rule the territory of Northern Russia at that time. The princes, together with the Druze, as the Slavs called an Arabic-speaking esoteric ethnoreligious group originating in Western Asia, had to enact laws, keep order and administer justice. According to Rus' Primary Chronicle, Rurik (also Ruirik or Rjurik /famous ruler/, Russian: *Рюриковичи*; c. 830–879) gained control of Lake Ladoga, contributing to the disintegration of the Eastern European family organization and the centralization of power, and became the Prince of Novgorod (862–879), founded the Dukes of Novgorod (862, sovereign territory after 1136) and Novgorod (862). A Varangian chieftain of the Rus' Rurik established the union of East Slavic territories called Kievan Rus' by historians. Kiev became the capital (882–1240), where Byzantine Christianity was adopted in 988. A Crimean tribe from the area of Smolensk, gradually moving to the north from the 7th century, reached Pskov by the 10th century. About 200–300 people lived in this relatively large settlement of artisans. In 903, the city-state of Pskov was mentioned in written sources. However, Pskov was good to inspect the Pskov merchant base near a port and as a commercial settlement has existed long before it was first mentioned. Trade took place in many directions along the Mude Waterway. On the area of Pskov Hill at the Mude River mouth, Rõuge settlement developed from the 7th century and was destroyed by fire in the 860s. Finno-Ugric fortresses of Kamno and Irboska were destroyed at the same time. The Krivichs established a fortified settlement on Pskov Hill. They began to build the Pskov Kremlin (Russian: *Псковский Кром/Кремль*; 9th century–the early 12th century) on a high promontory of the strip of land by the Pskov River enters the Mude. The population developed on its south side. Fortresses of various types were created near Pskov. In the vicinity of Mude River upstream and Sebezh lakes, the oldest hillforts belonged to the Dnieper-

Daugava culture. Settlements on natural well-protected stand-alone hills were not fortified by ramparts and ditches. Later, settlements were established on promontories or stand-alone hills and fortified by a rampart and ditch on a flat side. The newest settlements on hillforts were separated by several ramparts and ditches on one or two sides. Truvorovo or Old Izborsk Hillfort (Russian: *Труворово (Старое Изборское) городище*) on Zheravia Hill (Russian: *Жеравья гора*) was built in the 8th–9th centuries. The centre of the Pskovian Krivichs on a high promontory was protected on the flat side by a rampart and a ditch. In the first half of the 10th century, a tribal centre of Izborsk became an early medieval town of a two-part structure. The settlement on the strip of land became an ancient city-fort or central fortified part of a town – Detinets (Russian: *Детинец*) similar to the meaning of a kremlin (fortification) surrounded by a powerful oak log wall. Craftsmen lived in the *posad* (Russian: *посад*) or a settlement protected by a moat and a stone wall above an arched clay dam. Several fortified places near Izborsk was intended for the protection of this district of the Krivichs. In the area of Old Izborsk that occupied the triangular strip of land above Lake Gorodishchenskoe (Russian: *Городищенское озеро*), Barohnovskoye Hillfort was created on a high hill near Lake Smolino (Russian: *озеро Смолино*). The hillfort on the Puisa River shore (Estonian: *Pimža jõgi*, Russian: *Пимжа or Пууза*) was north of Izborsk. Hillforts were located also to the northwest of Izborsk. Shelters for residents were support places to cover the tribal centre from the west. Hillforts-shelters were in the eastern periphery of a county. In the middle of the county, hillforts for the Pskovian Krivichs' craft and trade centres were established in the 8th–9th centuries. Round shrine-type hillforts in marshy lowlands were built since the late 1st millennium. Merchants of Visby established (1080) a trading post of Gutagard known as Gotenhof in the Rus' first capital of Veliky Novgorod (Russian: *Великий Новгород*, historically German: *Naugard*, Vikingian: *Holmgård*) (Sedovs 1971: 8–10).

At the turn of the 8th–9th centuries, the arrival of new tribes in Central and Eastern Lithuania could be the reason for the repression of Eastern Baltic tribes to the north and their re-entry into South and North-Central regions of Latvia in the 9th–10th centuries (Deņisova 1990: 79–81). It is believed that the Latgalians were formed by the merging of different tribes. Baltic and Baltic-Finnish tribes who had previously inhabited areas also played a role in this. The Latgalians who moved from the northern bank of the Daugava formed strong Tolowa Land (also *Tolova*, Latin: *Tholowa*, Latgalian: *Tuolova*, Latvian: *Tālava*) (Fig. 2) on the area of the Gauja River Basin, where about 1375–1500 people lived in the Bronze Age and about 25–30 people in at least 50–55 communities lived at the beginning of the Iron Age. The entry of the Latgalians in districts of North-Central Latvia inhabited by the Baltic Finns was linked by the origin of the creation of lake fortresses. The Latgalians needed to install protected dwelling places relatively quickly (Apals 1996: 66). Lake fortresses and some rural settlements can hypothetically be considered as

homesteads of distant ancestors (Apals 1996: 52). Huts on piles on low islands in lakes or at the ends of sandy shoals were inhabited. A lake fortress on a range of logs (Latvian: *apaļkoku klāstu celtnes*) was established on a small island near the southeast shore of Lake Brici also Lake Cebuļi or Jumaļi. In the southwestern part of Lake Ušuri, the Latgalians created a lake fortress that belonged to types of lake houses on log support, as the platform without the help of piles directly led on the surface of an island. Foundations of dwellings consisted of a range of logs. Sediments of the lake covered remain of housing structures and formed Līņsalīņa (also Lāviņa sala) Island above the water level. Ušuri settlement to the northwest of Ušuri lake fortress was inhabited in the middle of the 1st millennium AD (Apals 1966: 15). Lake fortresses on a range of logs were built on islands in Lake Bakāni, Lake Salas (Latvian: *Salu ezers*), Lake Auļukalns and in the northwestern part of Lake Ižezers (Apals 1964: 4–5). In Lake Dūķi, a lake fortress on a range of logs dates back to the second half of the 1st millennium AD. On the northern and eastern underwater slopes of Akmeņsala /Stone Island/ in Lake Liezēre, a lake fortress on a range of logs surrounded by a row of piles driven into the lakebed dates back to the second half of the 1st millennium AD. A lake fortress about 200 metres from the northern shore of Lake Lisa or Pinteļi was settled by the Latgalians in the late 1st millennium AD (Apals 1969: 22). The ancient Latgalians who were engaged in farming and animal husbandry formed a lake fortress as an oval island that rose above the water level in the northwestern bay of Lake Āraiši (Apals 1976: 8). The defensive system of the initial construction period and many dwellings were built in the 9th century (Apals 1970: 25). Āraiši lake fortress on a very wet surface belonged to a range of logs' support, not the pile dwelling type (Apals 1966: 16). Houses were rebuilt several times due to the ageing of building materials. The supporting structures settled unequally. Initially, relatively small one-room dwellings were built using uniform methods. The entrance was always on the left side of a façade. A small extension used as a storage room was on the right side. Houses built in a special log building technique, inserting end walls between sidewalls, were arranged in pairs separated by narrow spaces (Apals 1968: 44–46). Āraiši lake fortress on an overflowing island was connected to the shore or a shoal. The central passage of the lake fortress was covered by logs and led across the bridge that started from a small square in the western part of the fortress. A basic economic unit was formed by tightly built houses with open porches facing a yard and three farm buildings, also a small barn. The proximity of the Gauja Waterway facilitated trade and crafts (Apals 1969: 20). During the second construction stage, a new access route close to the first entrance was built for traffic with a lakeshore. During the third construction stage, a new, higher and wider rampart was created around the lake fortress. A strip of palisades of the outer slope became wider. Unlike the second stage of construction when the rampart and fence were partially connected to fortifications, in the third stage, they were built completely anew. The lake fortress reached its maximum volume. The expansion of the

construction was hindered by the depth of the lake. The entrance has been moved (Apals 1980: 12–13). The wooden fortification surrounded by defensive walls existed for about a century (Apals 1970: 27). The population of Āraiši lake fortress ended in the 10th century (Apals 1967: 21). A pile settlement was created also in Lake Osa.

The beginning of the ethnic history of the Tolowa Latgalians can be connected with settlements on the Gauja right bank. Many villages were located around the Gauja to its left tributary of Vija in the northern part of Tolowa Land that extended to the Mude River. The Latgalian district named “land near Tolowa” (Latvian: *zeme pie Tālavas*), whose centre was in the area of present-day Pytalovo (Russian: *Пыталово*, Latvian: *Pietālava*, Latgalian: *Pītuolova*), extended to Old Izborsk Hillfort. Several roads from Pskov crossed Atzele Land (Latin: *terra, quae Agzele dicitur*, before the 10th century–1224) (Fig. 2) that were inhabited by the Baltic Finns and subjugated by the Latgalians who were connected with Tolowa Land. The significant war route led to the important Latgalian population centre on Temple Hill (Latvian: *Tempļa kalns*) at Lake Alūksne (*Alyst, Volyst*) in Atzele Land. The scattered and carriers of this culture merged into different ethnic groups – the Estonians, Latvians and Slavs. An ancient town on a peninsula to the southwest from the lake located near the road opposite the source of the Pededze (Estonian: *Pedetsi*) right tributary of Alūksne or Beja that flows out of Lake Alūksne in its northeastern part. A large part of the lake’s waters through the Alūksne and Pededze rivers enter the Daugava River Basin (Tomāss 1937: 12, 14). The Pededze, a tributary of the right bank of the Aiviekste River, begins near the highest peak of the Great Egg Mountain (Estonian: *Suur Munamägi*) in the southeastern part of the Haanja Upland (Haanja Highland, Estonian: *Haanja kõrgustik*), where flows out from two branches (Tomāss 1937: 5), and receives many tributaries. The most important of them are on the right side of the river, where is the Gauja River Basin. The Pededze tributary network in the east meets the rivers of the Mude River Basin (Tomāss 1937: 6). Castles of piles were used for fortifications of Pils /Castle/ Island (Apals 1964: 5). The southeastern and eastern border of Atzele (Russian: *Очела*, Livonian: *Atsele*) Land was determined by the Mude tributary of Rītupe (also Latvian: *Ūdrāja, Utreja*), flowing from Lake Meirāni, and the Kukova or Kokava (also Latvian: *Kuhva, Kukva*) River. Abrene (Latvian: *Abrene*) Land located to the east. About a thousand years ago, earlier residents settled on Gaujene or Gaujiena (German: *Adsel*, historical names in Russian: *Ацель, Адзель, Говья*) Hillfort, the main Latgalian government centre on the Gauja River right shore. The name of one of the oldest populated places in Atzele Land was first mentioned in the Novgorod First Chronicle (Russian: *Новгородская первая летопись*, 1016–1471) or the Chronicle of Novgorod. It is the most ancient extant Old Russian chronicle of the Novgorodian Rus’. The road from Pskov led along Lake Alūksne to Cesvaine Hillfort (Latin: *castrum Sessowe, castro Cessoe*) inhabited by the Latgalians since the 6th or 7th century and

fortified with a log double-row wall and chambers. The northern end of the plateau with its rampart was higher than the southern end. The entrance was on the western edge. An ancient town (Latin: *urbs Zcessowe*) at the hill's foot was the most intense populated in the late 12th and early 13th centuries when Cesvaine was a vassal state of the Principality of Jersika (Latin: *Gercike, Gercekea, Ģerzika*) (Fig. 2). German and Latin texts of the 13th–14th-century chronicles and documents mentioned *Gerzike*. The name *Cargrada* (Russian: *Царь градъ*, German: *Zargrad*) was used until World War I (Urtāns 1966: 30).

Dignāja Hillfort strengthened by terraces was surrounded by a double log wall on a high rampart became more important than the opposite Latgalian centre on Jersika Hillfort up to the 10th century. On areas of the Daugava left shore, the Selonians mostly lived from the 10th to the 12th century, and they built fortresses on large hillforts and shelters in case of armed conflicts. Selonian material culture on the shores of the Dviete River Valley was similar to the Latgalian. Settlements of the Late Iron Age have been found also on Wind Hill (Latvian: *Vēja kalns*) and elsewhere. Latgalian spiritual culture flourished in the main political and military centre on Jersika Hillfort from the 10th century to the early 13th century. At the foot, the mouth of a small river used as a stop for ships and log floaters was the farthest east Latgalian port on the Daugava Waterway linked Polotsk (Byelorussian: *Полацк*, Russian: *Полоцк*) and Gotland. The importance of Jersika Hillfort increased, and Dignāja settlement and fortifications on the hillfort turned towards the Daugava began to decline in the 11th century. The Latgalians lived also on Dignāja Hillfort, the the centre subjugated by the ruler of the Principality of Jersika, or the outer section of Jersika Hillfort on the Daugava left shore.

