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The results of scientific investigations presented during the conference are collected in the collection of scientific articles *Proceedings of the 65th International Scientific Conference of Daugavpils University.*

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THE CASE OF KLAIPÉDA IN HISTORIOGRAPHY OF LATVIA AND LITHUANIA: THE INTERWAR PERIOD (1918-1939)

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Abstract

The Case of Klaipéda in Historiography of Latvia and Lithuania: The Interwar Period (1918-1939)

Key Words: Klaipéda, national identity, diplomacy, interwar period, international relations.

Ever since its establishment, the city of Klaipéda has been a strategically important city. This article will present the questions of the status of the city, being part of the border region of Lithuania Minor, and how it dealt with issues of national identity during the interwar period. Summarizing the research of both Latvian and Lithuanian historians regarding the history of Klaipéda, the conclusion revolves around the idea that the foreign policy of Lithuania towards the city was complicated. The city had a specific ethnic group in the interwar period, known in the historiography as the *Memellanders*. This ethnic group saw themselves as the subjects of Germany or had underlying loyalty to Germany and its culture, and did not wish to integrate themselves into the newly-found cultural history of Lithuania. The Germans living in the city of Klaipéda supported the idea of the city being annexed by Germany, organized themselves and participated in illegal activities for the duration of the interwar period. Meanwhile, the Lithuanians living in the city tried to resist the influence of these groups and activities, and even organized a court case against suspected Nazi collaborators and supporters in 1935. The government of Latvia did not express particular interest to the events in the city of Klaipéda and most likely saw the city as a case of Lithuania's domestic policy and did not intrude on it. Therefore, the research aim of this paper is to discover and summarize the most important pieces of research, by drawing comparisons regarding their approaches towards the objects of research.

Kopsavilkums

Klaipēdas jautājums Latvijas un Lietuvas historiogrāfijā: starpkaru periods (1918-1939)

Atslēgvārdi: Klaipēda, nacionālā identitāte, diplomātija, starpkaru periods, starptautiskās attiecības.

Jau kopš dibināšanas Klaipēda ir bijusi stratēģiski svarīga pilsēta. Ņemot vērā pilsētas atrašanās vietu - Mazajā Lietuvā - šis raksts aplūkos jautājumus, kas saistīti ar pilsētas statusu, tostarp arī kā pilsētā tika risināts Klaipēdas pilsētas robežjautājums un nacionālās identitātes problemātika starpkaru periodā. Apkopojot Latvijas un Lietuvas vēsturnieku pētījumus par Klaipēdas vēsturi, var secināt, ka Lietuvas valsts ārpolitikas nostāja pret šo pilsētu bija sarežģīta. Starpkaru periodā Klaipēdā pastāvēja īpatnēja etniskā grupa, ko historiogrāfijā pazīst ar apzīmējumu *Mēmellanderi*. Šie cilvēki uzskatīja sevi par Vācijas subjektiem vai arī saistīja sevi ar tās kultūru un nevēlējās integrēties jaundibinātās Lietuvas kultūrvēsturiskajā telpā. Klaipēdā dzīvojošie vācieši atbalstīja pilsētas anektēšanu, tās pievienošanu Vācijai. Visu starpkaru periodu šī etniskā grupa organizējās un piedalījās nesankcionētos pasākumos, kas tika vērsti pret Lietuvas neatkarību. Savukārt Klaipēdā dzīvojošie lietuvieši mēģināja ierobežot pret Lietuvas valstiskumu noskaņoto grupu darbību un 1935. gadā pat organizēja tiesas prāvu pret nacisma atbalstītājiem un kolaborantiem. Latvijas valdība neizrādīja īpašu interesi par notikumiem Klaipēdā un visdrīzāk uzskatīja to par Lietuvas iekšpolitikas jautājumu, kurā nebūtu jāiejaucas. Tādējādi, raksta mērķis ir atklāt un apkopot svarīgākos pētījumus, salīdzinot to pētniecisko ievirzi attiecībā uz pētījuma objektiem.

Robežjautājums un nacionālā identitāte

- diplomātiskās attiecības starp LV un LT
- nacionālās intereses
- Klaipēdas etnisko minoritāšu identitāte
- robežas
- starptautiskās attiecības
- Mēmellanderi – lituanizēti vācieši vai atsevišķa sociālā grupa ar īpatnēju identitāti
- LV – trimdas vēsturnieki – starpkaru paaudzei Klaipēda svarīgs jautājums (Andersons – publiski pieejamā informācija)
- LT – arhīvi – mūsdienu autori

Introduction

Klaipéda is a city situated in the north-western part of present-day Lithuania, fairly close to the border with Latvia. The city has been an important port on the Baltic sea throughout time and in the case of Lithuania – also the only port city, hence it has an important role as a strategic resource. Based on the available research in Latvia regarding Lithuania and specifically, the city of Klaipéda in the past 20 years, the object of research has been focused on the diplomatic relations between Latvia and Lithuania in the interwar period (1918-1939) from the perspectives of both countries. Therefore, the research aim of this paper is to summarize the most important pieces of research by thorough analysis of available literature in both Baltic States, as well as historical sources that explain different aspects of Klaipéda as a city, its identity and place in the Baltic region up until World War II. As such, this paper will use the comparative method, as it allows understanding different approaches and underline the academic tendencies, i.e., the most popular research objects of research attributed to history of Lithuania in the interwar period. The paper will concern the historiographies of Latvia and Lithuania.

Klaipéda: Overview

The city of Klaipéda and its' surrounding countryside was included in the lands of the Teutonic Order since the 13th century (then known as Memelburg or Memel). Up until the 20th century, it had distinct elements of Lithuanian and German culture. Most notably, unlike the rest of Lithuania, religion-wise, most of the residents identified as Lutherans. Over time, a specific ethnic group emerged in the city, known as the *Memellanders*. During the interwar period, this ethnic group has mentioned that answering the question of national identity had no singular, specific way and referred to themselves simply as "*Memellanders*". The city also had German and Lithuanian residents, though German was the language most people spoke in the city and some Lithuanians even used German names and surnames. In general, the city was fairly similar to most areas in the Baltic region that had, at some point, come under the control of either Teutonic or German settlers.

The newly-proclaimed Lithuanian government successfully reclaimed the territory of the Region of Klaipéda (Lithuania Minor) in 1923, after the event known in the historiography as the Klaipéda Revolt. The region was officially autonomous until 1939. After the revolt, Poland ended up losing influence in the region, due to Germany's (Weimar Republic) constant interference. (Jēkabsons 2002: 61) However, Lithuania's interference caused numerous issues in the city, most notably, economic and cultural problems that the government found hard to resolve.

Klaipéda in the Interwar Period: Latvian & Lithuanian Historiography

Latvian historian Ēriks Jēkabsons establishes that, until now, in Latvian historiography, there has been no significant research done on various subjects regarding Klaipéda and its' place in the context of history of diplomatic relations between Latvia and Lithuania. The historian notes that research was mostly conducted by Latvians who went into exile after World War II. One of them was

Edgars Andersons, who shed some light on these events, though he used Western materials for the basis of his research. According to Ē. Jēkabsons, he did it in a „laconic way and merely provides a general overview". (Jēkabsons 2002: 56) Some research on both countries' perspectives was conducted by Lithuanian historian Z. Butkus, who also used the archival documents, issued by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Latvia in 1923. However, Jēkabsons notes that Butkus was unable to evade some aspects of one-sidedness, when he overly emphasizes Latvia's support for Klaipéda, problem being that it wasn't as one-sided as Butkus make it out to be. During the interwar period Latvia was trying to, instead, cooperate with Poland and was not ready to support the stance of Lithuania's foreign policy, although it made attempts to close the gaps in international relations by all of the Baltic States, as well as Poland and Finland. (Jēkabsons 2002: *Ibid.*) Regarding the relations of Lithuania and Germany in the 1920s, some research was carried out by Lithuanian historian R. Žiugžda, although the position of Latvia in these relations was not revealed. Jēkabsons establishes that the situation was complex and as such, has not yet been subjected to quality research. Any potential research should include „the Lithuanian questions of Klaipéda and Vilnius", i.e., the belonging of these particular cities to Germany and Poland, respectively. In her paper, Lithuanian historian Sandra Grigaravičiūtė notes that Ernestas Galvanauskas, the then Prime Minister of Lithuania, had an important role with regards to defending Lithuania's shipping affairs, in the context of network of Lithuanian consulates, that were established in Europe. (Grigaravičiūtė 2014: 100) This argument underlines the important work that was under way in the early years of the Lithuanian Republic. Having established a decent amount of consulates, Lithuania switched its focus on Germany at the end of 1920s. She comes to the conclusion that both Lithuania and Latvia had the most of their consulates in the great powers – Great Britain, Germany and France. (Grigaravičiūtė 2014: 102, 106) The reasoning for this might have been in the belief that the new countries were seeking political and economic cooperation as well as recognition in the west. E. Galvanauskas was also one of the leaders behind the Klaipéda Revolt. Speaking of cooperation, a key factor was the establishment of the Armed Forces of Lithuania in 1918. Lithuanian historian Vytautas Jokubauskas notes that once Lithuania reclaimed Klaipéda, it needed a military, because for the rest of the interwar period, it was in a conflict with Germany, considering that the Klaipéda region was bordering East Prussia. However, a constant problem in the Lithuanian military was communist propaganda in the early years of the independence. Another problem concerned political and military loyalty of the soldiers with a German background, particularly in the Klaipéda region. (Jokubauskas 2018: 174-175) Lithuania had sympathizers towards both Germany and the Soviet Union and as such, the state of the Lithuanian military in the interwar period could be seen as unenviable at best. Similar issues were observed in the city of Klaipéda - parts of the local government operated with old German laws. Lithuanian historian Arvydas Mikalauskas notes that the autonomous institutions of Klaipéda region

went as far as employing German citizens, as opposed to the institutions governed by Lithuania. (Mikalauskas 2017: 256) This in turn led to problems in the management of civil service. The majority did not speak Lithuanian and even expressed indirect loyalty to Germany. As such, the Lithuanian government could not change the situation. Neither side could reach a compromise. (Mikalauskas 2017: *Ibid.*) All of these issues mentioned by Lithuanian historians underline the challenges that Lithuania faced in the interwar period. The situation was complex, while the reach of the Lithuanian government was limited. Thus, specific aspects point to the underlying Klaipéda residents' loyalty to Germany. Some of these include the use of German names and surnames, the majority being Lutheran in terms of religious identity, the aforementioned low overall percentage of Lithuanian speakers, etc. Many people in the area wanted to remain independent of Lithuanian government and its' influence. They supported the idea of the region sharing a status similar to that of the Free City of Danzig. Lithuanian historian Vytautas Vareikis notes in his paper that the question of national identity seemed difficult, if not impossible, to answer. Bilingualism was the *status quo* and the situation established a "sort of paternalist tradition" with regards to loyalty to Germany. (Vareikis 2001: 54, 56-57) The Lithuanian historian Vasilijus Safronovas agrees with Vareikis, saying that the post-World War I question of Memellander identity was complex, suggesting it be approached from many perspectives in a „sub-culture" context, in the framework of Geertzian „system of meanings". (Safronovas 2019: 230) To conclude this segment, we return to Latvian historian Edgars Andersons. He mentions that the situation at the time seemed that the overall future and stability of the country were questionable at best. Lithuania made itself participate in two major conflicts in its' early, mere five year period of democracy, without being able to resolve either of them. (Andersons 1984: 152) This was further emphasized by the fact that Antanas Smetona, the then President of Lithuania, participated in the coup d'état of 1926 and established an authoritarian regime.

Relations between Latvia and Lithuania in the Interwar Period

The question of Latvia's attitude towards Lithuania, and vice versa, has been brought up a lot in the past 25 years and research suggests that their feelings for one another were far from great. In the early 1920s, Lithuania found itself straying away from the other countries in the Baltic. Most of them – Latvia, Estonia and Finland - wished to have no part in Lithuania's conflict with Poland over the disputed city of Vilnius and were, in-fact, allied to Poland. The aforementioned countries established various treaties with Poland instead and this fact alienated Lithuania from them even further.

Jēkabsons notes that in most cases, Latvia's foreign policy towards Lithuania was positive, though this was mostly attributed to the prism of Baltic culture. (Jēkabsons 2002: *Ibid.*) Some negative comments were directed, these were mostly regarding "Lithuanian entitlement to territory". Latvian press of the time mentions that „[..] in their historically hot-headed arrogance, they've

allowed themselves to be influenced by countries that are just as hostile to us are they are to our dear, beloved Lithuania" („Jaunākās Ziņas" 1923: 9). There were other similar statements. Some of them appeared to anger Lithuanian diplomats. Andersons explains that Lithuanians felt pain, having lost the city of Vilnius. It brought forward the sentiment of the past, the time when the territorial expansion of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was at its' greatest. (Andersons 1984: 142) When the Lithuanian diplomats protested, the Latvian side insisted that it was merely a personal opinion of specific social groups and did not reflect the general Latvian response. (Jēkabsons 2002: 62) Other conflicts of similar nature included the Lithuanian requests of parts of Latvian territory, conflicts between Ministers of Foreign Affairs, distribution of Latvian press in Lithuania, the artists' and writers' interest of the Curonian Spit, the fact that Lithuania was "being" forced to use the port of Liepāja, etc. (Andersons 1984: 148-149) These conflicts suggest that both Latvia's and Lithuania's feelings for each other were on thin ice at times. Press was particularly important at the time. Given the situation, Polish newspapers in particular tried to make the impression that Lithuania's forces would invade Latvia. However, these claims were disregarded. (Jēkabsons 2002: 70) It was of Latvia's interest that Lithuania would receive the Klaipéda region, however. Considering the geopolitical circumstances that Germany found itself in at the time, „it just made sense". It would have brought all of the Baltic States closer to each other, and it would provide much-needed access to the sea. (Jēkabsons 2002: 72-73) However, by the end of May 1923, the Latvia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs noted that Lithuania's foreign policy „was self-destructive and could lead to a scenario where Latvia, Estonia and Soviet Union would be forced to intervene". Some aspects of Lithuania's foreign policy include invading the Klaipéda region, ignoring the advice of Entente Allies, consistent complaints addressed to the League of Nations, etc. All of these aspects lead to a sort of depressed feeling in the capital of Latvia. (Jēkabsons 2002: 78) These courses of action lead to the following situation. The other Baltic States would not be taking seriously Lithuania's stance on a variety of problems. Jēkabsons concludes that the situation unfolding in the Klaipéda region was fairly typical of post-World War I circumstances that most of the new countries found themselves in. Latvia's stance on the events in the Klaipéda region was, all things considered, fairly indifferent. However, Latvian diplomats took the belief that Lithuania needed the city of Klaipéda as a port. Latvia didn't agree with most of the solutions Lithuania was trying to reach, but it did agree on the idea that taking over Klaipéda was substantial both to Lithuania's independence, as well as for its' own geopolitical interests. (Jēkabsons 2002: 82-83)

Some of the more unique events include all of the Baltic States aiming to sign a treaty for military cooperation; this would later be known as the Baltic Entente alliance. The attempts to sign such a mutual agreement took place twice – in the years 1919-1925 and 1934-1940. They took place in several phases. The treaties however, if any, were more symbolic than practical in purpose. While

the idea as a whole has been praised in historiography, at the same time it has been seen as unreal, given the international situation that directly affected the Baltic States. Given their cultural differences, all three of the Baltic States could never sign a deal of such magnitude in a way that would favor all parties. Latvia signed a deal of sorts with Estonia, but found it impossible with Lithuania. Still, Latvia showed some interest in the events in Lithuania, most notably, the annexation of Klaipéda by the German armed forces in the March of 1939. In another paper, Ē. Jēkabsons, analyzing the social and political changes in the city after the annexation by Germany, noted the ever-increasing demands of the German government towards Lithuania, with regard to Klaipéda and Lithuania Minor. These were seen as concerning in Latvia. (Jēkabsons 2011: 110) It was unclear how the annexation of Klaipéda would take place. Both the Latvians and Lithuanians were worried that Germany might not stop at Klaipéda. (Jēkabsons 2011: 114) These rumors were debunked, however. Further events showed that Germany was not interested in the territory of the Baltic States, at least for the time being. The Latvian general consul of Klaipéda described many social changes in the city. Most notably, these were the reprisals against the Jewish population as well as the local culture and national identity of Lithuania. Despite the aforementioned concern, the government of Latvia declared neutrality in the case of the city of Klaipéda. It was a specific detail used by Germany to express its' interest in the region, and it would later annex the city of Klaipéda, practically free of any repercussions.

Conclusion

Analysis of literature and sources provides further insight and clarity with regards to city of Klaipéda, its' history and place in the history of Lithuania. A lot of research has been conducted on different aspects of the history of Klaipéda, both in Latvia and Lithuania. Of importance is to establish facts with regards to the position and importance of the city in the international relations. The attitude of Lithuanians, as well as Germans and Memellanders towards the city of Klaipéda, varied a lot. The most contributing factor to the changes were the consequences of World War I. They humiliated German and Memellander identity in the Klaipéda Region, as both of these ethnic groups saw themselves as subjects of Germany and their social status suffered accordingly. Significant changes in the city began only when the Nazi party came to power in Germany in the 1930s. It protested against Lithuania's prosecution of Nazi collaborators and supporters in the city up until 1935, when the first ever Nazi court trial – known as the Neumann-Sass trial in the historiography – took place. The trial was successful – according to some accounts of the time – in arresting and even sentencing to death of some of the suspects. The confirmation of this was the following attitude from Germany – it demanded the release and repatriation of the suspected Nazi collaborators. Lithuania refused, though it did cancel their death sentences and lower their prison terms. The turning point of these

events was the annexation of the city in the March of 1939. Having no choice, Lithuania was forced to accept a German ultimatum, following the foreign policy results of the Neumann-Sass trial.

In conclusion, having analyzed the interwar period of Klaipéda, as well as Lithuania in general, to some extent, further historical research on the city of Klaipéda could be conducted. This research would regard the history of the city of Klaipéda during World War II, as well as the post-war history, when the city became part of the larger entity of Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic, researching aspects of daily life, military conflicts, etc.

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DOKTORANTU SEKCIJA / DOCTORAL STUDENTS SECTION:
VALODU UN LITERATŪRAS STUDIJAS / LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE STUDIES

ТЕМА «ГОМО СОВЕТИКУС» В РОМАНЕ «GENERATION П» В. ПЕЛЕВИНА: ПОТРЕБИТЕЛЬСТВО, АНТИУТОПИЯ И ПОСТМОДЕРНИЗМ

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The theme of "homo sovieticus" in the novel "Generation P" by V. Pelevin: consumerism, dystopia and postmodernism

Key Words: *Homo sovieticus, Soviet Union, "Generation P", One-Dimensional Man, Postmodernism, Foucault*

In V. Pelevin's novel "Generation P", a very important element is the numerous bitter and ironic references to the Soviet mentality. The purpose of this article is a synthetic analysis of Pelevin's work in the light of the concept of "homo sovieticus", a concept popularized by the essayist and writer A. Zinov'ev in his homonymous book (Homo sovieticus, 1982).

Starting from what Zinov'ev himself theorized about the concept of "homo sovieticus" and from the reception and use of this expression in the contemporary post-soviet culture, we analyze through some examples how this concept has repercussions in Pelevin's novel. At the same time, we highlight how the inextinguishable traces of the Soviet mentality (the so-called "sovok") in the novel can be included in a broader analysis which, as already theorized by other scholars, sees in "Generation P" a possible example of dystopian literature. In this same perspective, if "homo sovieticus" can be seen as a peculiar incarnation of the well-known Marcusian "one-dimensional man", it is equally possible to relate the pervasive consumerism described in Pelevin's novel with the repressive nature of modern techno-informational society theorized, among others, by M. Foucault (for example in his reflections on "truth and power").

Such an analysis only confirms the purely postmodern nature of Pelevin's novel, based on the simultaneous use of contrasting ideological and cultural references (sovietism, consumerism and, at times, nationalism) which, deprived of a univocal value, are usually reduced to slogans partially incomprehensible to their own creators.

"Homo sovieticus" tēma V. Peļevina romānā "Generation P": patērētājs, distopija un postmodernisms

Atslēgvārdi: *Homo sovieticus, Padomju Savienība, "Generation P", viendimensiju cilvēks, postmodernisms, Fuko*

V. Pelevina romānā "Generation P" ļoti svarīgs elements ir daudzās rūgtās un ironiskās atsauces uz padomju mentalitāti. Šī raksta mērķis ir sintētiska V. Peļeviņa darba analīze caur jēdziena "homo sovieticus" prizmu, ko popularizēja esejists un rakstnieks A. Zinovjevs savā tāda paša nosaukuma grāmatā (Homo sovieticus, 1982).

Izejot no tā, ko pats A. Zinovjevs teorētiski izteicis par jēdzienu "homo sovieticus", un no šī jēdziena recepcijas un lietojuma mūsdienu postpadomju kultūrā, mēs ar dažu piemēru palīdzību analizējam, kā šis jēdziens atbalsojas V. Peļeviņa romānā. Vienlaikus uzsveram, kā romānā neizdzēšamās padomju mentalitātes (tā dēvētā "sovok") pēdas romānā var iekļaut plašākā analīzē, kas, kā jau teoretizējuši citi pētnieki, saskata "Generation P" iespējamo distopiskās literatūras piemēru. Šajā pašā perspektīvā, ja "homo sovieticus" var uzlūkot kā savdabīgu labi zināmā Markūza "viendimensiju cilvēka" iemiesojumu, tad tikpat labi ir iespējams saistīt Peļeviņa romānā aprakstīto visatļautību patērētājsabiedrībā ar mūsdienu tehno-informatīvās sabiedrības represīvo dabu, ko citu starpā teorētiski raksturojis M. Fuko (piemēram, savās pārdomās par "patiesību un varu").

Šāda analīze tikai apstiprina Peļeviņa romāna tīri postmodernistisko raksturu, kas balstīts uz kontrastējošu ideoloģisko un kultūras atsauču (padomju, patērētājsabiedrības un brīžiem arī nacionālisma) vienlaicīgu izmantošanu, kuras, zaudējušas viennozīmīgu vērtību, parasti tiek reducētas līdz lozungiem, daļēji nesaprotamiem pašiem to radītājiem.

В этой статье будет проанализировано понятие «Гомо Советикус» в романе «Generation П» Виктора Пелевина - нового классика русской литературы, в котором с горькой и проницательной иронией описывается смена парадигм после проникновения консьюмеризма

в постсоветский мир. Мы обратимся к малоизученному его аспекту - потребительству с антиутопическими чертами.

Этой теме было посвящено немало исследований. В качестве примера можно привести статью С. Хаги, в которой автор остроумно подчеркивает антиутопический, тоталитарный характер нового потребительского порядка, описанного в романе: «Постсоветскую Россию Пелевина захлестнул внезапный натиск западных товаров и средств массовой информации. Это мир бесконечных мыльных опер и бессмысленных рекламных джинглов. Точно так же, как и у Хаксли, это подспудно тоталитарное общество, в котором тотальный контроль достигается не грубой силой, а насыщением населения продуктами массовой культуры, служащими тонким инструментом социальной обусловленности» (Khagi 2008: 560-61).

Произведение Пелевина антиутопично, поскольку распространение новых привычек (потребительских и капиталистических) среди населения происходит благодаря тому самому тоталитарному менталитету, человек, носитель которого давно привык пассивно воспринимать зачастую бессмысленные лозунги. Поэтому сравнение Пелевина с наиболее известными авторами антиутопических романов представляется вполне обоснованным. Как правильно заметила Хаги: ввиду «гедонистического» и «толерантного» характера описываемой в нем пропаганды, «Generation П» в целом больше похож на «О дивный новый мир» Хаксли, чем на «1984» Оруэлла.

В связи с этим мы хотим обратить наше внимание на систематическое и точное сопоставление понятия «Гомо Советикус» с понятием «поколение П» и на то, что эти две концепции можно считать не только близкими, но и взаимодополняющими.

Как известно, в романе Пелевина связь советской культуры и менталитета является одним из краеугольных камней всего повествования. Несмотря на это, главный герой Вавилен Татарский не имеет очень четких представлений о культуре, под влиянием которой он сформировался: «Газеты уверяли, что в этой страшноватости давно живет весь мир и оттого в нем так много вещей и денег, а понять это мешает только «советская ментальность». Что такое «советская ментальность» или сакраментальный «совок», Татарский понимал не до конца, хотя пользовался этим выражением часто и с удовольствием. Но с точки зрения его нового нанимателя, Дмитрия Пугина, он и не должен был ничего понимать» (Пелевин 1999: 32-33).

Несмотря на это (и вне зависимости от усилий героя Пелевина стать полезным членом общества потребления) Татарский прекрасно понимает, что в нем существует «не до конца выдавленный из себя раб, рудимент советской эпохи», который «не сконцентрирован в какой-то одной ее области, а, скорее, окрашивает все происходящее <...>, отчего не существует никакой возможности выдавить этого раба по каплям, не повредив ценных душевных свойств» (Пелевин 1999: 52-53). Это неполное понимание советской ментальности

не должно удивлять: как и многие другие, Татарский — «человек советский», конечно, не по выбору, а по простой социальной и культурной обусловленности.

В связи с этим интересно отметить, что сам А. Зиновьев, который первым популяризировал концепцию «гомо советикус», тщательно избегает упрощенных определений этого понятия [1]. У Зиновьева мысль о «Гомо Советикус» является сложной и многогранной, настолько, что с первой же страницы одноименного произведения автор напоминает читателю, что «его отношение к этому существу двойственное», поскольку «сам есть гомосос» (Зиновьев 1982: 7). Опять-таки в этом смысле, в длинном и проникновенном изложении, которым завершается книга, автор утверждает, что «гомососство самая глубокая болезнь человечества», но добавляет немного далее, что «гомосос не есть деградация», а наоборот, является «высшим продуктом цивилизации». Свой анализ Зиновьев завершает лаконичным фатализмом, напоминая, что гомо советикус «есть в каждом человеке» (Зиновьев 1982: 192-93).

Во всяком случае, с течением времени это выражение приобрело смысл, явно не предусмотренный зиновьевской концепцией, смысл цепкой связи с исчезнувшим прошлым, оказывающим тем не менее сильное влияние на события настоящего: «Для некоторых наблюдателей Homo sovieticus — низкое существо, которое все еще живо и, как предполагается, несет ответственность за откат России к авторитаризму. Повышающееся использование этого (и связанных с ним терминов) в средствах массовой информации в контексте растущих упоминаний о ресоветизации России и новой холодной войне является тревожной тенденцией» (Sharafutdinova 2019: 174).

В этом же ракурсе в «Generation П» (действие которого происходит в мире копирайтинга) связь между «гомососством» и консьюмеризмом представлена самими рекламными лозунгами: «Через полтора часа Татарский вошел в огромный комплекс комбината «Правда» – туда, где когда-то помещались редакции чуть ли не всех советских газет. На вахте для него был выписан пропуск. Он поднялся на восьмой этаж и нашел комнату с нужным номером; на ее двери висела металлическая табличка со словами «Идеологический отдел» – явное советское наследство» (Пелевин 1999: 82). С преемственностью, в которой нет ничего случайного, «Идеологический отдел», когда-то занимавшийся политической пропагандой, теперь отвечает за разработку рекламных слоганов для продажи потребительских товаров.

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[1] Тем не менее, в сегодняшнем русском языке это выражение имеет специфическое и не особо положительное значение, поскольку (как указано в словаре) относится к «обезличенному, послушному советскому человеку с его социальной моделью поведения, мышления, образом жизни».

В другом отрывке, безусловно, одном из самых значимых во всем романе, новый начальник главного героя Владимир Ханин прямо заявляет о логической преемственности между социалистической пропагандой и рекламной деятельностью: «Мы ведь с тобой идеологические работники, если ты еще не понял. Пропагандисты и агитаторы. Я, кстати, и раньше в идеологии работал. На уровне ЦК ВЛКСМ. <...> Раньше было: «Единица — ничто, а коллектив — все», а теперь — «Имидж — ничто, жажда — все». Агитпроп бессмертен. Меняются только слова» (Пелевин 1999: 139). Чтобы сделать это объединение идей еще более явным, Ханин даже выступает в пародии на типичную советскую пропагандистскую речь, напоминая о том, что пропагандисты и агитаторы (а, очевидно, и их прямые наследники, копирайтеры) - «это архитекторы завтрашнего дня, и у них не должно быть никаких неясностей по поводу плана, по которому им предстоит строить будущее» (Пелевин 1999: 141).

С чисто теоретической точки зрения никакой новизны Пелевин не привносит. Как известно, уже в одном из самых популярных эссе всего XX века — «Одномерный человек» (1964) — Х. Маркузе осветил новые формы скрытых репрессий, объединявших социалистическое и капиталистическое общество, уделив, в том числе, большое внимание тому, как капитализм широко использует создание излишних потребностей как инструмент общественного контроля[2]. Что делает произведение Пелевина по-настоящему примечательным - так это то, как автору удается передать то двойственное и глубокое чувство притяжения-отталкивания, которое связывает Татарского и других персонажей с их статусом «гомо советикус» («частичка мироздания, несущая в себе все мироздание» по словам самого Зиновьева [Зиновьев 1982: 192]).

Как правильно заметила Хаги, гиперпотребительский сценарий, описанный в «Generation П», представляет собой «беспрецедентный прорыв», поскольку «впервые в истории эффективно решена проблема, которую предыдущие репрессивные общества так и не решили, — уничтожение человека. Новый категорический императив — потреблять и выбрасывать деньги» (Khagi 2008: 562). Точно так же, как объясняется в пародийно-научном

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[2] Согласно тому, что Маркузе утверждает в своем эссе, капитализм и социализм (хотя и политически разные) зависят от технического аппарата, который делает их в целом очень похожими (по крайней мере, на уровне массификации): «Если на Западе аналитическое предицирование осуществляется посредством таких терминов, как «свободное предпринимательство», «инициатива», «выборы», «индивид», то на Востоке в качестве таких терминов выступают «рабочие и крестьяне», «построение коммунизма» или «социализма», «уничтожение антагонистических классов». И в том, и в другом случаях нарушение дискурса в плане выхода за пределы замкнутой аналитической структуры либо ошибочно, либо является пропагандой, хотя средства насаждения истины и степень наказания значительно отличаются» (Маркузе 2002).

трактате, приписываемом духу Че Гевары[3] «телевидение превращает простой народ в «Homo Zapiens» (от «zapping» - переключение каналов, чтобы не смотреть рекламу), зомби, которыми манипулирует глобальное, ориентированное на прибыль информационное пространство» (Khagi 2008: 561). Однако, несмотря на остроту своего анализа, Хаги как будто не замечает, что эта потребительская антиутопия одновременно воплощает в себе создание своеобразного «бесклассового общества», которое процветает на почве безграничного потребления (перефразируя Энди Уорхола: «все кока-колы хороши, даже президентская кока-кола не лучше моей» [Warhol 1975: 100-101]). В этом смысле Homo Zapiens очень похож на Homo Sovieticus: меняется идеологическое содержание, но основная (пассивная и подчиненная) психология практически та же, и не случайно в размышлениях Татарского использование ширпотреба часто ассоциируется с коммунистической символикой, под влиянием которой он воспитывался. Например, допивая бутылку красного вина, герой романа Пелевина замечает, как она «походила на готический собор, занятый под горком партии, а пустота внутри этой бутылки напоминала об идеологической исчерпанности коммунизма, бессмысленности исторических кровопролитий и общем кризисе русской идеи. Припав к горлышку, Татарский допил остаток вина и швырнул пустую бутылку в корзину для бумаг» (Пелевин 1999: 100). Таким образом сама идеология становится своеобразным продуктом, который можно потреблять и выбрасывать «в мусорную корзину истории» (Троцкий 1917) после его «идеологической исчерпанности».

Точно так же интересно отметить, что зиновьевский «Гомо Советикус» уже характеризовался своеобразным отношением притяжения-отталкивания к Западу и его потребительским товарам. В концепции живущего в эмиграции писателя запад предстает с одной стороны вечным врагом, с которым неизбежно приходится бороться, с другой — областью наивной и декадентской свободы, которую нужно защищать и сохранять.

Во всем этом существенной чертой произведения Зиновьева является наивное стремление советского человека к символам западного благополучия (например, автор рассказывает о своем знакомом, который решил обойтись без сексуальных услуг уборщицы, чтобы «купить на распродаже джинсы и дубленку — мечту гомососа» [Зиновьев 1982: 101]).

Поэтому Хаги, безусловно, права, утверждая, что в соответствии с краеугольными камнями постмодернистской мысли, описанный Пелевиным процесс трансформации Homo Sovieticus в Homo Zapiens «во многом основан на критике западными интеллектуалами электронного века с его массовым конформизмом и безграничными возможностями

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[3] В прочтении Татарским трактата, приписываемого духу Че Гевары, можно распознать карикатурную аллюзию на прочтение У. Смитом (главный герой «1984») знаменитой «Книги Гольдштейна», опасного подрывного текста, объявленного вне закона в антиутопическом мире Г. Оруэлла.

манипулирования сознанием» (Khagi 2008: 562). Однако на основе того, что уже было сказано, можно рассматривать эту трансформацию не столько в перспективе разрыва, сколько в перспективе преемственности и неизбежной эволюции; как утверждал в известном интервью один из основных теоретиков постмодернизма М. Фуко, - «каждое общество имеет свой режим правды», и такой режим «связан замкнутым кругом с системами власти, которые производят и поддерживают его, и к эффектам силы, которые индуцируют и расширяют его» (Rabinow 1984: 73-74). В своей перспективе, чисто релятивистской и антимарксистской, Фуко отрицает, что идеология может иметь какое-либо объективное основание, но, даже не принимая этой точки зрения, все же остается важным то, как автор не замечает фундаментальные различия между «режимом правды», действующим в капиталистической стране, и «режимом, который, с некоторыми изменениями, работает в социалистических странах» (Rabinow 1984: 74).

Как уже было сказано, Homo Sovieticus и Homo Zapiens объединяет та самая пассивно-рецептивная ментальность, которая делает их особенно восприимчивыми как к политическим слоганам, так и к навязчивой рекламе, что хорошо известно авторам такого типа дискурса («Агитпроп бессмертен. Меняются только слова», по выражению пелевинского героя, Хагина). Такой теоретический подход лишь подтверждает сугубо постмодернистский характер романа Пелевина, основанный на одновременном использовании контрастных идеологических и культурных отсылок (советизма, потребительства и подчас национализма). Что касается последнего, то безусловно важным элементом является поиск «русской идеи», составляющей предмет одной из часто сложных «рекламных концепций», которые периодически поручаются главному герою. Заказчик, поручивший эту задачу Татарскому, похоже, нисколько не сомневается в важности такого поиска: «Наш национальный бизнес выходит на международную арену. А там крутятся всякие бабки <...>. Но за каждыми бабками на самом деле стоит какая-то национальная идея. У нас раньше было православие, самодержавие и народность. Потом был этот коммунизм. А теперь, когда он кончился, никакой такой идеи нет вообще, кроме бабок. Но ведь не могут за бабками стоять просто бабки, верно?» (Пелевин 1999: 175).

Ссылаясь еще раз на концепции Фуко (Rabinow 1984: 74), можно увидеть в «русской идее» яркий пример «режима правды», необходимое условие формирования и развития любого социо-политического строя («за каждыми бабками на самом деле стоит какая-то национальная идея»). Однако этот (лишь отчасти иронический) поиск[4] не даст желаемых результатов, и «русская идея» остается расплывчатым и неопределенным понятием,

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[4] Как известно поиск «русской идеи» имеет важные прецеденты у таких авторов, как П. Чадаев, В. Соловьёв, А. Григорьев, Ф. Достоевский, В. Розанов и др.

существенно не способным пролить свет на сложный вопрос отношений России с Западом и с самой собой.

В заключение всего этого можно повторить, что понятие «гомо советикус» составляет важный элемент архитектуры романа В. Пелевина «Поколение П». Связующим звеном между этими элементами выступает та пассивность, с которой принимаются и используются полученные свыше формулы, лозунги и ментальные схемы. В этом смысле герой Пелевина, В. Татарский, не вполне понимает значение таких выражений, как «совок» или «русская идея», несмотря на то, что он часто употребляет их не только в ежедневной жизни, но и для создания так называемых «рекламных концепций». Точно так же остается показательным, что даже такой острый и глубокий аналитик, как Зиновьев, указывал в свое время, что он не считает себя вполне способным объяснить сущность и особенности «человека советского»:

«Описать гомососа! Они от меня требуют решить задачу, за решение которой через много десятилетий или Даже столетий люди будут признаны выдающимися Учеными. А какую награду получу я за это? Ладно. Тут, как говорится, не до жиру, лишь бы быть живу. Попробую решить им эту эпохальную задачу "человека советского"» (Зиновьев 1982: 189).

Для героев «Generation П» советская ментальность составляет «режим правды», без которого крайне трудно обойтись, набор общих привычек и убеждений, от которых трудно отказаться, учитывая, что по словам самого Татарского «вера, которую не разделяет никто, называется шизофренией» (Пелевин 1999: 100).

В завершение отметим, что в отличие от своего главного героя, Пелевин четко представляет себе характерные черты «Гомо Советикуса». В его романе эти черты проявляются в неисправимой тяге к лозунгами, слоганам и «готовым решениям», которые, будучи продиктованными самой сутью «гомососства», в итоге не оставляют места для любого критического мышления.

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ЛИЧНЫЙ ЗОЛОТОЙ ВЕК АВИАТОРА В РОМАНЕ ЕВГЕНИЯ ВОДОЛАЗКИНА «АВИАТОР»

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Abstract
The personal golden age of the aviator in Vodolazkin's novel "The Aviator"
Key Words: Vodolazkin, aviator, topos, paradise, childhood, Petersburg.

The paper presents an analysis of the text of the novel "The Aviator" by the famous writer Evgeny Vodolazkin. The plot of this work is based on the memories of the main character Innokenty Platonov. In the text of the novel, the author identifies four main periods in the life of the main character: childhood, youth, Solovki and 1999, when the main character makes entries in his diary. The novel examines two time periods, which are connected through the memories of Innokenty's. The fundamental core of the novel can be called memory, which takes the main character from the end of the 20th century to his distant childhood of the beginning of the twentieth century, inviting the reader to plunge into the events of that time and feel, together with the aviator, the carefree childhood years. The article examines the topos of childhood as the personal golden age of Innokenty Platonov. Episodes from the text of the novel are analyzed in which Vodolazkin gives a description of this joyful and carefree period of life for Innokenty. The work characterizes the main loci associated with the childhood of an aviator. This is Petersburg at the beginning of the 20th century, an apartment in Petersburg, a dacha in Siverskaya and Kuokkala - the places where Innokenty spent his childhood. The aviator's childhood world seems to be an idealized paradise, which he feels especially acutely in adulthood, when it is important for Innokenty to have something that gives stability and self-confidence. It is precisely this island of safety that appears as the topos of childhood, characterized by Vodolazkin as a time of serenity and stability for the little aviator, and later for the adult Innokenty. The author of the novel recreates a picture of a world that is gone irrevocably, but dear and understandable to Innokenty. The description of such episodes allows the reader to plunge into the atmosphere of the early 20th century, living through important events for him together with the main character.

Kopsavilkums
Aviatora personīgais zelta laikmets Vodolazkina romānā "Aviators"
Atslēgvārdi: Vodolazkins, aviators, topos, paradīze, bērnu, Sanktpēterburga.