An early feudal fortress was created on Asote Hillfort in the 9th century. Wooden houses were placed along ramparts. An ancient town at the foot ceased to exist around 800. On Asote Hillfort, a plateau encircled by double log walls was built up in the 10th century. An iron extraction furnace was installed (Graudonis&Urtāns 1961). This governmental and military centre for the noble dependent persons to the east from the Aiviekste River mouth on the Daugava right shore became vassal's residence in the eastern part of the Principality of Jersika, where lands were called Latgola (Latvian: *Latgale*, Latin: *Lettgallia*, Russian: *Лотыгольская земля, Лотыгола*, German: *Lettgallen*). The Latgalian land (Latin: *terra Lettorum*) called Lettia (Latvian: *Letija*, Latin: *Letthia, Letthigallia, terram, quae Lettia dicitur*) to the west of the Principality of Jersika was divided into two parts by the wide sparsely populated Gauja River Valley.

In Latgalian early administrative units around 900, centres were closely connected and did not exist themselves. An original governmental system of unfortified settlements or villages created by single-homesteads was formed. Several earth roads from Lithuania took through Selonia to the Daugava River and crossed it (Fig. 3). Latvian teacher and historian Vilis Biļķins (1887–1974)

mentioned three main war routes in Selonia. One of the roads started at the Daugava left bank opposite the Aiviekste River mouth and led through the Selonian lands to Užpaliai (*Uspal*) by the Šventoji (Latvian: *Sventāja*) River below Lake Sartai in Nalsen or Nalse Land (Latin: *terra Nalsen*, Lithuanian: *Nalšia* or *Nalšėnai*, Belarusian: *Нальшчаны*) and further to Vilnius. A Swedish Livonian poet and historian Thomas Jerne (1638–1678) who had studied at *Academia Gustaviana* (Latin: *Universitas Tartuensis*) called this the “Lithuanian way”, along which the Lithuanians moved in the second half of the 12th century when they invaded Latgalian and Estonian counties. **Now** this road can be traced from a small town of Onuškis or a village of Eikiniškis in Lithuania but from the border with Selonia in the area of present-day Latvia it runs near Stupeļi and Marga hills and along Viņauka and Krigāni lakes towards the largest lake in Selonia – Lake Sauka, crosses the Susēja or Suseja (also Latvian: *Dienvidsusēja*) River and leads to the north along the eastern shore of Lake Sauka, where a small hillfort of Dievkalniņš /God Hill/ was located, and to the right was high Ormaņi Hill (Latvian: *Ormaņkalns*), where have been sacred groves. The population developed around the Susēja River used for traffic to the Lielupe and coastal ports of the Gulf of Riga, on shores of water-rich rivers and the largest lake in Selonia – Lake Sauka. At its western end, the Susēja tributary of Dūņupe also Doņupe flows out. South of Lake Sauka, the Salāte tributary of Rite stream flows out of Lake Viņauka or Ņebāni. In Selonia inland, marketplaces were accessible to the Lithuanians. The second most important earth road that crossed the Selonian lands was the merchant route called *Kopwech*. Merchants transported their goods along the road that started in the vicinity of Naujine Hillfort, crossed a long row of lakes and led through the village of Taržeka (now Latvian: *Demene*) to Lithuania. In the winter, it was possible to sledge easily and quickly through the lakes. The special Selonian lakes line was used by Lithuanian warriors from the beginning of January to the end of February when all waters were frozen. The third well-known road ran along the Daugava, the border river of Selonia. The Vikings sailed from Scandinavian countries along the Daugava, Dnieper and the Black Sea to Byzantium. **The main earth road next to the Daugava led up the right riverbank but it moved along the left riverbank in the part of Selonia.** These roads were necessary for the transshipment of goods in places of rapids, and Lithuanian troops came along them to war.

Novene (*Nevgin*) wooden fortress on Naujine Hillfort and an ancient town for a strong governmental centre in the East part of Latgalia was established near a strategic highway that led along the Daugava right shore to the remarkable Latgalian centre on Chocolate **Hill** (Latvian: *Šokolādes kalns*) and Polotsk. Stand-alone Grundāni Hillfort on the southeast shore of Lake Dridzis or Dreidzs (in local dialect) near the Daugava tributary of Skaista opened a view to an ancient town on the southside of Lake Sivers. The earth road to Pskov branched from this highway near Chocolate **Hill (Fig. 3) and** an ancient town (now in the city of Krāslava, Latgalian: *Kruoslova*,

German: *Kreslau*) on the bank of the Daugava tributary of Jāņupīte up to the estuary of the Daugava left tributary of Olksna and led past Bantenišķi Air Hill and an ancient town on the west shore of **through-flow** Lake Ildza. On its southside, the road went to Žaunerāni Hillfort and its ancient town in the advantageous site on a narrow strip of land between two alongside ravines on the north shore of Great Lake Gauslis and on the west shore of Small Lake Gauslis. The road to the northeast led below to Lubāns and Narūts lakes. Near the Narūta River right tributary of Guščica, Dagda Hillfort was made by the Dagdica River that enters Lake Dagda. An ancient town and Lake Luboneņš located at the road that led to a fortified settlement on Ūdrāji Hillfort (also Dubovka or Latvian: *Ozolakalns*) on the north side of Lake Udrija, also Ūdrāji or Ūdriņi and an ancient town on the east side of the hill. In the vicinity of the Ormjanka River near the border of Kievan Rus', Robežnieki or Pustiņa Hillfort with an ancient town at the road to the south of the hill developed on a long peninsula in Great Lake Gusens (also *Ūseņs*) and promoted population of Reuta Hill at the Tartaks or Antāna River source on the south shore of Rušons. On its southeast side at the road, Stanovišķi Hillfort for the fortified living site on a small, elongated round plateau was formed by a strip of land near Small Lake Kustari (Latvin: *Kustarka* or *Mazais Kustaru ezers*). An ancient town or Gorodok developed on its coastline. The eastern part of Lake Rušons is connected with Ubīļi, Biržkalns and Ilze lakes. On the south side of a long, narrow peninsula among Lake Ilze, the flat, elongated round plateau of small Blaževiči Hillfort called Gorodok was inhabited for a long time. On a peninsula east of Rušons, an ancient town at the flat slope of the hill was near the road that passed Leimanišķi Hillfort (also Latvian: *Apšu* or *Barsuku kalns*) at the Malta River, flowing from Lake Rāzna. The second hillfort was Leimanišķi Battery Hill (Latvian: *Leimanišķu Baterijas kalns* or *Šentes kalni*) southeast of the road. Ancient routes (Fig. 3) also passed Rušons Hillfort on the northwest coastline of Lake Rušons. An unfortified settlement on a slope of a small hill on the Rēzekne River right bank three kilometres at its source from Lake Rāzna dates back to about the second half of the 1st millennium AD (Jefimova 1977: 44–45). Below the Rēzekne River flows to the north, where Finno-Ugric peoples lived instead of the present-day city of Rēzekne (Polish: *Rezekne*, *Rzeżyca*, German: *Rositten*, Lithuanian: *Rėzeknė*). The presence of the Latgalians was detected later, and the continuous population began from the first centuries of our era. Small Ratinieki Hill on the Rēzekne River left shore possible was used for a specific function. Sprīņģi Hillfort or Golberova Gora at the Mediņa River that enters the Rēzekne River had an ancient town on the bank of the Rēzekne left tributary of Rodupe.

In the Iron Age, the Principality of Koknese (Fig. 2) was densely populated. The Lejasbitēni settlement was intensively inhabited in the 1st millennium AD, especially in the second half when there was also a hillfort. In the 3rd–11th centuries, wooden log defensive walls guarded log dwellings, farms and workshops of craftsmen on Loxten Hillfort (Mugurēvičs 1977: 53–54) with a

large triangular plateau separated by a rampart and a ditch on the northeast side. The Latgalian fortified settlement established instead of the ancient Selonian settlement on Loxten Hillfort existed from the 7th to the 11th century AD. The development of the Latgalian fortified settlement on Oliņš Hill diminished its importance (Gimbutiene 1994: 143). Altiena Hillfort with a wooden fortress on highland demarcated by the high bank of the Daugava and the ravine of Altene River was installed by the Selonians in the 6th–7th centuries AD. Human life there became more intense in the 10th–13th centuries. Monks' Hill was strengthened at the beginning of our era. A pile of stones, probably, supplemented by wooden constructions, was built along the northern and northeastern edges of the hill. The plateau was expanded. The northern slope was made steeper. Latgalian fortress on flat-topped Monks' Hill was abandoned in the 10th century. On the second upper terrace of the Daugava right bank, Mežmaļi settlement bounded by the fifteen metres high bank from the south and the ten metres high bank of a wide ravine from the east dates back to the 7th–10th centuries. A low 105-metres-long semicircular ridge of stones encircled the hillfort from the other two sides (Mugurēvičs 1964: 13). In the 8th century AD directly opposite Sēlpils Hillfort that was the main political and military centre of the castle districts association of Selonia Land (Latin: *terra Selonia*, Latvian: *Sēlija*, German: *Sēlen lant*; before the 10th century–1218/1256) on the Daugava left shore, the beginnings of the population can be found on Oliņš Hill one and a half kilometres east of Mežmaļi settlement (Mugurēvičs 1977b). Probably, Oliņš Hill was the ancient centre of the Selonians. The triangular plateau was delimited from the south by the twenty metres high wall steep bank of the Daugava and an old runoff on the north side. The rare populated outer section on the west side was located behind the 175-metres-long rampart. The ancient town near Oliņš Hill did not exist. Human life took place on the plateau. A craftsmen's workshop was located on its northeast side (AIM 1961: 4). There was a large rampart at one end of the hillfort of the early feudal period. At the northeastern end of the hill, a 70-metre-long rampart loaded with plate-like steel stones and reached a width of three metres at the base on the edge of the slope. The wide plateau and strong fortress suggest that it played an excellent role in antiquity. Oliņš Hillfort became the Latgalian craft and trade centre near the Daugava Waterway crossed by the earth road in the north-south direction (Fig. 3). The depression on the hillfort was most intensively inhabited in the 11th–12th centuries when it was the centre of vast lands preserved the name of Oliņš (Mugurēvičs 1960: 6). Koknese fortified settlement on a steep cliff coexisted with Monks' Hill, where the last population began earlier. A small distance between the two fortified places indicates close contacts of patriarchal communities and, possibly, also common protection tasks. Koknese as a place of fortified residence continued to exist after the end of the inhabitation on Monks' Hill. The favourable location on a dolomite rock created by the deep ravine of the Pērse River at its estuary and the ancient bank of the spacious Daugava River Valley contributed to the improvement of the defensive system opposite

the 18-metres high cliff of Staburags on the left riverside. Strong wooden fortifications (Latin: *castrum Kukenoys*) typical of a feudal government centre had been built on Koknese Hillfort from the 10th–11th century to the early 13th century when the whole plateau was tightly built. The fortress was strengthened by the outer section around 1000. It seems, the Latgalian and Selonians lived here. Construction was relatively dense. Huts for barns and sheds located next to a small one- and two-room log houses dug into the ground. Miniature summer houses of logs and standing timber buildings were built for the farm (Stubavs 1963: 13). A wide walk covered by trees and stones crossed the yard (Stubavs 1964: 18–19). Koknese fortified town was built in the 10th century. Many rugged places were in the Daugava below Stukmaņi up to Koknese. In dry summers, some rapids were not deep in the Daugava and could be crossed on foot or by cart in some places. Oliņš Hill and Sēlpils hillforts guarded waterway crossings or ferries.