Darbā tiek analizēts slavenā mūsdienu rakstnieka Jevgeņija Vodolazkina romāna "Aviators" teksts. Šī darba sižets ir balstīts uz galvenā varoņa Innokentij Platonova atmiņām. Romāna tekstā autors identificē četrus galvenos periodus galvenā varoņa dzīvē: bērnība, jaunība, Solovki un 1999. gads, kad galvenais varonis izdara ierakstus savā dienasgrāmatā. Romānā aplūkoti divi laika periodi, kas saistīti caur Inokentija atmiņām. Par romāna fundamentālo kodolu var nosaukt atmiņu, kas galveno varoni aizved no 20. gadsimta beigām līdz tālajai divdesmitā gadsimta sākuma bērnībai, aicinot lasītāju ienirt tā laika notikumos un sajust, kopā ar aviatoru, bezrūpīgajiem bērnības gadiem. Rakstā aplūkoti bērnības topos kā Innokentija Platonova personīgais zelta laikmets. Tiek analizētas epizodes no romāna teksta, kurās Vodolazkins sniedz aprakstu par šo Inokentijas priecīgo un bezrūpīgo dzīves periodu. Darbs raksturo galvenos lokusus, kas saistīti ar aviatora bērnību. Šī ir Sanktpēterburga 20. gadsimta sākumā, dzīvoklis Sanktpēterburgā, vasarnīca Siverskā un Kuokkala - vietas, kur Innokentij pavadīja savu bērnību. Aviatora bērnības pasaule šķiet idealizēta paradīze, ko viņš īpaši asi izjūt pieaugušā vecumā, kad Innokentijam ir svarīgi, lai būtu kaut kas, kas dod stabilitāti un pašapziņu. Tieši šī drošības sala parādās kā bērnības toposs, ko Vodolazkins raksturo kā miera un stabilitātes laiku mazajam aviatoram un vēlāk arī pieaugušajam Innokentijam. Romāna autors no jauna rada priekšstatu par pasauli, kas ir neatgriezeniski aizgājusi, bet Innokentijam dārga un saprotama. Šādu epizožu apraksts ļauj lasītājam just 20. gadsimta sākuma atmosfēru, kopā ar galveno varoni pārdzīvojot viņam svarīgus notikumus.

Евгений Водолазкин – современный писатель, его творчество мало изучено, поэтому изучение текстов его романов представляется актуальным и очень интересным. Целью этой работы является изучение текста романа Евгения Водолазкина «Авиатор» с целью выявления основных локусов, непосредственно связанных с топосом детства главного героя, а также, анализ того, как Водолазкин описывает в романе идеализированный мир детства авиатора. В работе использованы структурно-семантический и культурно-исторические методы исследования.

Воспоминания главного героя Иннокентия Платонова легли в основу сюжета романа Евгения Водолазкина «Авиатор». *«Память – один из ведущих мотивов современных текстов»,* – считают авторы статьи «Мотив памяти и ее трансформация в литературе советской и постсоветской действительности» Людмила Гаврилова и Мария Ларина. (Гаврилова, Ларина 2022: 36)

Почти столетний период охватывают события, описываемые в романе. Повествование ведется в виде дневника. Основная часть романа – записи Иннокентия, в которых он рассказывает о себе, своих чувствах, мыслях, эмоциях. Это не только рассказ о том, что с ним происходит сейчас, какие события и люди окружают его, неожиданно для самого себя оказавшегося в другом, чужом для него, времени, но и свои воспоминания Платонов записывает в дневник.

В первой части романа дневник ведет только Иннокентий, во второй – записи делают также его врач Гейгер и Настя. В начале второй части Водолазкин указывает авторство дневниковых записей, к финалу повествования он этого не делает. О том, кто это пишет, можно понять только по содержанию.

После пробуждения ото сна в жидком азоте, память Иннокентия начинает восстанавливаться. Воспоминания дают ему возможность снова пережить то, что происходило с ним в прошлом. Память к авиатору возвращается не сразу, это происходит постепенно. События из прошлого появляются в сознании Иннокентия ассоциативно с тем, что его окружает сейчас. Память выхватывает события из прошлого фрагментарно, не в хронологическом порядке. Начинаясь с каких-то незначительных моментов и событий сейчас, в 1999 году, воспоминания цепляются друг за друга, выстраиваясь в цепочку событий начала 20 века. Иногда Иннокентий изначально не понимает, с чем связано то или иное воспоминание, каким будет продолжение, но постепенно его память восстанавливает ход событий, позволяя главному герою, зная свое прошлое, чувствовать себя увереннее в новом мире.

В тексте романа можно выделить четыре периода жизни главного героя. Детство – самый счастливый для него; юность – первая любовь, революция, арест; Соловки – постоянный ужас и холод; 1999 год – период воспоминаний и новой жизни в новом для него мире.

Рассмотрим топос детства как личный золотой век главного героя. Детство для Платонова – символ покоя, стабильности, счастья – его личного счастья в обществе родных ему людей. В романе автор описывает несколько основных локаций, связанных с детством Иннокентия: это Петербург начала 20-го века, квартира в Петербурге, дача в Сиверской и Куоккала – место, где находился дом родителей его кузена Севы. Именно Сева еще в детстве

стал называть Иннокентия авиатором, когда они вместе с кузеном запускали воздушного змея, представляя, что управляют не змеем, а аэропланом. Авиатором главный герой остался на всю жизнь, хоть и не всегда ему удавалось летать высоко в небе.

Ровесником века называет Водолазкин Иннокентия, т.к. родился главный герой в начале прошлого века, а записи в дневнике он делает уже в конце 20 века, записывая воспоминания и описывая то, что с ним происходит в 1999 году. Большое внимание в романе уделяется именно детству как началу пути. В тексте романа это не только начало жизненного пути авиатора. Одной из первых записей в дневнике авиатора стало воспоминание о болезни в детстве, когда бабушка читала болеющему Иннокентию его любимую книгу «Робинзон Крузо». Автор романа делает акцент именно на чтении, а не на болезни, т.к. бабушка для Иннокентия – олицетворение добра, тепла, домашнего уюта – всего того, с чем связано детство. Вероятно, это воспоминание возникло ассоциативно со сложившейся сегодня ситуацией, когда Иннокентий также, как в детстве, лежит больной в постели, только теперь он взрослый, без бабушки, и не знает, кто он и где сейчас находится.

Позднее, когда точно такую же книгу принес Гейгер, главному герою вспомнилось все, что сопровождало чтение этой книги в детстве: *«кашель бабушки, звон упавшего на кухне ножа и (оттуда же) запах жареного, дым отцовской папиросы».* (Водолазкин. 2020: 34). Учеба – неизменная часть детской жизни. Уроки, учителя, староста класса – все всплыло в памяти параллельно с воспоминаниями о болезни, из-за которой в детстве главный герой был вынужден пропустить занятия в гимназии. *«Топос школы – один из устойчивых пространственных образов, связанных с темой детства»,* – считают авторы статьи «Топос детства в современной русской литературе» Наталья Рябцева и Марина Топчиева. (Рябцева, Топчиева 2018: 58)

Следующим по важности и значимости лично для авиатора становится воспоминание о Петербурге – городе, который, как и его семья, был очень важен для Иннокентия, служил для него опорой и основой стабильности и покоя. Еще не вспомнив, где он жил раньше, не зная, где находится сейчас, Платонов по своим ощущениям и эмоциям от воспоминаний о снежинках на стекле, об электрическом трамвайчике, о рельсах на замерзшей реке, об огромном шпиле, понимает, в каком городе он жил в детстве и что с этим городом у него много общих воспоминаний. Питер в то далекое время был для него островом, о берега которого разбивались все невзгоды, весь хаос окружающего его мира. Стоит заметить, что Питер – олицетворение стабильности и для проснувшегося в конце века Платонова, т.к. этот город – единственное, что ему знакомо в его новой жизни. Проезжая по городу в конце 20 века, Иннокентий узнает те места, где бывал с родителями в начале века, и улицы, где гулял еще

совсем маленьким мальчиком. В своих записях Платонов часто отмечает, что улицы Питера все также узнаваемы. Но звуки в начале века были другими – он помнит их до сих пор. В новом мире авиатору трудно привыкнуть к отсутствию знакомых с детства звуков. Он помнит, как ходил по улицам Петербурга вместе с отцом и матерью. Не в этом ли заключается счастье маленького мальчика, когда они, взявшись за руки, втроем идут по Театральной улице от Фонтанки к Александринскому театру. Взрослый Иннокентий понимает, что в такие моменты он был абсолютно счастлив, не осознавая этого в то время.

Детство – это рай, куда Иннокентию приятно возвращаться снова и снова. Он помнит звон трамваев, как мечтал в детстве нажать на педаль вагоновожатого, чтобы позвонить в электрический звонок. Трамваи его детства кажутся авиатору очень яркими скорее всего потому, что человеку свойственно идеализировать все, что связано с детством. К тому же, через столько лет Платонову в первую очередь вспоминается что-то позитивное.

Помнит авиатор молитву «Отче наш», как ходил вместе с матерью в церковь на службу. Как было ему спокойно и радостно на руках матери в тот момент, когда она подносила его, словно парящего, к иконе. Десятки горящих свечей, их потрескивание и стекающий воск – теплые воспоминания его детства, проведенного с матерью. *«Тема детства занимает особое место в современной русской литературе»,* – отмечают авторы статьи «Топос детства в современной русской литературе» Наталья Рябцева и Марина Топчиева. – *«Идиллический хронотоп детства традиционно соотнесен с архетипическими образами и мотивами, такими, как образ дома или «образ счастливого места», образы матери, отца, ребенка, комплекс солярных мотивов, мотив изобилия, «золотого века», мотив потерянного рая и т.д.».* (Рябцева, Топчиева 2018: 55).

Фраза *«Иди бестрепетно»* – тоже воспоминание детства. Маленький Иннокентий ходил с отцом в чей-то дом на Рождество. Чучело медведя у лестницы, его густой мех, поднос для визиток в передних лапах, ковровая дорожка на мраморе, смеющееся лицо отца, хоровод вокруг елки – то, что кажется обыденным, через много лет превращается в воспоминания, согревающие душу главного героя. И эта фраза – просто воспоминание, но он и сейчас помнит Терентия Осиповича Добросклонова, произносившего ее с желанием подбодрить маленького Иннокентия, и то, что связано с этими словами. Беззаботные детские годы Платонова наполнены любовью родных и близких и бесконечной любовью главного героя к Питеру – обители покоя и счастья Иннокентия. *«...детство – маленький личный Рай. ...Рай обладает абсолютным равновесием и полнотой»,* – так описывает свое детство Водолазкин в сборнике «Идти бестрепетно». (Водолазкин 2021: 109)

Не менее значимым для главного героя локусом можно назвать дачу. Летом они всей семьей снимали дачу в Сиверской, где авиатор жил с родителями с мая по сентябрь. Для Иннокентия все, что связано с этим местом, кажется особенным и необыкновенным: краски, звуки, виды. Он помнит, как ездили на дачу по железной дороге, названия станций, перрон, как пыхтел паровоз и как грузили на телегу многочисленные пожитки – для него это очень важно и ценно, особенно теперь, когда из прошлой жизни у него остались только воспоминания. Помнит, как переезжали реку Оредеж, как в пятницу вечером ходили на станцию встречать отца из Петербурга. Жизнь на даче вместе с родителями для маленького мальчика была настоящим раем. Иннокентий помнит Сиверский воздух и пишет об этом в дневнике, упоминая, что он *«несравненный».* (Водолазкин 2020: 43) И что *«это и не воздух даже, а нечто иноприродное».* (Водолазкин 2020: 44) Также главный герой пишет, что *«по вечерам, когда стихало малейшее дуновение ветра, воздух превращался в нектар. Его можно было пить».* (Водолазкин 2020: 65). Запах цветов на дачах в Сиверской жизнеописатель упоминает отдельно, т.к. для него это еще одна возможность насладиться приятными воспоминаниями о дачной жизни. Платонов называет целебным нектаром благоухание цветов на даче, который насыщает людей чем-то приятным и наполняет их красотой и радостью. Для него это цветочное благоухание равнозначно пребыванию дома со своими родителями за самоваром, где ему всегда было хорошо и спокойно. Покупка патефона на даче – это наслаждение цветочным ароматом, усиленное бесподобным пением Вяльцевой. Платонову казалось, что пение и аромат цветов прекрасно гармонируют друг с другом, придавая их дачной жизни еще большее очарование. Помнит отряд мальчишек, марширующий по Церковной улице в Сиверской под барабанную дробь, выбивал которую маленький барабанщик Платонов. Эта дробь сохранилась в его воспоминаниях как что-то очень важное. Ему нравилось барабанить – чувство радости от простых вещей, доступное в детстве.

«Какое это было счастье. Такого счастья больше не помню», – так описывает свои ощущения Иннокентий, вспоминая случай из детства: он вернулся домой после долгой прогулки вдоль реки Оредеж с пляжа Жаркие страны в Сиверской. Дома его ласково и тепло встретили родители, что и вызвало ощущение счастья в его душе. (Водолазкин 2020: 72). *«В сущности, вот он, Рай. В доме спят мама, папа, бабушка. Мы любим друг друга, нам вместе хорошо и покойно»,* – размышляет Иннокентий, вспоминая детство, проведенное на даче. (Водолазкин 2020: 163)

Для Платонова дачный период – это рай. Здесь жизнь наполнена небольшими, но важными и значимыми для него событиями и впечатлениями – он это помнит через много лет и умеет радоваться им и наслаждаться этими воспоминаниями. Водолазкин всячески дает

понять читателю, как хорошо было Платонову на даче, что маленький Иннокентий любил это время и с теплотой и нежностью вспоминает события тех дней. Автор романа воссоздает картину мира, ушедшего безвозвратно, но родного и понятного для Иннокентия. Его детские годы – это полотно, на котором Водолазкин-художник располагает цвета и краски жизни Платонова.

На даче профессора Гиацинтова в Крыму семья Платоновых отдыхала в 1911 году. Платонов помнит, каким был воздух, когда они туда приехали, что маленький Иннокентий делал, говорил, пока они жили в Алуште, с кем играл, как купались, загорали, строили замок из песка. Самыми яркими воспоминаниями этой поездки стал аромат старых книг и океанских трофеев на даче профессора, а также прохлада этого дома, которая спасала авиатора даже от крымской жары.

Куоккала – еще одно значимое место в детских воспоминаниях Платонова. Здесь находился дом родителей его кузена Севы. В детстве мальчики были очень дружны и много времени проводили вместе. Одно из воспоминаний тесно связано с этим населенным пунктом: здесь маленький Иннокентий стал авиатором Платоновым. Делая записи в дневнике, Платонову сначала вспомнилась фраза *авиатор Платонов*, а уже за ней проявились и остальные события, связанные с этим топосом.

Даже какие-то грустные или неприятные события теперь воспринимаются им по-другому, т.к. это воспоминания из его детства. Для Платонова важны воспоминания об авиаторе, о полетах аэроплана, о гибели авиатора. Авиатор Платонов – так его часто называли дома. В детстве он мечтал стать авиатором, и ему нравилось это имя. *«Не только небо одно, но ... и шлем, и очки, и усы. Кожаные, на меху, куртка и брюки»,* – то, что восхищало Иннокентия в этой профессии. (Водолазкин 2020: 154) Авиатор парит в небе над всеми, как большая красивая птица. Спустя годы Водолазкин, описывая судьбу Платонова, дает читателю понять, что судьба Платонова сложилась не так, как у многих людей – он, словно птица, воспарил над временем, став ровесником века еще молодым. Но счастья это ему не принесло. Авиация привлекала его с детства, с ней связано начало пути. Финал романа Водолазкин тоже связывает с авиацией. Сидя в самолете, Иннокентий делает записи в дневнике, не зная, что его ждет впереди.

Размышляя о том, как бы он описал неродившейся еще дочери Анне свое детство и в чем состояло его счастье в тот период, авиатор перечисляет самые простые вещи: обои над кроватью, звон крышки ночного горшка, скрип кровати, люстра и тени от нее, Фемида на шкафу, бабушка, сидящая рядом с внуком, читает «Робинзона Крузо». Такими строками заканчивает Водолазкин роман.

В итоге жизнь авиатора складывается так, что он, как главный герой его любимой книги остается один. Робинзон Крузо в одиночестве жил на острове, а Иннокентий остается один в мире своих воспоминаний, которые для него понятны и близки, но кажутся непонятными и чужими для людей в его новом мире. Но так ли это важно теперь. Платонов пишет, что рай – это отсутствие времени, когда жизнь словно замирает на одном месте. Водолазкин создает в романе мир, в котором Платонову было хорошо. Воспоминания детства – это рай авиатора – его личный мир с запахами, вкусами, звуками – рай, который дорог уже тем, что ушедшее время не вернуть. Но разве было бы ему также хорошо, если бы время остановилось. Для взрослого Иннокентия, живущего в не всегда понятном ему современном мире, воспоминания из детства стали своего рода островком безопасности среди бешеного ритма современного мира. Егор Неверов считает, что Платонову свойственно идеализировать все, что связано с детством. (Неверов 2019) Марина Абашева называет детство авиатора утраченным раем, воспоминания о котором позднее помогают Иннокентию пережить тяжелые моменты. (Абашева 2019)

Выводы

Идеализированный мир детства авиатора Водолазкин представляет как некий универсум, где все взаимосвязано. Земля и небо, неизменно влекущее главного героя ввысь; родные люди, заботящиеся о беззаботной жизни маленького авиатора; Петербург, дающий ему опору и веру в определенную стабильность окружающего мира; природа, вызывающая восторг своей красотой; приметы цивилизации, которые становятся важной частью детства авиатора. Водолазкин создает универсум чувств и восприятия мира, который наполняет красотой душу человека. Вкусы, запахи, цвета, звуки, красивые виды – описание этого периодически появляется в записях авиатора.

Для человека важно то, что дает ему ощущение покоя, стабильности. Для авиатора такой опорой были его семья и те места, где он провел детство вместе с родными. Платонов вспоминает не важные исторические события, а какие-то незначительные моменты и приметы времени, которые в глобальном масштабе ничего не значат, но для него они важны и уникальны. Подробное описывание в дневнике того, что его окружало в прошлом, помогает Платонову жить и принимать себя в этом новом и чужом для него мире.

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УРАЛ МЕЖДУ ТАТАРАМИ И МОСКОВИТАМИ В РОМАНЕ А. ИВАНОВА «СЕРДЦЕ ПАРМЫ»

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Ural between Tatars and Muscovites in A. Ivanov's novel "The Heart of Parma"

Key Words: Alexey Ivanov, Perm, Moscow principality, Middle Ages, empire, colonization.

A. Ivanov's novel "The Heart of Parma" takes the reader to the 15th century, at the time when the Moscow principality expanded and strengthened its borders, moving to the East. The report describes the problem of state formation. In the XIV century, as a result of various concessions and agreements, Perm Vychegodskaya became part of Muscovy, approximately in the XV century – the Great Perm. Scientists believe that the Ugra has been in tributary relations with Russia since the 12th century, which is why Novgorodians regularly invaded these lands not only in trade, but also in robbery. Rivers were more important than bridges for ancient Russian trade, and even the first inhabitants of Novgorod knew very well those river routes that led from Lake Ilmen to the north and east.

Moscow has also been interested in the Great Perm for a long time, the principality between the Kama, Vishera, Kolva and Yazva rivers. Political and trade relations with Europe and China were also relevant for Russia, but the trade routes of China were controlled by the Tatar shibans. Their ideological influence was also significant. Ivanov's novel "The Heart of Parma" is based on real historical events of the second half of the 15th century. The author reflects about the essence of the empire, federalism, national riots, paganism and Christianity on the pages of his works.

Ivanov, using the plot with Prince Yermolay, skillfully and vividly describes the medieval period of Russia': loose consolidation between the principalities, feudal war among the numerous heirs of the Ruricovich, relations with neighbors both from the west and from the east on the edge of the war. The author of the novel, using the examples of the lives of Prince Yermolay, and then his son Mikhail, reflects the historical fate of the Urals, whether it would be joining or conquering of new lands, suppression or colonization.

Urāls starp tatāriem un maskaviešiem A. Ivanova romānā "Parmas sirds"

Atslēgvārdi: Aleksejs Ivanovs, Perma, Maskavas kņaziste, viduslaiki, impērija, kolonizācija.

A. Ivanova romāns "Parmas sirds" aizved lasītāju uz 15.gadsimtu, laikā, kad Maskavas kņaziste paplašinājās un nostiprināja robežas, virzoties uz austrumiem. Referātā ir aplūkota valsts veidošanās problēma. XIV gadsimtā dažādu koncesiju un līgumu rezultātā Maskavijas sastāvā iekļāvās Vičegodskas Perma, aptuveni XV gadsimtā - Lielā Perma. Zinātnieki uzskata, ka Ugra atrodas iekļaujošās attiecībās ar Krieviju; tādējādi jau kopš XII gadsimta šajās zemēs regulāri ienāca novgorodieši, ne tikai ar tirdzniecību, bet arī ar laupīšanu. Senkrievu tirdzniecībai upes bija svarīgākas par tiltiem, un pat pirmie Novgorodas iedzīvotāji ļoti labi zināja tos upju ceļus, kas veda no Ilmena ezera uz ziemeļiem un austrumiem. Maskavu jau sen interesēja arī Lielā Perma, kņaziste starp Kamas, Višeras, Kolvas un Jazjvas upēm. Krievijai politiskās un preču attiecības bija aktuālas arī ar Eiropu un Ķīnu, bet Ķīnas tirdzniecības ceļus kontrolēja tatāru šibani. Būtiska bija arī viņu ideoloģiskā ietekme. Ivanova romāna "Parmas sirds" pamatā ir patiesi vēsturiski notikumi 15. gadsimta otrajā pusē. Autors savu darbu lappusēs dalās pārdomās par impērijas būtību, federālismu, tautas nemieriem, pagānismu un kristietību.

Ivanovs, izmantojot sižetu ar princi Jermolaju, prasmīgi un spilgti apraksta Krievijas viduslaiku periodu: vaļīgu konsolidāciju starp kņazistēm, savstarpējo feodālo karu starp daudziem Rurikoviču mantiniekiem, attiecības ar kaimiņiem gan no rietumiem, no austrumiem uz kara slieksņa. Romāna autors, izmantojot prinča Jermolaja dzīves piemēru, un pēc tam viņa dēla Mihaila dzīves piemēru, dalās pārdomās par Urālu vēsturisko likteni, vai tā būtu jaunu zemju pievienošana vai apgūšana, iekarošana vai kolonizācija.

Алексей Иванов (р. 1969) – один из крупнейших современных российских прозаиков. Автор увлекательно пишет как о прошлом, так и настоящем России и является востребованным автором у читателей и у кинематографистов. Создатель «Сердца пармы» (2003), «Золото бунта» (2005), «Вилы» (2016), «Тобол» (2018) размышляет на страницах своих произведений о сути империи, федерализме, народных бунтах, язычестве и христианстве. Как он выразился в одном интервью: *Великие писатели земли Русской*, своим творчеством: «<…> *окучивают одну-единственную титаническую идею. Чаще всего это идея страдания*

русского народа, или величия русского народа, или злодеяний российской власти» (Иванов 2022). Иванов так же себя относит к этой плеяде писателей.

Роман Иванова «Сердце пармы» основан на реальных исторических событиях второй половины XV века. Автор переносит читателя в атмосферу Перми Великой: новгородские набеги, войны с вогульскими племенами, походы московитов, несколько попыток крещения пермяков – исконного народа этой суровой земли. Текст повествования плотно насыщен историческими деталями и лингвистикой того времени (ясак, кан, тамга, острог, городище, мольбище, ушкуйники и т.д.). Князь Ермолай, а затем Михаил, Полюд, Асыка, Тичерть, Калина, Ветлан, Бисерка, Пёстрый, Вольга, Иона и многие-многие другие герои, волею судьбы оказываются в тяжелое, страшное, фантастическое и важное время в парме. Судьбы их в романе много раз переплетутся, чтобы написать кровью очередную строчку истории земли пермской...

Отец главного героя романа Михаила Ермолай становится князем в подмосковной Верее в 15 лет после того как моровая язва выкосила всю его семью. Он оказывается активным свидетелем войны (1425-1453) между двумя родовыми линиями наследников Дмитрия Донского (Худяков 2008). Сблизившись с Василь Василичем (Василий Тёмный), который по слабости характера нажил множество врагов, смог из этой дружбы выжать все возможное. Ермолай грамотно лавирует между братьями и племянниками, воюющими за Московский престол. Дальновидность помогает ему избежать похода на хана Углу-Махмеда, который у Суздаля порубил всё русское войско, также он помогает Василию Тёмному вернуть престол и в результате, за все заслуги только у него, князя Вереи, Московский князь не отнял удел. Властолюбивый князь Ермолай понимал, что вблизи престола Рюриковичей покоя ему не видать: «*<…> пока длится грызня Москвы с Новгородом, Псковом и Тверью, пока точат зубы на Русь Углу-Махмед с востока, Азы-Гирей с юга и Казимир с запада*» (Иванов 2003:42). Ему удается обменять Василию Тёмному родовую Верею на Пермь Вычегодскую Старую и Пермь Камскую Великую. В течение четырех лет он строит свое Великое княжество, в будущем с опорой на своих двух сыновей. Поддавшись соблазну похищения языческого золотого символа у вогулов, Ермолай погибает и остаются наследниками его пермского удела и его идей два отрока 14 и 9 лет. Мечтательный старший сын Михаил, которого «*почему-то считали слегка блаженненьким*», догадывался о планах отца, но не разделял его политических амбиций. Несмотря на возраст, Михаилу пришлось принимать княжение при поддержки только небольшого отряда ратников и «*воли Великого князя Московского*». Иванов, используя сюжет с князем Ермолаем, умело и ярко описывает средневековый период Руси в середине XV века: рыхлая консолидация между княжествами, междоусобная война между

многочисленными наследниками Рюриковичей, и на грани войны отношения с соседями как с запада, так и с востока.

После гибели князя Ермолая отец Иона венчает княжат на княжение: Михаила стал князем Перми Великой Камской, а Васька – Перми Старой Вычегодской. Юного князя Михаила пермские князья встречают с недоверием и перестают платить *ясак* (Ожегов 1996:944). Кроме ежегодного ясака для Великого Московского князя, к пермякам летом за своим *хабаром* (Ушакова 1935-1940) приходили новгородцы, а также регулярно с пермяков собирали свой *харадж* (Ислам. Эн.сл. 2007) и татары. Пермяки промышляли рыболовством, охотой и мехом соболей, белки, куницы или горностая и этим платили все поборы с трех сторон. В то время земли Перми и за Уралом представлялись чем-то вроде «*мехового Эльдорадо*» (Минушкина 2023:24-27). Кроме этого еще можно было там добыть кость, рыбу, орехи. Ничего нет удивительного в том, что уже с XIII века в Пермских землях промышляли на реках новгородские ушкуйники или повольники, которые занимались помимо набегов еще и торговлей. «*Ради «мягкого золота» они сражались с врагом сталью и покупали его железом, совершали великие подвиги и творили гнусные преступления, терпели голод и нужду, не унывали в бедах и в конце концов побеждали*» (Овчинников 1996). Реки для древнерусской торговли были важнее мостов, и уже первые обитатели Новгорода прекрасно знали те речные пути, что вели из озера Ильмень на север и восток. Москву также издавна интересовала Великая Пермь, княжество в междуречье Камы, Вишеры, Колвы и Язьвы. Главное богатство этой земли по тем временам, наряду с пушниной, составляла ещё и соль (Кузнецов 2023).

Подробно описывая первые пять лет правления юного князя Михаила, Иванов дает детальную характеристику продвижения экспансия в Пермь со стороны Новгорода, Москвы и с востока Казанского ханства. Автор, также, акцентирует внимание, на отсутствие сплочённости между пермскими князьями правление которых регулировалась при помощи пама (шамана). В первые два года правления внимание Михаила было сосредоточено на удержание и укрепление власти среди пермских князей. Языческие князья молча игнировали нового князя. Москва слала гневные грамоты «*<…> перечислив недоимки. Князь жил иждивением ратников и промысловиков соликамских починков*» (Иванов 2003:77). Первый ясак пришлось собирать силой, но часть князей поспешила откупиться без боя. Настойчивость и терпение Михаила стало вызывать уважение среди местных князей. Суровый климат и голод, который юный князь переносил со всеми на ровне добавил доверие и уважения. В результате пермяки съехались в Чердынь со словами: «*Ты по душе нам, русский князь, <...>. – Твой разум далеко превосходит твои года*» (Иванов 2003:78) и попросили защитить их от новгородцев и татар.

Весь север Древней Руси с XII в. охватывали владения богатого торгового города Великого Новгорода. Новгородские купцы и вольные люди-ушкуйники пробирались на восток по рекам на лодках с небольшими дружинами. Вероятно, что именно ушкуйники открыли Камские пути за Урал (Овчинников 1996).   Походы сборщиков дани в югорские земли становятся регулярными, а с 1264 г. новгородцы включают эти земли в число своих волостей. Новгородской волостью была и Пермская земля – жившие здесь племена (предки коми-зырян) стали данниками Руси (Семёнов 2004). Ушкуйники ходили в Пермь каждые три-четыре года. Иванов в романе подчеркивает жестокость и безжалостность их походов: «*Когда они плыли по реке, пермяки целыми деревнями уходили в тайгу, оставляя на грабёж и сожжение всё своё добро*» (Иванов 2003:78). Михаил предупреждает новгородцев: «*Поворачивай. Московская земля*» (Иванов 2003:79), но ушкуйники не вняли предупреждению и были разбиты ратниками князя. В это время у Михаила появляется преданный друг, пермский княжич Бурмот, сын Искорского князя Качаима. Ополчение ратников князя пополняется языческими пермскими войнами, который преданно служат ему на протяжение всего повествования, и погибают вместе с ним.

После пресечения грабительских набегов со стороны Новгорода, Михаилу предстояло уладить дело с татарами, но это ему казалось сложнее чем *пострелять ушкуйников*. Ситуация осложнялась тем, что Пермь Великая, своим территориальным расположением, оказалась на перекрестке торговых путей на восток. Экспансия булгар усиливалась уже с первой половине XII и их купцы давно проникли в Повычегодье, Прикамье и Зауралье, а их воины заставляли платить дань многие пермские племена. Идущий через Булгарию «Волжский путь» (Овчинников 1996) являлся одним из важнейших торговых путей для всей Северо-Восточной Руси. Так как князю Михаилу ссориться с татарскими шибанами не хотелось и было очевидно, что: «*до Москвы и на помеле не доберешься, а Казань рядом*» (Иванов 2003:79) он принимает решение первым поехать на переговоры к шибану Мансуру в Афкуль. Мансур не пожелал говорить с князем о делах, проигнорировал две его грамоты, а с пермяков содрал ещё больший харадж. Только перехваченная грамота от Михаила в Москву с просьбой прислать войско меняет отношение шибана к переговорам, и он решает уступить часть хараджа князю, чтобы тот ябед не слал Великому князю, часть земель по Каме и крепости Ибырь и Афкуль признал за татарами и еще сделал часть уступок, которые были выгодны Михаилу. В добавок ко всему приходит служить князю сын шибана Исур, который станет верным другом и отважным воином, не раз защитившим Михаила в бою. Окружение князя становится многонациональным и разно конфессиональным, а ещё и его ратники женятся на пермяцких язычницах. Славянские, тюркские и коми-зырянские племена торгуя, воюя, женясь,

объединяясь для совместных военных походов и иногда предавая друг друга создают динамику плотного и небескровного взаимодействия между собой в процессе которого возникает новый народ, который впитывая опыт предыдущих племен, выстраивает общее новое будущее.

Сложнее ситуация в романе складывалась с вогулами, которые подчинялись антагонисту Михаила языческому князю Асыке. В художественном мире Иванова христианство и язычество сопоставлены как равные силы. «*Одна из основных тем романа – столкновение двух мировоззрений: зрелого православия в лице Ивана III, епископов Питирима, Ионы, Филофея и языческого начала, яростного, мощного, непокорного – в лице языческого хакана Асыки и ламии Тичерть*» (Максимова 2023). Пелымский князь Асыка вокняжение Михаила не принял, а на попытку крещения пермяков среагировал решительно - напал на Чердынь и убил пермского епископа Питирима, отца Михаила и языческого князя Тенега, жившего у Ермолая. Нетрудно усмотреть связь между крещением зырян и первыми набегами вогулов, о которых до 1398 г. письменные источники вообще не упоминают (Овчинников 1996). Свою неприемлемостью распространения христианства Асыка обосновывает с позиции языческого мировозрения: «*– Наши боги – это боги судьбы и трёх миров. <…> Среди наших гор люди и боги одинокого идут дорогами судьбы! <…> Нас ведёт воля нашей земли, и нас судят предки! <…> Поэтому мы живём в вечности, и земля наша не рушима!*» (Иванов 2003:21). Конфликт между Михаилом и хаканом Асыкой имеет сюжетообразующую роль и проходит через все повествование романа раскрывая нюансы и сложности взаимодействия двух мировоззрений.

Церковь играла важную роль в процессе включения пермских земель в состав Русского государства. Первая попытка христианизации коми-пермяков была предпринята в 1455 году епископом Питиримом, который был убит вторгшимися вогулами. В 1462 году Иона Пермский «*добавне крести*» (Корчагин, Шабурова 2009) Пермь Великую. С этого момента в крае появляются первые храмы и монастыри. Пермские владыки были проводниками московского влияния, получив от Великого князя права, сравнимые с наместническими: осуществления суда, сбора торговых пошлин и даже организации обороны. Следует отметить, что Иванов православных священников описывает как глубоко греховных людей, но при этом он не приукрашивает и язычество с их традициями камлания и человеческими жертвоприношениями. Сам князь Михаил, в романе, не вел активной миссионерской деятельности, и это порождало множество конфликтов с православным духовенством. Он правит языческим княжеством, в котором люди не воспринимают злодеяние как грех, понимая это, князь старается защитить язычников от единоверцев. Являясь наместником московского князя, ему удаётся одновременно выстроить хрупкий мир с пермскими князьями и казанскими

шибанами и отбиться от набегов новгородцев. В тоже время Москва озабочена более сильным укреплением своих восточных границ, например, поход на Казань под предводительством Юрия Дмитровского, а Михаил отказавшись принять в этом походе участие нагнетает на себя гнев Великого князя. Что делать? Предать свою веру или предать свой народ? Вопрос выбора загоняет Михаила в тупик. Сам Иванов поясняет так: «*И князь находит идеальный выход, в котором совмещаются и судьба, и свобода воли: надо принять бой, зная, что будешь побежден. Однако такой бой можно принимать только во имя какой-то очень важной вещи. А что это за вещь? Для князя — его земля. Своя земля — больше, чем просто родина. Это место, которое формирует твою жизнь и нравственность, одаряя тебя любовью*» (Иванов 2022). Все эти размышления есть и в романе. Михаил был христианином, и от выступления на стороне язычников его удерживала не только политическая предусмотрительность, но и вера. Он оказался в весьма трудной ситуации – и предпочел не выступать ни против соплеменников, ни против единоверцев. Не случайно для места битвы с войском московитов под предводительством воеводы Ф. Пёстрого в романе выбран именно Искор. Пермские археологи отмечают особое значение этой святыни для пермяков-язычников[5]. Лишь после Чердынского похода и повторной присяги Великому князю Михаил окончательно превратился в московского наместника, и тем самым на Пермь Великую распространилась обычная для Московского государства система управления.

В XV веке о Руси как империи говорить еще рано. Новгород еще отбивается от Москвы, а о Сибири в Москве и не слыхали. Точная дата присоединения Перми Великой к России является дискуссионным вопросом в российской историографии. Некоторые исследователи (В. А. Оборин, Г. Н. Чагин, Л. Д. Макаров) относят это событие к 1451 году, когда Михаил Ермолич был назначен наместником Московского князя и тем самым, по их мнению, произошло мирное включение Перми Великой в состав Русского государства. Другие исследователи считают это событие лишь началом длительного процесса присоединения земель Перми Великой к России (Корчагин 2009).

Завоевания Москвы — процесс объективный, и не могло быть иначе. В то время все сильные соседи захватывали земли слабых. Ее мог остановить только более могущественный враг. Например, в XVI веке Бухарский эмират не удержал Сибирское ханство, и его захватил Ермак. Великий Новгород постепенно слабел в борьбе с Московским княжеством,

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[5] «*Разорение Искора имело не столько военное, сколько психологическое значение: разрушая святыню, Ф. Пёстрый демонстрировал не только мощь московского оружия, но и силу христианского бога. Коми божества, не сумевшие защитить собственное святилище и свой народ, были дискредитированы в глазах местного населения. Образно говоря, после падения Искора население Перми Великой было разоружено идеологически*» (Корчагин, Шабурова 2009).

собиравшем вокруг себя новые земли. Также, в середине XV века ещё наблюдается отсутствие сколько-нибудь значительного русского населения в Перми Великой, сказывается удаленность края, постоянные набеги со стороны вогулов, отсутствие разветвленной сети опорных пунктов. Тем не менее пушнина в экономике Руси играла огромную роль. После того, как Новгородская республика откажется от всех прав на свои бывшие северо-восточные земли её наследником станет Москва. Торговую колонизацию заменят военные вторжения, маленькие фактории превратились в крепости, деревянные идолы коми обернулись христианскими святыми. Колонизация Сибири – одна из актуальных научных проблем, и Иванов осмысляет этот долгий и неоднозначный процесс в романе. Для него колонизация бесспорна, но объективно перед пармой стояли два возможных пути: либо стать колонией исламского (татарского) мира, либо христианского (московского) мира.

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ЕВРЕЙСКИЙ ТЕКСТ В РОМАНЕ Г.ФАСТА «ДОЧЬ АГРИППЫ»

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Abstract

Jewish text in the novel "Agrippa`s daughter" by H.Fast

Key Words: Jew, Berenice, Israel, judaism, memory

In the novel "Agrippa`s daughter" first of all H. Fast represents the Old Testament history of Jewish nation. Nevertheless, that the main figure in this novel is a secondary historical person in Jewish nation history, author does it on purpose – he underlines that Berenice – daughter of Agrippa stands outside her culturally mythological models. The title of this novel records the position of main character and indeed this position is not acceptable for Berenice, because she tries to resign from her status of daughter of Agrippa, she does not want to be an heir. It is important to mention that hate towards father does not mean that Berenice resign from Jewish roots. Exactly in the novel it is vice versa – Berenice is proud to be a Jewish woman, she always underlines her kinship with the Hasmonean line, the Maccabees. In this novel it is possible to define three opinions concerning Jews: the narrative of author, opinion of Jews themselves and opinion of non-Jews. H. Fast focuses also on Jewish space in this novel. Galilee – it is not just a region of Jewish fatherland Israel, as for cultural tradition it is important to mention that this place is special also for Christians, due to the fact that many important moments of Jesus happened in Galilee. For H. Fast it is characteristically to put some Christian motives into his novels of the Jewish cycle. On the one hand, H. Fast tells a story about Agrippa's daughter, who is relegated to the back in the historical section. On the other hand, the novel Agrippa's Daughter is a kind of sequel to other novel "My Glorious Brothers", dedicated to the Maccabees' revolt. Berenice constantly refers to belonging to the Maccabees and this can be considered as a continuation of the heroic history of the Jewish nation.