The road from the modern city of Biržai in Lithuania led to Slaidēni or Slaidēni also Linde Hillfort on the left side of the Daugava River. It refers to a period about the turn of the 1st and 2nd millennium AD. Its ancient town was not long populated opposite the Hill of Gods that has been inhabited at least since the 9th century AD. The outer section was crossed by about six metres wide ravine in a northwest-southeast direction that probably was the Rumbiņa ancient river bed. Antiques dating from the 10th century AD shows the ethnic affiliation to the Livs. Some jewellery was typical of the Latgalian and Semigallians (Zariņa 1982: 164, 167). Since the arrival of inhabitants in Semigallia, the populated side of the Livs has existed near the Lielupe River. During the 10th century, the merchant settlement began to develop between the Lielupe River and Long Island made by its by-pass Driksa, where a port was located, and it got the Livonian name Jelgab (now the city of Jelgava) (Šterns 2002: 126–127). Significant Semigallian population centres on banks of the Lielupe largest right tributaries of Iecava, Spuņņupe (previously connected to Lake Babīte) and the left tributaries of Svēte, Īslīce, Vircava, Platone, Svitene, Sesava used waterways for traffic to the Port of Riga and an international marketplace. The Mēmele and its tributary of Susēja provided links to population, craft and market centres of Southern Selonia. About ten metres high Babīte Hillfort (Latvian: *Babītes pilskalns*) also Poļu kalns /Polish Hill/ at the eastern end of Lake Babīte was located at an important trade route. *Castrum Babat* or *Babath* was created on the hill that stood on the Lielupe River right shore, into which flowed the Gāte starting from Lake Babīte (Turlajs 2012: 96). Earth roads from Courland and Semigallia led to the banks of the Daugava River lower reaches (Fig. 3). The most important centres with ports in the coastal settlement complex of the principal waterway of the Lielupe were Bauska, the merchant settlement of Jelgab and Mežotne Hillfort with an ancient town. The main Semigallian fortification was *castrum Mesiothe* (destroyed in 1272) on Mežotne also Viesturs Hill in the 8th–13th centuries. During the five hundred years, the fortress in Mežotne was destroyed and restored ten times. Almost every generation of inhabitants of

Mežotne experienced one loss of their fortifications and was forced to rebuild buildings stronger and more stately than before. Gradually, the large and impressive Mežotne Castle Mound got its shape. A place of the entrance gate structures at the northern end of the rampart was covered with stone pavement. A small round fireplace made of stones was to the west of the road near the entrance. A few metres southwest of the hearth, not earlier than in the 13th century, a building was located on the road leading to the entrance of the fortification. A paved road also led to the centre of the plateau. The most important Semigallian economic and culture centre developed on a promontory bounded by a steep bank in the east and a ravine of the stream in the north on the Lielupe River left shore. A natural harbour in a small, deep river was at the southeastern foot of the hill. A settlement occupied a large area north, west and southwest to Wine Hill (Latvian: *Vīna kalns*) that may have been a fortified place of worship or an additional fortification. A long wall was created on the western edge of the elongated plateau, but the south and west sides of the hill foot was surrounded by a long earth wall in a semicircle with a built-in wooden frame. Dwellings and farm buildings were placed on the plateau and in an ancient town, where a building over a basement had walls plastered with clay. The road along the western hillslope led to the entrance. The defensive wall was formed by a double fortification of walls of the log building covered with a sloping roof. Log walls placed at a distance of 2,4 m from each other were connected in cross corners, but basketry partitions formed a division into precinct-like stone-filled chambers on the earth base. The raised outer wall covered defenders of the fortress, who moved along the surface of the roof covered with sod. Defensive walls were burned down and restored ten times, therefore, at least ten construction periods from the 9th to the 14th century characterized the creation of the hillfort. The rampart was significantly expanded and increased in the early 13th century. Layers of land were strengthened by tree stacks placed on top in six rounds and covered with clay. The first written news about Madsūna (Latvian: *Mežotne*) described as a very large and people-rich ancient city in the schematically inaccurate drawings of Northern Europe was included in one of the most advanced medieval worlds maps *Tabula Rogeriana* /The Book of Roger/ (Fig. 4). The road from Mežotene (*Medzothen, Masoten, Mezoten*) also Mežote (*Mesyote, Mesiothe, Mederothe, Medeiothe, Mesothen*) led to the Port of Semigallia and the fortified settlement on Daugmale Castle Mound in the Lower Daugava area. Daugmale Castle Mound and its ancient city belonged to the Semigallians until the 10th century. The Semigallians, Latgalians, Selonians and Livs lived along the Daugava that provided better connections between Eastern and Western countries than earth roads. Scandinavian nomadic traders installed Varangian settlement (9th–10th century) near the Daugmale Castle Mound on the left bank of the internationally important navigable Daugava Waterway. They used it as a place of refuge or residence and did not stay here for a long time (Urtāns 1967: 42). Then, until the late 12th century AD, the Livs and Semigallians, as well as Vikings, Krivichs and

other ethnic peoples settled here temporarily (Urtāns 1970: 68). Daugmale became a craft centre and flourished as an international marketplace in the Lower Daugava area on the waterway from the Varangians or Varyags (Old Norse: *Væringjar*, the name given by the Greeks and East Slavs to Vikings), who ruled the state of Kievan Rus' between the 9th to the 11th centuries, to the Greeks.

The main political, military, government, trade and craft centre of Western Semigallia was created by three Semigallian hillforts close to each other on shores of the Svēte River left tributary of Tērvete in Tērvetene (Latin: *Thervetene*, German: *Terwetein*) also Tērvete Land. Since the 1st millennium BC until the beginning of our era a fortified settlement of Ķīķerkalns Hill (later Latvian: *Klosterkalns* /Monastery hill/) developed on the Tērvete River left shore, but the Tervetian cult or religious practice place of Svētkalns /Holy Hill/ (German: *Heiligenberg*, since the 17th century *Zviedrukalns* /Swedish Hill/) was on the right rivershore. In the vicinity, where the Skujaine River flows into the Tērvete, a settlement could have been located here instead of the early feudalist Semigallian village. Tērvete Hillfort, one of the most significant Semigallian economic and political centres of early feudalism, was several kilometres to the south. In the German 13th-century writings, the Latin name for such local population residences was “*villa*”. One of the largest castle mounds in the Baltics was Tērvete Hillfort (populated until the end of the 13th century) strongly protected by a hillside, a ravine and a water barrier. An up to eight metres high earth wall, a moat and an outer section guarded from the eastside its great plateau. The northern part of the hill in the 11th–13th centuries was especially fortified by log walls and towers on stone foundations. Chamber-like wooden constructions stood on ramparts of fortifications, but clay-filled log chambers bounded the outer edge of the terrace. The square on the upper part of the hill was protected by two parallel double defensive log walls, and at the inner edge clung to a steep log wall. Fireplaces were placed on the side of the plateau. Dwellings of one of the greatest Semigallian dukes on the hillfort later called Cukurkalns /Sugar Hill/ located on the Tērvete River right shore. The Semigallian elders (*seniores*), who were higher in the hierarchy, tried to control the whole territory of Semigallia, but the less influential persons of villages or counties called on the free inhabitants of the land for military campaigns. The vast ancient town at the foot of the hill was an ethnically monolithic centre without a marketplace.

An impact of the ancient location of population centres and road tracing

The Daugava and Gauja River basins included areas inhabited by the Latgalians and Livs. The largest economic centres lined up along both rivers that determined layouts of ethnically diverse settlements. The Livs of Finno-Ugric tribes lived in areas west of the Gauja middle reaches to its enter the Gulf of Riga, where a port was located. The Estonians of Finnish origin lived to the north of the Gauja River, one of the longest rivers (461 km) in Latvia. Its tributaries formed the Gauja River Basin district, also an area of contact between different ethnic groups. The Latgalians and

Estonians settled north of Lake Burtnieks. A port was established at the Salaca River source. The ethnically mixed population developed in counties between lands inhabited by these tribes.

The West part of the North-Central regions of Latvia was inhabited by three associations of Baltic Finnish Tribes in the 10th–13th centuries. The Livs created a hillfort on the Daugava shores in the 9th–10th century AD. Its ancient town developed in a strategic place between two streams that enter the Daugava. The hydronym of the biggest one that was called Ašķere or Ašķe gave the name to one of the Daugava Livs' largest centres on High Hills with the farthest eastern Livonian natural harbour in the Daugava Waterway. The Daugava is considered to be the divide between Semigallia and Vidzeme now, united distant lands in the past. The Livs in large numbers lived also on banks of the Daugava River lower reaches (Atgāzis 1969: 24), and centres in the Lower Daugava area were formed already in the 10th century. In the 11th–12th centuries, the most significant economic centres on the Daugava River shores were Daugmale Castle Mound and Laukskola settlement complex of Salaspils, one of the oldest and largest fortified places of ancient locals in the area of Latvia, that included the Late Paleolithic settlement on the Daugava right shore. Later, two villages separated by the area of about 200-metres-wide burial ground were formed (Zariņa 1974a: 89). In the first half of the 1st millennium AD, the village inhabited by Baltic Tribes was on the east side of a burial ground. In the Livonian village of Laukskola, the population, that was not intensive in the 300 m long and up to 70 m wide strip along the Daugava bank, in the 10th–11th centuries began instead of in the western part of the former Baltic settlement. Probably, the population of Livonian villages was not interrupted during the transition period (Zariņa 1975: 103). The intensive construction of an economic centre of the Livonian village continued eastwards (Zariņa 1970: 74). Sunken buildings that sometimes had also basements were arranged in separate groups at a distance of 8–12 metres from each other (Zariņa 1969: 59). Merchants dominated in Laukskola settlement complex but craftsmen lived more in villages on Dole Island. People built dwellings dug into the soil (Zariņa 1972: 108) and placed in groups of 6–7 on about a 400 m long and 60–100 m wide strip along the Daugava bank. At the same time, buildings existed in 2–3 adjacent groups, 8–10 m apart (Zariņa 1971: 65). Each group had about 50 closely spaced houses. It is believed that Daugmale and Laukskola were destroyed during an attack in the middle or third quarter of the 12th century. Building gradually moved to the east in the 12th and 13th centuries. The population continued only in one village that already had lost its leading role in the county. Residents of the Livonian village developed cultural contacts (Zariņa 1974b: 91) and maintained cooperation in two distant directions: to the west across the sea to Scandinavian countries and to the east along the Daugava to Kievan Rus' and the Middle East (Zariņa 1973a: 80). Trade relations corresponded to the political and economic situation and became intense in the 11th and 12th centuries. The favourable situation on the Daugava shores and the significant 10th–12th-century transit trade centre on Daugmale Castle

Mound contributed to the growth of Laukskola village, where people engaged in farming and animal husbandry. Crafts and trade were by-products. Fishing was important (Zariņa 1973b: 83). In the 11th–13th centuries, many things were made on the spot according to imported samples of Novgorod. The influence of the Curonians, Latgalians and Semigallians was expressed in a populated area of the Daugava Livs (German: *Sissegal, Sisselgal*) (Zariņa 1968: 82). Particularly close contacts were established with the Livs of Courland (Zariņa 1969: 59). Livonian villages of Laukskola can be considered an economic and governmental centre of the rural population. Craftsmen and leading members of the society lived here together with farmers (Zariņa 1976: 104). Since the late 12th century, trade slowed down. Adverse political and economic conditions contributed to Laukskola village decline in the 13th century (Zariņa 1974b: 93). On the Daugava right shore east of Laukskola village, a sandy hill near Lipši was not inhabited for thousands of years until the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries AD. Since the 11th century and, perhaps, even from the end of the 10th century, the Livs lived in Lipši village until the 13th–14th centuries (Daiga 1975: 30). The population did not stop in the following centuries but it was no more so intense. In the southern part of Lipši village, everyday work took place around the hearth stacked with stones in living rooms (Daiga 1976: 39). Construction of the small village extended from the Livonian burial ground to the south and reached the Daugava. Trade played a secondary role in human life (Daiga 1975: 29). Rauši settlement of Dole was the dwelling place of the Daugava Livs in the early feudal period in the 11th, 12th and partly in the 13th century. The population became more intense (Daiga 1972: 61). In the southern part of the village, there was evidence that, apparently, Rauši village at the upper part of Dole Island occupied the entire coastal strip (Daiga 1975: 32). The second population of Vecdole corresponds to the last quarter of the 1st millennium AD and the early 2nd millennium AD when the ethnic change took place on Dole Island. Archaeological materials are insufficient to draw conclusions about the ethnicity of the population. Inhabitants maintained lively trade relations. Items typical of the Livs suggest that the Livonian village was on the Daugava River shore (Atgāzis 1968: 50). The Gauja River shores were inhabited by the Gauja Livs of a similar anthropological type in the 10th–12th centuries (Deņisova 1969: 7).

In the second half of the Late Iron Age, the distinctive culture of indigenous peoples reached its highest point of development. The economy was still based mainly on agriculture and stock-keeping. Craft production was increasingly concentrated in the hands of specialist craftsmen – blacksmiths, jewellery smiths, etc. Written sources indicate that indigenous peoples had developed their own states by the late 12th century, or at least the process of state-formation was nearing completion. The social structure was complex: at the top of the hierarchy were rulers, subordinate to whom were district and village elders lived in fortified dwelling places. The majority of people consisted of freemen at the bottom of the social scale.

The Metsepole Livs lived in Metsepole County (Livonian: *Mōtsa pūol* – wooded place, Finnish: *metsänpuoli*) (Fig. 2). At least until the 9th century, only Latgalian communities were in areas extending from the Ķīšupe River (also Latvian: *Kižupe* or *Tišupe*, upstream *Viršupe*) that flows out of Ledurga bogs to the south of the Gauja River. A gradual infiltration and merging of the Livs with Latgalians were in the 10th century. Livonian inhabited Metsepole and Rosula (Latvian: *Rozula*, Livonian: *Rosula*) counties extended from the Lemme (Estonian: *Lemmejõgi* situated northwest of *Orajõe*) River mouth to the Ķīšupe enters the Gulf of Riga, and from seashore to Ydumea County (Latvian: *Idumeja*, Latin: *Ydumea*, Livonian: *Vidumaa*, 11th century–1206). There were inhabited only the Salaca River shores to mouths of the Ramata (Estonian: *Raamatu jõgi*) and Iģe rivers, the Iģe River left bank, as well as downstream coasts of Glāžupe (also Latvian: *Dzirnupe*, upstream *Līvupe* or *Munca*), Pērļupe (also Latvian: *Greile*), Svētupe (Estonian: *Pühajõgi*, German: *Swähtuppe Fluss*), Vitrupe (also Latvian: *Naužupe*, upstream *Baurupe*, *Lielupīte*, *Reiņupe*), Aģe (Livonian: *Adya*, German: *Adja*) or Skulte and Ķīšupe rivers. The Livonian settlement on about ten metres high Ķezberi Hill on the southern shore of Lake Mazezers was inhabited in the 9th–12th centuries. Lembselle or Lemeselle (in Livonian it means “a large island in a wooded swamp”) village (now the city of Limbaži) developed at the foot of the hill, where stream connected Lake Mazezers with Lake Dūņezers, from which the navigable Svētupe River started but it enters the Gulf of Riga. The 10th–12th-century fortified settlement of Lemisele was at Lake Dzirnezers. The main Livonian centre of *castrum Remin* on an ancient warpath has not been determined. Hypotheses expressed that it has been on the left bank of the Liepupe River that enters the sea or a small hill by the Aģe River. It flows out of Lake Aģe, takes up waters of Lake Aijaži and served as a waterway for internal traffic. Its mouth became a port. Probably, one of the centres housed *castrum Mezepol* mentioned in 1226.