Kopsavilkums

Ebreju teksts H.Fasta romānā "Agripas meita"

Atslēgvārdi: ebrejs, Berenise, Izraēla, jūdaisms, atmiņa

Romānā "Agripas meita" H.Fasts vispirms atspoguļo Vecās Derības ebreju tautas vēsturi. Neskatoties uz to, ka romāna galvenā varone ir otrā plāna vēsturiska persona ebreju tautas vēsturē, autors dara to apzināti - viņš uzsver, ka Agripas meita Berenise stāv ārpus saviem kulturāli mitoloģiskajiem modeļiem. Romāna nosaukumā ir fiksēts galvenās varones statuss, tomēr patiesībā šis statuss Berenisei nav pieņemams, jo viņa cenšas atteikties no sava statusa - Agripas meita, viņa nevēlas būt mantiniece. Svarīgi pieminēt, ka naids pret tēvu nenozīmē, ka Berenise atsakās no ebreju saknēm. Tieši otrādi - Berenise lepojas ar to, ka ir ebrejiete, viņa vienmēr uzsver savu radniecību ar Hasmoneju dzimtu, Makabejiem. Romānā ir iespējams izcelt trīs viedokļus par ebrejiem: autora naratīvs, pašu ebreju viedoklis un ne-ebreju viedoklis. H. Fasts pievēršas arī ebreju telpai. Galileja - tas nav tikai ebreju tēvzemes - Izraēlas reģions, jo tradicionāli šī vieta ir īpaša arī kristiešiem, tā kā daudzi nozīmīgi Jēzus dzīves epizodi ir notikuši tieši Galilejā. H. Fastam ir raksturīgs savā ebreju romānu ciklā iestarpināt dažus kristiešu motivus. No vienas puses, H.Fasts stāsta par Agripas meitu, kas vēsturiskajā aspektā ir atstāta otrajā plānā. No otras puses, romāns "Agripas meita" ir sava veida turpinājums citam romānam "Mani slavētie brāļi", kas veltīts Makabeju sacelšanās notikumiem. Berenise nemitīgi pasvītro savu piederību Makabejiem, un to var uzskatīt par jūdu tautas varonīgās vēstures turpinājumu.

Еврейский текст в исторических романах Г.Фаста представляет собой достаточно оригинальное явление. С одной стороны, корпус романов, посвященный еврейской проблематике, определяется однозначно и может быть характеризован как своего рода тематическое направление в творчестве автора. С другой стороны, помимо общности еврейской тематики, романы можно группировать в мини-циклы. Своеобразную дилогию образуют романы «Моисей, египетский царевич» и «Дочь Агриппы». Оба исторических романа касаются моментов ветхозаветной истории еврейского народа. Но при этом еврейский текст номинально отодвигается на второй план. Главные герои двух романов неравновелики в истории еврейского народа. Моисей – пророк, основатель еврейской нации и иудаизма, фигура центральная в Ветхозаветном корпусе текстов. Беренис – фигура второстепенная в

истории еврейского народа. Тем не менее в прочтении Фаста, задается некая аналогия: они оба представлены вне своих культурных мифологических моделей, их человеческое начало подчёркнуто. Одновременно названия обоих романов фиксируют положение главных героев, которое для них является ненастоящим – от которого они бегут: Моисей не хочет быть царевичем Египта (и на самом деле таковым не является), Беренис ненавидит своего отца и пытается всеми своими поступками опровергнуть статус наследницы Агриппы. Оба романа сближает и своеобразная минимализация еврейского текста как такового. Если в «Моисее» в центре повествования период жизни героя в Египте – до его осознания принадлежности еврейскому народу, то «Дочь Агриппы» - это история еврейской царевны, но на номинальном уровне еврейский текст минимализирован.

Исторический контекст романа отсылает к периодам правления двух царей Израиля -– Ирод и Агриппа. Царь Ирод, именуемый также Иродом Великим правил Иудеей достаточно долго – 36 лет, с 40 по 4 год до н.э. Несмотря на то, что был достаточно строгим и жестоким человеком, его также называли Царём-Строителем, потому что величайшим делом его жизни было восстановление Второго Храма для евреев. Царь Агриппа – был внуком царя Ирода, правил Иудеей 7 лет – с 37 до 44 года н.э. Став царём Иудеи, он очень старался завоевать доверие и быть популярным среди своих подданных евреев, потому стал исполнять все правила и предписания иудаизма. В романе, отношение евреев к личности Ирода достаточно негативное из-за его злости и огромных амбиций, ради которых он был готов на многое: *И евреи до сих пор произносят проклятия и заклинания при упоминании одного имени его деда* (Фаст 2001:26). Другой пример: [..] *в письме не упоминалась идумейская кровь царя Ирода* [..] (Фаст 2001:37). В свою очередь Агриппа в этом романе для евреев становится обожаемым царём, как только он начинает следовать всем правилам иудаизма. Еврейский народ видит в нём лидера и ценит то, как трепетно Агриппа относится к иудейским традициям и ритуалам. Также Агриппа – это отец главной героини этого романа, имя которого также есть в названии романа. Таким образом автор подчёркивает корни главной героини, делает акцент на личности отца Беренис. Сама Беренис ненавидит своего отца и не хочет быть его наследницей, но в то же время она не отказывается от еврейских корней. Беренис подчёркивает своё родство с хасмонейской линией – Маккавеями. Для Беренис значит очень много - принадлежать к их роду. Хоть и Маккавеи в её родословной находятся намного «дальше», чем отец Агриппа, по духу и жизненному укладу Маккавеи для неё более близки.

Упоминание слова «еврей» ("Jew") в самом тексте романа в основном связано с разными панорамными, всеобщими характеристиками еврейского народа. В общем потоке повествования необходимо выделить три взгляда на евреев: авторский нарратив, взгляд самих

евреев на себя и нарратив сторонних наблюдателей, не-евреев, обозначенный формулой вы – «евреи».

Один из примеров авторского нарратива, когда Фаст описывая незначительного персонажа Иосифа Бенматтафея Хакогена, выходит на общие еврейские манеры и таким образом вновь проявляется заданная автором модель – описывать евреев как группу, как народ в целом: *Нет на свете ничего более элегантного или обладающего таким чувством собственного достоинства, как высший свет еврейского общества, никто так больше не стремится отстранится от непостоянства манер своей приверженностью строгости поступков и намерений* (Фаст 2001:248). Также автор упоминает значение памяти для еврейского народа: [..] *у неё* [Беренис] *появилось то особенное, присущее только евреям ощущение памяти, которое возвращало её к началу начал, ощущение, которое всегда наполняло Беренис непостижимыми, граничащими с чувством страха* (Фаст 2001:283). Автор описывает многократно евреев в общих чертах: [..] *из всего, чем они дорожат, самым ценным считается неотвратимая справедливость Бога* (Фаст 2001:49). Другой пример: [..] *А евреи отнюдь не относятся к терпимому народу* (Фаст 2001:101). Важно отметить, что в романе зафиксировано «еврейское государство». В сюжете романа речь идёт во многих аспектах о формировании государственности. Иными словами, косвенно появляется проблема государственности как таковая. Следуя библейской логике еврейский народ – это народ, который исторически складывается из противоборства и единения разных племён – колен Израилевых. Есть всеобщие характеристики, ритуалы, но в эпоху своего формирования – это не единый народ. По большей части евреи в этом романе представлены как группа людей: *Он* [Агриппа] *себе даже не представлял, что евреев вообще так много на свете. Море еврейских лиц, куда ни бросишь взгляд и на сколько хватает глаз. Дворы Храма наполнены ими. Евреи на стенах Храма, евреи на улицах, на крышах домов – все в ожидании, что он скажет* (Фаст 2001:17).

Частотными являются эпизоды, когда сами евреи дают характеристику своего народа и себя, возникает позиция «взгляда изнутри», так, например, говорит торговец шерстью – «типичный» еврей, связанный с коммерческой деятельностью: *«–Быть евреем, – начал он, – либо благословение, либо обуза, либо и то, и другое, вместе взятое. Но это то, с чем мы рождаемся* [..] (Фаст 2001:29). Или другой пример, где старик-еврей отвечает на тот же вопрос, что значит быть евреем: *«– А что такое еврей? – продолжал старик. – Мы в доме Гиллеля отвечаем на этот вопрос так: единственное различие между евреем и язычником заключается в осведомлённости* (Фаст 2001:150). И ещё один пример, где общим ритуалом для разных племён еврейского народа являются законы Торы: *В Торе сказано, что*

Всемогущий создал человека по своему подобию. Поэтому для нас тело человека свято – это самое совершенное и лучшее творение Бога (Фаст 2001:151). Также в сюжете зафиксированы размышления Беренис о том, какими разными бывают евреи: *По своей сути, Симеон не был ни фарисеем, ни саддукеем [..], а евреем, но новым и незнакомым ей. Типов еврея, стоящим особняком от тех, кого она знала, – аристократов с латинскими повадками, льстецов при царском дворе или его кругах, купцов, слуг и рабов [..] сыновей из хороших семей [..] с вышколенными манерами, позаимствованными у римлян, левитов [..]. Он был не с ними, хотя и сохраняя с этими людьми тесную связь* (Фаст 2001:178). Евреи разные не только в силу существующих племён, но также это связано с влиянием других культур на еврейский народ. Также в романе проявляется классовое разделение евреев, акцентируя аристократичность евреев, на которую достаточно повлиял Рим.

Нарратив наблюдателей со стороны, в основном связан с греками или римлянами, т.е. противниками и поработителями. Например, грек описывая евреев, акцентировал важность памяти для этого народа в целом: *У вас, евреев, все эти дела с рабством и свободой постоянно крутятся в сознании. Всё, что вы делаете, вызывает у вас воспоминание о том, что ваш Яхве освободил еврейский народ от рабства в Египте* (Фаст 2001:228). Другой пример: *Конечно, чтобы претерпеть ожидание, требуется определённый талант, который евреи уже приобрели на собственном опыте* (Фаст 2001:48-49). И ещё один пример: *А евреи не воюют, пока не попраны их гордость или вера*. (Фаст 2001:109) Но таких описаний со стороны достаточно мало. В этом нарративе «со стороны» возникает общая линия, связанная с историей еврейского народа, из которой проистекает важная для самого автора характеристика – история еврейского народа постоянно включает какие-то моменты падения – рабство, потеря территории, изгнание. Но именно эти моменты становятся толчком к противодействию, сопротивлению. В данном нарративе явственно прослеживается и отношение самого автора – есть некая инертность, равнодушие к своей судьбе, которое и приводит к этим самым моментам.

Для главной героини Беренис важно быть не просто еврейкой. Как только в сюжете появляется упоминание её родословной, Беренис яростно напоминает всем, что у неё хасмонейская кровь – и это линия Маккавеев, с кем связано восстание рода Маккавеев из Хасмонской династии против сирийско-эллинских правителей Древней Иудеи, которые боролись за независимость еврейского народа. Изначально это восстание было связано только с Иегудой Маккавеем, позднее также само слово «Маккавеи» стало применяться к остальным его братьям и отцу. Потому в Беренис уже на уровне сознания заложен дух бунтарки. Бунтарство Беренис проявляется не только в нежелании быть дочерью Агриппы, т.е.

выполняющей волю отца. В другом месте, автор описывает смелость Беренис в защите своего народа вплоть до смерти: *Либо я еврейка и в Иерусалиме мои соотечественники, либо мне незачем больше жить* (Фаст 2001:67). Бунтарство достигает своей кульминации, когда Беренис налаживает контакты со своим врагом – римлянином. Ради спасения своего народа она идёт на отчаянный риск, соглашаясь на налаживание связей не просто с чужой культурой, но враждебной культурой по отношению к еврейскому народу. Беренис осознаёт, что без помощи своих врагов, как бы противоречиво это не звучало, еврейскому народу не выжить. Беренис готова пойти на сделку с врагом и в ней всё время присутствует дух противоречия: она готова бороться и одновременно она готова идти на контакт с врагом. Можно сказать, что Беренис двойственная: она готова бороться до смерти за свой народ, но она также понимает, что один из путей – это возможность договора с римлянами. Интересно, как автор представляет главную героиню Беренис – специфическая представительница еврейского народа, связанная с идеей государственности, контактом с врагами и бунтарством. Возвращаясь к хасмонейской линии, можно отметить следующую цитату: *Он* [алабарх] *принял предложение благородного Агриппы, выразить желание соединить свою кровь с благородной кровью хасмонианцев – бриллиантов в короне иудеев…* (Фаст 2001:27). Не только для Беренис играет огромное значение подчеркнуть своё родство с хасмонейской линией. Также и другие персонажи считают, что это самая «достойная» линия: [..] *хотя в письме не упоминалась идумейская кровь царя Ирода, а отмечалась только линия Марианны, жены Ирода, которая происходила от Хасмона, являвшегося отцом пяти великих Маккавеев* (Фаст 2001:27). Другой пример: *Крепкий, правильно очерченный подбородок подчёркивали в ней характерный облик хасмонянки* (Фаст 2001:10-11). И ещё один пример: *Она могла назвать предками не только Ирода и Хасмония, но царя Давида* [..]. *В ней текла голубая кровь Израиля. Кто мог оказаться достойным её?* (Фаст 2001:71). Из внешних данных Беренис, автор подчёркивает характерный цвет волос для евреев: *Он много слышал об уме и красоте Беренис, о её прекрасной коже и рыжих волосах царицы и жрицы, которыми во многих поколениях отмечены племя Леви и дом Аарона* (Фаст 2001:34). Другой пример: *Даже волосы ей были подходящего рыжего цвета, так как он оставался в памяти евреев как свидетельство прямой связи с их древнейшими предками.* [..] *Сам Моисей был освещён прикосновением красного пальца Бога. «Пусть Леви будет красным», – провозгласил Всемогущий. Красным о крови, от ярости, от священного гнева* (Фаст 2001:300). В тоже время автор описывает, что Беренис не познала ещё полноту еврейского учения и иудаизма в целом: [..] *Беренис ещё предстояло разобраться с собой как с еврейкой, и при всём её суеверии она знала, что считать смерть её отца карой Божьей неправильно* (Фаст 2001:49). Другой пример, где автор описывает, что Беренис

празднует Пасху «по своим подсчётам», то есть до конца она не знает, когда празднуется еврейская Пасха и также шаббад: *Беренис зажгла свечи и прочитала молитву с благодарностью Богу, который даровал еврейскую Пасху. По её подсчётам, наступил канун Шаббада. Но насколько точны её подсчёты, чтобы опираться на них? [..] Итак, она зажгла свечи и произнесла слова древней молитвы. Беренис всегда была разумно религиозной еврейкой, хотя никогда не проявляла чрезмерного рвения в соблюдении ритуалов. Только сейчас, когда на сотню миль в округе не сыщешь ни одного еврея, чтобы поговорить на родном языке, она стала искать успокоения в религиозных обрядах* (Фаст 2001:458-459). Религиозность в рамках еврейства для Беренис остаётся на втором плане, по своей сути – как необходимость поговорить на родном наречии и обретение спокойствия. И одновременно этот пример и само поведение Беренис подтверждает авторскую точку зрения, заявленную через нарратив со стороны – понимание своего еврейства приходит в критических ситуациях – Беренис необходимо остаться вне связей со своим народом, чтобы почувствовать себя частью этого народа. Ритуал, совершаемый вопреки, это своего рода осознание своего избранничества, которое приходит одновременно с одиночеством и отвергнутостью.

В романе заявлена достаточно самобытная пространственная модель: фоном действия является библейская география, но автор сводит к минимуму описание пространства и выделение отдельных пространственных знаков. Есть наполненность пространства людьми, эмоциями, действиями, но в описании пространства нет четких границ, оно нематериально. Нету длинных описаний мест, отсутствует значение пространства как таковое. Автор практически не описывает какие-то пространственные знаки. Так, например, когда впервые упоминается Александрия – самая большая диаспора евреев в Египте, автор сразу переходит не на описании Александрии как географической единицы, но описывает, какие евреи там живут и чем они занимаются. Далее автор всё же описывает местность Александрии несколькими предложениями: *Как и все греческие города, она поражала разнообразием зданий, переливалась синевой, зеленью, желтизной и кипучей краснотой красок, которыми был покрыт каждый сантиметр каменной и кирпичной кладки. [..] Огромный дома алабарха оказался именно таким, каким она* [Беренис] *его себе и представляла* (Фаст 2001:50). Можно сказать, что Фаст просто рассказывает фантазии героини, как ОНА представляла себе это место. В тех немногих местах, где Г.Фаст описывает пространство, он описывает его нетипично. Так, например, описывается не здания или места Иерусалима, но его климат и воздух: *Стоял ясный, свежий и светлый день, какие часты в Иерусалиме. Воздух казался хрупким, как кристалл, и сладким, как вино, а видимость настолько безупречной, что хорошо просматривалось не только Средиземное море, но и весь Израиль на мили вокруг. В такой*

день, подумалось Беренис, нетрудно представить, почему предки верили, что Бог живёт на этой Возвышенности (Фаст 2001:284). Другой пример: *Иерусалим – город холодный. [..] в нём не было ни парков, ни садов с кустарниками и скульптурами* (Фаст 2001:285). Более того, автор как бы символически переносит Иерсуалим ближе к небу (ближе к Богу), называя его «парящим в воздухе городом»: *Время в Иерусалиме течёт по странным законам. Иерусалим помнил Беренис, и он, в свою очередь, всплыл в её памяти. [..] Иерусалим как бы парил в воздухе. Без опоры этот город Бога просто плыл, поднятый над грешной землёй его божественным дыханием, сияя серебром и золотом в лучах утреннего солнца. Она шла с Агриппой позади носилок с умирающей Кипрой во главе процессии* (Фаст 2001:308). Можно предположить, что Иерусалим перестаёт быть пространством, а частично становится «временем»: *Город они увидели в двух местах сразу: одновременно над ними и под ними, здесь и сейчас, в прошлом и будущем* (Фаст 2001:293). Также автор подчёркивает, что Беренис познавала себя саму через это пространство – *причём ту, о которой она и не подозревала* (Фаст 2001:293). Для жены царя Агриппы Кипры, Иерусалим является главным местом, потому что там находится Храм. Поэтому выбирая место для своих последних дней, она *осталась в Иерусалиме. Она знала, что умирает, и решила умереть там, где последний её взгляд остановится в сияющих стенах Храма. В любом случае климат Иерусалима, прохладный и сухой, был намного здоровее, чем жаркий климат прибрежной равнины [..]* (Фаст 2001:472).

Особым место в земле Израиля в романе Фаста заявлена Галилея – северный исторический регион Израиля. Галилея – как основная священна земля Израиля. Одновременно для культурной традиции важно, что Галилея – это земля иудео-христианская, потому что в основном, это место действий Нового Завета, а именно жизни Христа. Практически все главные события жизни Иисуса происходят в Галилее. Поэтому здесь можно усмотреть попытку Г.Фаста сделать некие отсылки к христианству, что является достаточно характерной чертой для его романов еврейского цикла. Можно сказать, что автор вкладывает в сюжет романа новозаветные мифы, и таким образом «играется» с еврейским текстом. Г.Фаст пытается выйти на иудео-христианский диалог: *Сегодня в мире Всемогущего существуют только две значительные силы – Рим и иудаизм* (Фаст 2001:198). Так считает один из фоновых персонажей, представитель еврейского народа, обычный старик. Причём, на первое место в этом сопоставлении он ставит Рим. Таким образом тут можно усмотреть попытку выйти на диалог с Римом. Более того, через пространство Галилеи, снова акцентируется значимость Хасмонской династии в роду евреев: *Просто эти земли всегда традиционно с древних времён были облюбованы Хасмонской династией* (Фаст 2001:82). В финале романа Беренис проезжает в Галилею, чтобы быть тут похороненной. Таким образом она становится частью земли

Галилея. Автор представляет некий символизм в этом решении Беренис умереть в Галилее – она была прахом и в прах ушла. Беренис была частью Галилеи и *она сравнялась с древней землёй Галилеи в Израиле* (Фаст 2001:472).

Роман Говарда Фаста «Дочь Агриппы» занимает особое место в «еврейском цикле» автора. С одной стороны, роман являет собой некую версию дилогии с романом «Моисей, египетский царевич»: автора интересует отдельно взятая личность, попытавшаяся повлиять на ход истории. Две личности (Моисей, Беренис) – два пути. Если судьба Моисея – это вариант предначертанности, то судьба Беренис – сознательное принятие на себя особой роли – роли спасительницы своего народа. При этом, невзирая на мифологический контекст (связь с Ветхим Заветом), в концепции Фаста побеждает историческое видение: он сознательно опускает историю Моисея – центральной фигуры иудаизма, и повествует о той части его биографии, которая мало известна. В случае с Беренис – это желание говорить о дочери Агриппы, которая в историческом срезе отодвинута на второй план (собственно название одновременно подчеркивает и то, что ее отец оказался фигурой более значимой в истории еврейского народа). С другой стороны, роман «Дочь Агриппы» - это своего рода продолжение романа «Мои прославленные братья», посвященного восстанию Маккавеев. Именно на свою принадлежность Маккавеям постоянно ссылается Беренис, это и есть продолжение начавшейся героической истории еврейского народа.

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«БУБЕН ВЕРХНЕГО МИРА» ЭКРАНИЗАЦИИ И ТЕКСТ: РАЗЛИЧИЯ И СХОДСТВА

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Abstract
"The Tambourine of the Upper World" film adaptations and text: differences and similarities
Key Words: *postmodern, films, The Tambourine of the Upper World, šamaņi, popular literature.*
Viktor Pelevin is popular not only among the literary world, but also in the film industry - both short and full-length films are created based on his works. The purpose of this study is a comparative analysis of Pelevin's story "The Tambourine of the Upper World" and its four film adaptations, during which differences and similarities are revealed, the originality of each interpretation is traced. "The Tambourine of the Upper World" is a short story by Pelevin, consisting of only 16 pages. The story gained immense popularity among the film directors of Russian cinema - it was filmed four times: in 2011 by director Sergei Gonikberg, in 2014 by director Anastasia Vlasova, in 2017 by director Tatyana Pertseva, and in 2020 by director Sergei Godin. The mystical component woven into the familiar reality could be the impetus for the film creation, however, in each short film, you can find similarities and differences - both from each other and from the original text of the author.
The aim of the article is to determine whether and to what extent it is possible to transform a postmodernist text into the language of cinema. The main method for achieving the goal was comparative analysis. Comparative analysis is assumed already in the very choice of topic and the main emphasis will be placed on it. The comparison structure is built according to the following model: 1. The characters of the story and screen adaptations are analyzed: both their visualization and behaviour. 2. The places and circumstances of the action are compared - after all, even the way the characters get to the place is different in some adaptations. 3. The narrative and the event line are being explored.
A detailed analysis allows understanding how far the screened version goes from the original textual version and whether it is possible to translate a postmodern literary work into a cinematic text. Where is the artistic idea, and where is the desire to create something completely different from Pelevin's text. The study is unique because little or no similar research has been done in the literary world.

Kopsavilkums
"Augšējās pasaules tamburīna" filmu adaptācijas un teksts: atšķirības un līdzības
Atslēgvārdi: *postmodernisms, kino, augšējās pasaules tamburīna, šamaņi, populārā literatūra.*
Viktors Pelevins ir populārs ne tikai literārajā pasaulē, bet arī filmu industrijā – pēc viņa darbiem tiek veidotas gan īsfilmas, gan pilnmetrāžas filmas. Šī pētījuma mērķis ir Pelevina stāsta "Augšējās pasaules tamburīna" un tā četru adaptāciju salīdzinoša analīze, kuras laikā tiek atklātas atšķirības un līdzības, izsekota katras interpretācijas oriģinalitāte. "Augšējās pasaules tamburīna" ir Pelevina īss stāsts, kas sastāv tikai no 16 lappusēm. Stāsts ieguva milzīgu popularitāti krievu kino režisoru vidū – to filmēja četras reizes: 2011. gadā režisors Sergejs Gonikbergs, 2014. gadā režisore Anastasija Vlasova, 2017. gadā režisore Tatjana Perceva un 2020. gadā režisors Sergejs Godins. Pazīstamajā realitātē ieaustais mistiskais komponents varētu kļūt par impulsu filmas adaptācijai izveidei, tomēr katrā īsfilmā var atrast līdzības un atšķirības - gan savā starpā, gan ar autora oriģināltekstu.
Raksta mērķis ir noskaidrot, vai un cik lielā mērā ir iespējams postmodernisma tekstu transformēt kino valodā. Galvenā metode mērķa sasniegšanai bija salīdzinošā analīze. Salīdzinošā analīze tiek pieņemta jau pašā tēmas izvēlē un uz to tiks likts galvenais uzsvars. Salīdzināšanas struktūra veidota pēc šāda modeļa: 1. Tiek analizēti stāsta un filma adaptācijas varoņi: gan viņu vizualizācija, gan uzvedība. 2. Tiek salīdzinātas darbības vietas un apstākļi - galu galā pat tas, kā varoņi nokļūst vietā, dažās filmētajās versijās atšķiras. 3. Tiek pētīts stāstījums un notikumu līnija.
Detalizēta analīze ļauj saprast, cik tālu filma versija aiziet no oriģinālās teksta versijas un vai ir iespējams postmodernu literāru darbu pārvērst kinematogrāfiskā tekstā. Kur mākslinieciskā ideja, un kur vēlme radīt kaut ko pavisam citu no Pelevina teksta. Šis pētījums ir unikāls, jo līdzīgi pētījumi literatūras pasaulē līdz šim nav veikti vai to ir ļoti maz.

Данное исследование направлено на раскрытие многочисленных аспектов в анализе постмодернистского текста Виктора Пелевина и его экранизаций. Исследование даст ответы на вопросы: Насколько возможно переложить постмодернистский текст на язык кинематографа? Насколько постмодернистский текст в литературе трансформируется в кинематографический текст? Ответы на эти вопросы являются **целью** исследования, а компаративный анализ рассказа Виктора Пелевина «Бубен Верхнего Мира», и его

экранизаций становится главным методом для её достижения. Определяющими данного анализа являются следующие факторы: семиотическая специфика языков литературы и кинематографа (восприятие литературного текста и кинематографических текстов как совершенно разных структур); выделение сквозных элементов картины мира литературного текста и рассмотрение их трансформации в отдельных кинематографических версиях; определение специфики каждого кинотекста по отношению к тексту Пелевина и к друг другу, в этом докладе не будет освещаться специфика каждой экранизации. **Задачи исследования:** проанализировать текст рассказа и каждую экранизацию в отдельности; определить по какой структуре будет строится компаративный анализ; структурировать данные полученные из компаративного анализа; определить является ли возможным трансформировать постмодернистский текст в соответствующий кинематографический текст.

Методология исследования: исследование основано на компаративном и сопоставительном анализе, а также приняты во внимание особенности постмодернизма. Структурно-семиотический и культурно-исторический методы позволили провести анализ научной и практической литературы.

Эмпирическую базу исследования составляют рассказ, на основе которого создаются кинофильмы, и, соответственно, четыре кинофильма: рассказ Виктора Пелевина «Бубен Верхнего Мира» (2021), короткометражный фильм Сергея Гоникберга «Бубен Верхнего Мира» (2011), короткометражный фильм Анастасии Власовой «Никого внизу, ничего вверху» (2014), короткометражный фильм Татьяны Перцевой «Бубен Верхнего Мира» (2017) и короткометражный фильм Сергея Година «Бубен Верхнего Мира» (2020). Выбор этих работ обуславливается тем, что это наиболее часто экранизируемое литературное произведение Виктора Пелевина.

Рассказ экранизировали четырежды в разные года: в 2011 году рассказ экранизировал режиссёр Сергей Гоникберг, в 2014 году вышла экранизация Анастасии Власовой, в 2017 году режиссёром была Татьяна Перцева, и в 2020 году рассказ экранизировал режиссёр Сергей Годин. Интересно, что между каждой экранизацией период в три года. Все четыре экранизации это – короткометражные фильмы. Одной из причин почему кинематограф выбирает это произведение, предположительно, становится жанр – рассказ с элементами фантастики, вплетающимися в обыденную реальность. В рассказе повествуется о девушках и шаманке, которые едут на поезде в лес к старому военному самолёту, чтобы оживить немецкого солдата для женитьбы. Композиция рассказа делится на две составляющие: то, что происходит в реальном мире, и происходящее в фантастическом мире. Элемент фантастического раскрывается лишь во второй части повествования, и всё равно показывается

как часть бытового - он объясняется простым «бизнесом» и желанием выжить в тяжёлой современности.

Исследователь Аюпов в статье «Художественный мир раннего Пелевина» пишет следующее: *Таким образом, в рассказе «Бубен Верхнего мира» писатель, хотя и конструирует ирреальную ситуацию, но, выводя на авансцену повествования персонажей ирреального мира, переводит ирреальное в категорию повседневного, банального. «Оживление» покойников стало для главных героинь рассказа, как и для самой шаманки, делом обыденным, привычным: в период между камланиями она пьёт кока-колу* (Аюпов 2021). Абсурдно ненормальное находится в совершенно бытовых ситуациях.

Не стоит забывать, что речь идёт о постмодернистском тексте, который крайне сложно анализировать, а экранизировать тем более, но жанр рассказ – имеет небольшие объёмы, что позволяет режиссёрам максимально реализовать идеи автора и попробовать показать их «широкому зрителю». Режиссёры пытаются следовать канонам постмодернизма, повторяя за автором и создавая собственные смыслы, аллюзии, связи.

Сравнительный анализ литературного текста и кинематографического текста имеет сложности, потому что это два разных языка. Джулия Лесаж в статье 1975 года «Teaching the comparative analysis of novels and films» рассказывает о том, как она искала подходящие методики для преподавания курса сравнительного анализа литературных произведений и фильмов, и для неё открытием стала работа Ролана Барта С/З (Roland Barthes 1970), по мнению Лесаж пять уровней кодирования в тексте – структура повествования (код загадок), символы, коннотация, представление человеческих действий и отсылки на институционализированные знания или народную мудрость могут быть применены не только при анализе художественного текста, но и подходят для сравнительного анализа литературы и кинематографа (Lesage 1975).

Исследователь Прити Оза в статье 2020 года «Кино и литература» (Oza 2020), называет литературу первой ступенью кинематографа, ведь в процессе создания фильма пишутся сценарий, диалоги, скрипты. Тем не менее она указывает на следующие важные различия, которые следует учитывать при анализе литературного текста и фильма. В своей теории Оза использует термины «знак» (verbal sign) и «изображение» (icon/visual image), которые заимствует у американского философа Чарльза Сандерса Пирса, он использовал их, чтобы объяснить отношения между двумя вещами, когда одна вещь может представлять другую. Термин «знак» характеризует литературу, а термин «изображение», соответственно, фильм. Образы и изображения в фильме имеют прямое и непосредственное отношение к тому, что он описывает, в то время как слова и знаки имеют к этому косвенное отношение. Такие

особенности фильма делают его более понятным, чем литературный текст, однако, фильм не может описать нечто абстрактное, например, внутренний мир людей. Повествование тоже имеет ключевые моменты - фильмы показывают людям историю, а тексты рассказывают её. Художественное произведение рассказывается либо рассказчиком от первого лица, либо кем-то посторонним, всеведущим рассказчиком. Большинство фильмов также показываются с точки зрения всезнания. То есть, мы видим и слышим всё, что режиссёр хочет, чтобы мы слышали и видели. В фильме показано большое количество деталей, которые мы обычно упускаем, потому что заняты значением изображаемого «объекта», в тексте детали бросаются в глаза сразу, как только мы с ними сталкиваемся. Другой пункт, который описывает Оза это «звук и тишина», звук фильма значительно улучшает понимание происходящего, и человек получает информацию уже из двух источников – как из звука, так и из изображений, в то время как читатели получают информацию только из текста. Звук в фильме можно разделить на три типа - речь, музыка и шум, любой из них может рассказать историю. Однако, «тишина» текста может быть большим преимуществом - именно безмолвие и произвольность знаков в тексте предоставляют читателю неограниченное пространство, каждый читатель может создать в уме уникальный, полный образов «фильм».

В данном докладе выбраны конкретные позиции для анализа в пространственной модели: станция и самолёт, во временной модели: время года и суток. В концепции человека выбраны два важных героя: Тыймы и Маша.

Время года и суток у автора описывается намёками, но сделать правильный вывод можно – Пелевин говорит о празднике Чистого чума, который отмечается в феврале, герои сидят или ходят по траве, мокрой грязи и лужам. Лес сильно зарос кустами, на дне оврага журчит ручей. Описывая одежду шаманки автор говорит: *Несмотря на теплую погоду* (Пелевин 2021: 271). Пелевин намекает на конец теплой зимы и начало весны. Единственная фраза по которой можно определить время суток: *Костер разгорелся и давал уже больше света, чем закрытое низкими облаками вечернее небо* (Пелевин 2021: 276). Когда компания добралась до места назначения и нашла самолёт время суток приближалось к вечеру. Для Пелевина время года важно, ведь ритуалы проводятся на постоянной основе. Для удобства проведения ритуала это должна быть не зима, иначе сложно найти объект возле которого будет проводится ритуал, сложно развести костёр в лесу, а также герои не смогли бы долго выжидать пока духи явятся в реальный мир. Время суток тоже имеет значение, иначе героини ехали бы рано утром и провели ритуал днём, но тут они намерено дожидаются вечера. В экранизациях Гоникберга и Власовой показывается тёплая весна или лето, в обеих – зелёный, полный жизни лес, а время суток независимо от происходящего остаётся днём. В экранизации Перцевой показывается

настоящая зима: сугробы, тёплая одежда. Соответствует авторской позиции лишь время суток – день/вечер. Экранизация Година ближе всего к описываемому в рассказе времени года и суток – девушки одеты в весеннюю одежду, за окном поезда виден небольшой снежный покров, лес ещё не слишком зарос и на улице темновато. Большой контраст между собой создают экранизации Гоникберга, Власовой и Перцевой, Година, потому что очевидна смена времени года. Предположительно, что это технический приём - режиссёры снимали летом и поэтому под авторское время года и суток не подстраивались, или же для них не столь важно было показать время года и суток. В экранизации Перцевой такая зима выглядит необычно, ведь герои не могут найти под снегом самолёт, а проводить ритуал прыгая поляне вовсе можно назвать невозможным. Первые три экранизации выглядят как малобюджетные картины, возможно, это и было причиной, почему время года и суток не перенесли с текстового в визуальный ряд. В экранизации Година показывается день/вечер и зимне-весенняя погода, что говорит о пространственно-временной модели похожей, на авторскую. Любое время года задаёт определённое настроение, определённые возможности действий персонажей: лето в первых двух экранизациях становится удобным для проведения ритуала – можно приехать в любое время суток на место и найти самолёт и собрать достаточно веток для костра, герои не чувствуют никакого дискомфорта от погодных условий. Зима в экранизации Перцевой усложняет поиск места проведения ритуала, упавшего самолёта, герои постоянно замерзают, время суток быстро сменяется на темное, что даёт возможно не визуализировать важные и неважные для сюжета объекты. Зима-весна и сменяющееся время суток в экранизации Година воссоздаёт модель времени в рассказе Пелевина, это становится причиной, почему в этой экранизации показано больше деталей из рассказа, чем в других – их не спрятать из-за плохих погодных условий или однотипного времени суток.

Пространственная модель рассказа представляет собой несколько локаций – поезд, станция, лес, поляна с самолётом и условно два мира – человеческий и мир духов. Станция - одно из знаковых пространств, её можно назвать переходным пространством, это конец реального мира и начало мира духов – дальше герои не встречают людей, только лес и духов. В рассказе детально описывается станция, на которую прибывает компания: *Платформа «Сорок третий километр» вполне соответствовала своему названию. Обычно возле железнодорожных станций бывают хоть какие-то поселения людей, а здесь не было ничего, кроме кирпичной избушки кассы, и увязать это место можно было только с расстоянием до Москвы. Сразу за ограждением начинался лес и тянулся насколько хватало глаз - даже неясно было, откуда на платформе взялось несколько потертых пассажиров* (Пелевин 2021: 273).

В экранизации Гоникберга станция отсутствует, компания едет в лес на машине, небольшая аналогия с поездом и станцией есть – они едут возле железной дороги. В экранизации Власовой станция есть, но без названия и достаточно оживлённая, что не соответствует описанию автора, у него она напротив – безжизненная, а тут есть люди, много грузовых поездов и девушки направляются со станции не сразу в лес, а пересекают железнодорожные пути и идут между поездами. В экранизации Перцевой появляется станция с названием «Морская», за исключением другого названия – её внешний вид соответствует описанию автора больше всего – она безлюдная и девушки спускаются по лестнице и сразу попадают в лес. В экранизации Година станции нет, есть лишь безжизненный переезд, каким образом девушки вышли из поезда непонятно, но место безлюдное, как в рассказе. Станция важна как переходная пространственная модель, соединение мира людей и духов, в которой направляются девушки. Её отсутствие стирает границу, которую закладывает автор рассказа изначально.

Пелевин создаёт локацию с самолётом, чтобы это место стало ключевым в путешествии девушек - самолёт нужен для ритуала. Пелевин делает акцент на описании самолёта, штурмовика «Хейнкель»: *За кустами было что-то темное, грязно-бурое и очень старое. На первый взгляд это напоминало могильный холмик на месте погребения не очень значительного кочевого князя, в последний момент успевшего принять какое-то странное христианство: из длинного и узкого земляного выступа косо торчала широкая крестообразная конструкция из искореженного металла, в которой с некоторым усилием можно было узнать полуразрушенный хвост самолета, при падении отвалившийся от фюзеляжа. Фюзеляж почти весь ушел в землю, а в нескольких метрах перед ним сквозь орешник и траву виднелись контуры отвалившихся крыльев, на одном из которых чернел расчищенный крест* (Пелевин 2021: 275). Диалоги показывают, что у самолёта видны хвост, крыло и цельная кабина. Самолёту в литературной версии уделено много внимания, если нет самолёта – нет ритуала, если это русский самолёт – снова нет ритуала, так как Таня и Тыймы советских военных не беспокоят. Самолёт предполагает возможность в него попасть, тогда можно получить что-то от мёртвого солдата и ритуал пройдёт быстрее. В экранизации Гоникберга называется идентичный самолёт - штурмовик Хейнкель, от него осталась цельная кабина, но рассмотреть её в деталях нельзя. Да и сказать по стеклянному куполу, что это самолёт, тоже нельзя. Остальные части самолёта не показываются. В экранизации Власовой можно сказать, что самолёта нет, виднеется разбитое стекло и называется штурмовик Хейнкель. В экранизации Татьяны Перцевой появляется совершенно другой самолёт - Юнкерс, пикирующий бомбардировщик. Самолёт, как таковой тоже не показывается, только немецкий крест, но

непонятно на какой части самолёта находится крест, время года и большой снежный покров помогают режиссёру скрыть наличие самолёта. Экранизация Година детально прорабатывает самолёт: это тоже штурмовик Хейнкель, у него есть крылья, хвост со свастикой, фюзеляж и цельная кабина. Внешний вид самолёта больше всего похож на описанный в рассказе Пелевина. Самолёт - важная составляющая только для последней экранизации, но создание самолёта требует больших средств и можно предположить, что режиссёры первых трёх экранизаций не смогли или не захотели создать нужную модель самолёта по причине нехватки средств. Каждая локация имеет свою цель в постмодернистском рассказе – станция — это попытка показать переход между двумя мирами, самолёт – место, где можно встретить духов проведя ритуал. В большинстве экранизаций пространственной модели уделяется не так много внимания, как в тексте – иногда место вообще отсутствует, как например станция в экранизации Гоникберга, или детально показывается одно место, например, у Власовой и Перцевой станция есть, но самолёт показывается мельком. В экранизации Година ситуация обратная, станции практически нет, а самолёт показан детально.

Илья Петрович Ильин в книге «Постструктурализм. Деконструктивизм. Постмодернизм» пишет, что восприятие пространства человеком в постмодернизме *объявляется обреченным на «мультиперспективизм», на постоянно и калейдоскопически меняющийся ряд ракурсов действительности, в своем мелькании не дающих возможности познать ее сущность* (Ильин 1996). Это говорит о том, что для постмодернизма важно создание различных пространственных мест, тем не мене в трёх экранизациях из четырёх мы видим, что этот пункт потерян. Создание постмодернистского пространства в кинематографе по авторской, литературной модели реально, это доказывает пример экранизации Година, для этого требуется большой бюджет и желание показывать пространственные детали, но стоит учитывать, что постмодернистский кинематограф по преимуществу малобюджетный. Можно также добавить, что именно экранизация Година больше всего претендует на удачную трансформацию постмодернистской литературной модели в кинематографическую: режиссёр смог сохранить пространственно-временную линию близко к оригиналу, при этом добавив фильму собственные постмодернистские идеи, которые очень органично вписались, например, игра с пространством больницы и постоянные отсылки к черной собаке, как символу.

Марк Липовецкий в монографии «Русский постмодернизм» пишет, что *образ героя в постмодернизме создается по логике конструирования образа автора-творца и наоборот: образ автора в постмодернистском тексте нарочито уравнивается в правах с персонажем* (Липовецкий 1997). По мнению Липовецкого постмодернистский герой реализует свои

авторские амбиции через сочинительство и попытки выстроить свою жизнь по эстетическим законам. Сознание, жесты, поступки постмодернистского героя обнаруживают его «интертекстуальную» природу, его характерные черты размыты: *образ конкретной человеческой личности, индивидуальной судьбы либо заменяется маской, всегда с многозначной культурной семантикой, либо «расплывается», превращаясь в пучок разноречивых культурологических ассоциаций* (Липовецкий 1997).

Пелевин детально описывает только двух персонажей: Тыймы и Звягинцева. При том, что главным героем является девушка Маша. Тыймы описывается на протяжении всего рассказа, но первое впечатление о ней складывается уже с первых строчек: *Женщина и вправду выглядела дико. По ее монголоидному лицу, похожему на загибающийся по краям трехдневный блин из столовой, нельзя было ничего сказать о ее возрасте - тем более что глаза женщины были скрыты кожаными ленточками и бисерными нитями. Несмотря на теплую погоду, на голове у нее была меховая шапка, по которой проходили три широких кожаных полосы - одна охватывала лоб и затылок, и с нее на лицо, плечи и грудь свисали тесемки с привязанными к ним медными человечками, бубенцами и бляшками, а две других скрещивались на макушке, где была укреплена грубо сделанная металлическая птица, задравшая вверх длинную перекрученную шею* (Пелевин 2021: 271). Автор тщательно описывает её внешний вид, одежду, поведение. Выбор автора дать чёткое описание двум из шести персонажей даёт возможность режиссёрам свободно следовать собственному воображению, тем более если они решают выходить за рамки постмодернизма и показывать совершенно другие культурные направления.

Как уже упоминалось выше шаманку Тыймы автор описывает тщательнее всех остальных героев – то есть мы имеем наиболее точное описание. Одно из описаний одежды Тыймы в рассказе звучит следующим образом: *Одета женщина была в широкую самотканую рубаху с тонкими полосами оленьего меха, расшитую кожаной тесьмой, блестящими пластинками и большим количеством маленьких колокольчиков, издававших при каждом толчке вагона довольно приятный мелодичный звон. Кроме этого, к ее рубахе было прикреплено множество мелких предметов непонятного назначения - железные зазубренные стрелки, два ордена «Знак Почета», кусочки жести с выбитыми на них лицами без ртов, а с правого плеча на георгиевской ленте свисали два длинных ржавых гвоздя. В руках женщина держала продолговатый кожаный бубен, тоже украшенный множеством колокольчиков, а край другого бубна торчал из вместительной теннисной сумки, на которой она сидела* (Пелевин 2021: 271). В экранизации Гоникберга даже имя другое, героиню-шаманку зовут не Тыймы, а Таймы. Единственное совпадение во внешнем виде – это меховая шапка, но даже

тут есть несоответствие, ведь Пелевин чётко описывает шапку. Одежда не имеет деталей, это просто коричневая шкура с висящими косточками. У неё есть собака, которую используют для жертвоприношения, также у костра раскладывается хлеб. Бубен хранят в кульках, а не в теннисной сумке и у него нет колокольчиков. Шаманка не приближается к самолёту и говорит с духами на немецком, но лишь одну фразу из рассказа. Тыймы болтлива, хотя в рассказе она не разговаривает вовсе, не считая духов. Также очень сжат её шаманский танец – детали из рассказа опущены, она просто топчется на одном месте.

Экранизация Власовой внешний вид Тыймы изменила до неузнаваемости: никаких меховых шапок, оленьих шкур с косточками и медалями нет – у неё легкий национальный костюм – белое платье с красными элементами, на котором много разноцветных нитей, повязка на голове с бубенчиками, но глаза она не закрывает. Тыймы пытается избегать самолета, как и в предыдущей версии и рассказе. Снова появляется хлеб у костра, хотя в рассказе его нет. Другая особенность – она одна находится в овраге у костра, девушки сидят наверху. В этой версии ритуал уже можно считать похожим на тот, что описан в рассказе - есть чёткое различие ритуалов для верхнего и нижнего мира – пугающие резкие звуки и спокойная заунывная песня. Тыймы перемещается по всей поляне в разных трансах. Оба бубна с колокольчиками, но несёт она их в руках, без каких-либо сумок. Общение с духами на немецком отсутствует.

В экранизации Перцевой воссоздали похожий внешний образ Тыймы на Пелевинский – у неё длинная льняная рубаха, металлические предметы, кожаные вставки, орден на одежде. На голове нет меховой шапки, простая, но есть повязка с бубенчиками, на макушке которой появляется металлическая фигура, но это не птица. На ногах у Тыймы не Пелевинские кеды, а ботинки, на них есть копыто и часы. Бубны тоже соответствуют описанию - кожаные с колокольчиками. Ритуалу отводится маленькое количество времени и основном шаманка никуда не движется во время него. Но когда попадает в нижний мир, там она говорит все немецкие фразы из Пелевина. Звучание бубнов нижнего и верхнего мира имеют соответствующие различия, как в рассказе. Для верхнего мира используется будильник с ноги – этого в рассказе нет. Появляется другая деталь из рассказа, когда Тыймы «подсекает» духа она падает на землю и слышен гул самолёта, как у Пелевина.

Наиболее похожая Тыймы на вариант Пелевина создана в экранизации Година, там различаются минимальные моменты. У Тыймы есть меховая шапка со свисающими с неё на глаза кожаными лентами и бисерными нитями. Отличие шапки в том, что на ней не металлическая птица, а череп настоящего небольшого животного. На её серой льняной рубахе есть и коричневая кожаная тесьма, олений мех, ордена и колокольчики. На ногах не кеды, но

похожие на них кроссовки, а на них копыто на цепочке. Шаманка застревает в колючей проволоке как в рассказе, правда, в фильме она к тому же ест жуков в лесу. Ритуал полностью соответствует рассказу, она успевает и прыгнуть в овраг с самолётом после удара в бубен, и тянет себя из пустоты. На немецком с духами беседует по тексту от начала и до конца. Перед тем как начать второй ритуал Тыймы пьёт газировку – правда здесь скрыт бренд, у Пелевина - это его любимая кока-кола. Песня для нижнего мира резкая, быстрая, для верхнего мира спокойная, мелодичная. Бубны различаются внешне, но колокольчики есть на обоих, впрочем, Пелевин не описывал различаются ли бубны друг от друга.

Маша описания не имеет, вывод об одной из главных героинь можно сделать только из диалогов или подсказок автора, например, Машу характеризуют следующие строки: *собственная жизнь, начатая двадцать пять лет назад неведомой волей, вдруг показалась ей такой же точно дорогой - сначала прямой и ровной, обсаженной ровными рядами простых истин, а потом забытой неизвестным начальством и превратившейся в непонятно куда ведущую кривую тропу* (Пелевин 2021: 274). Можно сделать вывод о её возрасте – 25 лет, и о её отношении к жизни – она не уверена в том, что ищет, поэтому решилась на этот шаманский ритуал. Маша у Пелевина - скромная, не очень сильная, отчаявшаяся в жизни: *Маша уже давно решила, что совершенства в мире нет, и не искала его в людях, а тем более в их внешности* (Пелевин 2021: 281). Описание внешности снова отсутствует. Самая первая экранизация показывает Машу очень весёлой, жизнерадостной, активной – для человека, который всем доволен, данный ритуал теряет смысл. При появлении Звягинцева начинает говорить с ним на немецком, в рассказе такого нет. В разговоре со Звягинцевым всплывает много деталей об образовании, о любви к природе – это всё придумано режиссёром.

В экранизации Власовой у Маши с оригиналом несколько сходств – она скромная и ведёт всех к самолету. Скромность этой Маши перестает в страх, неуверенность. Она должна тянуться к Звягинцеву, но она постоянно от него отстраняется. В её словах и действиях видна неуверенность, складывается ощущение, что её заставили сюда прийти, а не наоборот. Маша в экранизации Перцевой полная противоположность той Маше, что мы видели в экранизации Гоникберга, и она совершенно не похожа на описанную у Пелевина. С первых минут фильма её хочется жалеть, у неё порезанные вены, усталый сонный взгляд. Она серьёзная и безразличная, на фоне этого незаметна скромность, которой она должна обладать по рассказу. Только в конце фильма, когда она выходит из поезда и встречает двойника Звягинцева мы видим, что для неё весь этот ритуал что-то значил, и ей в самом деле понравился майор. Но это уже отхождение от сюжета рассказа, ведь там действие закончилось в поезде.

В 2020 году Машу максимально приблизили к версии Пелевина. Она скромная, еле несёт сумки с принадлежностями для ритуала. Смущается и улыбается во время разговора со Звягинцевым, он ей в самом деле нравится. Она ведёт всех к самолёту и рассказывает о его спецификациях. Несмотря на то, что эта Маша очень похожа на Пелевинскую, есть очень большие отхождения – во-первых она находится в больнице в начале и конце фильма. Чем режиссёр может намекать «это всё было сном», что очень в стиле постмодернизма. В лесу и больнице она постоянно встречает чёрную собаку, которая является символом смерти. Режиссёр с помощью персонажа Маши решил продолжить игру с реальностью Пелевина, ещё больше запутывая зрителя.

Логично, что любой режиссёр перед началом создания фильма ставит перед собой цель: создавать ли копию текста на экране или делать что-то совершенно иное, чтобы зритель мог в первую очередь думать о почерке режиссёра, а не книге, на которую опирается фильм. Как вывод можно сказать, что в большинстве случаев, три экранизации из четырёх создали совершенно иную модель в кинематографическом тексте, сильно отличающуюся от литературного текста. Экранизация Година - это попытка режиссёра создать именно постмодернистский кинематографический текст из литературного постмодернистского текста, а экранизации Гоникберга, Власовой, Перцевой это либо далёкие попытки от такого варианта, либо намеренное создание модернистских и реалистичных картин.

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TERMS IN SCIENCE FICTION TEXT

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Abstract

Terms in Science Fiction Text

Key Words: terms, science fiction, discourse, degree of reality, morphological structure, translation.

Scientific and popular science sources are viewed as those containing terms on a primary basis. In contrast, terms often serve as an integral part of fiction as we can note in science fiction works. These units contribute to the realistic and well-structured narration. Furthermore, the lexical units of concern may be regarded to as a genre and stylistic dominant. If we consider science fiction discourse, it is possible to distinguish two components there: the scientific and the fictional one. Terms, being real or occasional by the degree of reality, have their manifestation in both components. In its turn, occasional units constitute an extremely valuable and demonstrative part of the science fiction text. Another criterion for the separation of terms is their morphological structure. It appears possible to divide the linguistic units in the focus of the research into simple, derivative, compound ones, word combinations and abbreviations. The breadth and variety of the specified classification suggests that we should anticipate a similar degree of variety regarding the ways of translation. The arbitrary nature of literary art and translation only increases the scope of possible options for creating terms and their rendering in other languages.

Kopsavilkums

Termini zinātniskās fantastikas tekstā

Atslēgvārdi: termini, zinātniskā fantastika, diskurss, realitātes pakāpe, morfoloģiskā struktūra, tulkošana.

Zinātniskie un populārzinātniskie avoti, galvenokārt, tiek uzskatīti par tādiem, kas satur terminus. Tie arī bieži kalpo kā neatņemama daiļliteratūras sastāvdaļa, ar kuriem var saskarties gan zinātniskos, gan zinātniskās fantastikas darbos. To funkcija ir sekmēt reālistisku un labi strukturētu stāstījumu. Turklāt attiecīgās leksiskas vienības var uzskatīt par žanrisku un stilistisku dominanti. Zinātniskās fantastikas diskursā izšķir zinatnisko un fantastikas komponentu. Termini, kas ir reāli vai okazionāli pēc realitātes pakāpes, izpaužas abos komponentos. Savukārt okazionālās vienības veido ārkārtīgi vērtīgu un raksturīgu zinātniskās fantastikas teksta daļu. Otrs terminu iedalīšanas kritērijs ir to morfoloģiskā struktūra. Šajā pētījumā aplūkotās lingvistiskās vienības iespējams sadalīt vienkāršās, atvasinātās, saliktās, vārdkopās un saīsinātos vārdos. Minētās klasifikācijas plašums un dažādība liek domāt par to, ka mums jāgaida līdzīgu tulkošanas veidu dažādību. Literārās mākslas un tulkošanas brīvais raksturs tikai palielina terminu izveidošanas un tulkošanas iespēju apjomu.

Introduction

The research aims to dwell on the peculiarities of the terminology use in science fiction. The priority is granted to the linguistic and translation aspects of the issue though the literary aspects are considered as well.

The case study presented in this article is the science fiction utopia novel "Туманность Андромеды" (1957) by the Russian writer Ivan Yefremov and its translations in English ("Andromeda: A Space-Age Tale" (1959) and Spanish ("La Nebulosa de Andrómeda" (1973). Currently, 100 terms in both the source and the target texts constitute the material of the investigation. The descriptive and contrastive methods form the basis of the methodological framework.

Discussion

Terms are typically associated with scientific and popular science sources. At first glance, one can hardly notice the links between the lexical units in the focus of this research and literary works. Nevertheless, in certain cases fiction contains a considerable number of terms. We can observe this feature, *inter alia*, in science fiction works.

The fact is that science fiction authors naturally tend to cover scientific issues in their pieces of literary art. To be coherent and to obtain the realistic character of narration, writers need their language to have an elaborated structure and clear wording. Terms adequately contribute to the aforementioned aims. By the nature, these units are interrelated between each other and possess the necessary degree of certainty.

The circumstances specified above demonstrate that terms serve as an integral part of science fiction. Moreover, they can be considered a genre-specific peculiarity. Due to this, it is possible to provide the definition of the genre and stylistic dominant. According to Kolomiiets and Shevchenko (2011: 8), the notion is used to designate "the features that are principal and genre-forming for every genre". In its turn, this factor means that the presented research concerns not only linguistic and translation issues but also literary ones.

As Voronkova (2016: 187) asserts, the examples of science fiction discourse are characterised by "the contrast between the incredibility of the imagery and the rationality of the language", when the use of the latter helps create the given imagery. The contrast frequently performs the role of intensifying the reader's impressions. Here, we can trace two components of this opposition:

- *fictional discourse* ("the incredibility of the imagery");
- *scientific discourse* ("the rationality of the language").

Further on, one may observe the effect of the rationality and objectivity that emerges from the scientific discourse imitation (Voronkova 2016: 187). The component of scientific discourse serves as the basis for science fiction narration. However, this component is considerably influenced by the one of fictional discourse. The combination of the manifestations of the two components forms the science fiction discourse. The role of terms for both discourses will be explained further.

As for the term classification in the course of the study, we may highlight two principal approaches. Initially, these linguistic units presented in science fiction can be separated in accordance with the degree of their reality:

- *real.* These are terms existing in the real world within a particular field. They illustrate the scientific and technical conditions in the period of time when the relevant work has been written.

  If we consider these units in relation to the earlier specified types of discourse, they can be claimed to belong to both the scientific and fictional one. While their emergence within the framework of the scientific discourse is predictable, in the fictional one they implement the function of its alignment with the former type of discourse in science fiction works. The absence of real terms in science fiction would lead to the failure of understanding by the reader.

Examples: *пульт*, *счётчик*, *звуковой рупор*; *control desk*, *meter*, *loudspeaker*; *cuadro de comando*, *contador*, *altavoz*;

- ***occasional.*** The concept "occasional word" in reference to terms was proposed by the Russian researcher E. Belousova (2002, 2006). We may also encounter such related denominations as quasiterms, new word formations (Nizovtseva 2020), quasirealia (Bozhko 2011) and neologisms (Stockwell 2000). Hereinafter, we will use the notion "occasional terms" to designate the relevant units.

  This type of terms is created by the literary work authors themselves or adopted from other pieces of science fiction. For the first time, the relevant lexical units appear within the fictional discourse, being its main indicator. Along with this, such words can enter the scientific discourse and subsequently constitute a part of a regular scientific vocabulary. The indicated scenario is possible in case the writers' prophecies about the objects denoted by these terms become true. Examples: *анамезон*, *спорамин*, *лунная ракета*; *anameson*, *sporamin*, *lunar rocket*; *anamesón*, *sporamina*, *lunnik*.

In the framework of this classification, it is occasional units that evoke a particular interest. Noteworthily, the ways and components chosen for their formation suppose a greater diversity than those selected in case of real terms. The main reason is that the official terminology encountered in different documents requires uniformity, consistency and lack of emotionality. These requirements lead to the restrained number of probable term formation and usage patterns in scientific and official sources. In contrast, the science fiction writer faces no constraints by such limits. The authors are unique persons who can determine the ways of word formation for their literary works.

When analysing the patterns of the reader's behaviour with regard to the occasional terms, we are able to observe different effects. Stockwell (2000: 106) assumes that readers only getting acquainted with science fiction books generally face two types of reaction. At first, the beginning readers may feel themselves isolated from the genre where they face lexical units comprehendible for a narrow audience. Such a sentiment often dissuades the given group from further reading. Nonetheless, the initial alienation may give the person an impetus to follow. In the course of time, the science fiction reader frequently views neologisms as a challenge that one needs to overcome. Thus, new terms have the capacity to considerably increase the reader's interest in a literary work.

After having covered the first criterion for classifying terms, we consider the second one. Misuno et al. (2013: 32-34) make an overview of term division according to their morphological structure. The scientists propose the following classification:

- ***simple.*** Such linguistic units are formed exclusively by a root (ibid.: 32). Examples: *центр*, *радиус*; *middle*, *radius*; *centro*, *radio*;

- ***derivative.*** In this case, the root is complemented by at least one affix (ibid.: 32). Examples: *скорость*, *метеорит*; *velocity*, *meteoroid*; *velocidad*, *meteorito*;

- ***compound.*** Here, one deals with a word of two or more roots (ibid.: 32). Examples: *циферблат*, *звездолёт*; *spaceship*, *loudspeaker*; *astronave*, *altavoz*;

- ***word combinations.*** They consist of more than one word (ibid.: 33). Examples: *звёздная экспедиция*, *Великое Кольцо*; *Cosmic Expedition*, *great Circle*; *expedición astral*, *Gran Circuito*;

- ***abbreviations.*** These are phrases where the words are shortened to their parts or initial letters. Examples: *парсек*, *ИТУ*; *parsec*, *ITU*; *parsec*, *IUT*.

The morphological classification appears to be important for two reasons. Firstly, a more complex structure allows us to expect a considerably larger number in the variation of translation strategies. Secondly, as one may have noticed from the examples above, the same term may be denoted by the linguistic units of different morphological structure across different languages, which suggests even more varieties in the course of translation.

It is commonly known that official documents require unified and standardised terminology in order to preserve the text integrity. On the contrary, the science fiction writer remains unconfronted with the mentioned requirements. The consistency in the use of terminology does contribute to the reader's understanding. Nevertheless, the absence of this unity does not dissuade the reader from reading the piece of literature. Moreover, the writer needs to periodically ignore the principle of uniformity not to make the reading process difficult due to the constant repetition of the same terms.

The situation is similar if we consider the issue of translation. The same rules of unity and regularity exist for the translation of official documents and are not mandatory for literary works. The science fiction translators feel themselves quite comfortable as for choosing the ways of translation.

In the case study, we can find the examples of transgressing the uniformity norms in both the source text and the target texts.

Table 1. **Selected examples of terms and their use in the context. Sources: "Туманность Андромеды" (1957), "Andromeda: A Space-Age Tale" (1959), "La Nebulosa de Andrómeda" (1973)**

навигатор астронавигатор	navigator astronavigator	astronauta nauta
*В посту управления требовалось присутствие дежурного **навигатора**…*	*A **navigator** had always to be on duty in the control tower…*	*Entre tanto, había que tener de guardia en el puesto de comando a un **astronauta**…*

*Низа Крит, юный **астронавигатор**, впервые попавшая в звёздную экспедицию, затихла…*	*Nisa Greet, a young **astronavigator** on her first Cosmic expedition, held her breath…*	*La joven **astronauta** Niza Krit, que hacía su primera expedición astral, observaba anhelante…*
*…Пока не пройдут ещё две смены дежурных: **навигаторов**, астрономов и механиков.*	*…While the other two watches – the **navigators**, astronomers and mechanics – served their turns.*	*…Hasta que terminasen sus turnos respectivos dos equipos de **nautas**, astrónomos y mecánicos.*
локатор щуп	feeler	detector sonda
*Это неимоверно чувствительные **локаторы** нащупали в чёрной бездне впереди метеорит – главную опасность звездолётов.*	*Delicately sensitive **feelers** had located a meteoroid, the greatest enemy of the spaceships, in the black emptiness ahead of them…*	*Todo aquello se debía a que los **detectores** supersensibles habían captado allí delante, en la insondable negrura, un meteorito, el peligro mayor para las astronaves.*
*…Включился электронный **щуп** правого борта.*	*…The starboard electron **feeler** came into action.*	*…La **sonda** electrónica de babor se conectó.*
светило	sun celestial body	sol astro
*На левом переднем экране быстро пролетел маленький серый диск, едва освещённый своим **светилом**…*	*A tiny grey disc, barely illuminated by a **sun** very far away from them… was crossing the forward port screen.*	*Por la pantalla delantera de la izquierda pasó fugaz un pequeño disco gris – apenas esclarecido por su **sol**…*
*…изменяли цвет и силу лучей любого **светила**.*	*…They reduced the composition of the rays of any **celestial body**…*	*…Atenuando el color y la intensidad de los rayos de cualquier **astro**…*
зеркальный экран отражательный экран	mirror screen reflector screen	pantalla reflectora
*Эрг Ноор указал на **зеркальные экраны** в глубоких нишах со всех*	*Erg Noor pointed to the **mirror screens** in deep niches on all four sides of the control tower.*	*Erg Noor señaló a las **pantallas reflectoras** colocadas en profundos nichos a los cuatro*

четырёх сторон поста управления.		*costados del puesto de comando.*
Над ней чернели **отражательные экраны***…*	*The* **reflector screens***… gleamed black overhead.*	*Sobre ella negreaban las* **pantallas reflectoras***…*
скорость	speed velocity	velocidad marcha
Уменьшить радиус, не сбавляя **скорости***, – мгновенное разрушение корабля.*	*If you reduce the radius without reducing* **speed***, you'll break up the ship.*	*Si reducimos el radio sin aminorar la* **velocidad***, la nave se destrozará al instante.*
Убавить **скорость** *и…*	*If you reduce* **speed***…*	*¿Cómo disminuir la* **marcha***...?*
Низа поспешила определить его объём, массу, **скорость** *и направление полёта.*	*…Nisa hurried to determine its volume, mass,* **velocity** *and direction.*	*Niza se apresuró a determinar su volumen, masa,* **velocidad** *y dirección de vuelo.*

Conclusion

We should say that terms constitute an indispensable part of science fiction as a genre and stylistic dominant. They perform the functions of creating the scientific and the fictional components of science fiction discourse. According to the degree of reality, the linguistic units of concern may be divided into real and occasional ones, the latter being of particular interest. As for the morphological structure, it appears possible to observe simple, derivative, compound units, word combinations and abbreviations. Different approaches to the classification of terms together with the arbitrariness of word formation and translation norms for fiction writers suppose that we may reveal a large diversity in the ways of the formation and the translation of the specified lexical units in science fiction.

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MĀTES UN BĒRNA ATTIECĪBU TĒLOJUMS DZINTRAS GEKAS ATMIŅU STĀSTU KRĀJUMĀ "MĀTES SIBĪRIJĀ"

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Abstract

Mother-child relationships in Dzintra Gekas's collection of memoirs "Mothers in Siberia"

Key Words: *mother, child, Siberia, deportations, traumatic experience, identity*

The book "Mothers in Siberia" by director Dzintra Gekas is one of the most topical and discussed publications in recent times, collecting interviews with mothers and their children deported in 1941, as well as excerpts from the stories of children deported in 1941.

The traumatic experience of the deportations has been preserved in the public memory for several generations.

When talking about Siberia, the deportations and the experiences related to it, it is important to pay attention to the "mother-child" relationship, the bond and the division of roles. In exile, the boundaries between the roles of mother and child are often blurred, as the traditional family system that existed before the deportation is disrupted, so that the mother also takes on the role and responsibilities of the father, while the child takes on the responsibilities and cares of the adult. The traditional family model is being disrupted, where the roles of father, mother and child are separated.

The mother figure in exile no longer plays the role and functions assumed in the traditional family model. In Siberia, the mother is the all-powerful figure who also takes on the role of the father. The concept of motherhood is deconstructed, the woman as mother is unable, because of political, social and environmental conditions, to fully realise herself, to fulfil her duties, and this leads to traumatic experiences that prevent the mother and child from fully constructing their relationship with each other.

Kopsavilkums

Mātes un bērna attiecību tēlojums Dzintras Gekas atmiņu stāstu krājumā "Mātes Sibīrijā"

Atslēgvārdi: *mātes figūra, bērna tēls, Sibīrija, deportācijas, traumatiskā pieredze, identitāte*

Režisores Dzintras Gekas grāmata "Mātes Sibīrijā" (2022.gads) apkopo intervijas ar 1941.gadā uz Sibīriju izsūtītajām mātēm un viņu bērniem, kuri tika deportēti PSRS okupācijas režīmā, kā arī fragmenti no 1941.gadā izsūtīto bērnu stāstiem. Deportāciju traumatiskā pieredze sabiedrības atmiņā ir saglabājusies jau vairākās paaudzēs.

Sibīriju, deportācijām un ar to saistīto pieredzi, svarīgi ir pievērst uzmanību "mātes-bērna" attiecībām, saiknei un lomu sadalījumam. Izsūtījumā mātes un bērna lomas robežas bieži vien ir izplūdušas, jo ierastā ģimenes sistēma, kas ir pastāvējusi pirms izsūtījuma, tiek izjaukta, tāpēc māte pārņem arī tēva lomu un pienākumu izpildi, bet bērns pārņem pieauguša pienākumus un rūpes. Tiek izjaukts tradicionālais ģimenes modelis, kur ir nodalītas tēva, mātes un bērna lomu robežas.

Māte izsūtījumā vairs neieņem tādu lomu un nepilda tādas funkcijas, kā tas ir pieņemts tradicionālajā ģimenes modelī. Sibīrijā māte ir kā visu varošais tēls, kas pārņem arī tēva lomu. Maternitātes jēdziens tiek dekonstruēts, sieviete kā māte gan politisko, gan sociālo, gan vides apstākļu dēļ nespēj pilnvērtīgi pašrealizēties, pildīt savus pienākumus, tāpēc rodas traumatiskā pieredze, kas liedz mātei un bērnam pilnvērtīgi konstruēt attiecības savā starpā.

20. gadsimta otrā puse iezīmē sarežģītu vēstures periodu, kas ievieš jaunas pārmaiņas gan valstu robežu sadalījumā, gan sabiedrības struktūrā, gan varas, ekonomiskajā un politiskajā dalījumā. Tas skar arī Baltijas valstis, kur viens no lielākajiem 20. gadsimta traģiskajiem notikumiem ir deportācijas. "1941.gada 14. jūnijā no Latvijas deportēja 15 443 cilvēkus – 8275 vīriešus un 7168 sievietes. Starp deportētajiem bija 3741 bērns vecumā līdz 16 gadiem." (Bleiere D.: 2023)

Uz Sibīriju deportēto iedzīvotāju traumatiskā pieredze ir pārmantota no paaudzes uz paaudzi, kas tiek reprezentēts individuālajā atmiņā, komemorēts sociālajā atmiņā un reflektēts poētiskajos un publicistiskajos naratīvos: "Stacijās no ģimenēm atšķira vīrus un tēvus. Vēlāk bieži izrādījās, ka šī bija šķiršanās uz mūžu. Vīriešus (retāk – arī sievietes) aizveda uz nometnēm Pieurālos, Urālos,

Tālajos Ziemeļos, pārējo ģimeni – sievietes, bērnus un sirmgalvjus – nometinājumā uz PSRS attāliem rajoniem. Nometnēs arestētajiem uzrādīja apsūdzību – par darbību neatkarīgās Latvijas Republikas laikā vai par "pretpadomju aģitāciju" jau padomju okupācijas gadā – un piesprieda dažāda iluma ieslodzījumu vai nāvessodu. Savukārt nometinājuma vietās izsūtītajiem paziņoja, ka viņi ir nometināti uz 20 gadiem. Pēc kara politika pret nometinātajiem kļuva vēl bargāka un nometinājums bija domāts uz mūžu. Izsūtīto atgriešanās bija iespējama tikai pēc Staļina nāves un politiskajām pārmaiņām 20. gs. 50. gadu otrajā pusē." (Gundare I.: 2009)

Pētījuma mērķis ir raksturot mātes un bērna attiecību tēlojumu Dzintras Gekas atmiņu stāstu krājumā "Mātes Sibīrijā".

Atmiņas kategorija 21.gadsimta kontekstā autobiogrāfiskajā un biogrāfiskajā literatūrā parādās kā individuālo atmiņu vēstījums, kas ietiecas arī sociālajā atmiņā. Autobiogrāfiskajos un biogrāfiskajos tekstos autors koncentrējas uz pašrefleksiju, atspoguļotos notikumus saistot ar vēsturisko, sociālo fonu, fokusējoties uz detaļām, akcentējot autora individuālos uzskatus, kas bieži vien kontrastē ar vēsturisko notikumu atspoguļojumu. Šie notikumu bieži vien ir ir dokumentēti oficiāli, kā piemēru minot, ka "deportēto cilvēku autobiogrāfijas detalizēti apraksta indivīdu ciešanas, izsūtījuma laikā pieredzēto pazemojumu un izdzīvošanas prakses. [..] Citādāka skatījuma iespējamība liecina par izsūtījuma atmiņu atvērtību daudzveidīgākai pieredzei un attieksmēm, taču šādas stilistikas novirzes ir reti sastopamas, jo deportāciju stāstos dominē traģiska perspektīva, kurā variējas ciešanu un izdzīvošanas tēmas." (Kaprāns, Procevska, Uzule, Saulītis 2012: 86-87)

Mātes un bērna attiecību tēlojums literatūrzinātnē ir nozīmīgs aspekts, kas dominē ne tikai 20.gadsimta literatūrā, bet arī 21.gadsimta naratīvos, aktualizējot pagājušā gadsimta notikumus un situāciju, raugoties no mūsdienu cilvēka skatupunkta.

Lietas, kurām pieaugušā pasaules uzskatu sistēmā netiek piešķirta tik liela nozīme, bērna pasaulē ieņem citu lomu. Pasaule tiek uztverta niansētāk, notikumi un apstākļu maiņa tiek izjusta saasinātāk. Kā min literatūrzinātniece R. Rinkeviča: "Bērns sevi nepretstata pasaulei, viņš pats tur atrodas, ir ieslēgts šajā pasaulē, uztver to no iekšienes, rezultātā veidojas īpašs pasaules redzējums." (Rinkeviča 2011: 9)

Straujā vides maiņa, mērojot ceļu no mājām, kur bērns ir dzīvojis kopš dzimšanas, uz svešu vietu, kur ir jāsāk dzīve no jauna, bērnam rada traumatisku pieredzi. Tika izjaukts arī tradicionālais ģimenes modelis, jo vīrieši tika nošķirti no ģimenes, kā arī daudzi bērni zaudēja māti smagā darba, slimību un citu apstākļu dēļ, kas nozīmēja, ka bērns pārņēma arī pieaugušā lomu un pienākumus, uzņemoties rūpes ne tikai par sevi, bet bieži vien arī par citiem cilvēkiem, kuri ir palikuši ģimenē. Apstākļu kopums bērnam atņem iespēju pilnvērtīgi pildīt bērna lomu, tiek izlaists bērnības posms, rodas cita uzskatu un vērtību sistēma, kas bieži ir pretstatā ar to, kas bija dzimtenē, jo ir varas un

politiskās sistēmas maiņa, cita sabiedrības struktūra gan mikro, gan makro vides līmenī. "Ierastajā lokālajā vidē cilvēks kopš bērnības veidojas par augošu, dinamisku vienību, kas attīstoties iekļaujas apkārtējās sabiedrības apritēs. Turklāt jau bērnībā cilvēka attīstību īpaši veicina personas, kas dominē viņam tuvākajā vides zonā un kurām atšķirīgās lokālās zonās piemīt dažādas lomas, kas spēj tās savstarpēji saistīt. Mainoties konkrētiem dzīves nosacījumiem mikrovides zonu ietvaros, katrs cilvēks saskaras ar dažādām sabiedrības varām, normatīviem un institūcijām, kas sekmē socializāciju" (Čakša V.2021: 35-36)

Deportāciju traumatiskā pieredze sabiedrības atmiņā ir saglabājusies jau vairākās paaudzēs. Tas ir atspoguļots literārajos darbos, sabiedriskajos medijos, piemiņas pasākumos un citās komemorācijas formās.

Režisores Dzintras Gekas izdotā grāmatā "Mātes Sibīrijā" ir apkopotas intervijas ar 1941. gadā izsūtītajām mātēm un viņu bērniem, kā arī fragmenti no 1941. gadā izsūtīto bērnu stāstiem. Grāmatā ir 18 stāsti, kurus izstāsta mammas un viņu bērni – piedzīvotā atmiņas no abiem skatu punktiem. Pēc šiem stāstiem seko daudzi īsāki un garāki bērnu atmiņu stāsti par Sibīrijas izsūtījumu.

Sibīriju, deportācijām un ar to saistīto pieredzi, svarīgi ir pievērst uzmanību "mātes-bērna" attiecībām, saiknei un lomu sadalījumam. Izsūtījumā mātes un bērna lomas robežas bieži vien ir izplūdušas, jo ierastā ģimenes sistēma, kas ir pastāvējusi pirms izsūtījuma, tiek izjaukta, tāpēc māte pārņem arī tēva lomu un pienākumu izpildi, bet bērns pārņem pieaugušā pienākumus un rūpes. Tiek izjaukts tradicionālais ģimenes modelis, kur ir nodalītas tēva, mātes un bērna lomu robežas. Jānis Dreibalts min, ka "Mamma gāja meža darbos. Nezinu, kā viņa to izturēja, jo nekad agrāk nebija tā fiziski strādājusi. Viņa apprecējās jauna, un pie tēva darīja pārsvarā mājas darbus, nevis smagos lauku darbus." (Geka Dz. 2022:311) Sievietes loma ģimenē ir mainījusies - darbi, kuri agrāk pārsvarā bija veicami tikai vīriešiem, izsūtījumā bija jādara arī sievietēm un bērniem.

Sievietēm, esot nošķirtām no saviem vīriem, bija jāuzņemas rūpes par bērniem, vecākiem, kā arī izdzīvošanu un ģimenes sajūtas veidošanu. Svešā vide, smagie apstākļi, vīra, bieži vien vecāku un arī bērnu zaudējums, kā arī fiziskie pārdzīvojumi radīja traumatisko pieredzi, kas tiek pārmantota arī nākamajās paaudzēs.

Mātes figūra izsūtījumā vairs neieņem tādu lomu un nepilda tādas funkcijas, kā tas ir pieņemts tradicionālajā ģimenes modelī. Sibīrijā māte ir kā visu varošais tēls, kas pārņem arī tēva lomu. Maternitātes jēdziens tiek dekonstruēts, sieviete kā māte gan politisko, gan sociālo, gan vides apstākļu dēļ nespēj pilnvērtīgi pašrealizēties, pildīt savus pienākumus, tāpēc rodas traumatiskā pieredze, kas liedz mātei un bērnam pilnvērtīgi konstruēt attiecības savā starpā. Gan emocionālajā, gan sadzīviskajā plānā bērnam bija sarežģīti atgriezties atpakaļ mājās, jo "reāla izsūtīto atbrīvošana sākās 50.gadu vidū. Vispirms 1954.gadā mājās atļāva atgriezties nepilngadīgajiem bērniem, šo iespēju gan

izmantoja samērā maz ģimeņu, jo ne visiem bija radinieki, kas varēja pieņemt bērnus, nevarēja arī bērnus vienus pašus laist ceļā." (Čakša V. 2021: 35) Ģimenes locekļu nošķiršana vienam no otra izjauc ģimenes sistēmu, kas ir izveidojusies Sibīrijā. Katram cilvēkam šajā sistēmā ir noteikta loma, kas tiek pildīta, lai izdzīvotu skarbajos apstākļos, kā arī trūkumā, kas radies dažādu apstākļu kopuma dēļ: "Dzīves uzsākšana svešā vietā no nulles ir gandrīz neiespējama. Trūka paša nepieciešamākā – pārtikas. Tās trūka arī turienes iedzīvotājiem." (Saleniece I. 2008: 26)

Opozīcijā "savējais-svešais" ir spilgti parādīts ģimenes modelis, kāds tas ir bijis dzimtenē un kāds tas ir svešumā Sibīrijā. Pārticību, kas ir bijusi Latvijā, strauji nomaina trūkums, bads un izdzīvošana, kas liek pārplānot savu dzīves un ģimenes modeli un pārveidot vērtību sistēmu.

Atmiņu stāstos gan no mātes, gan no bērna perspektīvas bieži figurē mantas, kas ir paņemtas līdzi no mājām un kalpo kā sava veida talismans un saikne ar mājām. Ilga Sofija Ozoliņa vēsta par to, ka "Mammai bija piespraudīte – zelta adata ar rubīna akmentiņu. To mamma skaitīja par savu talismanu, nēsāja pie apakškrekla, nekad no tā nešķīrās. Kolhozā dzīvojot mums nekad to nebūtu ienācis prātā to pārdot." (Geka Dz. 2022: 161)

Tomēr apstākļu kopums liek pārvērtēt to, cik vērtīgas ir līdzi paņemtās lietas, salīdzinot tās ar pieejamajām reālijām Sibīrijas telpā. Lietu vērtīgums, salīdzinot tās savā starpā, variē un bieži vien apmainot tās pret citām, tās ir citā vērtību skalā. Talismans zaudē savu nozīmi, kļūstot par veidu, kā izdzīvot, un kā apmaiņas līdzekli pret pārtiku un citām iztikšanai nepieciešamajām lietām. "Varbūt būtu dabūjuši par to puskukuli maizes. Tagad latvieši mammu iemācīja, lai brauc pāri Jeņisejai uz pilsētu, ka tu varēšot dabūt labu naudu par zeltu." (Geka Dz. 2022: 161)

Lomu sadalījums ģimenē kļūst nenoteikts, izplūdis, vecāku lomu un pienākumus ieņem ne tikai māte un tēvs, bet to pārņem arī bērni, uzņemoties atbildību gan par sevi, brāļiem un māsām, gan arī par vecākiem un vecvecākiem. Bērns kā indivīds nespēj pilnvērtīgi realizēt savas vēlmes un vajadzības politiskā un sociālā fona un vides apstākļu dēļ, tāpēc bērnība kā cilvēka dzīves posms ir traumatisks laiks. "Es uzskatīju, ka esmu tēva vietā, tēva nav, man par Renāti jārūpējas, sākumā par brāli un māsu, pēc tam par māsu un mammu. Mammai gāja grūti. Man bija jākurina istaba, jānes ūdens, jo mamma mājās nāca pusnaktī." (Geka Dz. 2022: 132)

Traumatisko pieredzi rada arī tēva zaudējums, nošķirot vīriešus no ģimenes, atstājot sievas bez vīra un bērnus bez tēva. Gan izvešanas brīdī, gan arī izsūtījumā daudzas ģimenes nebija informētas par to, ka vīrieši tiek nošķirti no sievietēm un bērniem pavisam, tāpēc tā bija cerība uz atkalsatikšanos, kā arī saikne emocionālajā plānā. Vairākos atmiņu stāstos ir atspoguļots sarakstes process ar vīriešiem, saglabājot saikni un kontaktu arī rakstiski, kā arī fiziski sūtot palīdzību viens otram pārtikas un citu lietu veidā.