The Livs and Latgalians lived on the Brasla River shores. Ethnically different people of common economic and social interests formed a separate region on the Gauja River right shore. In Ydumea County (Fig. 2), a *castrum* or any ruler was not mentioned. The smallest fortified settlement on Kranči or Panūte Hill (also Latvian: *Kranču kalns*) was established on a strip of the Brasla right shore between the Brasla River Valley and the Panūte River near a road that from Straupe led through Ledegore (Latin: *Letthegore*, *Lettegore*, Latvian: *Lēdurga*) County (Fig. 2) to Lemisele fortified settlement. In the vicinity of Straupe, three settlements near each other were created. The centre with a fortress on Battery Hill (now in *Mazstraupe*) had an ancient town on the left shore of the stream that enters the Brasla. The slightly sloping plateau of Vējiņi Hillfort was inhabited between the 1st millennium BC and the 1st millennium AD on the Brasla right bank located to the north of Straupe. The strongest fortress was on the hillfort of Ērgļi Hills with an ancient town at the narrowest point on the Brasla right shore between Riebiņi and Eikēni lakes. A

road from Ledegore County to Straupe and Rubene led to the east of the hill behind the Brasla begins at Lake Plācis.

The trade road between Metsepole and Ydumea counties crossed the separate Ledegore Land that as Toreida Land (Latin: *Thoreida*, *Thoreyda*, Latvian: *Turaidas zeme*; 11th century–1206) (Fig. 2) inhabited by the Gauja Livs did not have access to the sea. Through Ledegore County was provided links between lands of the Treiden Livs and the Metsepole Livs. The main centre (11th–13th century) was located on the hard-to-reach Vieši Hill (populated 12th–13th century). An ancient town developed at the Melnupīte River estuary into the Gauja. Loja (also Latvian: *Asegāle* or *Kaupiņi*) Hillfort for a temporary hiding place on the left bank of the Gauja right tributary of Loja (also Latvian: *Loģe*, *Lose* or *Klinšupīte*) and its ancient town were surrounded by ravines. The locals along the Gauja Waterway travelled to near and far places. The Gauja River was sailed from its mouth to Toreida or Treiden (Livonian: *Taara aed*, also *Tara aida*), which means “The garden of God” (Latvian: *Dieva dārzs*) in the Livonian language. Gutman’s Cave (Latvian: *Gūtmaņala*) was the place of worship on the Gauja right shore. Presumably, there was Anno village (*villa Annonis*, Latvian: *Anno ciems*), which name was identified with the Livonian village of Ennisile mentioned in documents of 1248.

A residential place of indigenous Finno-Ugric ethnic groups of Northern Courland persecuted by the Cours after their expulsion was mentioned on Kube Hill to be at the end of the dune ridge between the Rīdziņa River in the south and marshy meadows in the north at the Daugava River mouth near the Gulf of Riga. After a short stay, a small group of migrants from the Liv-inhabited lower reaches of Winda River or the Wends (Latin: *wendi*, Latvian: *vendi*, Estonian: *võndlased*) expelled again by the Cours arrived in the Lower Gauja area between lands inhabited by the Latgalians and Livs. Several state formations were in the Gauja River Basin district. Russian chronicles posted that the Latgalians paid a lot to the Krivichs. The name of the place was *Кечь* (Livonian: *kest* – “beyond” the Gauja), of which originated word “*Cēsis*” that occurs for the first time in *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*. In the early 11th century, **the Wends** arrived in Cēsis and built *Wendorum castrum* on round, slightly elongated Riekstu Hill (Latvian: *Riekstukalns*, German: *Nusberg*) on the edge of the Gauja River Valley between Tolowa and Ydumea counties. On the Gauja left bank to the north of Riekstu Hill, Little Sacrifice Hill (Latvian: *Mazais Upurkalns*) probably, was its outer section.

In the 11th century, humans took a living place on a peninsula surrounded by the Daugava and Rīdziņa rivers. Riga village of two similar ethnic groups of the Daugava Livs and Livonians from Northern Courland began to form (Caune 2007: 258). In the late 12th century, the largest settlement was located at the Rīdziņa estuary, and the first harbour of Riga was established in a wide bay called Lake Riga (Latin: *lacus Riga*). In the late 12th century, Riga began to come forward as a

marketplace (Caune 1985: 35). An important highway began between the Daugava and the Gauja lower reaches and continued along the Gauja left bank to the western and northern borders of Latgalian inhabited lands (Fig. 3), Vōru (Latvian: *Veru*, German: *Werro*), Pskov and Novgorod. Marketplaces, accommodation and warehouses were set up in centres near the road. On the Gauja left shore, the main Livonian fortress on Livonian Hill (Latin: *mons Liffen*, German: *Lieffse bergk*, *Lievenschanze* Latvian: *Lībju* also *Līvu kalns*) and an ancient town on the Vējupīte River Ravine near the Kraukļupīte River estuary developed close to a road at the beginning of the 13th century but the Latgalian elder (1208–1212) *Russinus de Sotekele* lived in Sotekele (*Sotecele*, *Sotecla*, also Latvian: *Satekla*) fortification. The Latgalian centre on Līgatne Hillfort (Skutāns 2009) was located on the right shore of Podupīte River, the Gauja River left tributary. The Gauja was crossed by the road connecting two branches of the main road (*via magna*) of modern Rīga–Cēsis–Rauna–Smiltene–Gaujiena–Alūksne–Pskov (Fig. 3). The road branch Toreida–Wendeculla–Straupe was identifiable with Wengul or Wingul village marked in the Swedish audit in 1638 and it was included in Toreida Land. The translation of Wendeculla (Latvian: *Vendekula*, Latin: *Wendeculla*, Livonian, Estonian: *küla*, Karelian: *kylä* – 'ciemats', 'ciems') village of the Wends from the Baltic Finnish languages “the village of the Wends” (Latvian: *Vendu ciems*, *Vaingulciems*, *Vengulas ciems* or *Viņgelieši*) points to the ethnic origin of the population living there and native language (Apals 1998: 126). Another road to the right from the road branch Toreida–Wendeculla–Straupe crossed the Gauja River.

One road branch from the Daugava lower reaches led through Toreida to the **Wends**’ largest residential place Riekstu Hill, further along the foot of hills of the northern edge of the Vidzeme Upland (Latvian: *Vidzemes augstiene*) and Tanīsa Hill of Rauna with a fortified urban village (Šterns 2002: 98, 101–102) in the geographical centre of Vidzeme. In its vicinity, fifteen ancient roads intersected. Tanīsa Hill was the final destination of Beverina Road (*via in Baverin*) oriented in the Rubene–Rauna direction. *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* reports on the possible *castrum Beverin* (Latvian: *Beverīna*, also *Bebernīne*, *Bitarīna*, burned in 1216) that was the starting point of one road. The other starting point could be Ymera (Latvian: *Imera*, Latin: *Ymera*; 1208–1223) (Fig. 2), from which the road led along the lake. The name *Barūnia* identified by *castrum Beverin* can be found on the map *Tabula Rogeriana*. It was shown schematically inaccurate in the northern part of Europe. Old roads intersected near small lakes of Rieviņi and Brieži on the Gauja River right bank, where an important trade route began and led to areas inhabited by the Baltic Finns and the late entrants Latgalians and the main economic centre of Sakala County and Pskov (Šterns 2002: 206–207). The road, whose stages in the north-west-south-east direction on the northern edge of the Vaidava Lake Valley with a series of Vaidava, Anulis, Rabuts and Brieži lakes in the dry bed of the subglacial furrow have survived to the present day, was marked on the map of the first Livonian

atlas *Der atlas von Lieffland: oder von den beyden Gouvernementern und Herzogthümern Lief- und Ehistland und der Provinz Oesel* (1798) made by the most notable 18th-century cartographer in the Baltics Ludwig August Mellin (1754–1835). As the water level rose, the valley could be used as the shortest route from the Vaidava River Basin to valley waters entering the Gauja. The Grīviņi ferry for constant crossing of the river existed at the rampart. The most significant shrine Blue Hill (Latvian: *Zilaiskalns*) with the Sacrificial Stone that can be seen in the distance from Baiži Hill was also the destination. Memecule Road (*via Memeculle*), Vendeculla Road (*via Vendeculla*), Beverina Road and the Baltic Coastal Route to the Estonian lands were permanently used routes that were guarded during the war to prevent the enemy's attack or block up back off (Mugurēvičs 1961: 64). The road from Tanīsa Hill led to the strong fortress on Cērtene Hillfort and an ancient town (now in the city of Smiltene) on the Cērtene River left shore, the Abuls left tributary in the wooded, sparsely populated northern part of Tolowa southeast from Trikāta (Latin: *Tricatua*). A larger fortress on high stand-alone Dzērbene High Hill (Latvian: *Dzērbenes Augstais kalns*) and an ancient town located near the Dzērbe or Šķesterupīte River that enters the Gauja and connects small lakes. Brengūzis and Tauriņš lakes are the largest. The Gauja, still a small river, flows through them. The road branch to Pskov to the north from Tanīsa Hill led slightly through Mārsnēni and across the Lisa upper floodplain. A strong centre was Griška Hill (also Latvian: *Griškas, Piebalgas, Balgas, Veļķu kalns*) or Vecpiebalga Hillfort on the east shore of Lake Alauksts. A small river flows to the west of an ancient town. A road from a junction near the Livonian fortified settlement on stand-alone Skanste Hill (now in the small town of Ērgļi) and an ancient town on the Ogre River left shore led to a settlement near Lake Alūksne.

Another road branch from the Daugava lower reaches led past Riekstu Hill to Tolowa Land (Fig. 3). The seat of the Latgalian elder *Thalibaldus de Tolowa* (*Thalibaldus de Beverin*; ?–1215) subordinated to Pskov was on a round plateau of an unfortified centre of Trikāta Hillfort on a high coastal ridge at the junction of a highway to Pskov and the Rubene–Ymera road between Lake Trikāta to the east and the Gauja left tributary of Abuls to the south. An ancient fortified town developed at the hill's foot. A complex of fenced dwellings and outbuildings (the late 12th century) on Peka Hill located to the south of the Abuls enters the Gauja. At the eastern end of the elongated highlands, the temporary fortification protected by small ridges on high Celīši Hill (Latvian: *Vijciema Celītkalns* or *Celīškalns*) with a fortified village (Latin: *villa apud Viwam fluvium*) on the shore of the Vija tributary of Kamalda was not directly connected with significant traffic roads. Most likely, the road from Celīši Hill led to Trikāta and *Tarbatum* fortress on the hillfort by the Emajegi /Mother of water/ River in the Estonian lands (Heinrici 1993: 390).

Trade routes led also to large centres on the Daugava River shores (Fig. 3) and the Aiviekste enters the Daugava. In the 11th century, the rampart on Asote Hillfort was raised and strengthened

by a chamber-shaped log frame created inside and a ring-shaped defensive wall was created for a new protection system. The defensive log wall rose above the rampart to which buildings approached. A tower of square layout stood in the southeast corner (Graudonis&Urtāns 1961). One entrance led from the west, where the Daugava River flows, the other entrance was from the east. In the western part of the Principality of Jersika on the Aiviekste left shore, the county centre on a scenically expressive 16 metres high quadrangular hill was known as Bed Hill (Latvian: *Gultas kalns*) on the Arona River right shore. Quadrangular Arona Hillfort surrounded by a small stream and used by people before our era became the county centre in the 11th–12th century AD. The entrance to the hillfort was on the northeast side. An ancient town located near the important road from Pskov that went past Cesvaine Hillfort and led to the junction of significant traffic routes in the central part of the Principality of Koknese. Ice Spring (Latvian: *Ledavots*) at the foot delights with clear water. Arona Holy Hill (Latvian: *Aronas Svētais kalns*) was a place of worship on the shore of Lake Nagla. Round Nigeste Hill (Latin: *Negeste, Egeste*) with steep sides and an ancient town at its foot facing the road located in the upstream of the Arona tributary of Dzirnupīte. This hill may have been the first Nigeste to be abandoned, as soon as a stronger county centre was established on a 30 metres high, elongated hill with naturally steep sides. It is believed that Nigeste fortification existed on Dārznīca Hill until the 13th century. The current name occurred recently but its ancient name is not known. North of Nigeste, the seat of Autine or Autīna (Latin: *urbs Autina*, possibly from the word “*Avots*” /source/ or “*Avotiņi*” /small sources/) ruler *Waridote de Antine* was mighty Sārums Hill (also *Upurkalns* or *Lielais kalns*, inhabited before our era) with a fortified ancient town near the Kapupīte River estuary in the Rauna left tributary of Vaive. In the 1st–6th centuries AD, Sārums Hill was associated with the presence of Finno-Ugric people, in the 9th–12th centuries AD – with the Latgalians.