"Tētis gāja bojā ļoti smagos apstākļos. Viņš bija jauns un spēcīgs vīrietis, un katrā vēstulē mammai viņš rakstīja, cik grūti klājas – viņi dzīvoja badā. Es saprotu, ka valsts politika bija tāda, viņi – jaunie, spēcīgie, spējīgie – bija nolemti iznīcināšanai." (Geka Dz. 2022: 116)

Daudzas sievas uzzināja par vīra nāvi, tomēr ne vienmēr tika minēts īstais nāves iemesls, piemēram, "mēs satikām cilvēku, kas bija kopā ar tēvu un kas atgriezās. Viņš stāstīja, ka tēvs esot ticis kādā darbā grāmatvedībā vai kur, bet saslimis ar plaušu karsoni. Miršanas apliecībā teikts, ka tēvs miris ar sirdskaiti. Kas to var zināt... Bet tas cilvēks stāstīja, ka tēvs esot bijis spējīgs uz visu." (Geka Dz. 2022: 22)

Tēva tēls sievas un bērnu skatījumā un atmiņā nereti tiek glorificēts, tādējādi aizstājot fizisko trūkumu ar atmiņām emocionālajā plānā. Arī mātes tēls tiek parādīts pozitīvā nozīmē. Bērnam jau pieaugušā vecumā distancējoties no pagātnes notikumiem, māte paliek atmiņā kā gaišs tēls. Bieži tiek uzsvērta mātes upurēšanās, pārciestais, kas ir atstājis sekas gan psihoemocionālajā, gan fiziskajā plānā smagā darba, trūkuma un bada dēļ, kā arī ziedojot savu spēku un laiku bērnu dēļ. "Mamma visu laiku bija uz robežas, varbūt tāpēc viņa tika paralizēta, viņa vairs nevarēja izturēt. Bet pati viņa nekad sev nedarīja pāri. Viņa ļoti par mums rūpējās un sargāja mūs. Viņu paralizēja 2-3 gadus pēc mūsu izsūtīšanas. Tas bija ļoti ātri." (Geka Dz. 2022: 22)

Atmiņu stāstos nereti tiek uzsvērta deportēto cilvēku cīņa, spēks un nesūdzēšanās par dzīves apstākļiem, kā arī godīgums. Attiecībās ar citiem cilvēkiem, ar kuriem nācās dzīvot un kontaktēties Sibīrijā, darbā un sadzīvē tiek ievērots godīgums, mācot to arī saviem bērniem. Ģimenes, kaut arī nācās dzīvot trūkumā un badā, izvēlējās nezagt gan savu ētisko uzskatu, gan arī baiļu no varas dēļ. Lielākoties nav vērojama pretošanās varai un sistēmai, kas tiek atspoguļots gan izsūtījumā, gan arī pēc atgriešanās mājās.

Kēta Teikmane vēsta ka "vienu reizi mammu aizsauca uz kantori, komandants liek parakstīties, ka viņa nodos gaļu. Viņa neparakstās, jo ir godīgs cilvēks un nevar parakstīties. Paiet stunda, divas, trīs, mammas nav. Mēs sēžam mājās, salstam, bet kājās uzvilkt arī nekā nav. Mēs ar brāli ar lupatām sasējām kājas un nolēmām, ka iesim gaļas vietā, bet mums vajag mammu mājās. " (Geka Dz. 2022: 224)

Ne viss, kas tiek piedzīvots Sibīrijā, ir negatīvas emocijas raisošs. Saikni ar Latviju un tajā palikušajiem tuviniekiem emocionālajā plānā saglabā svētku svinēšana. Tā saista divas telpas, radot sajūtu, ka Sibīrijas telpā ir rodama dzimto māju sajūta.

"Pienāca Ziemassvētki. Bijām dzīvojuši ļoti skopi, lai pret palagu iemainītajiem miltiem varētu svētkos labi paēst. Tovakar gan mums bija Ziemassvētku sajūta. Kad izžāvām savas izmazgātās drēbes un tīros kreklos likāmies uz krāsnsaugšas, vai pusi nakts kavējāmies atmiņās par īstiem, laimīgiem Ziemassvētkiem kopā ar visiem tuviniekiem." (Geka Dz. 2022: 224)

Reāla iespēja atgriezties bija 1947.gadā, kad bāreņi varēja braukt uz Latviju. Mātes nereti upurēja sevi, lai bērni varētu tikt uz mājām, tomēr ne visi bērni bija gatavi šķirties no mātes gan emocionālajā ziņā, gan arī tāpēc, ka daudziem Latvijā nebija tuvinieku un iespējas, kur uzsākt dzīvi.

"Mamma teica, ka mēs gribam atgriezties, viņa rakstīja – jūs jau tur esat iedzīvojušies, palieciet tur, te ir padomju vara un te par darba dienām dod sapuvušus kāpostus. Mamma uzrakstīja atpakaļ – kaut vai sapuvušus kāpostus, bet ēdīsim savā dzimtenē, mēs nepaliksim. Kamēr mēs braucām mājās, viņa pakārās. Vai nu viņai bija netīra sirdsapziņa... Mēs viņai neko ļaunu nedarītu vai nepārmestu, tādi laiki bija, tur neko nevarēja darīt. Mamma ar savu labestību vispār nevienam nekad neko ļaunu nedarītu. Bet viņa mūs nesagaidīja." (Geka Dz. 2022: 65)

Jāsecina, ka mātes un bērna attiecībās Sibīrijā ir vērojama upurēšanās, ģimenes modeļa maiņa un robežas starp bērnību un pieaugušo dzīvi izplūšana. Māte un bērns ziedo katrs sevi otra cilvēka labā, kā arī veido jaunu ģimenes modeli, kur bērns bieži vien ir pieaugušā lomā, uzņemoties rūpes un atbildību par sevi un citiem ģimenes locekļiem. Tā ir traumatiskā pieredze, kur māte un bērns nevar pilnvērtīgi pilnvērtīgi pašrealizēties.

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MĀKSLA / ART

ASPECTS OF GRAPHIC DESIGN DEVELOPMENT FOR A RURAL TOURISM GUIDE

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Abstract

Aspects of Graphic Design Development for a Rural Tourism Guide

Key Words: *graphics design, rural tourism, tourist guide.*

A tourist guide is an aid to tourists to provide information about a specific geographic location, its historical data, sightseeing spots, and food and accommodation providers. Tourist guides for countries and cities are widely available today, so tourists visiting rural routes have limited access to analyzed and compiled information. The regional and broader tourism guides contain information on only a few locations in rural areas that are not profitable to visit because they are far apart. Nearby and little-known places are not included on the routes as a large proportion of rural tourist sites are unable to provide awareness measures to promote themselves. When analyzing statistics in Latvia, tourists visit state capitals more, unlike Latgale Region. On the other hand, when analyzing a more extended period, the matrix of tourist inflow has a growing dynamic. This indicates that rural tourism has a potential that needs to be developed. Developing a local rural area tourism guide will enable a potential tourist to find information on travel opportunities on this route faster and more conveniently. This will attract tourists and residents, as there will be a systemized tour guide available with developed routes that will be full-fledged for getting to know the local geographical and cultural-historical color for guests, as well as for organizing local studies activities for students. The graphic design of the guide is one of the most critical aspects for the tour guide to be noticed and to interest the consumer to get acquainted with systematically arranged content. Its design must be laconic, easy to understand, and at the same time relevant to the era. Today people want to spend more time in nature, so the tour guide needs to integrate common elements and a color palette that forms associations with the rural environment. During the study, information on the nature of rural tourism was collected and, by conducting an analog analysis, graphic design criteria were developed to create a modern and visible tourism guide.

The aim of the article: to analyze the sources relevant to the topic and define the criteria for evaluating the graphic design of the tourist guide.

Methods of the study: feasibility study for the graphic design development process of a tourism guide- analysis of literature sources and documents on the specifics of rural tourism and the use of graphic design elements in the design of a tourist guide; analog content analysis.

Kopsavilkums

Lauku tūrisma ceļveža grafikas dizaina izstrādes aspekti

Atslēgvārdi: *tūrisma ceļvedis, grafikas dizains, lauku tūrisms*

Tūrisma ceļvedis ir palīgs tūristiem, lai sniegtu informāciju par konkrētu ģeogrāfisko vietu, tās vēsturiskajiem datiem, apskates vietām, ēdināšanas un izmitināšanas pakalpojumu sniedzējiem. Mūsdienās ir plaši pieejami tūrisma ceļveži par valstīm un pilsētām, tāpēc tūristiem, kuri vēlas apmeklēt lauku reģiona maršrutus, ir ierobežota pieejamība izanalizētai un apkopotai informācijai. Reģiona un plašāka mēroga tūrisma ceļvežos ir iekļauta informācija tikai par dažām vietām lauku teritorijā, kuras nav rentabli apmeklēt, jo atrodas tālu viena no otras. Tuvumā esošās un maz zināmās vietas nav iekļautas maršrutos, jo liela daļa lauku tūrisma vietu nespēj nodrošināt atpazīstamības pasākumus, lai sevi popularizētu. Analizējot statistikas datus Latvijā, tūristi vairāk apmeklē valstspilsētas, atšķirībā no Latgales reģionu teritorijām. Turpretim, analizējot garāku laika periodu, tūristu pieplūduma matricai ir augoša dinamika. Tas norāda, ka lauku tūrismam ir potenciāls, kuru ir nepieciešams attīstīt. Lokālas teritorijas lauku tūrisma ceļveža izstrāde sniegs iespēju potenciālajam tūristam ātrāk un ērtāk atrast informāciju par ceļošanas iespējām šajā maršrutā. Tas piesaistīs ne tikai tūristus, bet arī vietējos iedzīvotājus, jo būs pieejams sistematizēts tūrisma ceļvedis ar izstrādātiem maršrutiem, kas būs pilnvērtīgs palīgs vietējā ģeogrāfiskā un kultūrvēsturiskā kolorīta iepazīšanai kā viesiem, tā arī skolēniem novadpētniecības aktivitāšu organizēšanā. Ceļveža grafikas dizains ir viens no svarīgākajiem aspektiem, lai ceļvedis tiktu pamanīts un ieinteresētu patērētāju iepazīties ar sistemātiski izkārtotu saturu. Tā dizainam ir jābūt lakoniskam, viegli uztveramam un tanī pat laikā, atbilstošam laikmetam. Šobrīd cilvēki ikdienā vēlas vairāk laika pavadīt dabā, tāpēc ceļvedī jāintegrē vienoti elementi un krāsu palete, kuri veido asociācijas ar lauku vidi. Pētījuma laikā tika apkopota informācija par lauku tūrisma būtību un, veicot analogu analīzi, izstrādāti grafikas dizaina kritēriji mūsdienīga un pamanāma tūrisma ceļveža dizainam.

Raksta mērķis: analizēt tēmai atbilstošus avotus un definēt kritērijus tūrisma ceļveža grafikas dizaina vērtēšanai.

Pētījuma metodes: priekšizpēte tūrisma ceļveža grafikas dizaina izstrādes procesam – literatūras avotu un dokumentu analīze par lauku tūrisma specifiku un grafikas dizaina elementu izmantošanu tūrisma ceļveža dizainā; analogu satura analīze.

Introduction

Tourism is one of the most important sectors in the country's economy. One of the three priorities of Latvia's tourism development policy for the period 2021-2027 is the creation of an attractive tourism offer in the context of local values and lifestyle, promotion of local tourism (Van der Steina, etc., 2019). Local development of rural tourism is also important at national level for the development of both local values and innovative approaches to the development of tourist routes.

Today, the rhythm of daily life is rapid and dynamic. Some potential tourists do not have the opportunity and time to analyse the available information and search for additional tourist information. Therefore, tourists, travellers and other interested parties look for such information in the available resources – tourism guides, brochures, maps and publications of promotional articles. Local tourism providers are unable to ensure a high level of publicity for their service. This limits the number of visitors to the tourist site. Local tourism is being neglected.

The Tourism guide is the most appropriate form of information material to start developing and improving the rural tourism sector. It summarises information about a geographical location, including historical context, information on places to see, accommodations and catering providers. The development of the local Rural Tourism guide will provide an opportunity for a potential tourist to find information faster and more easily about travel opportunities on this route, other interested persons, as well as pupils - for the organisation of research activities in the municipality. The graphic design of a tourism guide consists of the overall concept of the object, a set of graphic elements and their layout. The design plays an important role in getting the tour guide noticed. It also gives you the first impression of the upcoming vacation, so its graphic design must meet clearly defined goals.

The aim: to analyse sources of literature and information relevant to the subject and define criteria for evaluating the graphic design of the tourism guide.

Methods of research: feasibility study for the design process of the tourism guide graphic design; analysis of literature sources and documents regarding the specificity of rural tourism and the use of graphic design elements in the design of the tourism guide; analysis of analogue content.

Study methodology

The methodology of the study is based on analysis of literature sources and data of the Central Statistical Bureau. Before conducting the study, author of the study selected keywords that are important for this study - tour guide, graphic design, rural tourism. Next, author reviewed articles and studies that were selected that fit the subject and purpose of the proposed study. The selected topic information was then collected and analysed. In order to carry out a productive study of analogue

content, the selected analogues must meet the following essential requirements: the source of information must reflect the tourism information of the local rural area, contain the information characterizing the tourist guide and include a clear design of the organisation of the process of using the guide. Three tourist guides published in Latvia were chosen for the analysis of analog content - „Pārgājienu un dabas takas Ludzas novadā", „Vasals Latgolā" and „Pīles Pūkas ceļojums". Author of the study analysed these guides to see if their content and graphic design reflected the information needed to meet users' needs.

Results

Theoretical review

The tour guide provides both tourism information and its graphic design give you an idea of the anticipated rest and emotions you'll be able to feel during your road trip. The graphic design is functional, because it provides consumer with effective information with design elements. Graphic elements are a set of communication tools that draw the attention of an individual (Murchie, Diomede, 2020). The graphic design of the Rural tourism guide should therefore be developed on the basis of aspects whose symbiosis ensures the widest possible reach of the audience.

Analysing the research on tourism in Latvia in 2021, it was concluded that Latgale counties are visited by a smaller number of tourists than cities and territories located closer to the capital and the seashore line, but compared to 2020 statistics, the proportion of tourists has increased (Central Statistical Bureau, 2022). This indicates that tourism in these counties is at an upward level of development which requires improvement. A. Klepers (Klepers, 2018) concluded in his research that in Latvian counties, which are located closer to the country's land border, local tourism is highly popular, as the share of exports varies only from two to six percent. This proves that nowadays rural tourism is becoming more and more popular as people start appreciating the phenomenal local social, cultural and natural resources. Tourists are starting to choose their route more based on the principle of sentimental analysis, rather than being influenced by bright and noticeable advertisements.

M.Mazor-Tregerman, Y. Mansfeld, O. Elyada, H.An, N. Moon (Mazor-Tregerman et al., 2017; An, Moon, 2022) describes in their research that the tourist's identity influences the content and design of tourism guides. It is important to be aware of the identity of the country tourist so that tourism information can resonate with his neuronal cells. R. Bandyopadhyaya, A. Ray, M. Milde (2022) conclude in their publications that there are visible gaps in tourism for four decades, with tourism being more focused on a mass population of visitors. The advice to the tourism provider is to integrate autoethnography so that tourists feel an individual connection and should use less methods of West, as they do not create unique rural tourism but globalize it. The tourism industry can attract new visitors by developing a tourist guide that takes into account the characteristics that are based on the

human ability to surrender to their emotionality. The design of the guide must create a prerequisite for the offered relaxation, which gives you the desired atmosphere and mood. The content of a high-quality tour guide is also influenced by other graphic elements.

Human vision also notices information unconsciously, so expressive, comprehensive illustrations in the design of the guide are a priority for reaching a wider audience. Illustrations and texts should complement each other, following the principles of cognitive ergonomics. One of them is the arrangement of content according to the grid principle, which provides an opportunity to organize data more transparently and therefore more easily perceived, creating a subtle interaction between information and the receiver (Zheng et al., 2019).

Maps are one of the components of a tourist guide. G.N. Peterson (2020), in his book on effective map design, mentions current map usage conditions such as map dimensions, location of elements on the map, and use of digital maps. The map fragments are part of the illustrations, the integration of which should be organized in the guide in relation to the content.

Rural tourism is mainly marked by a one - or two-day tour. In the research conducted by P.L. Pearce (2022), on the currently relevant time management, the principles that influence the tourist's choice of destination and route are distinguished. The researcher refers to the conditions that nowadays time is becoming more and more valuable, so tourists scrupulously evaluate the need to go on a specific route. In a study by Z. Liao, & W. Zheng (2018) on the development of personalized tourist itineraries, they mention that there have been significant changes in tourists " behaviour associated with the demand for tailored experiences". It is therefore important to include in the tourist guides, plans for ready-made routes, where each route is characterised by a common theme. A detailed description of the routes draws tourists with its uniqueness and feel and provides information about its length, sightseeing locations and other useful information to maximise the detection of technical details and intrigue the anticipated emotions.

Another aspect that enhances the sector is the integration of universal design at the place where the tourism service is provided. It promotes human equality and reduces discrimination. This factor also affects the development of the tourist guide. The guide must be flexible so that it, or some part of it, can be understood by people with special needs. The guide must have an appropriate infographic indicating that the tourist destination is adapted for people with mobility impairments or families with children. The inclusion of people with disabilities in tourism is relevant, but less researched. S. Benjamin, E. Bottone, & M. Lee conducted a study (Benjamin et al., 2021) on how disabled people are portrayed in tourism advertising materials, concluding that the situation is not positive. People with signs of disability should be integrated into the tourism industry, because they are the part of

society that can gain new impressions and expand their horizons from the travel experience, which is more important for them than for individuals without health problems.

The analysis of literature sources and statistical data shows that rural tourism needs modern marketing techniques in order to become recognizable and tourism information to be easily accessible. The Tourism guide is a solution that combines wide range of information, promotes county research, popularizes the tourist site and provides a compact overview of travel routes. Graphic design is like a tool for a tourist guide that creates a harmonious, transparent and unified overall image to attract a wider range of visitors.

Analog research analysis

Analogous research was carried out with the aim of determining the compliance of existing roadmaps with the relevant design conditions. During the research process, the criteria for evaluating the graphic design of the tourism guide were defined by analysing information sources relevant to the theme and local rural tourism guides:

- **Relevance** – the tourist guide reflects the tourism information of the local rural area and the content characteristic of the tourist guide.

- **Emotionality –** graphic design should create a single emotional mood and an idea of what kind of relaxation a visitor can expect. The first impression of an overall image is of great importance these days.

- **Uniqueness –** the design of the guide is unique, the only copy of the design among similar ones. The set of design elements is characteristic only of the specific guide, which creates a unique impression of the specific tourist route.

- **Perceptibility –** the illustrations, texts, photographs, maps and other elements in the guide must be systematically arranged and easily perceived. A single system must go through all the content of the tourism guide

- **Design of the route plan – t**he route plan must be sequential, regular. Descriptive labels, icons and other elements must be linked. The map design integrates laconically into the overall image of the guide.

- **Features of universal design –** the content highlighted by an icon or a sign, shows that the attraction is suitable for families with children or people with special needs. The tour guide or any part of it should be accessible to people with special needs.

On the basis of the criteria, the following three tourism guides issued in Latvia were analysed: - „Pārgājienu un dabas takas Ludzas novadā", „Vasals Latgolā" and „Pīles Pūkas ceļojums".

The tourism guide „Pārgājienu un dabas takas Ludzas novadā" was issued in 2022 and includes 12 hiking and nature trails in Ludza and Ludza county area. The content of the tourist guide complies with the set basic rules (see Fig. 1).

Figure 1. Excerpt of the tourist guide „Pārgājienu un dabas takas Ludzas novadā" (Pārgājienu un dabas takas., 2022)

The overall content of the tourist guide partially meets the set criteria. It shows different graphic techniques, which do not complement each other, so a unified mood is not formed. Only the earth tones selected in the colour palette show that the content is focused on hiking and exploring nature trails. The design of the tourism guide is unique, but overall, the tourist guide is not. The graphic design of the map, the icons of various styles, the decorative font of the lettering and the various forms of illustration do not constitute a harmonious and easily perceived overall image. The routes have marked rest areas for children. The graphic design of the map, the icons of various styles, the decorative font of the lettering and the various forms of illustration do not constitute a harmonious and easily perceived common image. The tourist guide fully meets the criterion - *the design of the route plan* and *compliance* with the tourism information of the rural area, and partially meets the criteria - *emotionality, uniqueness* and *features of universal design* and does not meet the criterion - *relevance* (see Table 1).

Tourism guide „Vasals Latgolā" gathers more than 170 reasons to visit Latgale. The guide was published in 2021. The content of this tourist guide also has the basic rules set forth (see Fig. 2).
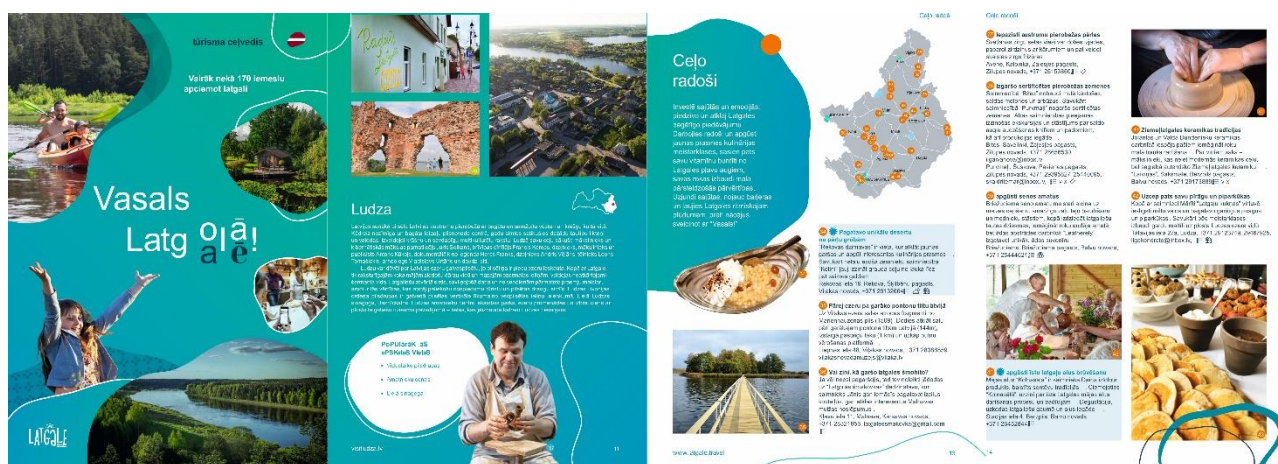
Figure 2 Excerpt of the tourism guide „Vasals Latgolā" (Vasals Latgolā, 2021)

An analysis of the Tourism guide, according to the criteria set, concluded that its graphic design consisted of joint colour gamut and stylistics. The overall image is unifying, but not unique. The main information is organized in columns. The integration of photos and stylistically unifying elements in the guide without a certain rhythm, creates an imbalance of the overall image of the page. Many photos chosen to represent tourist spot do not provide corresponsive informative content. The gradient effect applied in the colour palette is not contrasting, so the information placed on the gradient colour areas is only partially readable. Route plans are summarised thematically. The map stylistically integrates into the design of the tourist guide. A separate route "Ceļo ar bērniem" has been highlighted. The tourist guide fully meets the criteria - *the design of the route plan* and *compliance* with rural area tourism information, and partially meets the criteria of *emotionality*, *uniqueness, perceptibility* and *features of universal design* (see Table 1).

Tourism guide „Pīles Pūkas ceļojums" is like an exercise book for children, including a tourist route around Lake Lubāns. The tourist guide was published in 2023. The content of this guide complies with the stated basic rules. The content of tourism information is made by a sporty tourist and nature lover Duck Pūka around lake (See Fig.3.).

Figure 3. Excerpt of the tourism guide „Pīles Pūkas ceļojums" (Pīles Pūkas ceļojums, 2023)

Duck Pūka describes the stopping point of each route. This is why the main character's colour palette and harmonious styling forms a unified concept and feel of graphic design. The travel guide is not only a helper for travellers, but also a unique travel exercise book for children. The tasks also appeal to adults as they are themed according to tourist attractions. So far, the tactile element - a pasted piece of hemp paper - has not been seen in the regional tourist guides. The information in each opening of the guide is arranged systematically. Illustrations, photographs, and tasks complement each other laconically, creating a self-sufficient overall view. The route map has been developed in a unified style with the design of the tourist guide, where each tourist spot is accompanied by the image of Duck Pūka. The content highlights information that children may enjoy at each attraction. The tourist guide fully meets five and partially meets one of the set criteria (see Table 1).

Table 1. **Compliance of tourism guides with the criteria set (Source: compiled by the author)**

CRITERIA	COMPLIANCE WITH THE CRITERIA								
	Tourist guide „Pārgājienu un dabas takas Ludzas novadā"			Tourist guide „Vasals Latgolā"			Tourist guide „Pīles Pūkas ceļojums"		
	Compliant	Partially compliant	Not compliant	Compliant	Partially compliant	Not compliant	Compliant	Partially compliant	Not compliant
Match	X			X			X		
Emotionality		X			X		X		
Uniqueness		X			X		X		
Perceptibility			X		X		X		
Route plan design	X			X			X		
Universal design features		X			X			X	

Studying and analysing three tourist guide graphic designs, in accordance with the set criteria, it was observed that in all tourist guides special attention has been paid to the design of the route plan, so that it is easily understandable for the tourists. Unfortunately, the least amount of attention has been paid to the layout and perceptibility of the content, which is a very important aspect for the consumer to be able to perceive the information and to have the desire to visit the specific tourist places.

Conclusions

1. Nowadays, a potential tourist chooses a travel route based on the availability of his free time, his mood and the opportunity to go closer to nature to enjoy its values.

2. The following criteria must be observed in the development of a modern and noticeable tourist guide design: relevance; emotionality; uniqueness; perceptibility; route plan design and universal design features.

3. When assessing the chosen analogues, the tourism guide "Pīles Pūkas ceļojums"" was considered the most appropriate, the added value of which is an engaging design, attractive educational content for children and their parents.

4. The carried-out feasibility study for the development of the author's design project substantiates that a qualitatively developed tourist guide can potentially be used not only by tourists, but also by residents of the local community, students and other interested parties as a tool for learning local history, in order to improve knowledge of the territory and use the information to organize interactive lessons.

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MODERN TENDENCIES OF TEXTILE DESIGN

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Abstract

Modern Tendencies of Textile Design

***Key Words*:** design, textile, modern tendencies, trends, interior

Textile and textile products are an integral part of our everyday life. They surround us in the most significant and memorable life moments, make our houses cosy but usual processes - more comfortable. Home textile items are frequently used by interior designers in order to make the space more attractive and eye-catching. During the last years the tendencies of textile production have changed their direction quite noticeably. Textile design development forecasts face global crisis and tend to solve definite human problems. The pandemic had emphasized the importance of home textile design and quality, but limited ecological resources of the planet caused the essence of sustainable usage and green thinking. The era of textile responsible production and dealing with overproduction as one of the most serious planet's threats has started. Clean and nature positive ideas are reflected also in the textile design that had been represented in the latest world textile exhibitions. Fresh and unordinary views of textiles, circular production, reusing materials, lifelong products and greener production circumstances are the main goals of modern textile industry. Aim of the research is to describe and analyse some of the future-oriented trends of modern textile.

Kopsavilkums

Laikmetīgās tekstildizaina tendences

Atslēgvārdi: dizains, tekstils, laikmetīgās tendences, trendi, interjers

Tekstils un tekstila izstrādājumi reprezentē neatņemamu mūsu dzīves sastāvdaļu. Tie mūs pavada dzīves vissvarīgākajos un neaizmirstamos momentos, padara mūsu mājas omulīgas, savukārt ikdienas procesus – ērtākus. Interjera dizaineri bieži izmanto mājas tekstila priekšmetus, lai telpu padarītu patīkamāku un neatkārtojamu. Pēdējo gadu laikā diezgan pamanāmas izmaiņas notika tekstila ražošanas nozarē. Tekstila dizaina attīstību ietekmēja globālā krīze un nepieciešamība atrisināt noteiktas cilvēku problēmas. Pandēmija aktualizēja mājas tekstila dizaina un kvalitātes svarīgumu, bet ierobežoti planētas ekoloģiskie resursi pievērsa uzmanību ilgtspējīgai lietošanai un zaļajai domāšanai. Tekstila produkcijas atbildīgas ražošanas un pārprodukcijas problēmas, kā vienas no visnopietnākajiem planētas draudiem, atrisināšanas ēra ir sākusies. Tīras un dabai draudzīgas idejas tiek atspoguļotas arī tekstila dizainā, ko parādīja arī pēdējās pasaules tekstila izstādes. Svaigs un neordinārs skats uz tekstilu, aprites ražošana, atkārtota materiālu izmantošana, ilgtspējīgi produkti un zaļākie ražošanas apstākļi ir galvenās laikmetīgā tekstila dizaina tendences. Pētījuma mērķis ir aprakstīt un analizēt dažus no uz nākotni orientētiem laikmetīgā tekstila trendiem.

Introduction

Textiles and textile products are an integral part of human everyday life. They are used in a wide range of applications beyond just clothing and home furnishings. For instance, textiles are used in various industries such as healthcare, in the automotive industry, in the construction industry, in the aerospace industry, etc. Moreover, advancements in technology have led to the development of smart textiles, which have the ability to react and adapt to their environment. These include fabrics that can change colour, regulate temperature, and even monitor health.

The history of textiles spans across different cultures, civilizations, and eras. Textiles are materials made from fibers that are woven, knitted, crocheted, or otherwise manipulated to create fabrics. Textiles have been used for various purposes, such as clothing, shelter, decoration, art, and technology. The history of textiles can be traced back to the prehistoric times, when humans began to use animal skins and vegetation as coverings for protection from cold, heat, and rain. The oldest evidence of textile production comes from the Swiss lake dwellers in the 6th and 7th century BC2,

who invented flax and wool fabrics. In India, the culture of silk was introduced in 400 AD2, while spinning of cotton dates back to 3000 BC. Textiles developed from animal skins to synthetic fibers, the role of textiles in ancient civilizations such as Egypt, China, India, Greece, Rome, Persia, and Mesopotamia, the influence of religions such as Buddhism, Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Judaism, and Zoroastrianism on textile design and production, the impact of trade routes such as the Silk Road on textile exchange and innovation, the development of textile technologies such as spinning wheels, looms, printing presses, sewing machines etc., the emergence of textile movements such as Art Nouveau, Art Deco, Bauhaus, Modernism, Pop Art, the challenges faced by textile workers during World War I, World War II, the Cold War, and the environmental issues related to textile consumption and waste (Colchester: 2009).

Textiles have evolved in tandem with human progress over time. From the hand-spun fibers to the mass production of synthetic materials, textiles have adapted to different needs and preferences. Today, we stand on the brink of another transformative era – the so called 'textile revolution' (www.textileschool.com). This revolution is driven by innovations such as smart textiles that can react and adapt to their environment; eco-friendly textiles that use renewable resources and reduce waste; nano-textiles that have novel properties and functions; digital textiles that integrate electronics and sensors; and biodegradable textiles that can decompose naturally. Advanced textiles refer to the high-performance fabrics that are sustainable, fireproof, soundproof, anti-bacterial, water-repellent, self-healing, biodegradable, smart sensors-enabled etc. (O'Mahony 2011). Textiles truly are everywhere around us, playing a vital role in our daily lives and the functioning of various industries.

The aim of the present article is to examine modern textile design, its range and tendencies.

The research method used in studies devoted to the article content is the analysis of theoretical data available on the subject of research.

Discussion

For centuries the textile sector represents an important part of Latvian economy. According to the data of the Investment and Development Agency data Latvia was one of the most renowned flax and hemp exporters in the 20th century, while flax was Latvia's second most important income source after timber (https://www.liaa.gov.lv). Latvian linen is also a significant component of the niche used not only in the market of textile but for technical uses as well. However Latvian flax is associated with insulating and technical textile materials. Export of textile products has been an important component of Latvian economy since the Hanseatic League. 10 826 people are employed in the field, but the number of companies dealing with textile is 1 955. The most significant sectors of textile production in Latvia are lingerie, weaving, sewing, technical textile production. The country exports textiles to such European countries as Estonia, Lithuania, Germany, Sweden and others:
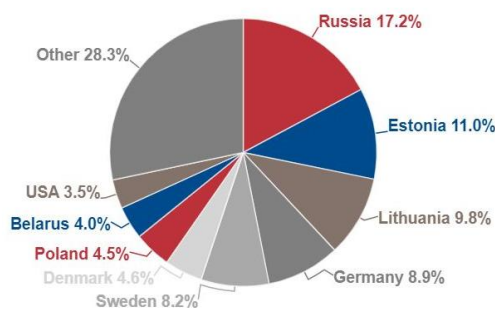
Export of Textiles and Leather by Countries in 2021
(https://www.ltm.lv).

According to the Investment and Development Agency, export market of Latvia has been expanded to 140 countries (https://www.liaa.gov.lv). Latvian textile production focuses on culture and true-to-nature lifestyle values that seem to be on trend in the post pandemic times.

An international annual exhibition *Heimtextil* organised in Frankfurt am Main, Germany represents a unique platform for the latest trends and tendencies in the world or textile. *Heimtextil* 2022/2023 has emphasized four stages of circular economy as the most essential ones in modern textile world: make and remake trend, continuous or zero waste production, Earth design based on the usage of natural materials and design patterns, nature engineering demonstrating a symbiosis of natural textiles and contemporary engineering solutions making intellectual and functional planet friendly products.

Make and remake aspect is a tendency used by various designers when making a new product from previously used or available materials. It includes such techniques as re-painting, patchwork, collage resulting in unique colour and texture design, and demonstrates the way to prologue a life cycle of textiles (https://heimtextil.messefrankfurt.com). The process of production starts not from the idea itself as it previously was but with thinking on what to make from already designed, produced and used items. Thus contemporary textile design gives a new life for the used materials interpreting them in a completely different way. Customers receive original combination products of mix of flower and geometric patterns, colourful and monochrome textiles, classical and modern design.

Continuous approach deals with zero waste production when materials are recycled several times and used again. Due to modern technical opportunities the design does not suffer as the primary material perceives its characteristics even being numerously recycled (https://heimtextil.messefrankfurt.com). The present trend calls for mono material designs and minimalistic solutions, and it is caused by the fact that complex content materials are less persistent towards multiple recycling. The tendency of continuous production emphasizes the importance of energy effective approach that has recently become possible thanks to the latest technologies.

Popular nowadays natural colours and design remind about the essence of nature and bring the feeling of harmony to any product made in such technique. According to the *Heimtextil* experts this direction is called the **Earth design** trend (https://heimtextil.messefrankfurt.com). Designers do not try to control nature anymore; they unify with it making a one whole space. The atmosphere of nature and organic motives is seen not only in the origin of textile fabrics, but also in design patterns and the palette of used colours. Softness and beauty of organic materials and colours reflect the variety of natural resources of our planet. The trend is focused rather on imperfections then on uninteresting standard decorative solutions that makes the aesthetics of natural design dynamic and unique. Modern natural textile design adopts traditional organic textiles towards contemporary design techniques used in various spheres.

The tendency of **nature engineering** represents the textile design approach where nature resources meet engineering (https://heimtextil.messefrankfurt.com). The combination of two aspects perfectly deals with the development of intellectual and functional solutions without being harmful for the planet. Plain lines, simple and minimalistic forms, perfect quality, but still nature friendly production and organic materials - all these have become possible due to the latest engineering technologies and well-considered design from idea to a user.

Modern textile design tendencies

Some designers literally turn trash into treasure in impressive ways, and one of them is **Zwia Lipkin** who deals with upcycled home textiles. Zwia is a modern textile artist, a historian and a recycler, Israeli by nationality but living in California. She is a member of *Studio Art Quilt Associates*, based in Hebron, Connecticut, in the United States, and works almost exclusively with rescued fabrics giving them a second life. The artist works mainly with abstract themes finding inspiration in nature. However, some of her recent works have been devoted to urgent social problems, such as law system in the USA, fires in California and Covid-19 lockdown.
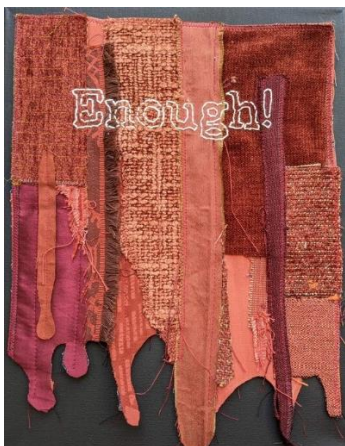
Enough!, Zwia Lipkin, 2020.

Ashes, Zwia Lipkin, 2020.

Ruth Singer is a textile artist with ten years' professional experience. While working in museum education Ruth has been inspired by heritage textile works, and as a result she turned to vintage fabrics and eco textiles. Ruth makes her art's narrative from old textiles providing repeatable products (https://ruthsinger.com). The artist, who has written also several books on textile design, tries to tell a story to a viewer bringing a complex meaning and additional value to her works. She herself calls her works being pretty delicate and fragile, but this subtleness is an integral part of her creativity. Ruth Singer is based in Leicester, UK. She also works on community projects, and she is the Chairperson of the Leicester Society of Artists.

Wait, Ruth Singer, 2016   *Unfinished*, Ruth Singer, 2019.

'What is trash for some is luxury for others' – is a Portugal saying and credo for a contemporary textile artist **Vanessa Barragão** (https://www.vanessabarragao.com). She has established agreements with local Portuguese textile factories to collect most of their waste, and she's always on the lookout for new partners. Vanessa's techniques are based on traditional artisanal textile practices such as latch hook, crochet, felt, weaving, embroidery and macramé. She continues to develop and experiment with unusual materials trying to integrate them into her works. The artist supposes that extremely important is to give time for taking a decision on what is being waste and what can be used once again. She says, that essentially is to keep your mind open towards experiments and see new opportunities. Vanessa lives in Portugal, however her *Botanical Tapestry* was unveiled at Heathrow Airport, London, UK in 2019. She is committed to working with waste materials and creates magnificent works.

Botanical Tapestry, Vanessa Barragão, 2019.