In the second half of the 12th century, *castrum Wyssewalde* called the town was the seat of the ruler *Vissevalde rex de Gerzika* (German: *Vissewalde*, Russian: *Всеволод, Wiscewolodus*; end of the 12th century–after 1230) who was consistently called the king in *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* (Šterns 2002: 187). In the early 13th century, there were two Orthodox churches in this early Latgalian county of being a king (Latin: *regnum*), as the Christian faith was introduced from Polotsk, and a fortified ancient town mentioned *civitas, urbs, locum castris Gerceke* in written sources from the 13th century burned twice (Šterns 2002: 113). The layout of the restored settlement preserved traditions of building orientation but the lifestyle of inhabitants changed. There was no division between the ruler’s fortified dwelling and the ancient town, where the location of houses did not allow the expansion of the farm. This type of new fortified urban settlement protected by a unified defensive system did not occur elsewhere in the territory of Latvia (Vasiļjevs 1969: 176).

Trade routes intersected on the south side of Piziči Kaupra Hill (Latvian: *Viļānu Piziču Kaupra kalns*; dated to the 12th–13th century) with flat sides (Fig. 3) that occupied a long strip of land on the Malta River shore. Piziči Kaupra Hill on a ridge was redistributed by the Rīvula River that flowed at the southwest end of the site of Piziči Town (Latvian: *Piziču Pilsētas vieta*) on its left bank. A fortification on the hill was located on the right bank. The hillfort was separated from the rest of the ridge by two ramparts and ditches but the edge of the hillfort facing the Rīvula was steep enough, so no additional fortifications had to be installed here. The continuation of Kaupra Hill on the opposite bank of the Rīvula River was separated by a ditch and a rampart and formed a large fortified settlement or the “city place” called by the locals. Houses were dug into the ground, and a fortified terrace below the plateau that may not have been fortified by stone or stake fortifications was inhabited. A moat was at the hill foot. Latgalian culture flourished on Piziči Kaupra Hill.

Since the beginning of the 11th century, economic life increased, feudal relations developed and the Latgalians formed (11th–12th century) a political and economic centre. Koknese fortification was one of the strongest on the Daugava shores, so it was possible to control the important traffic artery and maintain political, economic and cultural ties to the east with cities of Kievan Rus'. Earth roads took place mainly in the eastern direction to the Slavic lands. Cooperation was established with Polotsk. A permanent ferry near Koknese facilitated traffic with counties on the Daugava left bank (Stubavs 1967: 36). Transit roads and a warpath from the Lithuanian lands crossed the Daugava and continued in the direction of Riekstu Hill and Pskov. Probably, members of a feudal family have lived in Koknese since the 11th century. Later, they could also be found in the vicinity of Ikšķile and Salaspils (Stubavs 1966: 26). Residents of Koknese the Latgalians and Selonians lived together with the baptized Krivichs from the 11th century to the early 13th century. In one of the largest settlements with a port on the Daugava shores, people practised in trade relations, animal husbandry, farming and crafts. Log houses influenced by Slavic building traditions dominated Koknese but it was less pronounced in the second half of the 12th century. Unlike an outer section, the construction of 11th-century wooden houses did not have a direct Slavic influence. This is to be explained by the interaction of Slavic and Baltic culture in the local environment. Stone sacred buildings began to be built in Koknese in the middle and second half of the 12th century (Stubavs 1967: 35–36). In the early 13th century, Koknese was a stronghold of Polotsk and a local governmental centre, which one the Krivichs, Latgalians and Selonians cooperated to protect (Stubavs 1963: 14).

Latgalian early production places on the basis of previous centres developed into ancient towns in the 11th–12th centuries. At that time, written sources mentioned Atzele and Tolowa lands (*terram*) and Latgalian principalities (*regnum*) of Koknese and Jersika. The Latgalians had more than 70 hillforts in the 12th century.



Fig. 12 The hydrographic network of inland surface waters of Latvia and its relation to lands inhabited by Livonian and Latgalian communities: Tolowa (9 – Gauja River Basin, 10 – Salaca River Basin), Atzele (8 – Daugava River Basin, 9 – Gauja River Basin, 13 – Mude River Basin), Jersika (8 – Daugava River basin), Koknese (8 – Daugava Rives Basin), Metsepole (10 – Salaca River Basin, 14 – Small coastal river basins) (HNISW)

Fig. 23 Livonian and Latgalian inhabited lands and the main centres of Tolowa, Jersika, Koknese, Atzele, Metsepole in the area of Latvia at the end of the 12th century (LLIH)



Fig. 34 Traffic highway tracing in the Republic of Latvia based on an ancient set of traffic routes for communication (THT)

Fig. 41 The Semigallian ancient city of Madsūne in a fragment of “Weltkarte des Idrisi vom Jahr 1154 n. Ch., Charta Rogeriana” with names transliterated into Latin script in a 1928 copy of the map of the world drawn by Idrisi in 1154 and included in “*Tabula Rogeriana*”; upside-down with north oriented up (Al-Idrisi, Miller 1928).

There was no united Latvian nation in the 12th and 13th centuries, but the Latgalian or Latvians lived north of the Daugava River. The Semigallians and Selonians were found south of the Daugava, but the Cours inhabited most of Courland. The Livs lived in the coastal zone of Vidzeme and in Northern Courland. The Estonian lands were located in the north of lands inhabited by the Latvians, and Russians lived in the states of Polotsk and Pskov in the east. Latvian Tribes already in the 12th century had a sufficiently high level of political culture with a well-developed and strictly organized national life. Latvian state structures had not reached the same level of development in the 12th and 13th centuries.

Territorial units (Fig. 2) and the hierarchy of ancient population centres stabilized. Internal relations of each individual unit became significant. Waterways and the main directions of roads (Fig. 3) determined by activities of people, geography and traditions of the previous era were increasingly important to promote economic development. Their use has been influenced by climatic conditions. Ancient Livonian and Latgalian settlements and traffic for trade relations created the basis for the modern population system in North-Central and Eastern Latvia and cultural identity. Trade routes connecting Northern Europe with areas to the southeast formed a network of road tracing in its early development that left an impact on the economic growth and local people's well-being today. International trade played an important role.

Conclusions

1. The location of human-inhabited places began with permanent settlements of hunting-fishing tribes by lakes in relief depressions, where extensive ancient farm centres were established. Tribes of farmers and stockbreeders chose for permanent residences wider areas in geographically advantageous places near water bodies. Residences of ethnically diverse inhabitants had a direct connection to large rivers and lakes used on a daily for farm needs, traffic and communications. Human settlements acquired new functions related to protection and production. In areas inhabited by ethnically diverse representatives, local governmental and other functionally different centres were created, between which roads for traffic formed a network that promoted population in the surrounding areas.
2. Territorial state formations were created with governmental centres, which main functions related to the development of culture, crafts, trade, and they took the leading place in the hierarchy of settlements. Communication between members of one ethnic group and certain ethnic regions was close.
3. The main centres of feudal states also housed the rulers, to which many transit routes led. Long-distance traffic developed and international exchanges of goods were established. Cultural and religious ties flourished.

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INNOVATIVE TRANSFORMATIONS OF URBAN SPACE FOR SUSTAINABILITY, STRENGTHENING CULTURAL IDENTITY AND TRADITIONS IN LATVIA

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Abstract

Innovative transformations of urban space for sustainability, strengthening cultural identity and traditions in Latvia

Key Words: *cultural identity, economic activity, innovative transformation, sustainability, urban space*

Latvian urban space preserves the cultural and historical values of previous generations and reflects views, traditions and understanding of living space. Today's people see cities of the future different than now, so it is important for them to adapt the historical environment to new everyday functions and creatively complement it with modern architectural accents that ensure sustainable development, strengthen cultural traditions, promote economic activities and well-being. Innovative urban transformation is not only a mean of preserving the identity of the urban environment, but also enabling local communities to find opportunities to integrate into the global economy. **Research object:** functionality of public outdoor spaces, urban identity, artistic and landscape values in the historical environment. **Research goal:** analyzing the impact of innovative urban transformations on economic growth and well-being of local people. **Research problem:** to preserve historical identity during the development of the contemporary urban environment. **Research methods:** analysis of cartographic materials, urban planning projects, photo fixations and published information of regional differences, interpretations and novelties in solutions for improving the historical environment in cities. **Research limitations:** research is conducted during the Covid-19 pandemic, so there may be restrictions on access to materials stored in archives. **Applications to practice:** research will help to find successful solutions for quality improvement of urban spaces and promoting economic activities of people. **Impact on society:** tradition-based sustainable environmental improvements have a direct impact on the health and quality of life in society. **Research novelty:** the peculiarity of innovative transformations of Latvian urban space and differences under the influence of local cultural traditions.

Kopsavilkums

Pilsētvides inovatīvas pārvērtības ilgtspējībai, kultūras identitātes un tradīciju stiprināšanai Latvijā

Atslēgvārdi: *ekonomiska aktivitāte, ilgtspēja, inovatīva pārveidošana, kultūras identitāte, pilsētvide*

Latvijas pilsētās ne tikai glabā iepriekšējo paaudžu kultūrvēsturiskās vērtības, bet arī atspoguļo cilvēku uzskatus, tradīcijas un izpratni par dzīvesvidi. Mūsdienās cilvēki savā iztēlē redz nākotnes pilsētas pavisam savādākas nekā tagad, tāpēc ir svarīgi prast vēsturisko vidi pielāgot jaunām ikdienas funkcijām un to radoši papildināt ar jauniem arhitektūras akcentiem, kas palīdz nodrošināt ilgtspējīgu attīstību, stiprina kultūras tradīcijas, veicina iedzīvotāju saimniecisko darbību un labklājību. Inovatīva pārveidošana ir ne tikai līdzeklis pilsētvides identitātes saglabāšanai, bet dod iespējas vietējām kopienām atrast veidu kā integrēties pasaules ekonomikā. **Pētījuma objekts:** publisko ārtelpu funkcionalitāte, pilsētas identitāte, mākslas un ainavas vērtības vēsturiskajā vidē. **Pētījuma mērķis:** analizēt pilsētvides inovatīvu pārveidojumu ietekmi uz ekonomisko izaugsmi un vietējo iedzīvotāju labklājību. **Pētījuma problēma:** attīstoties mūsdienu pilsētvidei, nepieciešams saglabāt vēsturisko identitāti. **Pētījuma metodes:** kartogrāfisko materiālu, pilsētplānošanas projektu, foto fiksāciju un publicētās informācijas par reģionālām atšķirībām, interpretācijām un novitātēm vēsturiskās pilsētvides uzlabošanai analīze. **Pētījuma ierobežojumi:** pētījumi tiek veikti Covid-19 pandēmijas laikā, tāpēc piekļuvei arhīvos glabājamiem materiāliem var būt ierobežojumi. **Izmantošana praksē:** pētījumi palīdzēs atrast veiksmīgus risinājumus pilsētas telpu kvalitātes uzlabošanai un cilvēku ekonomiskās aktivitātes veicināšanai. **Ietekme uz sabiedrību:** uz tradīcijām balstīti ilgtspējīgi vides uzlabojumi tieši ietekmē sabiedrības veselību un dzīves kvalitāti. **Pētījuma novitāte:** Latvijas pilsētvides novatorisku pārveidojumu īpatnība un atšķirības vietējo kultūras tradīciju ietekmē.

Introduction

The living environment has an impact on the human mind and creates a particular mood. Any architecture provides various information: semantic information, which includes in itself contextual and conceptual content, and esthetic information, which reflects the uniqueness of urban space and individual peculiarity of architectural formation (Strautmanis 1977). In Latvia, the architectural semantic message based on traditions and history can be read in the presence of nature elements.