Also Latvia should be proud of its modern artists of textile design, and one of the reasons is that **Ieva Krūmiņa** is called 'the queen of polyethylene'. The artist has used the polyethylene waste in her works for more than 10 years and has participated in various international exhibitions. Krūmiņa's creative works have always and numerously been honoured in the international textile competitions and are included in the permanent collections of Riga Museum of Decorative Arts and Design, Jurmala City Museum, Museum of the History of Riga and Navigation. At the moment she is a professor of Department of Textile at the Art Academy of Latvia and a member of three unions of artists: Association of Latvian Textile Art, Artists' Union of Latvia and America Textile Alliance. In her works Krūmiņa often uses a motive of nature representing it in different ways. Another widely used by the artist element is human body or its parts. Ieva Krūmiņa works in such techniques like tapestry, fibre art, silk painting, screen print, porcelain painting. In her work *Pagrabs* she uses embroidery, felt, appliqué, felt, digital printing. *Viesis no nākotnes* includes mixed technique and tapestry, however *Gravitācijas pārvarēšana* is made using the author's technique and polyethylene.

Pagrabs, Ieva Krūmiņa, 2011   *Viesis no nākotnes,* Ieva Krūmiņa, 2011

Gravitācijas pārvarēšana, Ieva Krūmiņa, 2018

Conclusions

Each year about 27 000 tons of new and used textile come to the Latvian market, that is 14,3 kilograms for one person. One third part of Latvian citizens throw textile products away together with other utilitarian waste. According to the EU directive all member states should run separate collection schemes for textile waste by 2025. Taking into consideration the mentioned above Ministry of Environmental Protection and Regional Development together with other partners such as Latvian Chamber of Commerce and Industry, Employers' Confederation of Latvia, Latvian Association of Local Governments, State Environmental Service, The Association of Latvian Textile and Clothing Industry as well as some private companies and traders have actualized the problem by signing a cooperation memorandum in 2020. According to the president of The Association of Latvian Textile and Clothing Industry Guntis Strazds an effective decreasement of waste in Latvia would be possible only with help citizens themselves and optimization of waste sorting at homes (https://ir.lv). Therefore, the examined modern tendencies in textile design seem to be actual for Latvia, too. Such directions in textile art as numerous use of materials, trend on remake and continuous approach would definitely help to reduce and sort waste. Using nature unfriendly materials, such as for example a polyethylene, in art works should open a completely fresh view on waste products and should cause human greener lifestyle and thinking approach.

Contemporary artists and designers are able to educate the society in the field of circular production and inspire to use textile sustainable and think more over the effective waste processing.

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VITREOGRAPHY TECHNIQUES AND ARTISTS

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Abstract

VITREOGRAPHY TECHNIQUES AND ARTISTS

Key Words: *vitreography, graphic artist, graphic techniques, glass art, printmaking, glass engraver.*

The aim of the research is to show, maintain and popularize a sustainable and internationally recognized graphic environment with the graphics technique - vitreography, outlining trends in graphics as a whole. Thus, it will be possible to get acquainted not only with the nontraditional technique and to synthesize it in the modern space, but also to learn about artists who are able to combine graphics, glass art and vitreography technique in their creative activity. As well as getting an idea of the current innovative approaches and possibilities of use of world art graphics.

The tendency to explain the concept of graphics is quite broad. The method of creative work, technology and innovations in graphics are equally used in the well-known spectrum of graphic techniques - linocut, lithography, dry needle, and others. Vitreography is a method of combining glass art and graphics, it is open to novelty, simultaneously experimenting with different materials, technically creating graphic combinations, or creating something completely new, surprising with a variety of colors, simple lines, or 3D graphics collections that bring stained glass to life essence and diversity. The vitreography technique also includes the interpretation of 3D effect lights and depth work to create optical illusions. Color, glass, and light control are important elements of abstract design. Achieving glass works, layering them, gaining depth, making the painting more hidden, the effect of light and shadow movement in general is sensational.

Research methods: theoretical - analysis of literature and Internet resources, empirical - case analysis research and method, analogical studies. As part of the research, the authors will introduce the vitreography technique, the possibilities of glass materials, graphic artists, and artists. The research article is informative, drawing attention to non-traditional graphic techniques, which are practiced more and more often nowadays, as artists experiment and emphasize graphic elements, as well as paying more attention to the vitreography technique. For the research of the topic, the following were used and identified: social sites, as well as the Department of Glass Arts / Glass department / Art Academy of Latvia. New Britain Museum of American Art and other available literature sources.

Kopsavilkums

VITROGRĀFIJAS TEHNIKAS UN MĀKSLINIEKI

Atslēgvārdi: *vitrogrāfija, grafikas tehnikas, grafiķi, stikla gravējums, stikla māksla.*

Pētījuma mērķis ir radīt, uzturēt un popularizēt ilgtspējīgu un starptautiski atzītu grafikas vidi ar grafikas tehniku – vitrogrāfiju, ieskicējot grafikas tendences kopumā. Tādējādi būs iespēja iepazīties ne tikai ar netradicionālo tehniku, to sintezēt mūsdienu telpā, bet arī uzzināt par māksliniekiem, kas savā radošajā darbībā spēj apvienot grafiku, stikla mākslu un vitrogrāfijas tehniku. Kā arī gūstot priekšstatu par aktuālajām pasaules mākslas grafikas novatoriskām pieejām un izmantošanas iespējām.

Tendence grafikas jēdzienu skaidrot ir visai plaša. Radošā darba metodi, tehnoloģiju un jauninājumu grafikai līdzvērtīgi izmanto plaši pazīstamo spektru grafikas tehnikās – linogriezumu, litogrāfiju, sauso adatu un citas. Vitrogrāfija ir stikla mākslas un grafikas apvienojuma metode, tā ir atvērta pret novitāti, vienlaikus eksperimentējot ar dažādiem materiāliem, tehniski veidojot grafikas kombinācijas vai veidojot kaut ko pilnīgi jaunu, pārsteidzot ar krāsu daudzveidīgumu, vienkāršām līnijām, vai 3D grafikas kolekcijām, kas atdzīvina vitrāžu būtību un daudzveidību. Vitrogrāfijas tehnika ietver arī 3D efektu gaismēnu un dziļumu darba interpretāciju, lai radītu optiskas ilūzijas. Krāsa, stikls un gaismas vadība ir svarīgi elementi abstraktam dizainam. Radot stikla darbus, tos slāņojot, iegūstot dziļumu radot gleznu slēptāku, gaisma un ēnas kustības iespaids kopumā ir patiešām sensacionāls.

Pētījuma metodes: teorētiskā – literatūras un interneta resursu analīze, empīriskā – gadījumu analīzes izpēte un metode, analogie pētījumi. Pētījuma ietvaros autore iepazīstinās ar vitrogrāfijas tehniku, stikla materiālu iespējām, grafiķiem un māksliniekiem. Izpētes raksts veidojas informatīvs, piesaistot uzmanību netradicionālajām grafikas tehnikām, kuras mūsdienās piekoptas arvien biežāk, māksliniekiem eksperimentējot un akcentējot grafiskos elementus, ka arī pastiprinātu uzmanību veltot vitrogrāfijas tehnikai. Tēmas izpētei tika izmantotas un apzinātas: sociālās interneta vietnes, kā arī Stikla mākslas katedrā - Latvijas valsts akadēmijā. New Britain Museum of American Art un citi pieejamās literatūras avoti.

Introduction and goal of the article

The authors desire to popularize a graphic technique – vitreography, outlining the graphic tendencies overall. The nontraditional technique is being brought in more modern spaces and artists, which in its own creative action can combine graphics, glass art with engravings or sandblasters, getting a preconception for actual worlds art graphic innovative approaches and possibilities of uses. The study method is being applied in theoretical literature and internet resources analysis, empirical case analysis research and methods, as well as analogical studies. Within the study the authors will introduce the technique of vitreography, glass material opportunities, graphic designers, and artists. The research article is informative, drawing attention to nontraditional graphic techniques, which are practiced more and more often nowadays, as artists experiment and emphasize graphic elements, as well as paying more attention to the technique of vitreography.

The technique of vitreography

Definitions

Vitreography is a method of combining glass art and graphics, it is open to novelty, simultaneously experimenting with different materials, technically creating graphic combinations, or creating something completely new, overtaking with a variety of colors, simple lines, or 3D graphics collections that bring stained glass to life essence and diversity. Vitreography also used as a traditional graphic technique, which is classified as is an intaglio printmaking method. The glass plates thickness traditionally 3⁄8-inch, that uses as printing matrices. The glass plate should be marked with different tools, such as diamond hand scribe or diamond engraving wheel e.tc., or also be marked with a bifluoride acid solution (Catanese, Geary 2012).

Methods and techniques

The authors drew attention to artists, who use the technique vitreography definitions and apply it in their own creative performance activities with different methods. All of them have a united element which is glass, but their use options are radically different as well as how they are done technically. With the vitreography technical use term the article authors desires to introduce and offer four potential use methods - **Engraved method for glass plates -** intaglio process with overly (Fig. 1); **Optical 3-D illusion effect -** artwork on multiple glass plates, arranged for layers, creating light/shadow and depth artwork interpretation (Fig. 2); **Vitreography is an intaglio printmaking –** traditional fine arts graphics technique with a printed from a glass plate (Fig. 3); **Planographic vitreography -** a graphic technique of fine art - an image is applied from grainy or matte glass, covering it with an etching substance and making intaglio printmaking (Fig. 4).

Description of vitreography methods

The authors offer to get acquainted with a detailed description of the possibilities and technical process for the use of the material:

- **Engraved method for glass plates** – vitreography deep pressure process, in which the line and tone are engraved on the surface of the glass plate. When carving, deep pressure ink is printed in grooves and these glass plates are exposed as artwork (Fig. 1).

- **Create an optical 3-D illusion effect** with a light/shadow and depth work interpretation. In 3-diomensial works - colored glass is a combination of layers from multiple transparent surfaces, which makes figurative or abstract ornamental themes. Creating glass works, layering them, getting painted more hidden with depth, the effect of light and shadow movement. The illusion effect in general is sensational - color, glass and light control are important elements for abstract design (Fig. 2) (Vitrología. 2017).

Figure 1. Michael Rogers. "The Murmur of Bees", 2007, engraved glass showcase, with silver - plated bees, overall H: 111,7 cm, W: 274,3 cm, D: 91,4 cm (The Corning Museum of Glass).

Figure 2. Jean Pierre Weill. "Venice in love", 2022, mixed media painting on 3 layers of glass, a combination of hand-painting, 50,8 x 40,64 x 5,08 cm (Weill 2023).

- Fine art graphics technique - **intaglio vitreographs**, in which a 3⁄8-inch (9.5 mm) or 1/4-inch (6.3 mm) thick float glass matrix is used instead of a traditional metal, wood, or stone matrix. Unlike monotype, in which ink is painted onto a smooth glass plate and transferred to paper, to create a unique work in intaglio vitreographs it is produced by rubbing the surface of the glass plate, sandblasting or carborundum, matting and etching with a mild caustic solution or grinding with a diamond tip tools, or other hard points or wheels to create depressions that will hold the ink (Flint Institute of Arts). Ink accumulates in plate surface cracks and scratches; the excess ink is wiped away (Littleton Studios 2019). The image is transferred on dampened paper under pressure in an etching press (Petrie 2006). Often, multi-color prints are produced by printing many plates through the press, each with a different

color. Glass does not break from the pressure of the press, as it is an extremely durable and flexible material. However, printers require great care to keep the base of the press (under the plate) very clean, as even a slightly raised area - a grain of sand - can stress the glass and cause it to break. The glass is inert, so the ink does not lose color due to oxidation of the plate (Littleton Studios 2019).

Colors from gravure printing are obtained by processing separate plates, each of which contains one or more colors in proportion to the desired effect (Fig. 3). The plates are printed sequentially on paper, each with colors and images and it makes the print complete. An effect like an aquatint etching, or watercolor wash is achieved by applying hydrofluoric acid with a brush, thus creating subtle tonal transitions. The plate is impregnated with ink, wiped, and passed through the intaglio, creating an indentation below the surface of the matrix, just like in a traditional intaglio (Kthompson 2022).
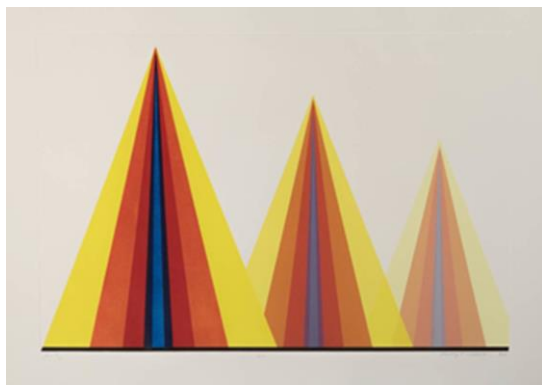
Figure 3. Harvey K. Littleton. "Giza", 1999, vitreography, intaglio printing from glass plates, 61 x 91,4 cm (Smithsonian American Art Museum).

Figure 4. Sarah Ruth Vergin (Ruthie V.). "Vitreography test prints", 2019, planographic vitreography, 14,8 x 21 cm (Ruthie 2019).

- **Planographic vitreography –** a fine art printmaking technique also known as siligraphy. The technique is to put an image on a grainy or frosted glass and then onto it with silicon so that it can be printed on an etching press as a lithograph. "A glass plate (glass as thick as observed in the description of "intaglio" vitreography is used for the matrix) can also be printed planographically as a siligraph, as well as on an etching press, where the ink adheres to some areas of the plate and is repelled by others. Planographic vitreographs are made by applying a thin coating of a diluted silicone mixture over an image, as seen in an example by artist Sarah Ruth Vergin on a ground glass plate with water-soluble drawing materials (Fig. 4) (Ruthie 2018). The silicone is allowed to dry, and the pattern is washed from under it, creating a stencil. The plate is rolled with ink and printed. Because the silicone stencil repels the ink, water is not needed as a resist as in traditional lithography. Proof several times to develop the image. Intaglio prints with firm but light pressure. The paper can be wet or dry. Glass is inert;

therefore, ink does not discolor due to oxidation of the plate as with metal plates. Both the intaglio and planographic processes can be used individually or in combinations of different plates" (Littleton Studios 2019).

Vitreography artists

The first method of printing glass plates - intaglio process - is used by the American artist **Michael Rogers** (1955) (Fig. 5). M. Rogers combines "glass art with engraving, the oldest graphic technique. The work "The Murmur of Bees" (2006) glass showcase on which bees are engraved with silver coating" (Fig. 6) (Podnieka 2020: 11). Studying this work and the creative biography of the authors observable M. Rogers is a world-class glass artist who shares his experience leading various master classes - in the USA, Japan, including with Latvian students at the Latvian Art Academy (hereinafter "LAA") - Department of Glass Art. In one such lesson, various techniques were used in the development of LAA students' works - glass melting (cast glass) and painting integrated in the form of molten glass, video projections, also the technique of vitreography was used, which is a very unusual method in glass processing. Professor M. Rogers, describing LAA students and their achievements, admits: ""These works in the field of glass art are unusual and of high value, as they combine different techniques, creating contemporary and remarkable works in a global context. The visual language of young artists is strong, clear, and characterized by resourceful innovation" (LAA Exhibition of works by master of glass art students "3 ± 1" in the art center "Zuzeum" 19.-21. June 2019). Objects represented in glass are used as a metaphor for presenting artists' ideas, allowing each young artist to express the acquired knowledge and show their individuality"" (Kas šonedēļ notiek Rīgā un Latvijā? 2019).
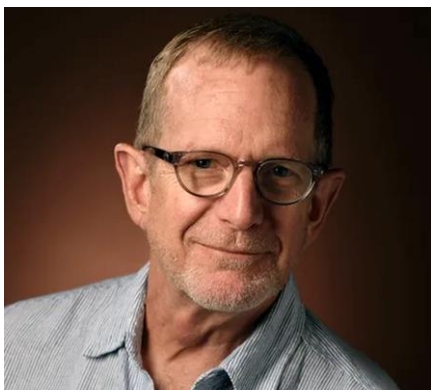
Figure 5. Michael Rogers (1955) (Rogers 2023).

Figure 6. Michael Rogers. "The Murmur of Bees", 2006, engraved glass showcase, with silver - plated bees, overall H: 111,7 cm, W: 274,3 cm, D: 91,4 cm (Rogers 2023).

M. Rogers ongoing interest in engraving images on sculptural surfaces has led to printmaking processes (Page 2010). The artist was a professor and head of the glass program at the Rochester Institute of Technology School of American Crafts, R.I.T. (Corning Museum of Glass 2007). He

currently maintains his studio in New York State, where he focuses on installations, special works, and performative sketches. Actively working with a non-profit art organization in Riga, Latvia, IRMA Collaborative (IRMA is a transnational collaborative entity directed by Inguna Audere and Michael Rogers) works on international creative, educational, and curatorial projects (Rogers 2023).

The work "The Murmur of Bees" (2006) glass surface engraving with the help of light passes through on the inside of the case and projects perfect images of the engravings on the surface of the white cotton blanket inside the case. Fabric "quilted in the form of a honeycomb by Rogers's wife, Bette, reflects the shadows cast, by the engraved images. Five silver bees, cast from real bees, sit inside the case" (Fig. 1) (Corning Museum of Glass 2007). "Bees are symbolic of royalty, wealth, industry, and obedience. The impression of M. Rogers's sculpture is that of a busy, silent, and ghostly hive, which may be interpreted as symbolic of nature or society. However, it may also be understood as a work about the environment in its reference to the recent deaths of hundreds of thousands of bees from colony collapse disorder" (Frantz 2003: 32).

The authors conclude that the artist M. Rogers is still active with glass exploratory, research and artistic technical experiments both in his individual experience and by offering international competition challenges to other creative persons through the organization "IRMA Collaborative". Involving young artists in projects, creating new gallery exhibitions, performing specific and performative sketches and activities, academic courses, and curatorial events. Vitreography is one of the successes of the experiment in creating something impressive and original.

The second method of application of vitreography is used by the French American artist **Jean Pierre Weill** (1954) (Fig. 7). J. P. Weill uses light, shadow, and depth to create 3D optical illusions in his works. The artist initiated the application of both the specific art form and the term "vitreography" and added his trademark to this word in 1992, when his family studio was founded. He discovered that he could create 3D paintings by arranging different parts of the image on multiple levels of glass. This technique allows each painting to be enriched with elements of light and shadow and creates a delightful sense of movement. Painting on successive panes of glass to give the image a real impression with dimension and it is considered as bridge between the arts of sculpture and painting (Weill 2023). What distinguishes vitreography from stained glass paintings is that each level of the pane of glass largely maintains its independence, creating scenes in a wider spectrum rather than as a separate combination (Weill). Vitreography is still a marginal art form, with only a few artists experimenting with this technique, such as the Chinese painter Xia Xiaowan (夏小万) (1959).

With the method of new modern art, S. Xiaovan decided to paint his paintings on a completely new level (Naldz Graphics 2019). Even though the art technique is not popular, J.P. Weill has gained

recognition for his vitrographic works, which sell for several thousand dollars such as the work "FOREST AVENUE" for $6,990 USD.

Figure 7. Jean Pierre Weill (1954) (Susanne 2003).

Figure 8. Jean Pierre Weill. "Nature is a temple", 2007, vitreography, 104 x 130 cm (Weill 2023).

J. P. Weill's 3D Vitrographic Art Collections rely entirely on light and its proper control to capture and highlight a variety of subjects, including expressive portraits, multi-dimensional still life's, captivating landscapes, and abstract designs (Fig. 8). Color, glass, and light control are essential elements in a stained-glass window. It is a work of art that gives warmth and an original accent to the interior (Vitrología 2017).

J. P. Weill's, according to the authors, is a successful artist who reflects vitreography in a completely different perspective, creating a new technical possibility to be contemporary and original.

While researching the third application method of vitreography, the authors discovered the US artist **Harvey K. Littleton** (1922-2013), who created engraving on glass and the technique of vitreography from the very beginning (Fig. 9). The artist is considered the father of the glass studio movement. His works are created with fine art graphic techniques. H. K. Littleton studied industrial design and after graduating he was an instructor in the Department of Art and Art Education at the University of Wisconsin-Madison in the United States. His initial specialty was ceramics, but in the late 1950s he explored the possibility of setting up a glass studio. Through research sponsored by the Toledo Museum of Art in the United States in 1962, he developed equipment and a formula for fusing glass at lower temperatures. In 1983, he was awarded with Gold Medal of the American Crafts Council (Smithsonian American Art Museum).

The most important thing the authors would like to highlight about this artist is that H. K. Littleton and his fellow artist Connor Evert created the term ***"vitreography"***. According to H. K. Littleton's quote on vitreography: "The glass plate gives all the brilliance of color inherent in the lithographic technique with the textural magic of a highly embossed intaglio surface" (Kthompson 2022). "One of the inherent responsibilities of every artist is to continue artistic exploration. Our challenge and our joy are to reach out, to expand our vision, and expand our perspective" wrote H.

K. Littleton in 1993 (Littleton, 1993: 78). Traditional graphic artists, painters, ceramicists, glass artists and sculptors quickly discovered that vitreography allowed them to express themselves in new and interesting ways (Flint Institute of Arts).

One of H. K. Littleton's first experiments, made from a sandblasted glass plate (Fig. 10) (Kthompson 2022). Sand and carborundum have different sizes of sand pebbles and create different degrees of dimples that later hold the ink. The very first attempt, made with the help of H. K. Littleton's colleague Warrington Colescott, was crushed under too much pressure in the press. When faculty colleague W. Colescott and H. K. Littleton got the settings right, the deep sandblasting plate dramatically indented the paper, creating a low-relief paper sculpture that was also a printed image (New Britain Museum of American Art). "Glass is surprisingly flexible and strong under repeated compression. It can withstand numerous printings, and the image on the plate does not wear down like softer and more malleable metal, however, it is important to be mindful that any minute debris remaining under the plate can result in the matrix breaking when under pressure. Glass plates are not costly and are less cumbersome than a lithography stone (Littleton, 1993: 78), also do not oxidize like metal (Fort Wayne Museum of Art). The printing inks do not undergo a chemical reaction that could potentially change and muddy the color, it remains bright and clean even when layered (Fort Wayne Museum of Art). Although vitreography is still less commonly practiced than traditional printmaking, there are institutions that continue to teach and practice it, such as the University of Florida and Pilchuck Glass School in the United States (Smithsonian 2001).

Figure 9. Harvey K. Littleton (1922-2013) (Corning Museum of Glass. 2013.).
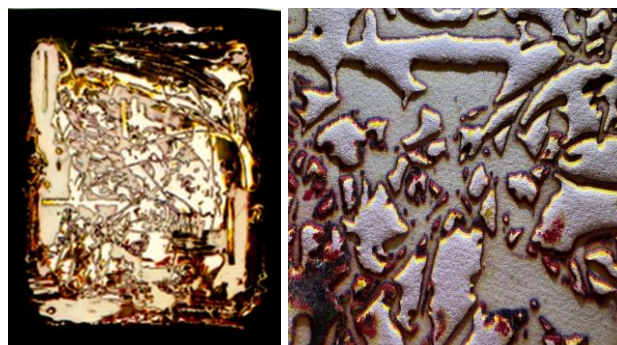
Figure 10. Harvey K. Littleton. "Trial II", 1975, vitreograph on paper, 51 x 41 cm (New Britain Museum of American Art., Kthompson 2022).

H. K. Littleton proves that by actively working and experimenting with a specific art direction, you can achieve amazing success, which remains in history with recognized evaluations and awards. These experiments reveal new techniques, such as vitreography, which are little explored but have great potential for development. The new modern technologies offer this technique to acquire a new

form and possibilities in creative expression, speeding up art exhibition curators, scientists, researchers, and art connoisseurs.

According to the authors research, the fourth method of application of vitreography was used by an American artist **Bill Ritchie** (1941) (Fig. 11). Born in Seattle in 1941, Bill Ritchie, a teacher who lives and works professionally, is primarily known as a graphic artist. He enjoyed experimenting with the combination of printmaking, video, and computer art, creating innovative work that has been nationally recognized. In the United States, he earned a Bachelor of Arts degree from Central Washington University in Ellensburg and a Master of Fine Arts degree in printmaking from San Jose University in California. From 1966 to 1985, B. Ritchie was a graphic and video arts teacher at the University of Washington in Seattle, USA (Washington State Arts Commission 2019).

Figure 11. Bill Ritchie (1941) (Artura.org. 2020.).

Figure 12. Bill Ritchie. "End of Emeralda", 2009, sketch for a vitreograph, 10,5 x 14,8 cm (Ritche 2009).

One of *"Youtube"* video B. Ritchie experimented with the vitreography technique, he tried one of his Halfwood etching machines, the Galleon" (Fig. 12). He adds that "vitreography, also known as siligraphy, is the art of putting an image on grained or frosted glass and then coating it with silicon so it can be printed on an etching press like a lithograph" (Ritche 2009). "It is a fully functional machine, capable of printing etching and engraving plates, planar plates such as vitreographs and monotypes, relief plates (linoleum, woodcuts, plastics) and stencil methods. It is frequently said of this press: "It is a work of art in itself" (Ritchie 2023). "The silicon the drawing material, so it gets rubbed off when you buff it with the fabric. That leaves these blank areas where the drawing was and when the washing with warm soapy water happens, every trace of the drawing material wiped out. Nothing left then but those areas of silicon which you can't wash off for anything. Only blank ground glass, separated by silicon. Now, greasy ink loves blank, dry glass and silicon that greasy stuff you get an image when you roll across ink" (Ritche 2009).

Graphic artist B. Ritchie has been honored both in the United States and around the world with national awards and for his achievements in creating the "Galleon" etching machine from

"Halfwood". He is a multi-artist, combining printed works with video and on a computer art that is contemporary and modern already in the 20th century.

Conclusion

The purpose of the scientific research work "Vitreography techniques and artists" was fulfilled by introducing the graphic technique, how it is synthesized today, as well as knowing the vitreography artists, learning that they can combine graphics, glass art and vitreography technique in their creative work, creating original works. The study creates an idea of the current innovative approaches and possibilities of use of graphic art in the world.

Vitreography as a graphics technique was created by experiments of artists, integrating glass not as a base, like the way it is used in monotype, but as a matrix for printmaking and also as a base, as a reproduction of the final result of graphic work.

The definition of vitreography is not certain, this term was used in the beginning by H. K. Littleton when printing gravure on glass, creating various original works of art. The name of the method is used to create curved glass patterns on it and create a 3-dimensional style effect, which has gained popularity for this definition. Also, under this term is used the imprint of the drawing taken from the glass engraving from the created cliché to create graphic works of art, as well as the technique of vitreography includes image fixing in a glass plate or by etching on it along with the possibilities of the lithography technique.

Although in the middle of the 20th century, H. K. Littleton, fascinated by glass and its creative possibilities, developed vitreography, printing from glass plates. The topic is little known and unconventional among graphic artists, this topic can be studied by discovering interesting new facts about the works, about artists who expand the interest in graphics through experimentation, reviving it with a new trend to create impressive works of art.

The authors conclude that through experimentation, artists discover more and more approaches of printmaking art also expanding the concept of printmaking. Videography is not a widespread printmaking technique, but it successfully integrates into contemporary printmaking art.

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THE EXHIBITION AS FORM OF COMMUNICATION WITH THE PUBLIC

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Abstract

The exhibition as a form of communication with the public

Key Words: *exhibition, museum, communication, visitor, experience*

Before creating an exhibition, whether short-term or long-term, it is necessary to think both about whether the exhibition will reach the visitor, to create a communication that will bring the content-thought of the exhibition to the visitor, and about how the accessibility of the exhibition may change at times when museum attendance is limited. Thus, two studies, which have been produced here in Latvia and published on Culturelab.lv, were examined.

Overall conclusions from the whole study:

1. The pandemic has "taken the cultural sector by surprise", unexpectedly depriving it of face-to-face visitors, limiting activities and halting ongoing and planned projects. It has led to lasting changes in people's experience and communication, and has affected cultural consumption patterns.
2. During the pandemic, cultural organisations have tried to organise face-to-face events for a limited number of people by organising safe attendance according to different rules.
3. Limited face-to-face attendance is supplemented by live streaming of the event or by separately designed digital events. This is the most common format, which has been refined during the pandemic and is likely to remain an appropriate format for events in the future.
4. Sharing content online has enabled participation of visitors with limited means and from geographically remote locations.
5. Interpersonal communication has become largely digital, with people talking remotely with relatives and work colleagues, attending conferences, studying, watching films and consuming cultural content. In this context, cultural offerings cannot ignore the changes and new habits of meeting your audience directly in a digital environment.
6. Remote living and isolation have encouraged cultural organisations to seek a more individual approach to their visitors.
7. While at the beginning of the pandemic there was a tendency to look for ways to digitally duplicate existing offerings, as time has passed, entirely new products have been created, unique for this time. These new solutions can be used and developed further by cultural organisations to diversify their offer and expand their audiences.
8. The potential to expand and diversify audiences through digital tools is one of the biggest benefits.

Kopsavilkums

Izstāde kā komunikācijas forma ar sabiedrību

Atslēgvārdi: *izstāde, muzejs, saziņa, apmeklētājs, pieredze*

Pirms veidot ekspozīciju jeb izstādi, vai tā būtu īstermiņa vai ilgtermiņa, ir jāpārdomā gan par to, vai ekspozīcija sasniegs apmeklētāju, lai izveidotos komunikācija, kuras gaitā pie apmeklētāja nonāk ekspozīcijas saturs-doma, gan par to, kā var mainīties pieejamība ekspozīcijai tajos brīžos, kad ir ierobežots muzeja apmeklējums. Tādējādi tika aplūkoti divi pētījumi, kuri ir radīti te pat Latvijā, publicēti portālā Culturelab.lv, un kuros ir atspoguļota arī muzeju pieredze ekspozīciju pieejamībai brīžos, kad ir ierobežots muzeja apmeklējums, kā arī skatījums uz kopējo kultūras piedāvājuma apmeklētību, šķēršļi un izaicinājumi.

Kopumā secinājumi no visa pētījuma:

1. Pandēmijas laiks ir pārsteidzis kultūras nozari, negaidīti atņemot klātienes apmeklētāju, ierobežojot darbību un apturot iesāktos un plānotos projektus. Tas ir radījis paliekošas pārmaiņas cilvēku pieredzē un komunikācijā, ietekmējis kultūras patēriņa paradumus.
2. Pandēmijas laikā kultūras organizācijas ir centušās organizēt notikumus klātienē ierobežotam cilvēku skaitam, atbilstoši noteikumiem organizējot drošu apmeklējumu – pārkārtojot norises telpu, veicot apmeklētāju Covid-19 sertifikātu kontroli, izvietojot informatīvas norādes, nodrošinot dezinfekcijas pasākumus u. tml. Šāds risinājums ievērojami samazināja apmeklētāju skaitu un izrādes vai koncerta ieņēmumus, bet tomēr nodrošināja mākslas procesu nepārtrauktību un mākslinieku nodarbinātības iespējas.
3. Pasākumi digitālā vidē attīstījās mājsēdes laikā, kad klātienē nebija iespējams apmeklēt nekādus publiskus pasākumus. Digitālais formāts nav varējis pilnvērtīgi aizstāt saskarsmi klātienē, taču, ja nebūtu iespējas izmantot digitālos rīkus, cilvēki būtu nonākuši daudz lielākā informācijas un komunikācijas izolācijā

4. Ierobežots klātienes apmeklējums tiek papildināts ar notikuma tiešraidi vai ar atsevišķi veidotiem pasākumiem digitālajā vidē. Šis ir izplatītākais formāts, kas pilnveidots pandēmijas laikā un, visdrīzāk, paliks kā piemērots pasākumu formāts arī turpmāk.
5. Dalīšanās ar saturu tiešsaistē ir devusi iespēju piedalīties apmeklētājiem ar ierobežotām iespējām un no ģeogrāfiski attālām vietām.
6. Savstarpējā komunikācija lielā mērā ir kļuvusi digitāla, cilvēki attālināti sarunājas gan ar radiniekiem, gan darba kolēģiem, piedalās konferencēs, mācās, skatās filmas un patērē kultūras saturu. Veidojot kultūras piedāvājumu šādos apstākļos, nevar neņemt vērā pārmaiņas un jaunos paradumus, veidojot tikšanos ar savu auditoriju tieši digitālā vidē. Attālinātā dzīve un izolētība ir veicinājusi kultūras organizācijas meklēt individuālāku pieeju savam apmeklētājam.
7. Ja pandēmijas sākumā bija vērojama tendence meklēt ceļus, kā digitāli dublēt esošo piedāvājumu, tad, laikam ejot, tika radīti pavisam jauni produkti, unikāli šim laikam. Šos jaunos risinājumus kultūras organizācijas varēs izmantot un attīstīt arī turpmāk, lai dažādotu piedāvājumu un paplašinātu savu auditoriju.
8. Auditorijas paplašināšanas un dažādošanas iespējas, izmantojot digitālos rīkus, ir viens no lielākajiem ieguvumiem.

Introduction

Before creating an exhibition, whether short-term or long-term, it is necessary to think both about whether the exhibition will reach the visitor, to create a communication that will bring the content-thought of the exhibition to the visitor, and about how the accessibility of the exhibition may change at times when museum attendance is limited.

While nowadays events in the world are unpredictable and recent history with global pandemic have left a mark everywhere, especcially in the cultural offer, there is still some anxiety left of what to do, if such events would occur again.

Thus, two studies which have been produced in Latvia and published on Culturelab.lv were examined. The first of the studies is "Availability of Culture in Latvia: Factors and Possible Solutions". (Ascendum 2020) Commissioning party of this study: Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Latvia in 2020. And the second of the studies is "Cultural offer in restricred contact condions." The experience and lessons of the pandemic of Latvian cultural organisations, (Asare, Ciša, Krūmiņa 2022).

The aim of the article is to find ideas to what could be possible ways to reach museum visitor in case of time when museum attendance is limited whether it is for global or local possible reasons.

Research methods: internet resources research; participant observation

"Availability of Culture in Latvia: Factors and Possible Solutions". (Ascendum 2020)

The study examines whether people can easily remember their cultural consumption, how persistent the cultural interests of an individual are, whether the cultural interest is magnifying within specific measures, and how reliable the participants assumptions about what kind of cultural developments are for them and what are not. It is also examined whether and how significant obstacles are to the visit cultural event, either obstacles are the cost of the event, distance to the place of the event, cultural image as if the event is an elite activity, or the lack of a company. The study also looks at whether interest in culture is related to the interests of relatives and friends, or whether it is

explained by the habit of individuals own involvement in creative developments. Finally, it is also analysed whether the information on cultural events is sufficient. The study also sets out a number of recommendations to increase cultural accessibility, the most important of which are:

1) developing personalized, engaging, interpretative cultural formats;

2) developing modern, genre-synthesising techniques and technical capabilities;

3) to strengthen the motivation and professionalism of the organisers of cultural work;

4) to create, develop large cultural events at national and regional level, as well as to help local governments finance visits to regions of recognisable artists;

5) to think about extending the audience of cultural events to regional tourism;

6) extending the possibilities of presenting cultural experience;

7) the involvement of children in culture will be seen as an investment in their parents;

8) to increase access to cultural events for people with disabilities;

9) to find methods for increasing the presence of an audience in cultural events who communicates in foreign language everyday in the family;

10) making Latvian culture more accessible to tourists and recent immigrants;

11) directing the organisers of cultural events to collect feedback on the activities organised by themselves in order to identify and address problems in a timely manner;

12) note that different cultural sectors have different accessibility problems (Ascendum 2020: 68)

The study results in conclusions that may seem to be too much, but this is a reality in the face of the peculiarities of modern cultural life, as well as common marketing, media literacy, social skills from the creation of cultural products, for example, there are very few personified/personalised cultural experiences that unify, for example, the local community. In general, the conclusions of the study are important in assessing the functioning of its institution by creating exhibitions and events.

Conclusions and recommendations resulting from the study:

1. On the determination of cultural consumption. One of the needs of this study was a sociological observation that cultural consumption is declining in Latvia. This study in the analysis of these observations, using research methods not used until now. These methods give rise to an alternative explanation for cultural consumption trends: namely, it is possible that the alleged decrease in cultural consumption is actually explained by the transformation of cultural consumption into other forms.

2. About public interest in different cultural forms. In shaping national cultural policy, it is important to count on the fact that both the individual and the public interest in different cultural forms is variable and its changes do not necessarily explain specific, identifiable, specific factors related to the cultural sector concerned.

3. About expanding the cultural audience through vivid cultural examples. The study does not confirm the assumption that a bright and well-appreciated cultural event on the part of the participant will in itself lead to a sustained increase in the interest of the individual experienced in this event in the cultural sector concerned. This means that cultivating/cultivating a cultural audience cannot be based on just a few episodic measures.

4. About individuals cultural preferences and the possibility of predicting how this individual will perceive a cultural event. The results of this study show that the individual's own ideas of what cultural industries are or are not interested in, do not necessarily allow him to predict the individual's attitudes to a particular culture following its experience.

5. On the cost of accessing culture as an obstacle. As part of this study, it has also been confirmed that high costs represent a major barrier to the cultural accessibility of some cultural forms (in particular opera, concerts, exhibitions). The high costs are not only ticket prices, but also transport costs, hotel costs, family purchase of multiple tickets, additional costs for childcare. The results of the study suggest that citizens' spending on culture (both real and what they want) is less rooted in cultural developments, more in real life opportunities.

6. On the distance as a barrier to cultural accessibility. As part of this study, it was also confirmed that the distance from the person's place of residence to the place of the event could become a significant barrier to attending a cultural event. The motivation to visit a cultural event of interest began to decrease at about one hour's distance.

7. On the image of cultural activities as elite. As part of this study, it has been confirmed that Latvian residents regard certain forms of art (especially opera and classical music concerts) as an elite way of spending time, but there is no evidence that elitariness in itself would be an obstacle to attending these events.

8. On the lack of a company as an obstacle to attending a cultural event. As part of this study, it was also confirmed that, for some people, the lack of a company is an important barrier to attending a cultural event. This applies more to forms of cultural events such as urban/municipal holidays or tours, visiting cultural and historical sites.

9. On the role of friends and families in engaging in cultural developments. Both friends and family are often the main reason for people to participate in a cultural event. Motivation: a cultural event as a recommendation, a cultural event as a gift, a cultural event as a common way of spending time, a cultural event as a support for their family or friends (for example, if they sing in a chorus or speak in an amateur theater).

10. About the determining factor of habits as cultural consumption. As part of this study, it has not been confirmed that interest in different types of culture is being developed by school

time, which would create a habit of engaging in different cultural developments. Some of the participants in the events who had noted that cultural activities were frequently involved during the school showed a low cultural interest of the moment. These observations give rise to the assumption that greater exposure of people to different cultural developments enables them to discover cultural aspects of their 66 interest and to improve cultural tastes (increasing claims against cultural events), but do not in itself constitute a habit of attending cultural events on a regular basis.

11. About human involvement in cultural activities and cultural interest. The observations of this study show the relationship between a person's own involvement in creative activities and an interest in culture, but it is not clear whether this relationship is noble (namely, it is not clear whether the fact that someone himself is doing something creative causes him to be more interested in other cultural developments). There was no clear answer as to whether cultural events are more attended by people who are themselves involved in cultural activities, nor did the focus groups and discussions with cultural practitioners organised within the framework of this study. At the same time, both the focus groups and the discussions of cultural practitioners dominated the view that creative engagement of citizens (and artisanal arts as such) is a valuable and respectable cultural form, regardless of whether it increases audiences for professional culture. The most important obstacles to the widespread involvement of Latvian residents in creative activities and artisanal arts were mentioned: few information on possibilities of engagement, sometimes more "on paper" works collectively, lack of time in artisanal art

12. On the adequacy of information on cultural developments. With rare exceptions (for example, audio books, self-participation opportunities, sometimes the museum's current offerings and new shows), participants in the March 7 event considered the current range of information as sufficient for cultural events. Nearly every member of the measure obtained information from a variety of sources. Some – searching for information on cultural events by particularly involving social networks of their own interests, following reports from museums or theatres, or regularly visiting their home pages. (…) The biggest challenges for people who are not much interested in culture are the difficulty of focusing on this information, as well as the lack of information in foreign languages and information on the accessibility of events for children and people with disabilities.