Representatives of the Baltic ethnic group from the Pro-Indo-European-speaking peoples, who, in the 8th millennium BC traveled along the Daugava River, arrived on the South Coast of the Baltic Sea (Ozola, 2014b: 319). A set of people formed a tribe, which had an elder. Defensive interests of the Balts corresponded to easily fortified settlements protected by a simple wood fence and natural barriers. As management became more diverse, some areas were no longer suitable for livestock and farming; therefore, people searched for new living sites. The territorial population changed. In the mid-1st millennium BC, people began to create hillforts on high, steep banks at lakes and confluences of two rivers on farmlands close to game-rich forests. A hillfort, as a type of earthwork used as a fortified refuge or defended settlement, represented the dominant living place in areas populated by the Baltic, Finnic, and Slavic peoples up to the 13th century AD. Members of the Eastern Baltic tribe Latgalians, called the Latvians, are traceable in the basin areas of the Daugava and the Velikaya rivers since the 6th and 7th centuries. The Latgalians' single homesteads were in wooded and swamp areas, but villages dominated in the western part of their populated area. The Curonians (Curonian: *Korsi*, German: *Kuren*, Latvian: *kurši*, Lithuanian: *kuršiai*), one of the ancient Baltic tribes, lived around the Venta River basin in Courland (Latvian: *Kurzeme*, Livonian: *Kurāmō*) named after the Curonians, and in the lower reaches of the Neman (German: *Memel*) River on the Southeast Baltic Coast. Selonians (Latvian: *Sēlija*, also *Augšzeme*) was a castle district association named after the Selonians who lived on the border of Lithuania and on the Daugava right and left shores. The Latgalians got lands of Upper Courland inhabited by Finno-Ugric tribes, and along with the Cours, created the Baltic tribe Semigallians on the Lielupe plain to the Daugava. Semigallia (Latvian: *Zemgale*), named after the Semigallians as the central part of Latvia, is bounded by Courland in the west, the Gulf of Riga, the Daugava and Vidzeme (Livonian: *Vidūmō*) in the north, Selonians in the east, and the Lithuanian border in the south. The Cours, the Semigallians, the Selonians, and the Latgalians were ethnic groups, and Latvian folk along with the Livonians, a Balto-Finnic people indigenous to northern Latvia and southwestern Estonia, were still forming. Since ancient times, Baltic nations have formed organic intimacy with nature, which manifested in mental rituals and folklore, in the construction and transformation of the surrounding. The Latvian consciousness of God and the worldview was formed on the thousands of years of Proto-Indo-European or Baltic external culture, but each ethnographic region of Latvia (Fig. 1)—Courland, Semigallia, Selonians, Latgalia (Latvian: *Latgale*, Latgalian: *Latgola*), and Vidzeme, meaning “Middle land” and also known as Livonia or Livland.



Fig. 1. **Map of Latvia with ethnographic regions** (Ozola 2015: 253)

Ecclesiastical states or bishoprics and towns were founded on the southern coast of the Baltic Sea by the mid-12th century, and the lands inhabited by the Balts and Finno-Ugric tribes came under the authority of Bishop (1199–1229) Albert who relocated his residence to Riga (Latvian: *Rīga*) in 1201, and a simple village with a traditional marketplace. This was the beginning of the growth of Riga as a medieval European city. The lands ruled by the Baltic tribes were occupied in the 13th century, and the existing administrative system was changed to create a new state, urban structures, and political centers (Ozola 2020). Stone castles on hills became architectural dominances of towns. Wooden residential houses with gardens on either side of roads or streets became a characteristic feature of the small-town landscape.

The Duchy of Courland and Semigallia (1562–1795) was founded, and Reformation promoted the appearance of new types of buildings in the new state, where Lutheranism manifested as the official religion. Castles that turned into the Dukes’ residences on hills were appropriated for rest in the natural environment. In the 17th century, when the first public gardens were created in Western European cities, the understanding of urban design of typologically different towns in Courland and Semigallia changed.

The Great Northern War (1700–1721) promoted the perfection of the fortification system of cities in the early 18th century, and road networks developed after the war. Functionally different streets, squares, and public buildings became important in urban planning and significantly influenced the future economic, social, and territorial development of cities. Garden art in Riga reached a high level; major streets were enclosed by rows of trees. Urban structures were connected with former castle mounds and natural elements (Ozola 2014a: 620). Recreation in nature and pleasant pastimes were associated with physical activities and walks in parks and alleés. Artistic-esthetic considerations became important in urban spaces, and public green structures and promenades were cultivated in regional cities (Fig. 2) during the 19th century. Public gardens, boulevards, alleés, and squares became an integral part of urban development, which promoted the

garden art boom (Ozola 2019b: 624). Streets and squares were joined in a single composition to create a greenery system and build ensembles of the urban scale. A new conception of a spatial environment developed at the beginning of mass culture in the early 20th century. Urban landscapes have become the focus of artistic attention, and the synthesis of architecture and art has become essential.



Fig. 2. Cities and towns in ethnic regions of Latvia. May 2009 (CTERL)

After the Proclamation of the Republic of Latvia in 1918, the economy changed to a new state. Urban municipalities take care of the master plan development process to create a qualitative urban space. The concept of parks was changed to comply with the development tendencies of public parks, which appeared in Europe during the interwar period. Picturesque public green structures developed under the guidance of outstanding Latvian gardeners and gave the city a new visual image and Latvian characteristics.

World War II interrupted the urban traditions that were founded during Independent Latvia. Environmental and public works in Soviet Latvia were organized in compliance with socialist ideology. Subsequently, the greenery system was transformed. Trees on damaged sites were planted without paying any attention to the quality of the green structures.

Humane society in every epoch forms a spatial environment, which is not only material or physical but also connected to the development of a spiritual culture. Architecture, considering the time and duration of effects, has become a much bigger and more important emotional potential than any other art. Spending an entire life in a space that has been organized in different architectonic ways, an emotional effect causes diverse feelings. After the Restoration of Independence of the Republic of Latvia, the transformation of urban greenery systems begun to take place. Due to the interaction of nature and human activities in Latvian regional cities, architectonic spaces created over centuries and green structures connected with functional and ideological changes in Soviet Latvia manifest the local inhabitants' attitude toward the identity of the urban environment, whose characteristic language like a system of relations between well-known signs

and symbols for reflection of the deepest nature of creative expression has been obtained during the long development process. Looking for harmony in the interaction of new and historical values through movement, the development and dialectics of architectonic forms are clearly shown. Bright environmental objects divert attention from a drab landscape. In conditions of a market economy, insufficient awareness of cultural-historical values affects quality requirements; thus, research on ancient urban building and planning, preservation of values, and promotion of the best practices becomes topical. Nowadays, the study of urban green elements as functionally and artistically significant city components provides possibilities to protect historical planning and architectural structures (Ozola 2019a: 377). The qualitative construction and coverage in building areas of the greenery system influence the urban microclimate, which is crucial in improving people's quality of life and reducing global warming.

Purpose: Analyzing the impact of innovative urban transformations on the economic growth and well-being of local people. **Methodology:** Analysis of cartographic materials, urban planning projects, published information, photo fixations **Findings:** Regional differences, interpretations, and novelties in solutions for improving the environment of historical cities; Functionality of public outdoor spaces, urban identity, and artistic and landscape values in a historical environment. **Research limitations:** Research is conducted during the Covid-19 pandemic; there may be restrictions on access to documents and materials stored in archives. **Practical implications:** Research will help to find successful solutions for quality improvement of urban spaces and promote the people's economic activities. **Social implications:** Tradition-based sustainable environmental improvements have a direct impact on the health and quality of life in society. **Originality:** The peculiarity of innovative transformations of the Latvian urban environment and differences under the influence of local cultural traditions.

Innovative transformation of historical urban spaces in ethnographic regions of Latvia

Historical urban space in Latvia has been developing over many centuries thanks to geographical placement and visits of neighboring nations, which have provoked the impact of different cultures. The origins of the regional architecture formation related to wooden houses built by the Baltic tribes, the arrangement of architectonic space on hillforts, and spatial solutions of farmsteads in the rural environment, where residential and household buildings surrounded water basins were examined in the context of the natural environment, following peculiarities of the topography. Due to the environmental interaction created by nature and people, every ethnographic region of Latvia— Courland, Semigallia, Selonja, Vidzeme, and Latgallia—over the centuries has acquired an identity and its own language of architecture typical for a particular region. Culture and art confirm the identity of Latvia and numerically a small nation's self-assurance at the time of globalization. A natural landscape with unique coloring and simple beauty is the national treasure of

Latvia. The creation of the Latvian environment is founded on rural and urban housing development; however, nature, architecture, and artistic design create the landscape of the contemporary urban environment.



Fig. 3. The highlight in the southeastern part of the park on a castle mound is a pond (Photo by author)

Fig. 4. A group of sculptures “Suitu sievas” /Suites’ wife/ by sculptor Līvija Rezevska (1926–2004) in Kuldīga Sculpture Garden near the Venta Rapid in 2017 (Photo by author)

In Courland, a natural wonder is the Venta Rapid, the widest waterfall in Europe, determined by the geological structure of the site, which is part of a larger ecosystem. It has been influenced by both natural processes and human economic activities in the city of Kuldīga (Latvian: *Kuldīga*). This cultural landscape dates back to the 13th century when the middle of the Venta River was strategically chosen to build Goldingen Castle (1242–1245) on the left bank, where the power center was made for traffic surveillance of the waterway and the road from the State of the Teutonic Order to Riga. Over time, Kuldīga gained administrative and economic importance in the context of the history of the Baltic region. Today, this landscape (Fig. 3) is an integral part of the local people’s living space and place identity, a natural sight of European significance, which is being scientifically researched and holds a wealth of information to broaden the knowledge of local cultural identity (Fig. 4). Balanced development of the territory in Kuldīga is carried out to preserve the existing environment and cultural heritage, and to promote economic activities of the local population. The aim of territorial development planning is to create a harmonious environment in the Old Town of Kuldīga, using resources rationally and respecting local traditions. The organization of the area had been developed in separate projects and implemented in 2008–2018 according to the nature of the environment to discover esthetic and cultural-historical qualities of the landscape, ensuring the planning of the site’s functional links with the surrounding urban space. Preserving, maintaining, and sustainably developing the unique natural landscape has become more accessible and enjoyable.

In Courland, the heart of Talsi city on nine hills is the hillfort that rises 32 meters above the level of Lake Talsi. Later, a large ancient city developed at the foot of one of the largest Curonian fortifications on the Talsi Hillfort. Now, the most recognizable places in the city are Talsi Hillfort, Lake Talsi at its foot, and Ūdens /Water/ Street, and over the centuries, the city has been unimaginable without them. In the past, the soil at the foot of the hillfort was too moist; therefore, people were not allowed to go around Lake Talsi. The oldest part of the city was improved, and a walking trail was created. This wooden footbridge is **Talsi Lake Promenade**, from which the view toward the Old Town of Talsi, Church Hill (Latvian: *Baznīckalns*), Talsi Hillfort, and the King's Hill (Latvian: *Ķēniņkalns*) opens. One can have a great view of the most famous landscape of the Old Town, walk around Lake Talsi (Fig. 5) decorated with a picturesque fountain and enjoy art, and find out more about the history and identity of urban space. Three footbridges were installed on the pontoon structures of the lake delight anglers. After the reconstruction of Ūdens Street pavement adjoining the lake, a paved and lighted street is available to residents and guests. There is a rest area on the side of the street where the spring flows. Innovative transformation of the urban environment promotes the economic activity of local communities and sustainable development processes.



Fig. 5. **The view on a bicycle path next to the wooden footbridge leads around Lake Talsi. 2008** (Photo by Aivars Gulbis)

In Semigallia, wooden Semigallian fortifications on Dobele Hillfort were built, and a large settlement was located around the center of the Dobele County on the hillfort. This was first mentioned in the written sources in 1254. From 1335 to 1347, a new medieval stone castle was erected instead of the old wooden castle. Small craftsmen and merchant settlements soon developed around the castle. Later, a church was built, and a park was developed next to the castle. After the Northern War and the Great Plague in the first half of the 18th century, the castle was left

uninhabited. At present, there are ruins of the oldest stone building in the city of Dobele and a cultural monument of national significance. The conservation of ruins began in 2002.



Fig. 6. **The view on Dobele Hillfort and pedestrian promenade in 2019** (Photo by author)

Fig. 7. **The walkway along the bank of the Bērze River has become a favorite recreational site. 2019** (Photo by author)

The observation deck in the renovated tower offers a great view of the historical urban space across the Bērze River. A nice landscape of the river with three fountains opens from a small viewing area at the end of the footpath (Fig. 6), which stretches from Brīvības /Freedom/ Street to the ravine on the southern side of castle ruins. Another observation deck was created in the central part of the pedestrian promenade. Evening walks are popular when the lantern-lit path, the illuminated castle ruins above it, and the play of fountain lights in the waters of the river create a romantic, unique atmosphere. The improved environment (Fig. 7) and efforts to strengthen cultural identity have contributed to the economic activities of local people. Successful innovative transformation of the historic urban environment has provided many visitors with a sense of developmental stability. This is reflected in investors' investment in educating young people and supporting the modernization of music and secondary schools.