13. It is desirable to note that different cultural sectors have different accessibility problems. Each cultural sector is characterised by a different range of problems and acute accessibility problems.

14. Preferably: modern, genre-synthesising techniques and technical capabilities.

15. Preferably: personalized, engaging, interpretative formats. Interactive cultural events organised under this study show that Latvian residents appreciate a personalized, exciting, story-based cultural event. Such events not only excite people with a great interest in culture, but also people who have this interest in the middle, or do not have it at all.

16. Preferably: motivated and professional cultural operators. A great deal of self-return, time and resources are needed to personalise and modernise measures, and to give a "new breath" to older measures.

17. Desirable: building, developing large cultural events at national and regional level, and helping municipalities to finance a recognizable artist

18. It is desirable to think about extending the audience of cultural events to national/regional tourism.

19. Desirable: Extend opportunities to give up cultural experience. Given how many Latvian citizens who would like to visit a cultural event cannot do this for financial reasons, it should be considered how to extend and promote opportunities to offer a cultural event as a gift.

20. It is desirable that children's involvement in cultural experience must also be seen as an investment in their parents. The observations made in this study give rise to the assumption that the audience of cultural events could be increased if parents were encouraged to come with children,

21. Preferably: increasing access to cultural events for people with disabilities. One solution would be the obligation for organisers of cultural events to inform people with disabilities of the possibilities of attending the event.

22. It is desirable to make Latvia's culture more accessible to tourists and recent immigrants. For this purpose, it would be important to provide full translations to both the most important websites of Latvian cultural sites and to disseminate information on cultural events in English.

23. Preferably: Orient the organisers of cultural events to collect feedback on their organised activities in order to identify and address problems in a timely manner

Under each of the findings of the study, which has been drawn up in search of answers from the study, the skills, opportunities and feelings of the author of this article, Gita Palma, as the head of the institution-museum and the museum's universal workforce (manager, exhibition and exhibition curator, gidgeon, author of the museum) could be reconsidered, each of the aspects discussed in the study – how they are felt in the daily life of the museum. What is interesting – the author of the paper, reading the study, recalled that the presentation of this study that had been listened to in person, working previously at the Popular Front Museum of The National History museum of Latvia, and, at

the moment, reading the research and currently working in the Museum of Robert's Mūks in Galēni in Preili District, Latvia, there have been interesting feelings and reflections about how attitudes and perceptions of such research have changed since the work environmen and places has changed.

"Cultural offer in restricred contact condions." (Asare, Ciša, Krūmiņa 2022)

The second of the studies is the experience and lessons of the pandemic of Latvian cultural organisations.

The study is based on twenty-five stories of experience from various museums, visual art, music, stage art, cinema, libraries, cultural centers, festivals, on how the work process has made in the context of the Covid19 pandemic. Since March 2020, the cultural and creative sector has had a great time of suspense. If a chronicle was made with changes to the rules of the pandemic, the list would be quite long, constantly looking for ways to adapt and not stop, although it has been a long time to work behind closed doors for visitors.

The key question "how not to lose our audience" has led us to look for new ways of communicating in two important directions: building our cultural offer in the digital environment and bringing cultural content into the urban or outdoor world in more unusual and new formats.

The author of this article thought the pandemic Covid19 worked at the Popular Front Museum that is a part of The National History museum of Latvia, including the time when the museum was behind closed doors. Thus, the analysis of the study is also interesting in that one of the experiences comes from The National History museum of Latvia. This was also my experience, says the author of the paper. Latvian museums have developed new approaches, digital tools and creative solutions during the pandemic to keep their audience. The main challenges have been changing thinking, opening up to innovation, learning and applying digital technologies, and the enthusiasm for continuing work in extreme circumstances. The Latvian Society of Museums has contributed greatly to the education, cohesion and mutual support of the museum industry, which helps to realise collective innovations that further have a positive impact on the whole sector.

The biggest and toughest challenge has been the uncertainty over what and how long the terms of limitations on the museum's work have been. The museum's activities are usually planned for 3-4 years ahead, but suddenly, in the short term, substantial changes need to be made, which cannot be really planned even in the short term, because the visit limits often change – sometimes just a few days before the scheduled event. The employees themselves have also been unaware of the seriousness of the situation caused by the new disease, but all have managed to learn quickly and adapt to the conditions.

During the pandemic, the work of museums has increased. In order to prepare digital content as a new product, replacing or supplementing the presence supply and communicating it to the

audience, a great deal of work needs to be done. When creating exhibitions, digital content is already planned at once, aware of the risks that the face-to-face version may not happen, so there is actually a lot of content to be created in two formats at the same time.

Recommendations of The National History museum of Latvia for future situations:

- when creating digital products, it is possible to address them to a diverse range of people with different interests. Online tools can also address an atypical museum audience that doesn't come to the museum everyday. You can also create content about very specific topics for a narrower range of interesents.

- not everything needs to be digitally adapted, each format has its own advantages and disadvantages, it needs to be creatively assessed how to connect the land-based and remote environment and to take advantage of each format.

- interinstitutional cooperation is crucial, enabling joint projects, supplementing content, promoting current events to reach more potential visitors.

- events such as lectures, seminars, conferences or meetings with specialists could certainly maintain an additional remote function, as it can attract a wider audience than it would be in presence

However, digital accessibility does not replace the active learning experience of visiting the museum. Hystorian Toms Ķikuts from The National History museum of Latvia points out that the visit to the exhibition and tours will not be competed by their digital version. The benefits of a remote format could be for content, where there are already fewer interactivity, such as lectures, conferences. People will assess whether to consume some of this type of content digitally while saving time, or yet will visit it at a special time, enjoying the experience of being present. In the meantime, digital depictions of objects cannot reflect the nature of the object in the way it appears on the spot, and the visit to the museum is more experienced than acquiring new knowledge. (Burbicka 2022: 13)

The author of the article does not agree that the digital version will not compete. If we look at how the digital world is developing and the world of The Metaverse is gradually entering, there is a possibility that many museums can move and will move to the digital environment, which will provide an opportunity to portray their small rural museum without denying the opportunity to enjoy the existence of a museum on the opposite side of the world. It is already possible to visit museums through virtual reality and why a small museum in Latgale would not be able to stand alongside the Louvre's collection in the digital environment. Everything is possible and we are unable to forsee and anticipate the change in visitor and museum encounters at the moment. This, of course, will not exclude the existence of the museum world in the physical world, rather expand it.

Overall, conclusions from the whole study:

1. The time of the pandemic has surprised the cultural sector by unexpectedly depriving visitors, limiting their activities and stopping the projects that have been started and planned. This has led to lasting changes in people's experience and communication, affecting cultural consumption habits.

2. During the pandemic, cultural organisations have sought to organise events on site for a limited number of people, by organising a secure visit in accordance with the rules, by reorganising the venue, by monitoring visitors' Covid-19 certificates, by providing information instructions, by providing disinfectants, etc. Such a solution significantly reduced visitor numbers and show or concert revenue, but nevertheless provided continuity in arts processes and opportunities for artist employment.

3. Events in the digital environment developed at a time when no public events could be visited on site. The digital format has not been able to fully replace face-to-face contact, but if it were not possible to use digital tools, people would have been more isolated by information and communication.

4. Limited visits are accompanied by live coverage of the event or by separate events in the digital environment. This is the most common format developed during the pandemic and is likely to remain an appropriate format for action in the future.

5. Online content sharing has enabled visitors with limited capabilities and geographically remote locations to participate.

6. Communication has largely become digital, people converse remotely with relatives and work colleagues, participate in conferences, learn, watch movies and consume cultural content. When creating a cultural offer in such circumstances, changes and new habits cannot be overlooked when meeting with your audience directly in a digital environment. Remote life and insularity have led cultural organisations to seek more individual access to their visitor.

7. If, at the beginning of the pandemic, there was a tendency to look for ways to digitally back up existing supply, then, as time passed, new products were created, unique for that time. These new solutions will continue to be used and developed by cultural organisations to diversify supply and expand their audience.

8. People's habits and interpersonal communication have changed. The supply of culture and art will have to reflect the new audience mood and needs. We will need to find an art language that we understand for our audience on the new topics that are topical for the society of the future.

9. Expanding and diversifying the audience through digital tools is one of the biggest gains.

Conclusions

1. On the cost of accessing culture as an obstacle. As part of this study, it has also been confirmed that high costs represent a major barrier to the cultural accessibility of some cultural forms (in particular opera, concerts, exhibitions). The high costs are not only ticket prices, but also transport costs, hotel costs, family purchase of multiple tickets, additional costs for childcare. The results of the study suggest that citizens' spending on culture (both real and what they want) is less rooted in cultural developments, more in real life opportunities.

2. On the distance as a barrier to cultural accessibility. As part of this study, it was also confirmed that the distance from the person's place of residence to the place of the event could become a significant barrier to attending a cultural event. The motivation to visit a cultural event of interest began to decrease at about one hour's distance.

3. It is desirable to note that different cultural sectors have different accessibility problems. Each cultural sector is characterised by a different range of problems and acute accessibility problems.

4. Preferably: modern, genre-synthesising techniques and technical capabilities.

5. Preferably: personalized, engaging, interpretative formats. Interactive cultural events organised under this study show that Latvian residents appreciate a personalized, exciting, story-based cultural event. Such events not only excite people with a great interest in culture, but also people who have this interest in the middle, or do not have it at all.

6. Events in the digital environment developed at a time when no public events could be visited on site. The digital format has not been able to fully replace face-to-face contact, but if it were not possible to use digital tools, people would have been more isolated by information and communication.

7. Limited visits are accompanied by live coverage of the event or by separate events in the digital environment. This is the most common format developed during the pandemic and is likely to remain an appropriate format for action in the future.

8. Online content sharing has enabled visitors with limited capabilities and geographically remote locations to participate.

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MEANS OF PORTRAIT EXPRESSION IN THE CONTEMPORARY PAINTING

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Abstract

Means of portrait expression in the contemporary painting

Key Words: portrait, contemporary painting, painting techniques, mixed media.

Contemporary art includes the pulse of an era in all its manifestations, including the means of portrait expression. The portrait, directly or indirectly, represents the formation of history, society, social and collective memory, expression of national identity and political contexts. The portrait itself, in contemporary painting, includes wide range of amplitude - from the individual representation to generalization, from state order to free interpretation, from representation to privacy and intimacy. It is possible to see the development of contemporary art in the portrait, proving the depth of the person and the mastery and novelty of the artist. The aim of this study is to become aware of the portraitists of contemporary paintings, their works, means of expression, techniques, peculiarities and the diversity of possible expressions and materials.

Kopsavilkums

Portreta izteiksmes līdzekļi laikmetīgajā glezniecībā

Atslēgvārdi: portrets, laikmetīgā glezniecība, glezniecības tehnikas, jaukta tehnika.

Laikmetīgā māksla ietver laikmeta pulsu visās tās izpausmēs, arī portreta izteiksmes līdzekļos. Portrets tiešā vai netiešā veidā attēlo vēstures, sabiedrības, sociālās un kolektīvās atmiņas veidošanos, nacionālās identitātes izpausmes, politiskos kontekstus. Portrets laikmetīgajā glezniecībā ietver visai plašu amplitūdu no cilvēka-indivīda tēlojuma līdz vispārinājumam, no valsts pasūtījuma līdz brīvai interpretācijai, no reprezentācijas līdz privātumam un intimitātei. Portretā ir iespēja ieraudzīt mākslas laikmetīgo attīstību, apliecināt cilvēka dziļumu, mākslinieka meistarību un novitāti. Pētījuma mērķis ir apzināties laikmetīgās glezniecības portretistus un viņu darbus, izteiksmes līdzekļus, tehnikas, īpatnības un iespējamo izpausmju un materiālu daudzveidību.

Introduction

Portraiture is probably the most used artistic genre. There are so many reasons for that, and all of them could be described by the powerful magic of portraiture. Despite all the obstacles contemporary portraiture is facing today, it's still alive, it's still popular, and it certainly will be in the coming period. However, contemporary portraiture is facing some accusations such as that it does not belong to contemporary art (not because of the artists themselves, but because of the main characteristics of this genre). Particularly, it is about painting portraits that are being targeted by some of the experts; newerless, thanks to its magic, portraiture manages to survive in tough competition environment (Eschmann 2020).

One of the main characteristics of portraiture is that its function is the representation of an individual's appearance and personality. One of the biggest influences of conceptual art movement in contemporary art in general is the critique towards pure representation. Besides information that portrait transmits to its viewers regarding appearances of a subject, it's also important that a portrait contains contex, identity questions and social issues in contemporary art (Pereira2015).

We see representation of people everywhere. However, portraits in contemporary art are much more than pure representation. It has managed to adapt its genre to the demands of contemporary art.

Portraiture is still alive, it is popular, and people love it. It has changed its forms, it is slightly different from what it once used to be, and it receives influences from different art movements (abstract, minimalism, digital art). There are new artists emerging, creating beautiful portraits and ensuring strong status of portraiture in contemporary art. Therefore, the magic of portrait is simply too powerful (Pereira 2015).

Means of portrait expression in the contemporary painting

The 21st century has seen many talented portrait painters who have gained recognition for their unique and innovative approaches to portraiture.

Gerhard Richter (1932) is widely considered one of the most important modern painters in the world. During his nearly 50-year career, the **German painter** has developed an extraordinary and wide spectrum of work, including portraits. Richter started to make black and white portraits from discovered images in 1962, as well as portrayals of intimate members of the his family, such as Betty. Even though he frequently relies on photos, his works cannot be classified as photorealistic art. As an artist, he is more concerned with deceiving the observer. He paints images to show the common distortions of reality caused by technological reproduction (Wainwright 2023).

Richter's approach to portraiture is unorthodox in the sense that he is not particularly concerned with expressing the sitter's character. Richter is primarily interested in exploring issues about truth and appearances. By concealing persons identity and warping machine-made realities through his paintings, his portraits offer fascinating glimpse into how do we see the world. (Wainwright 2023).

Lucian Freud (1922-2011)was British painter. Exclusively portrayed those close to him – family, wives, friends, mistresses, and himself – using his uncompromising studies of psychology and anatomy. **For more than 60 years, his unmistakable style remained consistent, owing to the strong rapport he maintained with his generally naked models, which resulted from extremely extended sitting sessions.**

Lucian Freud, one of the most renowned artist of figurative realism in the United Kingdom and internationally, managed to avoid the avant-garde effects of Conceptual and **Pop art** by remaining conventional, yet remarkably careful and consistent. His self-portraits are equally numerous since he portrayed himself constantly until his death (Meyer 2023).

Ritums Ivanovs (1968) was born in Latvia. His focus is always on the interplay between the spectator, the portrayed person, and the artist. The captured emotions, which arise by looking at the finished artworks, are powerful testimonies of our time. Ivanovs lines up his scenes and portraits just like film sequences. By taking fragments of an indefinite reality, a new reality is emerging that casts a spell on the spectator like an untamed dream in a twilight sleep that you think you can influence. In

the end you have experienced everything, questioning what is a dream and what is reality. Ritums Ivanovs is a well-known Latvian painter who mostly works on large portraits based on photographs, using Photorealism and his self-invented linear technique. Most often he uses a photo (photography) as a basis, yet sketches and paints his works completely freehand. The main subjects of Ritums Ivanovs' works involve human emotions, in both dramatic and subtle styles (Ivanovs 2000).

Ivanovs' paintings often feature bold, energetic brushstrokes, vibrant colors, and abstract forms that evoke a sense of movement and emotion. His works are known for their dynamic and expressive qualities, which convey a sense of freedom, spontaneity, and exploration. Ivanovs' artistic style combines elements of abstract expressionism and gestural abstraction, creating visually engaging compositions that invite the viewer to interpret and experience the artwork in their own way (Ivanovs 2000).

Izumi Kogahara (1979) is a Japanese painter and graphic designer, born in Utsunomiya, Tochigi Prefecture. In the painting world, Izumi Kogahara is what one might call a natural-born master of the color. Her unique use of warm, cool and neutral colors in all directions produces a singular brilliance and depth from each hue. Kogahara is inspired by the energy of human beings that is generated not only by the instinct of life but also by the feeling generated by communicating with others. (Bihiku 2023).

Jenny Saville (1970) was born in England. She was fascinated by the endless aesthetic and formal possibilities that the materiality of the human body offers. Saville remits a highly sensuous and tactile impression of surface and mass in her monumental oil paintings. In the compelling Stare paintings she renders the contours and features of the face and the nuances of skin texture and color in strokes both bold and meticulous. Enlarging the facial features of her human subjects to a vast scale and rendering them in layer upon layer of paint, she imbues in them with a sense of mass and weight that is almost sculptural and at times wholly abstract. Intense pinks, reds, and blues erupt throughout the pale skin tones, disclosing internal workings of the painting like the flesh and blood of a living organism (Gagosian 2020).

Oil paint, applied in heavy layers, becomes as visceral as flesh itself, each painted mark maintaining a supple, mobile life of its own. As Saville pushes, smears, and scrapes the pigment over her large-scale canvases, the distinctions between living, breathing bodies and their painted representations begin to collapse.

Saville's artwork often focuses on the human body, particularly the female form, and explores themes of identity, gender, and the perception of beauty. Her paintings are characterized by their large scale, bold brushwork, and visceral, fleshy depictions of bodies that are both realistic and abstract (Howard 2011) (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Jenny Saville "Reverse", 2002-2003, 213cm x 244 cm

Her internationally lauded oeuvre is marked by a Rubensesque style of painting, depicting voluptuous bodies dominated by the flesh. She blends the abstraction of Cubism with the sensuality of Baroque, incorporating elements of Abstract Expressionism with a photographic figuration. The British artist tackles issues concerning gender binary, obesity, pathological perceptions of the body, how we experience our body and the imposed ideal of beauty and more (Walker 2022).

Saville's artwork has received widespread acclaim and has been exhibited in galleries and museums around the world. She has been recognized for her contribution to the art world and has received several awards for her innovative and thought-provoking paintings. Her work has had a significant impact on contemporary art, pushing the boundaries of traditional portraiture and challenging societal norms and expectations surrounding the female body (Walker 2022).

Saville's artwork challenges traditional beauty standards and explores human body in a way that is both intimate and confronting. Her paintings often depict distorted and exaggerated figures that reflect the complexities and vulnerabilities of the human form. She uses thick layers of paint and bold, gestural brushstrokes to create highly expressive and emotive compositions (Howard 2011).

Brenda Zlamany (1959) is an American artist best known for portraiture that combines Old Master technique with a postmodern conceptual approach. Artist is fascinated by the complexities of portraiture in the digital age. The painted portrait has not become obsolete in the postmodern and post-photography era. In modern portrait painting, the act of developing a picture, stroke by stroke, creates a link between a painter and the subject. This connection is unique in the age of high-speed, filtered experience. Nevertheless, much needs to be discovered still, in terms of who is depicted and how. **Zlamany aspires to push the frontiers of modern portrait artwork by making pieces about**

marginalized individuals in society and culture. She aspires to confront schisms in creative and social discourse through mixed media artworks (Meyer 2023).

Elizabeth Peyton's (1965) is an American contemporary artist working primarily in painting, drawing, and printmaking. Best known for figures from her own life and those beyond it, including close friends, historical personae, and icons of contemporary culture, Peyton's portraits have regularly featured artists, writers, musicians, and actors (The Museum of Modern Art 2023). Artist portraits of art luminaries and celebrities explore issues of youthfulness, celebrity, and beauty. While at the same time, the paintings are deep while remaining unpretentious. Peyton creates a degree of closeness that is subtly mirrored in the represented people, allowing the spectator to have a greater understanding of their aspirations, deceptions, and worries (Figure 2).
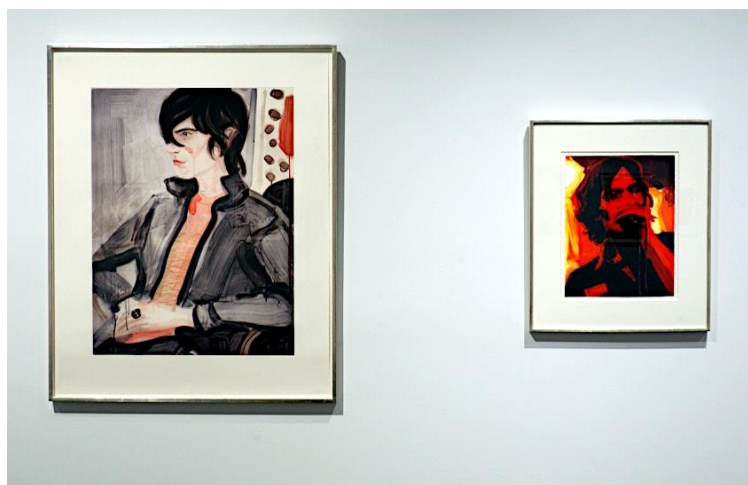
Figure 2. Elizabeth Peyton" Nick", 2004, and "Julian" 2006

Her modern portrait artworks are identified with American culture in the late 20th century. Peyton would not ordinarily be acquainted with the folks she was portraying on an intimate basis. She would utilize images from magazines, music videos, and album covers as templates for her portraiture. (Meyer 2023).

Jonathan Yeo (1970) is a British artist. He uses a variety of mediums and methods to produce a wide body of works that go beyond the conventional boundaries of a portraiture. He is best known for his unique, highly figurative paintings and stunning collages.

Yeo's consistent storyline advancement as well as his connection to society, continue to push the boundaries of the modern portrait artwork genre and regenerate it for the 21st century.

When it comes to Yeo's modern portrait paintings, it is unusual in many aspects. In the era of digital photography, he depicts celebrities, politicians, and other prominent persons of our day, in the

age-old mediums of paint and collage. These are not just paint-on-canvas pieces; instead, he uses cut-out materials from magazines to produce realistic collage portraiture (Meyer 2023). (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Jonathan Yeo "Nat Rothschild",2014

Kehinde Wiley (1977) is an American artist. He is renowned for elevating his historically neglected black figures by imitating the compositional approach and precision of Old Masters. He would utilize vivid backdrops that were inspired by leafy designs or other elements seen in traditional fabrics.

Wiley's art is frequently referred to as "bling-bling baroque" since he combines traditional methods with a striking, contemporary aesthetic. (Meyer 2023).

Amy Sherald (1973) is an American painter. She portrayed the First Lady for the first time as an Afro-American lady. Sherald has spent her entire career largely attempting to look at ideas of culture and legacy. Sherald is well known for her "stylized realism", in which her subjects are shown against overly saturated backdrops as brilliantly clothed individuals with grayscale skin tones (Meyer 2023).

Craig Wylie (1973) work seeks to exploit the potential of still-life and figure painting in the 21st century. Zimbabwe-born artist, most famous for his hyperreal portraiture is mainly concerned with color and texture. He draws everything from reality but selects and rearranges his subjects in the light of his very specific intentions. Wylie's art is meticulously thought out and, in its way, very intellectual.

While he would carefully plan and execute his work, the result always conveys some sort of spontaneity. The artist claims not to use any photographs as templates for his portraiture, except for as a sort of sketchbook. Hence, the precise reproduction of one photograph in paint has never been part of his plan. We must therefore see Wylie as an artist who thinks deeply and effectively about his art (Eschmann 2020).

He has an extraordinary ability to seize the appearance of his subjects with tremendous fluency and ease, but this is only the start. Suspicious of this innate virtuosity, he prefers the harder won image. Working from life, with forays into the use of a laptop for his large portrait heads, Wylie has developed a multi-faceted but singular approach to these genres (Cooper 2022).

Even in the digital age, contemporary portrait painters still exist, and many of them still thrive. Modern portrait painters have adapted the genre to more current tastes, adding their unique twist to an old-age genre. With their modern portrait artworks, they have ensured that a new generation of admirers can appreciate the skill and talent that goes into portraiture painting.

Nowadays, there are many possibilities for contemporary portrait painters. Some prefer traditional paint, while others have moved on to tablets. Despite the medium used, it is always the artist's unique style and vision that separates them from the rest (Meyer 2023) (Figure 4).
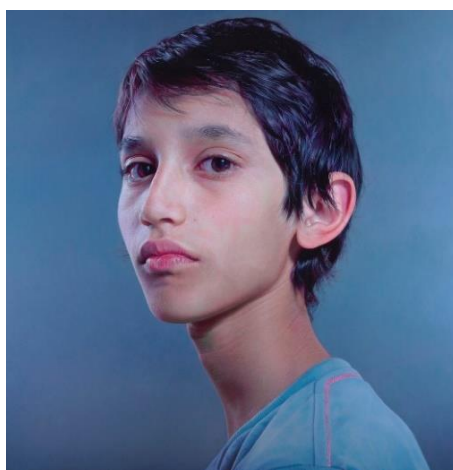
Figure 4. Craig Wylie "LC(fulcrum)",2010 , 234.5cm x 230 cm

Conclusions

Today, the portrait painting is still a popular and respected art form, with which many contemporary artists continue to study and push on the border from medium. Portraits can be painted in a variety of styles: postmodernism, stylized realism, imaginative realism, hyperrealism, and different techniques: oil, pencil, collage elements, magazines, album covers.

Uses elements of traditional fabrics as a source of inspiration for his works. Also digital photos.

The artists' works show a conceptual approach to portraits. Each artist has an individual, unique approach to creating works. Portraits created by artists are bold, full of emotions. Contemporary representatives of the portrait genre create portraits that stand out for their strong and emotional expression. Working with color as a means of expression, artists create brilliant works full of depth and shades.

Portrait painting is a challenging art form, demanding both technical skill and a deep understanding of human anatomy, expression and emotions. It remains strong means of capturing the essence of an individual and conveying his her personality and character through art.

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THE INFLUENCE OF CHURCHES FOR CITIZENSHIP CATHOLIC PARISHES ON THE LAYOUT AND URBAN SPACE OF HANSEATIC CITIES OF THE ARCHBISHOPRIC OF RIGA IN THE 13TH AND 14TH CENTURIES

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Abstract
The influence of churches for citizenship Catholic parishes on urban space and the layout of Hanseatic cities of the Archbishopric of Riga in the 13th and 14th centuries

Key Words: *cathedral, church for the citizenship Catholic Parish, identity, medieval town planning, urban environment*
In the 12th and 13th centuries on the Baltic Sea coastal lands, the construction of sacred buildings expanded with the spread of the Catholic Faith, influencing the spatial organization of the urban environment. Bishoprics and centers of spiritual life were founded for the subjugation of lands, where fortified residences for bishops and councils were built. Building complexes formed by two different fortified building units with the cathedral as the main architectural dominant contributed to the settlement, and cities for economic activity developed. Churches for citizenship Catholic parishes became architectural dominates that influenced the spatial organization of cities included in the Hanseatic League. Riga became the center of the Riga Archbishopric (1255–1562) subjected to the Pope and the Holy Roman Emperor. Research object: urban space of the Hanseatic League cities in the 13th and 14th centuries. Research problem: sacral buildings changed urban aesthetics and the image of cities. The layout and urban space of the Hanseatic cities have not been studied enough to preserve their identity in the course of modern urban development. Research goal: analysis of the impact of churches for the citizenship parishes on the planning, visual image, and architectural-spatial development of the Hanseatic League cities, as well as Riga. Novelty: analysis of common and local features of medieval urban space and the structural evolution of the Hanseatic cities during the 13th and 14th centuries. Research methods: analysis of archive documents, projects, cartographic materials, studies of published literature, an inspection of churches in nature, and photo fixation.

Kopsavilkums
Pilsētnieku katoļu draudžu baznīcu ietekme uz Hanzas pilsētu telpisko vidi un plānojumu Rīgas arhibīskapijā 13. un 14. gadsimtā

Atslēgvārdi: *identitāte, katedrāle, pilsētnieku katoļu draudzes baznīca, pilsētvide, viduslaiku pilsētas plānojums*
Baltijas jūras piekrastes zemēs 12. un 13. gadsimtā izplatīja katoļticību un izvērsa sakrālu celtņu būvniecību. Zemju pakļaušanai dibināja bīskapijas un garīgās dzīves centrus, kur bīskapa un domkapitula pārstāvju mājokļiem cēla nocietinātas rezidences. Divu dažādu nocietinātu apbūves vienību veidoti apbūves kompleksi ar katedrāli kā galveno arhitektonisko dominanti veicināja apdzīvotību. Dibināja pilsētas, kur attīstījās saimnieciskā darbība. Hanzas pilsētu telpisko organizāciju ietekmēja pilsētnieku katoļu draudzes baznīcas, kas dominēja pilsētvidē. Rīga kļuva par Romas pāvestam un Svētās Romas imperatoram pakļautās Rīgas arhibīskapijas (1255–1562) centru. Pētījuma objekts: Hanzas pilsētu vide 13. un 14. gadsimta. Pētījuma problēma: pilsētnieku katoļu draudzes baznīcas mainīja pilsētas estētiku. Hanzas pilsētu plānojums un pilsēttelpa nav pietiekami pētīta, lai mūsdienu pilsētvides attīstības gaitā saglabātu identitāti. Pētījuma mērķis: analizēt pilsētnieku draudzes baznīcu ietekmi uz Hanzas pilsētu un arī Rīgas plānojumu, vizuālo tēlu un arhitektoniski telpisko attīstību. Pētījuma novitāte: viduslaiku pilsēttelpas kopīgo un lokālo iezīmju analīze un Hanzas pilsētu apbūves struktūru evolūcija 13. un 14. gadsimtā. Pētījuma metodes: arhīvu dokumentu, projektu, kartogrāfisko materiālu analīze, publicētās literatūras izpēte, baznīcu apskate dabā un fotofiksācijas.

Introduction

Near the mouth of the Canche (Dutch: *Kwinte*), one of the rivers flowing into the English Channel (Latvian: *Lamanšs*), an arm of the Atlantic Ocean that links to the southern part of the North Sea by the Strait of Dover, emporia Quentovic came into existence in the early 6th century. A common name *emporium* (Latin: *emporium* /traveler, merchant, merchant/) was used for short-lived trade settlements that arose in the 6th–7th centuries and lasted until the 9th century. A lack of infrastructure (as a rule, there were no churches and a developed system of fortifications) characterized emporia. In

the Early Viking Age from 793 to 891 AD, Scandinavian independent, self-organizing 'free warlords' began raids on the coasts of Northern Europe and overseas expeditions. Scandinavian seafaring warriors and Vikings undertook large-scale conquest and trading through trade routes along great rivers of Eastern Europe, which developed in a place of the Great Silk Road and united most of Central Asia and Northern Europe.

At the beginning of the 9th century, the economic boom contributed to the establishment of marketplaces, the creation of roads, trade connections the movement of pilgrims, and the revival of cities and culture in Europe. The Emperor of the Romans (Latin: *Imperatores Romani Sacri*, German: *Römisch-deutscher Kaiser*; 800–814) Charles the Great (Latin: *Carolus Magnus*, German: *Karl der Große*) paid great attention to the rebuilding of monastery churches and according to St. Benedict's formulation of the rules for a way of life of monastic communities gave rise to monasteries. He formed the basis for a new administrative system of the Holy Roman Empire. During Charles the Great's reign, simple construction volumes for sacral buildings were created. In the central part of the Aachen Cathedral, a cupola covered the octagonal Palatine Chapel consecrated by Pope (795–816) Leo III in honor of the Virgin Mary. The apse closed the chapel's eastern part, and the atrium was made in front of the entrance in the western part (Toman & Co 2015: 43). Charles the Great helped to restore the city of Oviedo, which was transformed to the Christianity Centre. In Hamburg, the first church consecrated in 810 became a diocesan center on an island at the River Elbe's mouth, where a stone castle made in 808 protected the Elbe Waterway against Slavic invasions. St. Mary's Cathedral (German: *Hamburger Dom*, *St. Marien-Dom*, *Alter Mariendom*) was built here around 811.

Benedictine monk Ansgar (801–865) spread the Catholic faith in a significant Viking Age trading center of Birka on the island of Björkö in Lake Malar, and in 830, he built a church on his ancestral property at a marketplace. In 831, the first large Swedish town of Birka with its port became the site of the first known Catholic Parish (Latin: *parochia*) and the ninth-century center of Catholic missionary activities whose first known description was given in an important source *Vita sancti Ansgarii* /The life of Ansgar/ (around 875–after 876) wrote by Archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen (865–888) Rimbert. In this year, Ansgar became the archbishop in the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Hamburg (Latin: *Archidioecesis Hamburgensis*, German: *Erzbistum Hamburg*; 831), and in Hamburg, St. Mary's Cathedral with a stone tower appeared in the place of a burnt wooden church to provide observation, protection, sacral rituals, and entrance functions. The Slavic town of Starigard, which passed into the possession of the Archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen (Latin: *Episcopatus Bremensis*, German: *Erzbistum Bremen*) founded in the alliance with Bremen in 847, received the Low German name Aldinborg or Oldenburg and remained the competitor of Hedeby on the Baltic trade. Due to the Polish attack, Ansgar moved his residence to Bremen and became the first

Archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen in 848. The Germans who maintained a close link with the Archbishopric of Hamburg-Bremen became bishops in the Christianity Centre opened in the Bishopric of Lund (Swedish: *Lunds stift*, German: *Bistum Lund*; 1060). The Archdiocese of Lund was established, and a basilica with a wooden ceiling for the Lund Cathedral dedicated to Saint Lawrence was built in the 11th century.

In early basilicas of Latin and Greek cross layouts, aisles never took around the altar and did not make a sidewalk around the choir or the deambulatory. In Normandy and Italy, where Latin traditions prevailed, apses at the end of naves were confirmed without a passage in the church plan. At the Rhine, buildings performed under the impact of Byzantine, and apses closed each end of the middle nave. In the churches of Cologne, apses were located also in the transept or a perpendicular volume to the longitudinal axis. In Spain, the Bishop of Urgell moved his residence to Seu, and the Cathedral of Santa Maria d'Urgell of Latin cross layout was consecrated in 1040. Small apses for secondary worship places were made in the transept. Portico, or cloister courtyard (Latin: *claustrum*, French: *cloître*) surrounded a yard on the building's south side (Toman & Co 2015: 349). During the development course of sacral buildings, the altar part changed. Norman conquerors burnt down St. Martin's Basilica in Tours, and a new church instead of it was built in 903 (burnt down in 997). A circular passage took around the altar in the Basilica of St. Martin's Abbey (French: *Abbaye Saint Martin de Tours*) consecrated in 1017. In Northern France, the architecture of cathedrals was simple, and cylindrical vaults for the middle-nave covering and cross vaults for side naves were used. Own architectural traditions and constructive techniques were created in the south and south-west parts of France as Provence, Aquitaine, and somewhere else, where the link with the Mediterranean coastal lands, Italy, and Byzantium was preserved. Applying lancet arches, vault constructions, and cupolas for a ceiling, one or three-nave hall-type churches (German: *Hallenkirchen*) were built. Façades were abundantly decorated. The social-political development, culture-historical, artistic, and building traditions determined the peculiarity of cathedrals rather than the variety of building materials and geographical climatic conditions. In the 11th–12th century, two tendencies characterized the complex and controversial development of Western Europe: conservative processes, which delayed the national development for a long time, and national self-determination efforts, due to whose impact the feudal system as a new order flourished, and its economy rooted in agriculture. Tectonic thinking fitted in organically in the creative synthesis of both opposite systems (Münster 1550).

In the Holy Roman Empire, the politically important Speyer Cathedral (Latin: *Domus sanctae Mariae Spirae*, German: *Speyerer Dom*, *Kaiser- und Mariendom zu Speyer*) reconstructed in 1030 and consecrated in 1061 became one of the 'Emperor's cathedrals' (German: *Kaiserdom*) and one of the biggest Christians' cathedrals that symbolized Emperor's power. In Mainz, the construction of a

three-nave basilica with columns for the Mainz Cathedral or St. Martin's Cathedral (German: *Mainzer Dom*, *Der Hohe Dom zu Mainz* or, officially, *Der Hohe Dom zu Mainz*; 1100 and 1137) was started instead of the church destroyed by fire in 1081. It is possible that the octagonal cupola replaced the square prismatic tower built by Willigis-Bardo (around 940–1011). Saint Martin of Tours (Latin: *Sanctus Martinus Turonensis*; 316 or 336–397) and St. Stephan (*Stephanus*) became patrons of this cathedral (Toman & Co 2015: 22, 26). Emperor's death in 1106 marked a significant turning point in the construction of this building, and it was completed incompletely. In Worms, cross vaults covered St. Peter's Cathedral (German: *Wormser Dom*, *Dom St. Peter zu Worms*; 1130–1181).

The Metropolitan Archdiocese of Lund was established in 1104, and initially, its ecclesiastical province covered Denmark, Norway, and Sweden. Bishops of Denmark and northern countries were consecrated in the Archbishopric Centre (1164) of Uppsala. The Swedes had a tribal center in Gamla Uppsala /Old Uppsala/ that was the last stronghold of pre-Christian Norse Germanic kingship. The main holy place of the Old Scandinavians or Northern peoples (around the 2nd–8th centuries) was the Temple of extensive wooden constructions at Gamla Uppsala that contained magnificent idols of the Norse gods and became an important religious, economic, and political center in the 3rd and 4th century and also in future. In the 12th century, six bishoprics were created. Bishop of Oldenburg in Holstein *Vicelinus* (1086–1154) built an important church with a transept and massive tower in 1127. A new Augustinian monastery (Latin: *novum monasterium*, Greco-Latin: *Neomonasterium*, German: *neues Kloster* or *neues Münster*) in Neumünster (Low German: *Niemünster*, *Neemünster*) by 1136 was founded west of Luibice, which as a capital of the West Slavic principality contained a castle and merchant house (burned down during the uprising of 1138) on the peninsula near a harbor at the Schwartau and the Trave rivers' confluence.

Benedictine monks, who criticized craving for luxury and unwillingness to do hard work, joined a group, and the Cistercian Order (Latin: *Ordo Cisterciensis*) under the subjugation of the Roman Catholic Church was established in France. A distinct Cult of Mary was there. In 1098, the first Cistercian monastery (French: *Abbaye Notre-Dame de Cîteaux*) sustained with farming and a brewery and called the New Monastery (Latin: *Novum Monasterium*) was founded in the region of *Côte d'Or*. The base was self-sufficiency – monks had to gain their subsistence from handwork, farming, and cattle breeding. Therefore, a monastery needed to have forests, vineyards, animals, meadows, and fields away from the secular people's places of residence. Cistercians observed strict Lent, worked on the farm, and built monastery buildings close to rivers or brooks as energy resources. The farmstead's construction consisted of a chapel and a wooden house with a bedroom, dining room, and kitchen to satisfy the monks' basic needs. The third abbot of Cîteaux (1109–1134) Stephen Harding established Firmitas (1113), Pontiniacum (1114), and Morimond (1115) Cistercian monasteries in

remote areas. On 25 June 1115, *Bernardus Claraevallensis* (1090–1153) founded the monastery of a similar building named *Claire Vallée*, which evolved into Clairvaux. In 1118, *Bernardus* founded the Abbey of Fontenay, one of the largest Cistercian monasteries in France. Pope (1119–1124) Calixt II confirmed the *Charta Caritatis* and set requirements for the placement and functional organization of rooms in the New Monastery. Monasteries were forbidden to be established in cities, farms, and castles. The construction was allowed only within the monastery's territory, where craftsmen's workshops, a garden, water springs, homes, a chapel, rooms for catering, and guest hosting had to be. Stone buildings were built from 1124 to 1193.