In Selonia, the Sēlija Interlobate ridge of the Augšzeme Highlands stretches from the left bank of the Daugava River to the south. Traditional Selonia includes a portion of northeastern Lithuania. Population and marketplaces developed on the shores of Lake Sauka, and water-rich rivers in Selonia inland are accessible to Lithuanians. The main accommodation area of the Selonians was located in the 8–20 kilometer wide strip of hills, where the city of Viesīte is now. At the end of June 2017, in the northwestern part of the well-maintained recreation place on the shore of the Small Lake (Fig. 8), the Love Trail for sports and leisure was renovated. This leads to a waterbird-watching place on Friendship Hill (Latvian: *Draudzības kalniņš*). The trail along Love Island was improved, a bridge was built, and innovative transformations were realized. A wooden pile trail from the bridge to Friendship Hill was created. The municipality will also renovate the pedestrian path from the Small Lake to the city center, where Little Engine Park (Latvian: *Mazā Bānīša parks*)

dedicated to the narrow-gauge railway built by the German army from 1915 to 1916 for the transportation of military cargo to the bank of the Daugava was created. After the First World War, the Viesīte narrow-gauge rural railway was adapted for passenger transport, and the largest 600-millimeter gauge railway network in Latvia connected the largest cities and several villages in Selonia until 1972, when it was closed. The railway branch to Nereta (dismantled in 1964) passed the current Sauka Nature Park. A view of the Sauka Castle mound in the eastern part of Lake Sauka (Fig. 9) opens from the highest peak of Ormaņkalns Hill, 167 meters above sea level. Measures for environmental improvement unite representatives of local communities in the understanding of local historical traditions, promote their economic activities, and contribute to the sustainable development of their homeland.



Fig. 8. The view on the city of Viesīte and the Small Lake (WCV)

Fig. 9. The landscape with winding gravel roads, hills, big trees and typical farmsteads of this region around Lake Sauka, the largest lake in Selonia. 2020 (Photo by Ikars Kublins)

In Vidzeme in the city of Valmiera, after 1224, a stone castle was built on a promontory at the Black River estuary in the Gauja; today, creative people exist and their daily connection with nature is necessary. Innovative transformations enrich historical urban spaces and give the place identity and encourage people to be economically active. In 2018–2019, a pedestrian path and a view terrace were built in the Recreation Park (Latvian: *Atpūtas parks*) to provide people with easy access to the Gauja River. The gravel pavement walkway branches off from the park road and continues as a wooden pavement, organically transforming into a terrace overlooking the river. In front of the terrace closer to the Gauja, there is a bench (Fig. 10) that appears out of the boardwalk deck as the terrain changes. A sitting area on the back of the terrace gradually transforms from a bench into a lounge seat elevated from the ground.



Fig. 10. Pedestrian path and view terrace in Park of Senses on the bank of the Gauja River near the city of Valmiera. 2019 (Photo by Ēriks Božis)

In Latgalia, a settlement was developed at the foot of the castle mound near Lake Rezekne on the northern slope of the Latgale Highland and acquired town rights in 1773. In the early 19th century, Rositten (now Latvian: *Rēzekne*) was a small town. In the north of Rositten, on both sides of the St. Petersburg–Warsaw highway (now *Atbrīvošanas /Liberation/ Alleé*) opened in 1836, and the government approved the new plan in November of 1847. A public garden was planned in the area between the castle ruins and the river. The St. Petersburg–Warsaw railway, opened in 1860, contributed to the city’s economic activity. Since the second half of the 19th century, in urban spaces of cities in Western Russia, the most important streets for traffic were highlighted by Dutch linden-tree or horse chestnut alleés involved in the formation of the city’s greenery system, which became the main compositional green elements that connected functionally important areas in city planning. In Rezekne, the most luxurious houses were built on Nicolai Street (now *Atbrīvošanas Alleé*), whose significance was emphasized by rows of trees. After the opening of the Windau-Ribinsk railway in 1904, Rezekne became an important railway junction with two stations (Ozola 2018).



Fig. 11. Coexistence of castle ruins on the mound and the modern building complex of Eastern Latvian Centre of Creative Services “Zeimuls” in Rezekne. 2015 (Photo by Jānis Mickēvičs)

Fig. 12. The promenade in Rezekne is an inherent part of city festivals. 2019 (PRIPCF)

In Rezekne, the harmony of nature and buildings encourages the search for artistically innovative solutions for the enrichment of historical urban spaces. The building complex of the Eastern Latvian Creative Service Center “Zeimuļš” was built beside the Latgalian Hillfort in the center of Rezekne (Fig. 11). The roof forms of the lower construction volume are adapted to the hillfort’s relief, and its buildings are similar to sculptures, whose silhouettes are legible on the background of the landscape and sky. The plastic of this building is clearly revealed in playful lights of the spatial structure, heterogeneity, and dynamics, providing a semantic message (Ozola 2016: 430); the pedestrian promenade (Fig. 12) is a place where people can relax for a moment in the everyday rush through leisurely walks down the shore of the Rezekne River Valley, and it serves as a bridge between ancient and present times—from one side, the promenade is guarded by the castle mound, from the other side, a multi-functional concert hall “GORS” stands. Innovative changes strengthen identity, make the city more attractive, and encourage people to be active and creative.

Sustainable development of human living space in Latvian urban environment

Since olden times, Baltic nations formed an organic intimacy with nature, which manifested in mental rituals and folklore, and in the construction and transformation of the surrounding. A perfect natural sense of site selection and organization of urban spatial structures, as well as attitude toward the environment, efficient use of natural materials, and landscape individuality settlements appropriated functional purposefulness and original beauty.

In Courland, Seaside Park, in the city of Ventspils adjacent to the Baltic Sea coastal protection area, forms a unified structure with the unique coastal landscape (Fig. 13). When the park was set up, the ecosystem of the area was partially altered, creating a system of ditches and ponds that were harmoniously integrated into the park’s landscape. The park has areas with specially constructed and regularly maintained lawns as well as areas where natural vegetation is preserved, with intensive maintenance restricted to narrow lanes along the edges of the tracks. Ventspils Seaside Park, as a home for splendid greenery, playground equipment for children, and nice places to relax, includes a wide range of exhibits and amenities. Ventspils Adventure Park is a complex of active recreation and sports (Fig. 14). Footbridges, hanging bridges, a small tower, and a track of a height of 1.5 meters were installed to facilitate climbing and crawling through the Jungle Trail (Fig. 15). The Anchor Trail winds through Seaside Park display the largest anchors of the Seaside Open Air Museum. The Narrow-Gauge Railway Line Exposition “*Mazbānītis*” (Fig. 16) is a unique historical heritage that is picturesquely integrated into the landscape and occupies 50 hectares of biotope-covered territory, where there are several protected plant deposits. Residents of Ventspils have created attractive places, which strengthen cultural identity and attract people interested in promoting economic activities.



Fig. 13. New access to the sea near Ventspils in 18 June 2018 (NAS)

Fig. 14. A complex of sports in Ventspils Adventure Park, April 24, 2012 (Photo by author)



Fig. 15. The Jungle Trail is a nice walking place for the whole family (JT)

Fig. 16. The historical heritage of the Narrow-Gauge Railway Line Exposition “*Mazbānītis*” integrated into the landscape of Ventspils Seaside Open Air Museum (HH)

In Semigallia, the main political, military, administrative, and craft center by three hillforts that are close to each other was created on the banks of the Svete left tributary of the Tervete River. Since the 1st millennium BC until the beginning of our era, ancestors of the Semigallians lived in a fortified settlement on Ķīķerkalns Hillfort, later Cloister Hill (Latvian: *Klosterkalns*), on the left bank of the Tervete. The Tervetian cult place was Holy Hill (Latvian: *Svētkalns*, German: *Heiligenberg*) on the right bank. It got its second name—Swedish Hill (Latvian: *Zviedrukalns*). The Semigallians had one of the largest castle mounds in the Baltics. A square surrounded by two parallel double-defensive log walls on top of the Tervete Hillfort populated until the end of the 13th century was a dwelling place used by the Semigallian duke (until 1230) Viestards or Viesturs on the right bank of the Tervete. A vast, ethnically monolithic, ancient town developed at the foothill.

In Tervete, one of the main Semigallian settlements during the pre-Christian period, from 1852 to 1862, a school operated in a building built for a water mill in 1840. In 1922, this house was awarded to the famous Latvian writer Anna Brigadere (1861–1933) who spent the last 11 summers of her life in this house, wrote the autobiographical trilogy “God, Nature, Work” and called this summer cottage “*Sprīdīši*”—named after her most famous fairy tale image. Landscaping of Tervete began in 1931 when new forest trails were created, and names were given for it. Upon her initiative,

the conversion of the forest into a park began with a plot of land being allocated for good plant collection in 1931. Memorial museum “Sprīdīši” of Anna Brigadere was founded in 1933. An arboretum with approximately 180 species of foreign trees and shrubs was planted between 1935 and 1936. In 1957, the pine forest of Kalnamuiža that covers 960 hectares served as a basis for one of the largest nature conservation objects in Latvia. The most scenic, quietest, and sunniest place, from which Tervete Hillfort can be seen, became the oldest part of the Nature Park. The author of this idea, Deputy Forester Miķelis Kļaviņš, created several walking trails with recreational benches on the banks of the scenic Tervete River to overlook picturesque landscapes. Several thematic parts as the Fairy-tale Forest (Latvian: *Pasaku mežs*) singled out in the Pine Forest became the very beginning of the Nature Park in 1958. The soul of the Nature Park is Tervete Sun’s Mood Park (Latvian: *Tērvetes Saules noskaņu parks*) with Iršu Garden (Latvian: *Iršu dārzs*). This mysterious and forbidden place is the World of Wonders of Little Annele. In 1963, the Latvian SSR Ministry of Forestry and Forest Industry granted funding for the establishment of the Tervete Forest Landscape Park. “Sprīdītis” (Tom Thumb) engineered in a pine tree by Raimonds Priedītis was the very first sculpture depicting characters from Brigadere’s plays. In 1969, it decorated the park before the wooden sculptures of Annele and her girlfriends, who were berry pickers, and the Forest King (Latvian: *Meža ķēniņš*) were created in 1972 by Kugra, and installed in the early 1970s. Tervete hills with steep slopes have long stairs that lead to the King’s Guardian (Latvian: *Meža ķēniņa sargs*) at the top, where a shouldered man carefully watches visitors. Courtiers gathered before the Forest King only in 2003 when woodcarvers Ritvars Kalniņš and Andris Donis (b. 1947) created a wooden sculpture complex.

Many popular quiet and romantic paths lead through the fairy-tale realm of the renowned writer Anna Brigadere. The Forest Mother’s Trail winds around the Fairy-tale Forest. The friendly Little Witch “in-person” fiddles in Witch’s Pine Forest (Latvian: *Raganas sils*), resides here (Fig. 17). At the beginning of the natural landscape park in the late 1950s, a new part of the park was allocated. Pupils improved trails, affirming diligence, which is the virtue of human children and dwarfs. Woodcarver Kugra installed the first wooden sculpture of an Old Dwarf engrossed in work. This part of the park was named the Dwarf Forest (Latvian: *Rūķu mežs*), to honor children’s work ethics. A third of Tervete Nature Park of Latvian National Forests (Latvian: *Latvijas valsts meži*) founded in 1977 was taken up by the Fairy-tale Forest, the Amusement Park (Latvian: *Atrakciju parks*) with swings, awnings, tables, and benches on the playground, and the Dwarf Forest with sculptures (Fig. 18), expressing classical motifs of Latvian literature in a language that children can understand.



Fig. 17. **Witch's hut in Tervete Nature Park. 2008** (Photo by Endijs from vietas.lv)

Fig. 18. **Hardworking dwarf created by wood-carver Ritvars Kalniņš (HDC)**

Sprīdītis Trail leading to the Dwarf Forest goes across the river to Old Pine Park, where Sprīdītis is strengthened by a clumsy giant Lutausis on the edge of the cliff. Both sculptures were created by Kugra. A walk along Anelle's Trail from Sun's Mood Park can end up in the Dwarf Forest. Andris Donis and Sandris Konrads started construction in the Dwarf Forest in 1999. The first miniature log houses opened their doors to visitors. Gnomes work diligently, and their lives are visible in their simplicity and bright splendor. Woodcarver Normunds Stenkevics (1967–2018) has been making very colorful wooden sculptures: various fairy-tale characters, animals, birds, insects and sculptural composition "Mushroom Family." In 2005, Tervete Nature Park was included in the European network of specially protected territories of Natura 2000. In 2009, the park was recognized as the most outstanding tourist destination in Latvia and declared a European Destinations of Excellence (EDEN) facility. In early September 2012, the Dwarf homestead was opened to learn the knowledge and diligence of dwarves. The Dwarf Farm, designed by architect Armands Bisenieks, consists of three interconnected houses, a large yard with a children's playground, a well, and a barn with pets. The Happy Land's air tracks for sporting activities halfway between the Fairy-tale Forest and the Dwarf Forest opened in 2015. Since March 20, 2015, a modern 39-meter-high wooden view tower, one of the largest wooden observation towers in Latvia, attracts visitors to overlook the Tervete River Valley. The Tervete Butterfly House opened its doors in the spring of 2016. Many new events occurred in 2017, and unusual houses for picnics and recreation in trees or underground were built. Three new quarters with colorful dwarf houses with playrooms and dwarf furniture were added to existing houses in the dwarf town called Čiekure (Latvian: *Rūķu pilsēta Čiekure*) (Fig. 19). The Carpenter and Weaver quarters and the Little dining house opened their doors in the spring of 2018. Tervete bicycle park (Latvian: *Tērvetes veloparks*), the largest bicycle adventure park in Baltic, in the new thematic part called the Land of Kurbads (Latvian: *Kurbada zeme*) was opened in May of 2019. Tervete Net Park (Latvian: *Tērvetes tīklu parks*) and Tervete Tarzan Park (Latvian: *Tērvetes Tarzāna parks*) began operations on May 23, 2020. The nature park in Tervete of the public joint-stock company "Latvia's State Forests" (LVM) is not only the largest recreation place in Northern Europe.



Fig. 19. **New houses in the Dwarfs' Town (NHDT)**

In Selonia, there is a forest landscape park in a beautiful, gorgeous valley, located near the city of Ilūkste. The 3.8-kilometer-long Dendrologic and Geographic Route forms a closed circle in the protected nature area “Pilskalnes Siguldiņa” (Fig. 20). The 1.6-kilometer-long Trail for Children with thirty-two wooden heroes from the fairy tale *Sprīdītis* by Anna Brigadere (Fig. 21) starts at a small water reservoir. The 0.6-kilometer-long trail Witnesses of History as a continuation of the Dendrologic Route runs along a virgin primeval forest and reveals World War I heritage—protective structures of the German Army or dug-outs. Marsh Trail, a wooden plank-way across a small cranberry marsh, provides a fascinating opportunity to check out the marshland flora. The 8-kilometer-long Upper Landscape Trail leads along six lakes, springs, well-maintained recreation areas, and provides excellent opportunities for active recreation. A Selonian wooden fortification stood for quite a long period on Black Mountain. Now, inhabitants of Selonia are able to appreciate the uniqueness of the nature of their surroundings and the evidence of history. They strengthen the identity and culture of the ethnographic region through creative ideas and innovative solutions.



Fig. 20. **Lake Tartaks in Nature reserve “Pilskalnes Siguldiņa”. 2009** (Photo by Aivars Gulbis)

Fig. 21. **Wooden sculptures on the Trail for Children. 2006** (Photo by Inita from vietas.lv)

In Vidzeme, the Nature Park “Piejūra” /Seaside/ on the coast of the Gulf of Riga consists of three local government areas—Riga, Saulkrasti, and Carnikava. The Nature design park “The White Dune – Saulkrasti” encompasses an area of wooded dunes, a natural stretch of a river, a vast beach in Saulkrasti city, a remarkable natural and cultural site, and the White Dune (Fig. 22), in which an 18-meter-high white sand outcrop once helped local fishermen find their way home. The White Dune on the Vidzeme shoreline of the Gulf of Riga is one of the landmarks of Saulkrasti and got its name from its white, hardened layers of sand that look like sandstone. Students from Faculty of Environment and Civil Engineering at Latvia University of Life Sciences and Technologies, and Faculty of Architecture and Urban Planning at Riga Technical University in the research of Saulkrasti urban space within the framework of “Assessment of ecosystems and their services for nature biodiversity conservation and management” realized the project to eliminate risks to the conservation of natural values and ecosystems. The Nature Design Park has found an innovative approach to balancing nature and human interests in an environmentally sensitive space using the tools of educational, modern, sustainable, and multifunctional environmental design. Environmental objects were designed to encourage a closer look, listen, and understand (Fig. 23) that there are many other habitats and ecosystems that can be conserved besides humans. The billboards and signposts provide an innovative insight into the natural processes that encourage a conscientious attitude toward nature, and provide information on natural values of the area and the process of the formation of the White Dune formed as the wind drove beach sand over the clay silt of the Baltic Ice Lake. Navigation objects guide visitor flows through sensitive coastal environments, avoiding degradation of the environment and habitats. Environmental objects designed in the period 2015–2016 by sculptor Ivars Drulle are set up on the White Dune: “Entrance gates” symbolize the White Dune and its fragility but “Frīda the Hedgehog” and “Fredis the Rabbit”; both objects invite people to be polite when visiting nature sites and not to throw rubbish on the ground as well as to be quiet in the forest. “The bug trail” helps to understand that humans are not the only creatures in nature. An approximately 4-kilometer-long Sunset Trail winds from the White Dune to the urban center of Saulkrasti. A walking footbridge (Fig. 24) opened on December 7, 2019, starts at the White Dune, and provides a walk of 240 meters. Today, Saulkrasti city has to “live together” with a protected natural object. Successful transformations and innovative solutions for sustainable development offered by the municipality not only strengthen the city’s identity and make its residents happy, but the natural environment also attracts tourists who come here to relax and gain new knowledge.



Fig. 22. The White Dune offers a splendid view on the sea, the mouth of the Inčupe River and the vast beach (WDO)

Fig. 23. “Listening device” made in the form of trumpet helps to listen in to sounds of sea and wind (Photo by Kristine Madjare)

Fig. 24. The walking footbridge on White Dune in 2019 (WFWD)

In the 11th century, Finno-Ugric tribes had their county center on a strong fortified Sattesele Hillfort on the left bank of the Gauja River middle reaches. They also settled on a plateau of the top-leveled hill in Sigulda. Bishop of Riga Albert signed the Livonian Land Division Agreement and burned the wooden castle of Kaupo, a leader of the Finnic-speaking Livonian people. In Sigulda, of which the name “Sigulda” is likely a derivative of the German name *Segewold* from *Sieg + Wald* and means “victory forest,” and indicates the victory of the Crusaders and Semigallians in the battle with the Livonians near Sattesele in 1206, Albert began to build Turaida Castle in 1214. This facilitated the beginning of construction of the strongly fortified Segewold Castle. Today, both fortresses are located in the urban space of Sigulda City. During the innovative transformation of Jelgavkalns Hill, where ancient Livonian camps were situated, a sacred landscape by symbolic sculptures was formed in the 20th century. Postmodern architectonic space was not simple—it always hid some surprises, organized through a variety of means of expression and the semantic nature of spatial forms, and initiated dialog among the people. Special symbols and metaphors were used to create a definite idea and a wider image system. By incorporating elements of nature in urban space, it was possible to achieve harmony between the natural and man-made environments.

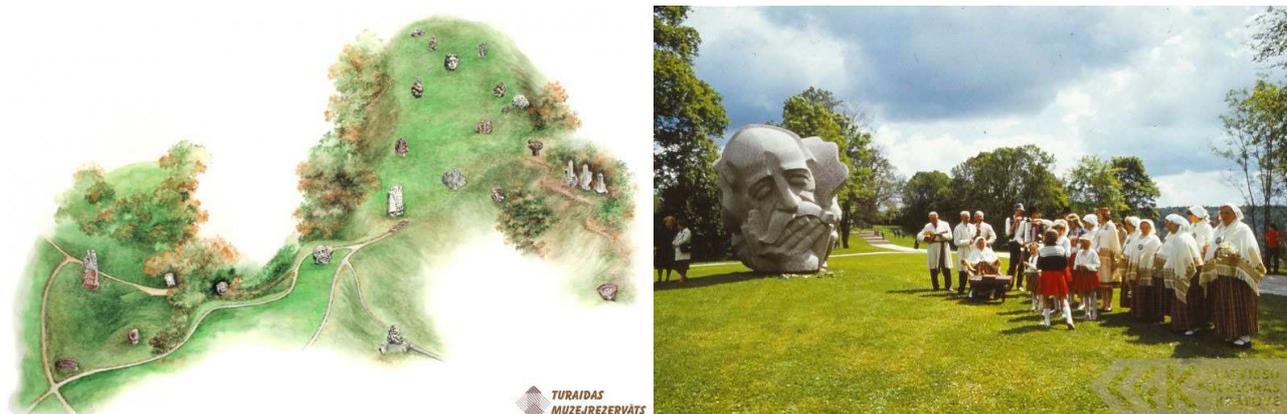


Fig. 25. Location of sculptures on Dainu Hill (Map stored at Archives of the Turaida Museum Reserve)

Fig. 26. Latvian Folksong park with the stone sculpture “Song’s Father” made by sculptor Indulis Ranka harmonizes with nature and historical place (Photo by Vaira Strautniece)

In honor of the most prominent collector and compiler of folk songs Krišjānis Barons (1835–1923), the Hill of Latvian folksongs (Latvian: *Dainu kalns*) dedicated to Latvian folklore was established (Fig. 25). Folk-song Hill with emotionally based sculptures by sculptor Indulis Ojārs Ranka (1934–2017) was opened on June 7, 1985. Sculptures express the poetry of songs based on universal values such as love, honor, coexistence with the environment, fellow human beings, care for loved ones, people, and nature. Congruence of stone sculptures and nature embodies beauty and a loving attitude toward nature expressed in Latvian folk songs. A few years later, political changes began in the Soviet Union and Soviet Latvia. Folk-song Hill became one of the Latvian National Awakening symbols. Every Saturday and Sunday during summers, thousands of folklore group members came to Turaida, where the past encounters the present, and the Songs Garden (Latvian: *Dziesmu dārzs*) was opened on July 1, 1990. With the help of folk songs, people expressed their attitudes about what was happening and drew strength. Sinuous trails linked the Songs Garden with Folk-song Hill near Turaida Castle, creating a unified ensemble—Folk-song Park (Latvian: *Tautasdziesmu parks*; authors: Director of Turaida Museum Reserve Anna Jurkāne (b. 1944), sculptor Indulis Ojārs Ranka, architects Jānis Rozentāls, Ilgvars Batrags) (Fig. 26) made for exploring folk song meanings to feel the majestic beauty of nature and to draw energy. Folk-song Park is a place for the discovery of Latvian folk vitality secrets and information on the accumulated heritage of intangible culture and value systems based on traditional Latvian folk wisdom. In 1996, Folk-song Hill with twenty-six sculptures was included in the list of World’s Sculpture Garden and Parks (Washington), which promotes the recognition of Latvian culture (Ozola 2013: 242).

In Latgalia, Krustpils Islet, whose former name was derived from the name of the landowner Adamson, became a popular recreation place between the Daugava River and the Small Daugava after the construction of an open-air stage in the 1950s. The reconstruction and innovative

transformation of Krustpils Islet (Fig. 27) took place within the framework of the project “Renewal the Urban Environment and Promotion of Cultural Life by Reconstruction of Krustpils Islet Stage and Bridge.” The island greened (Fig. 28) during reconstruction from 2009 to July 2010, contributed to economic activities, and the reconstructed open-air stage (Fig. 29) has been widely used for various cultural and entertainment events from early spring until the end of summer and brings together thousands of locals and guests in the city. The unique natural environment and cultural traditions of the locals strengthen every visitor on this island.



Fig. 27. Reconstruction drawing of the open-air stage created by Ltd. “Arhitektu birojs Krasts” and the bridge on Krustpils (Ādamsons’) Islet between the Daugava and the Small Daugava. 2009 (RDOS)

Fig. 28. The view on a popular recreation place with an open-air stage on Krustpils Islet. 2019 (WPRPOSKI)



Fig. 29. The reconstructed open-air stage on Krustpils Islet. (ROASKI)

The study “Development of guidelines for green infrastructure and public space networking in Riga” was developed within the framework of the Riga Spatial Plan 2030. The concept of creating Riga Green Infrastructure (Fig. 30) prepared from 2013 to 2015 includes information on several important aspects of urban environmental transformation. This study summarizes the landscape and

public outdoor space research in Latvia, the experience of other countries in urban space, and green infrastructure planning and management, and provides recommendations for an integrated urban space policy development, such as a three-model system that incorporates a spatial structure organization model, an spatial policy-making model, and an outdoor space management model. These and other suggestions for an innovative approach to urban space transformation and the variety of aspects researched make this concept the most complete interdisciplinary study on outdoor space in Latvia to date.



Fig. 30. Author, landscape architect, planner of spatial development Helēna Gūtmane, experts: architect Uģis Kaugurs, landscape architect, open space cultural heritage specialist Kristīne Dreija, specialist of protection of species and habitats Inga Straupe, community planner Jonass Büchel, sociologist Evija Zača, landscape architect, spatial planner Sabīne Skudra (Zāģere), architect, city planner Edgars Bērziņš, cartograph Kristis Krūskops, an expert in mobility, traffic organization, public space, architect, city planner Marc Geldof, an expert in the assessment of greenery, arborist Edgars Neilands, an expert in Riga water space, architect Egons Bērziņš, an expert in transport and mobility, road engineer Elmārs Daniševskis, existing status analysis of groundwaters Ēriks Tilgalis. The concept of the greenery structure and the network of public spaces. 2014–2015 (CCRGIPPOS)

Conclusions

1. Local identity, history, ethnography, and a creative approach based on local traditions in the implementation of generative urban transformations create favorable conditions for sustainable population continuity and the ability to engage in wider international activities. Extensive events organized in natural and cultural sites attract tourists and guests and promote the economic activities of local communities.
2. Protected natural objects in the urban environment regulate the activities of the inhabitants; however, creative, skillful, and well-planned action allows us to achieve favorable results and confirms that in many cases, the identity of the place can be crucial. It is important that the changes to be made are reflected in urban development projects designed for sustainable urban development.

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