In Angouleme, St. Peter's Cathedral (French: *Cathédrale Saint-Pierre d'Angoulême*) was rebuilt (1108–1128) to make a simple crown of four chapels in the eastern part. In the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela consecrated in 1128, an old handwriting *Codex Calixtinus* was found. It says that in 1075, Alfonso VI of León began to build the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela in the burial place of Saint James the Great, one of the apostles of Jesus Christ. Applying this cathedral as a prototype, the Basilica of Saint Sernin (French: *Basilique Saint-Sernin de Toulouse*; 1080–1117) on foundations of the basilica built for the fourth Bishop of Toulouse (360–400) St. Silvius (French: *Selve, Sylve*) was rebuilt in the Abbey of Saint-Sernin or Saint Saturnin to host visitors of martyr St. Saturninus' (?–around 250) resting place in France. The construction of the apse and the transept closed by the entrance in the south part began during the first stage of construction. The south part of the external wall and the lower part of the ambulatory were built. Nine chapels were made at the east end – five of which were turned towards the apse, and four – towards the transept whose walls were built in the second stage of construction. In the third stage of construction, a wall below the windows of the gallery surrounded the nave and entrance to the building's west side. The construction of the nave was completed in the fourth stage of construction. Comparing the Christian churches built before, a circular passage around the altar part was a supplement there, so that relics in chapels could be seen better. St. Sernin followed the 'pilgrimage' plan, but not the basilica of traditional layout, so he made two entrances *Porte des Comtes* and *Porte des Miégeville*. The King of the Franks (629–634), King of Neustria and Burgundy (629–639) Dagobert I (Latin: *Dagobertus*) founded the Benedictine Abbey above the tomb of the French holy guardian Saint-Denis. In 1130, Abbot Suger (1081–1151) began to build the Basilica of Saint-Denis (French: *Basilique Saint-Denis, Basilique royale de Saint-Denis*; 1144) (Toman & Co 2015: 276, 286, 299), where French kings were buried. In the eastern part, the choir and apsidal chapel were made in the late 12th century, creating a sample for cathedrals visited by pilgrims. In the Cathedral of Our Lady of the Assumption of Clermont-Ferrand (French: *Basilique Notre-Dame-du-Port de Clermont-Ferrand*; the second half of the 12th century), a chapel of semicircle layout was built in the north and south transepts (Toman & Co

2015: 266). Four chapels were placed around the presbytery (Latin: *presbyterium*), or the space around the altar. In Burgundian churches, a circular gallery around the altar was a novelty. The transept as if obtained an extension in the aisles and curve of the altar apse, providing an opportunity to place relics in the apse and regulate the flow of pilgrims. Allowing some derogations from the planning of the basilica, the building obtained a layout similar to a centric building by the central lighting. Initially, the altar was situated above the crypt (Latin: *crypta*) which was the buried place of the Saint. The cult of relics promoted the arrangement of chapels as secondary worship places around the holy site in the church. Pilgrims could reach them if the procession along one aisle was directed towards this holy site, but along the other – the opposite direction. In the Catholic temple, polygonal chapels adjoined a wide circular passage, which made the entrance into the apse. The circular passage around the choir connected both flows of people, for whose separation individual doors for the entrance and exit were made in each nave. In the crypt, the placement of flows was the same. The little chapel (German: *Einsatzkapelle*) made a closed unit together by the nave and was hardly visible from the outside. In Italy, the basilicas of Florence and Pisa cathedrals had colonnades and flat ceilings. A stone cupola in the intersection place of the equal coverings of the middle nave and side nave created feelings of spaciousness inside as in big mosques. Vaults covered crypts and side naves. In the middle part of the main façade, a round rose window symbolized the Fortune Wheel, Sun, Christ, or the Virgin Mary compared with a rose without any thorns. The five-nave Pisa Cathedral (Italian: *Duomo di Pisa*, *Duomo di Santa Maria Assunta*; 1063–1118) built by Italian architect Buscheto (Bushetto) and completed by architect Rainaldo became the principal building of the ensemble that included the Baptistery (Italian: *Battistero di Pisa*; 1153–1265/1278) built by Diotosalvi (Deotislavi) and the belfry (1174–1372).

Cistercians, applying the Benedictine monastery basilica planning as a sample, started to build the Basilica of Clairvaux Abbey (Latin: *Clara Vallis*) in 1135. However, Abbot of Clairvaux (1115–1128) Bernardus criticized too long and wide house. Expensive paintings, stained glass windows, and sculptures were not allowed to be placed in Cistercian churches. Stone belfries also were forbidden. Only Christ the Saviour's image and paintings made on wooden crosses were allowed to be placed (Misāns & Šnē 2004: 193). Monks of Cluny Abbey criticized introduced requirements. Bernardus, having borrowed the idea from ancient Greek homes, where rooms were placed around a peristyle (Latin: *peristylium*) or an open square yard surrounded by a portico, developed a functional scheme for the construction of the Cistercian monastery complex. In the north of the church, cloister buildings were placed: in the west – cells (Latin: *cella*), in the south – refectories, and in the east – the sacristy, library, and other rooms. During the economic boom in the first half of the 13th century, a stone building complex made according to this functional scheme replaced wooden houses, and Loccum

Cistercian monastery (German: *Kloster Loccum*; 1163) was established in Lower Saxony westwards from Hannover (Henricus 1993: 345). Cistercians built monasteries in lands of different economic and political situations. Due to the local construction tradition, formal differences deepened. Nevertheless, despite the diversity, the building of Clairvaux and Cîteaux Abbeys, and the church (1259–1276) of Altenberg Abbey (German: *Abtei Altenberg*, Latin: *Vetus Mons*; 1133) (Toman & Co 2015: 44), now known as the Altenberg Cathedral (German: *Altenberger Dom* vai *Bergischer Dom*), took into account *Bernardus Claraevallensis'* directions, thus buildings were similar. Cistercians gave riches and plots of land, and allowing deviations from original principles, differences between Benedictines and Cistercians decreased. After *Bernardus Claraevallensis'* death, construction volumes of Cistercian monastery buildings increased.

The Holy Roman Emperor (1133–1137) Lothar III under the subjugation of Archbishop of Hamburg-Bremen established the Segeberg Monastery (German: *Augustinerkloster Segeberg*; 1134– the second half of 16th century) near the Port of Bremen (German: *Bremerhaven*), and using the monastery church in Neumünster as a sample, St. Mary's Church (1156) with a high tower was included in the complex. Count of Schauenburg and Holstein (1130–1164) Adolf II, the son of the first Count of Schauenburg from 1106 to 1130 and the second Count of Holstein from 1111 Adolf I who made an important contribution to the colonization and Germanisation of the lands north of the Elbe took over the strategically significant peninsula. In 1143, he founded a German settlement of Lübeck on the hill island of Bucu or Buku by the Trave and Wakenitz rivers and built a castle, existing in 1147. During the first half of the 12th century, counts Adolf I and Adolf II supported by Duke of Saxony (1142–1180) Henry the Lion (German: *Heinrich der Löwe*), who in 1143 became the ruler of the town of Ratzeburg founded in the 11th century as Racisburg (Low German: *Ratzborg*) whose name was derived from the local Wendish ruler, Prince Ratibor of the Polabians, finally defeated the West Slavs called Veneti (Latin: *Venedi*, *Venethae, Venedae*, *Venethi*), an Indo-European people who inhabited Northeastern Italy. German merchants established the first German port for the active Baltic maritime trade at the estuary of the Wakenitz into the Trave. The fortified monastery (German: *Burgkloster*) of Lübeck was created atop the ruins of Bucu.

In 1145, Pope (1145–1153) Beatus Eugenius III issued the bull on the necessity to organize the second crusade (1147–1149). Monks became missionaries who preached the Catholic faith in pagan lands (Spekke 2008: 113). In 1147, the Pope consecrated the cross-type layout of Fontana Basilica with an ascetic triple-nave praying room covered by high vaults. The square-type choir was situated lower than the nave, separated by a colonnade on aisle each side. On the basilica's south side, the cloister took from the courtyard to the square Hall of Priests' Chapter surrounded by a portico. During the second crusade, the Knights rebuilt the Church of Resurrection or the Church of the Holy

Sepulchre (Latin: *ecclesia Sancti Sepulchri*, German: *Grabeskirche*, *Kirche des Heiligen Grabes*; 325/326–335, destroyed in 1009) also the Church of the Anastasis (German: *Auferstehungskirche*, *Anastasis*). Many secondary worship places brought people together in prayers and made complex architectonic spaces and complicated layouts of these buildings (Ozola 2019a: 143). Already in the early 12th century, an atrium was made in front of the entrance gate. The façade with the entrance gate was turned towards the Cardo Maximus. On 15 July 1149, the 50th anniversary of Jerusalem's conquest, the renovated Church of Resurrection as the Christians' most sacred place was solemnly consecrated.

Lübeck, trading eastward and northward, due to it having been designed as one of several regional trading centers became a base for merchants from Saxony and Westphalia. In 1150, the center of the Bishopric of Oldenburg was moved to the southern part of the peninsula. Two bishops of Oldenburg in Holstein – a parish priest (1156–after 1177) at Bosau near Plön and Saxon historian and chronicler Helmold who was a friend of Bishop of Oldenburg *Vicelinus* and Bishop of Oldenburg and Lübeck (1155–1163) Gerold mentioned the suburb, which developed nearby. The name *locus* of the former urban settlement in the central part of the peninsula corresponded with an archaeological account of the origin of the German settlement (*civitas*). The word *civitas* had several meanings in Medieval Latin texts. It referred to a district or a district center of secular or spiritual administration for some county. Fire destroyed this feudal overlord, and Henry the Lion forced Adolf II to relinquish Lübeck. In 1159, he started to rebuild the town, of which he soon lost possession. This time is considered to be the traditional date of the founding of Lübeck. In 1160, Bishop Gerold moved his seat from Oldenburg to the southern part of Lübeck and founded the Canonical Chapter. A mutual agreement from 1161 between the Saxon ruler Henry the Lion and the Gotlanders gave them rights to trade freely in the whole Saxon area and with the same rights for the Germans to trade along the Gotlandic coast. In 1170, St. Peter's Church (German: *Petrikirche*) for the citizenship Catholic Parish was first mentioned at the market in the trade route extension, from which side streets branched off to provide access to the Trave and Wakenitz rivers. The building area divided into blocks created a layout similar to a 'fishbone'.

The Bishopric of Ratzeburg (German: *Bistum Ratzeburg*; 1154–1554) was established. Four cathedrals built by Duke Henry the Lion affected the further development of the cathedral building type. On 11 August 1154, the first Bishop of Ratzeburg (1154–1178) Evermod laid the foundation stone for the Ratzeburg Cathedral (German: *Dom von Ratzeburg*) at the highest spot of the Old Town in the north part of the island. The cloister and the Canonical or Cathedral Chapter's building for Premonstratensians were built in the second half of the 13th century. The construction volume was closed by the middle tower built around 1251 instead of the initially envisaged two-tower façade on

the cathedral's west side and side outbuildings on the height of the middle nave. The town of Schwerin became the Bishopric Centre in 1160. On the highest spot of the Old Town, the foundation stone for the stone cathedral was laid on 9 September 1171 instead of the first cathedral of timber near a castle.

Having returned from the Holy Land, Duke Henry the Lion laid the foundation stone for the Brunswick Cathedral (German: *Braunschweiger Dom*; 1173–1226) in 1173. Although during 1182–1185, he was evicted to England. This building consecrated on 29 December 1226 as a collegiate church became a sample for the Bremen Cathedral dedicated to St. Peter (German: *Bremer St. Petri Dom*, *Bremer Dom*) (Grosmane 2000: 59–60). In Schwerin, the Schwerin Cathedral (German: *Schweriner Dom St. Marien und St. Johannis*) dedicated to the Virgin Mary and Saint John was built following the move there of the seat of Bishop of the Bishopric of Abodrites established by Henry the Lion in the late 12th century. This basilica was also a parish church (German: *Pfarrkirche*) for the citizens who did not have their church. The location of the castle and the Schwerin Cathedral consecrated on 15 June 1248 influenced the urban space of Schwerin, the principal city in Prince-Bishopric of Schwerin. Duke Henry the Lion founded the Bishopric of Lübeck in 1173 and laid in the town center the foundation stone of the Lübeck Cathedral (German: *Dom zu Lübeck*, or colloquially *Lübecker Dom*; 1173–1230), one of the oldest buildings, which replaced a wooden church built in 1163. In 1173, Lübeck became the capital of the Bishopric of Lübeck, which gained the status of Imperial State or Imperial Estate (Latin: *Status Imperii*, German: *Reichsstand*). As a part of the Holy Roman Empire, it became the Prince-Bishopric of Lübeck (German: *Hochstift Lübeck*; 1180–1803). Lübeck soon became the main trading port between the East and West.

On 4 July 1187, Christians lost their most important sanctuary in Jerusalem. Emperor Friedrich I Barbarossa granted special privileges to the settlement of Lübeck in 1188, as its trade on the Baltic grew in importance. The Lübeck law (German: *Lübisches (Stadt) Recht*) was the second most prevalent form of medieval municipal law next to Magdeburg Rights (German: *Magdeburger Recht*), also called the Magdeburg law. A set of early town privileges based on the Flemish law was first developed by the Holy Roman Emperor (936–973) Otto I and regulated by the degree of internal autonomy within cities and villages granted by the local ruler. The most important set of medieval laws in Central Europe was named after the German city of Magdeburg and became an inspiration for regional town charters in Eastern Europe and the basis for the German town laws developed across many centuries in the Holy Roman Empire. Although the Lübeck law provided for municipal self-governance and self-administration, it did not negate dependence upon a lord, be it a bishop, duke, king, or—in Lübeck's case—an emperor. It replaced the personal rule of tribal monarchs descending from ancient times or the rule of regional dukes and kings established by **Charles I**, who held all his aristocratic vassals personally responsible for the defense, health, and welfare of tribesmen settled on

their estates, including towns. The Lübeck law allowed cities a certain degree of autonomy and self-reliance in legislative, judicial, and executive matters and represented a significant modernization of governance in that a class of burghers, as opposed to nobles, were responsible for the day-to-day affairs of governance. Members (German: *Ratsherrn*) of the City Council (Geman: *Rat*) could be elected by co-option. They were not elected by the citizens but would appoint a new member on their own from the city's merchant guilds. This was considered a key to the representation of guilds in the City Council. In the lenticular planned port city of Lübeck, building plots were allocated on both sides of the trade route which turned into an 'elongated marketplace' this in turn provided a link between city gates on opposite sides of the defensive wall, as it was in Jerusalem ruled by the Knights.

During the 11ᵗʰ–12ᵗʰ centuries, most of the European inhabitants were Christians, and the Pope of Rome and the Holy Roman Emperor started to spread the Catholic faith by the mid-12ᵗʰ century, and the Roman Catholic Church had a special influence on the South Baltic coast inhabited by the West Slavs. Churches and residences were built, and ecclesiastical states or bishoprics, monasteries, and towns were established for colonization. In 1175, monks of Kobitzow monastery (Colbitzow till 1945, Polish: *Kołbaskowo*) from the Stettin region arrived in Pomerania to carry out pastoral cases, and in 1185, an oratory in the confluence of the Motława and Leniwka rivers not far from Danzig (Polish: *Gdańsk*) was built with the help of Duke Sobiesław I Gdański (Latin: *Sobieslaus*, 1130–1187). On 2 July 1186, the Cistercian monastery '*Beatae Mariae de Oliva*' (German: *Kloster Oliva*, Polish: *Opactwo Cystersów w Oliwie*) was founded, and Duke of Pomerania, regent of Pomerelia (1180–1207) Sambor I handed over to monks the ownership statement on 18 March 1188. A church (Polish: *kościół pw. św. Mikołaja*; 1190) was founded in honour to seafarers' patron Nikolaus von Myra. Duke of Pomerania-Stettin (1156–1187) Bogusław I became a vassal of Duke of Saxony Henry the Lion.

In Hamburg (**Fig. 1**), where the cathedral existed in the original Hammaburg area, one of the main stone churches (German: *Hamburger Hauptkirchen*)—built instead of wooden buildings—on the market near the Old Castle (German: *Alster Burg*) was a market church (*ecclesia forensis*). St. Peter's Church (German: *Petrikirche*) was built probably at the start of 1189. The second oldest church (German: *Marktkirche*) in the Old Town was first documented in 1195 and named after Simon Petrus by Pope (1216–1227) Honorius III. A Town Hall was erected at the market, and a secular power center was made. Street views had a purposeful perspective in an architecturally enclosed space. A mill was on the riverbank. St. Nicholas Church (German: *Hauptkirche St. Nikolai*, *St.-Nikolai-Kirche*; 1189–1195) dedicated to Saint Nicholas, patron Saint of fishermen and sailors, replaced a small wooden chapel at the market (German: *Rödingsmarkt*) on an island to the west of the Old Town. The New Castle (German: *Neue Burg*) existed near around 1200.

In Europe by the 12th century, trading between the South and North moved to the West. Merchants and craftsmen formed guilds as local associations to strengthen their social and economic position. Merchant circles established the league to protect guilds' economic interests and diplomatic privileges in their affiliated cities, countries, and trade routes used by merchants. Originally, the league was described as a fraternal association formed among traveling German merchants. The German expansion allowed the Lübeck town rights to be granted to new towns, which grew into commercial centers along the south and east coast of the Baltic Sea. Guilds existed even before the birth of the Hanseatic organization. In the late 1100s, the league came to dominate Baltic maritime trade along the coasts of Northern Europe (Westholm 1994: 4). The rich and vital connection between the Arab Lands and Northern Europe passed through *Austrvegr* which means the Eastern Way, which was essentially a continuation of the River's Road crossed the East Baltics and along the northern coast of the Estonian lands went to the Gulf of Finland and the Neva – the upper reaches of Lake Ladoga. Merchants from Northern German towns stayed in the settlement of Visby, which functioned as the leading trade center in the eastern part of the Baltic Sea even before the Hansa. Scandinavian merchants from Visby sailed up the rivers to the east and in 1080 established a trading station of Gutenhof (*Gutagard* or *Gotenhof*) at Novgorod, where trade was concentrated. Novgorod at the Volkhov River near Lake Ilmen was easily reachable from the Baltic Sea by the Neva River and the direct trade route from the east. In the early years of the 12th century, merchants from Kievan Rus' visited Gotland. Visby became the only trading place with the privilege of trading with German cities. In the trading metropolis of Visby, streets from a commercial center led to the port, and the Gunpowder Tower (Swedish: *Kruttornet*) at the entrance of a harbor in the oldest part of the City Wall was built after the German establishment on Gotland in the late 12th century. German traders started to build the first St. Mary's Church for the visiting Germans and probably finished around 1190. Only later, a pure guest church on a square became a parish church for the German population settled permanently in Visby. It was declared for two congregations: visiting German traders and native Gotlanders. Each of the parishes had their priest – one for visitors, and one for natives.

Starting from the 13th century, German merchants included the South Baltic coast in their journeys. They took over trade and initiated significant territorial changes. In the 13th century, cathedrals replaced monastery churches and took the leading position in cities, where became the main architectural dominants. Townspeople were united in congregations and needed their churches. However, cities were included in the Hanseatic League, and churches for the citizenship Catholic parishes gained special importance. Urban space formed around churches rebuilt into artistically excellent buildings. **Research problem**: sacral buildings changed urban aesthetics and the image of cities. The layout and urban space of the Hanseatic cities have not been studied enough to preserve

their identity in the course of modern urban development. **Purpose**: analysis of the impact of churches for the citizenship parishes on the planning, visual image, and architectural-spatial development of the Hanseatic League cities, as well as Riga. **Originality**: analysis of common and local features of medieval urban space and the structural evolution of the Hanseatic cities during the 13th and 14th centuries. **Methodology**: analysis of archive documents, projects, cartographic materials, studies of published literature, an inspection of churches in nature, and photo fixation.

The formation of urban space in trading centers of indigenous people on the Baltic Sea coast

Merchants from Lübeck were required to trans-ship goods between the North Sea and the Baltic, and they needed new support places near big waterways and to rake up river estuaries on the South Baltic coast to become intermediaries in international trade between Eastern and Western Europe. **Vikings** used the waterway from the Greeks to the Varangians or the Eastern Way, to which the development of trade and the emergence of ancient Russian towns were related. Ethnic cultures underwent complicated changes by developing Finnic (Livs, Estonians) and Baltic (Latgalians, Selonians, Cours, Semigallians) peoples. The Cours expelled Vikings from the colony center in Seaborg (Latvian: *Jūrpils* or *Ezerpils*, now in the city of Grobiņa) existed until 850 when it was destroyed during the Curonian uprising, and they moved north in the 9th century. The Cours crossed the Winda and Abava rivers, acquired counties inhabited by the Baltic Finns in the Kursa Lowland, and continued move from the Abava River to the north. In the 1st millennium AD, the Baltic Finns, later ancestors of the Livs belonging to Finno-Ugric tribes whose descendants in small numbers still live in the seashore of the northwestern part of the Courland Peninsula, dominated in the ethnically mixed Abava River Basin's area. At the turn of the 9th and 10th centuries, feudal relations began to form in the territory of Latvia. The Cours installed inland hillforts and created a heterogeneous population after the 10th century. Part of the Finno-Ugric indigenous people left the Courland Peninsula to arrive in the Liv-inhabited areas of the lower reaches of the Daugava and Gauja and the coastline of the Gulf of Rīga. Two important earth roads started in the Lower Daugava. The road towards the north walked along the eastern coastline of the Gulf of Rīga and the Gulf of Finland to Sakala County (Estonian: *Sakala*, Latin: *Saccalia*), whose main economic center *castrum Viliende* (from 1919 Estonian: *Viljandi*, Latvian: *Vīlande*, German: *Fellin*) on the hill became the important traffic center. In commentaries on one of the most advanced medieval World maps *Tabula Rogeriana* /The Book of Roger/ drawn 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), the constant settlement established in the 12th century near *castrum Viliende* was first-mentioned as

Falamus. The other strategic road from areas between lower reaches of the Daugava and Gauja continued along the Gauja's left bank to the western and northern borders of Latgalian-inhabited regions, crossed Ugandi County (Latin: *Ungannia*, *Ugania* or *Ugaunia*, Latvian: *Ugaunija*, Low German: *Uggn*), reached Pskov and Novgorod (Mugurevičs 1961: 73). Marketplaces, warehouses and accommodation were set up in centers near the important highway. 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.

The importance of the Daugava transit waterway that connected Western Europe and Kievan Rus' ruled by **Vikings** originally until the 9th century has gradually increased between the 9th and the 11th centuries. People had also settled in the ancient valley of the Gauja River and its tributary valleys. Merchants, craftsmen and warriors used branches of the Eastern Way, which led up to the Daugava and Gauja rivers (Apals 1986: 7). The earth road branch from the Daugava's estuary led through Toreida Land to Riekstu Hill, the largest residential place of the Liv tribe of Wends (Latvian: *vendi*), a small group of migrants driven by the Cours from the Liv-inhabited lower reaches of Winda River. The road branch Toreida–Wendeculla–Straupe (Henricus 1993: 398), which was identifiable with Wengul or Wingul village, was included in Toreida Land (Latin: *Thoreida, Thoreyda*, Latvian: *Turaidas zeme*; 11th century–1206). The translation of *Wendeculla* /the village of the Wends/ (Latvian: *Vendu ciems*, *Vainguļciems*, *Vengulas ciems* or *Viņģelieši*) from the Baltic Finnish languages pointed to the ethnic origin of the population living in Toreida and native language. Another road to the right from the road branch Toreida–Wendeculla–Straupe crossed the Gauja River. The earth road, which went along the foothill of the northern edge of Central Vidzeme Upland, further led to Tanīsa Hill of Rauna (Brastiņš 1930: 92–93) with a fortified urban village (Šterns 2002: 98, 101–102) in the geographical center of Vidzeme (Livonian: *Vidūmō*). Fifteen ancient roads intersected near Tanīsa Hill, which was the final destination of Beverina Road (*via in Baverin*) oriented in the Rubene–Rauna direction. Catholic Priest Henry of Livonia (Latin: *Henricus de Lettis*, German: *Heinrich von Lettland*, Latvian: *Latviešu Indriķis*; around 1187–after 1259), using archives of Bishop and the Canonical Chapter, wrote *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* about events of 1180–1227 and the Livonian Brothers of the Sword. He reports on the possible *castrum Beverin* (Latvian: *Beverīna*, also *Bebernīne*, *Bitarīna*, burned in 1216), which was the starting point of one road. The other starting point could be Ymera (Latvian: *Imera*, Latin: *Ymera*; 1208–1223), from which the road led along the lake. The name *Barūnia* identified by *castrum Beverin* can be found in the schematically inaccurate northern part of Europe on the map of *Tabula Rogeriana*, which provided also the first written information about a very large and people-rich Semigallian ancient town *Madsūna* (Latvian: *Mežotne*). *Castrum Mesiothe* (destroyed in 1272) on Mežotne Hillfort (Latvian: *Mežotnes pilskalns*)

also Viesturs Hill (Brastiņš 1926: 31–32) was the Semigallian principal fortification on the Lielupe's left bank in the 8th–13th centuries. Four populated areas of Daugava, Metsepole (Livonian: *Mõtsa pūol* /wooded place/, Finnish: *metsänpuoli*), Toreida (Gauja), and the Latgalian region of Ydumea (Latvian: *Idumeja*, *Idums*, Livonian: *Vidumaa*, Latin: *Ydumea*; 11th century–1206) can be distinguished for the Livs of Vidzeme. Toreida Land inhabited by the Gauja Livs did not have access to the sea, and links between the lands of the Treiden Livs and the Metsepole Livs were provided through separate Ledegore County (Latin: *Letthegore, Lettegore,* Latvian: *Lēdurga*) crossed by the trade road that connected up Metsepole and Ydumea counties. The Livs did not have a common ruler and the main center of population and were not united in a common state. These motives determined the German aggression in the Baltics and attempted to establish themselves in the Daugava's estuary to control the lower reaches of the Lielupe, Gauja, and other rivers on the Baltic coast.

Since the 9th century on the right bank of the Lower Daugava, representatives of Baltic and Liv tribes inhabited the Hill of Gods, a high strip of land surrounded by a deep ravine to the north and the east. Antiques dating from the 10th century show the ethnic affiliation to the Livs (Zariņa 1982: 164, 167). It is possible that two wooden fortifications for each of the two fortified settlements were built on its own shore of the Rumbiņa River. *Castris Lenevvarde* testifies to the existence of fortifications equivalent to a fortress. The place-name Lennewarde (Latvian: *Lielvārde*, now the town of Lielvārde) most of the continuously inhabited space of the Hill of Gods, most likely, originated from the Scandinavian word *warde* (Latvian: *piestātne*, *krāvums* or *krauja ar signālugunskuru*) (Zariņa 1980: 121). In the 9th–10th centuries, the main Liv-inhabited area on the right bank of the Lower Daugava was formed to Asscrade Hillfort created by the Daugava Livs (Latin: *Dunenses*) or *Vienalenses* whose ancient town developed in a strategic place between two streams that enter the Daugava (Henricus 1993: 360). The hydronym of the biggest one was called the Ašķere or Ašķe gave the name to one of the Daugava Livs' largest centers with the farthest eastern Liv natural harbor in the navigable Daugava. Agriculture, animal husbandry, and fishing were the main activities. Trade played a significant role. Crafts, including the extraction of iron ore from local bogs, the production of iron tools and weapons in workshops, bronze processing, jewelry making, weaving, and pottery, developed not only in populated sites on hillforts but in almost every village.

At least until the 9th century, only Latgalian communities lived in areas extending from the Ķīšupe River (also Latvian: *Kižupe* or *Tišupe*, in upstream *Viršupe*) that flows out of Lauga Bog to the south of the Gauja River and enters into the Gulf of Rīga. The Metsepole Liv-inhabited lands bordered Sakala County behind the Salaca River in the north, Tolowa County (also *Tolova*, Latin: *Tholowa*, Latgalian: *Tuolova*, Latvian: *Tālava*) in the east, the Gauja River in the south, and the Gulf of Rīga in the west. In the 10th–13th centuries, three associations of Baltic Finnish tribes inhabited Metsepole

and Rosula (Latvian: *Rozula*, Livonian: *Rosula*) counties extended from the River Lemme's (Estonian: *Lemmejõgi* situated northwest of *Orajõe*) mouth into the Ķīšupe River. The western part of Ydumea Upland bordered by the Augstroze Hillock in the east, the Gauja River Valley in the south, Metsepole Plain of the Central Latvian Lowland in the west, and included the wavy plain of Limbaži (Latvian: *Limbažu viļņotais līdzenums*), on whose edge the River Aģe's tributary of Igate (Latvian: *Igates upe*) called the Small Aģe (Latvian: *Mazā Aģe*) flows from Lake Aijaži (Latvian: *Aijažu* or *Lielais ezers*) and streams in the northern part of Aijaži Bog. People also inhabited the banks of the Salaca River to mouths of the Vitrupe (Latvian: *Naužupe*, in upstream *Baurupe*, *Lielupīte*, *Reiņupe*) that starts from Lake Lāde (Latvian: *Lādes* or *Nabes ezers*), Ramata (Estonian: *Raamatu jõgi*) and Iģe or Īģe rivers. They lived on the banks of Pērļupe (also Latvian: *Greile* or *Pērļupīte*), Aģe or Skulte rivers, and downstream of Glāžupe River (also Latvian: *Dzirnupe*, in upstream *Līvupe* or *Munca*) and Svētupe (Estonian: *Pühajõgi*, German: *Swähtuppe Fluss*), near which holy places of the Livs were located (Laime & Urtāns 2016). The cultural landscape of the Svētupe area was formed (Urtāns & Co 2015). A gradual infiltration and merging of the Latgalians with Livs took place in the 10th century.

A straight track, which roughly coincided with the road from Riga to Sakala, involved the 10th–12th-century fortified Liv residential place of Lemisele (now in the city of Limbaži) on ten-metre-high Ķezberi Hill (Latvian: *Ķezberkalns*) inhabited in the 9th–12th centuries. Population on Ķezberi Hill on the southern shore of Lake Dzirnezers (Brastiņš 1930: 196–197) is attributed to the first centuries of the 2nd millennium or the second half of the Late Iron Age (Urtāns 1991: 19–20). Lemeselle village (Livonian: *Lembsele*, *Lemeselle* /wide island in a forest swamp/) expanded at the foothill (Brikmane & Co 2008: 12–14), where a marketplace developed near the crossroads by Lake Dzirnezers and a stream that connected through-flow lakes Mazezers and Dūņezers (also Latvian: *Dūņu ezers* or *Limbažu Dūņezers*). The navigable Svētupe River starts from Dūņezers and flows to the sea. The head Liv center on an ancient warpath was *castrum Remin* (*Remyn*). It has not been determined. Hypotheses expressed that Metsepole settlement has been on the bank of the Liepupe River (Pumpa 1985: 68) mentioned as *Perniģele* in documents of 1403. Square Liepupe Hillfort (Latvian: *Liepupes pilskalns*) with an unusual entrance on the Liepupe's left bank formed by the Metsepole Livs in a flat field less than three kilometers from the sea was not typical of ancient hillforts. It shows the ancient population (Ozola 2003: 48). In the past, there were no circumstances that would promote the origin of hillforts on the Gulf of Rīga coastline, apart from the strange Kaņieris Hillfort near Lake Kaņieris. Hypotheses have been expressed that the centre of Metsepole could be associated with a small fortification on Skulte Hillfort (Latvian: *Stārastu* or *Skultes pilskalns*) created by the Aģe River (Livonian: *Adya*, *Aḍā*, German: *Adja*) that flows out of through-flow Lake Aģe

(Latvian: *Aģes* or *Palciema ezers*), takes up waters of Lake Aijaži and served as a waterway for internal traffic. Its mouth became a port. Centers developed on Rūjiena Hillfort at the Rūja River and Naukšēni Kābele Hill. However, likely, Metsepole did not have any single, main center at all (Auns 2017).

The Livs, Semigallians, Latgalians, and Selonians lived along the Daugava. It was better than earth roads and provided connections between Eastern and Western countries. On the left bank of the internationally important Daugava Waterway, Scandinavian nomadic traders installed a settlement (9th–10th century) near Daugmale Hillfort and its ancient town belonged to the Semigallians until the 10th century (Urtāns 1967: 42). The earth road from the fortified settlement on Daugmale Castle Mound and the Port of Semigallia (Lain: *Portus Semigalliae*) in the Lower Daugava on the waterway led to the important Semigallian center. The main Semigallian fortification, economic and cultural center was *castrum Mesiothe* on a promontory bounded on the east by a steep bank and on the north by a stream ravine. A settlement occupied a large area north, west, and southwest of Wine Hill (Latvian: *Vīnakalns*), which may have been a fortified place of worship or an additional fortification. Earth roads from Mežotne Castle Mound and its ancient town with a port in the coastal settlement complex of the principal waterway of the Lielupe (Šterns 2002: 126–127) provided traffic to the western region of Selonia and from Lithuanian lands to a natural harbor in the lower reaches of Rīga River or Lake Riga (Latin: *lacus Riga*). The River Lielupe's left tributaries of Svēte, Īslīce, Vircava, Platone, Svitene, and Sesava were used as waterways for traffic to a natural harbor in the extension of the lower reaches of Rīga River and an international marketplace.

Already in the 10th century, centers formed in the Lower Daugava region. A significant number of Liv settlements was from the 10th century and especially in the 11th–12th centuries (Caune 1992b). Some antiquities of the 10th–11th centuries testify to the possible beginning of inhabitation of Riga (Livonian: *Rīgõ*), a wider settlement whose role related to the favorable geographical position at the Daugava's mouth. Unlike villages in the upper part of Dole Island, Daugmale and Laukskola, no imported things from the 10th–11th centuries have been found in this territory. No such findings are known near Riga. Viking ships in the 10th–11th centuries also landed at *Holme* on the route to Kievan Rus' (Mugurēvičs 1968). *Holme* was an islet in the lower reaches of the Daugava, upstream of Dole Island, where the Daugava and the Dry Daugava branched off. The name was based on an old name given by Vikings, which they repeatedly used to designate settlements located on islands (cf. *Holm gård* – Novgorod, *Stock holm* – Stockholm, also *Холм* – the city of Holm in Russia). It is hypothesized that the names *Holm* (Latvian: *Salaspils*), *Gercike* (Latvian: *Jersika*), and *Garðr* (Latvian: *Krāslava*) were of Viking origin (Mugurēvičs 1996). All three branches of the river formed between the two banks of the Daugava were easy to control from the islet whose small size was a precondition for its

easier fortification and defense against enemy attacks. After the 10th century, a new influx of the Livs was observed in the important economic region, where several transit earth roads crossed a large waterway in the Lower Daugava. Inhabitation in the immediate surroundings of Riga concentrated from the 10th to the 12th century. Several populated places and hillforts became the 10th–11th-century principal centers in the Lower Daugava region, but the formation process of early towns started with the gradual growth of Daugmale (Caune 1992a). Since the 10th–11th centuries, inhabitation began in the Daugava Liv villages, and the Livs in large numbers lived in the vast Lower Daugava's region (Atgāzis 1969: 24). Initially, the fortification on Daugmale Hillfort bounded three sides by a ten-meter-deep ravine at the small river Varžupīte's mouth less than twenty kilometers from Riga was the main center in the middle of the densely populated Lower Daugava's region. A large ancient town approached the hillfort and reached the Varžupīte's estuary at the end of the steep-sided promontory on the western side of the hillfort, where, it seems, a pier for boats was in ancient times. Long-distance contact with the Scandinavians was significant, and since the late 10th century, there has been cooperation with people from the Swedish mainland (Zariņa 1996: 121–127). Daugmale Castle Mound and the nearby Laukskola complex of populated sites on the Daugava's right bank as one of the oldest and largest fortified places of ancient locals in the territory of Latvia became from the 10th to the first half of the 12th century the principal center with the marketplace (Zariņa 1974: 89). In the surroundings of Daugmale Castle Mound and the village at the upper part of Dole Island, the Daugava Livs had close contacts with the Scandinavians, especially in the 10th and 11th centuries, but not in Riga (Caune 1992b), which had no role in the 10th–11th-century trade. Inhabitants were mainly engaged in fishing, beekeeping, animal husbandry, and farming, and it was an ordinary village in the Lower Daugava until the 12th century. Dwellings of the Daugava Livs began to develop on the riverbank from Liv villages at the upper part of Dole Island to solitary Ikšķile (Liiv: *Ikškilā* from *ikš* (*ükš*) + *kila* /one + village/, Estonian: *Üksküla* also known as *Üxküll*), where the Daugava Livs lived since the 11th century and an earth road leading from the north to Lithuania crossed the Daugava Waterway. The Livs and Semigallians, as well as Vikings, Krivichs, and other ethnic peoples, settled temporarily in Daugmale Castle Mound until the late 12th century (Urtāns 1970: 68). It became a craft center and flourished as an international marketplace.

In the 11th century, humans took living places on a peninsula surrounded by the Daugava and Rīga rivers. Rīga village of two similar ethnic groups the Daugava Livs and the Livs from the northern part of the Courland Peninsula began to form (Caune 2007: 258). Pre-German Riga was not a single village, but it was formed by two small settlements located close to each other: one on the bank of the River Rīga's mouth, on the bank of the natural harbor, and the other – in a narrow about three hundred meters long strip along the Daugava's riverbank. Archaeological material proves that a pre-

German settlement with a mixed ethnic population existed in Rīga already in the 11th century. The indigenous Liv way of life and activities related to fishing, metal, amber, and bone processing. There may have been a market in Rīga in the 12th century. It is believed that the permanent inhabitation from the 11th century developed on *Holme*, which was one of the largest Liv economic and political centers. A group of villages occupied more prominent places on *Holme*. The hillfort, where later the German fortress of Salaspils, was located on the Daugava's right bank. Inhabitants of all these villages were called the Holme Livs (Latvian: *Salas līvi*) (Caune 1998:1). A Liv village (*villa*) mentioned as a densely populated place in *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* occupied the islet's elevated part, especially the southeastern and southern sides. In the islet's southeastern part, about a hundred-meter-long, a fortification of wooden defensive structures on a three-metre-wide and a metre-and-a-half high rampart was facing the Daugava. Up to a three-metre-wide protection zone coincided with the ancient shoreline of the Daugava protecting the slope of the islet's elevated part from the south. The islet's lower southwestern and western parts were uninhabited. In the village, log houses with small depressions were oriented in rows. The layout of houses and hearths followed a certain system. The location of houses and other structures suggests that the village on *Holme* belongs to the rows-type populated places. Yards were located next to each other alongside fields or waters, as was the case for the Finno-speaking population. Livestock farming played an important role in the villagers' lives, and the islet's lowlands were used for this purpose. Agriculture seemed to play a lesser role. The geographically advantageous situation at the crossroads of major traffic and trade routes promoted the island's close contact not only with representatives of other ethnic groups but also involved them in political and trade relations with Kievan Rus and Scandinavia. The origins of a particularly close political relationship with Polotsk can be traced back to the 11th century (Mugurēvičs 1967). Therefore, the most important centers were Daugmale inhabited by the richest people, and the large complex in Laukskola on the opposite bank of the Daugava, a group of villages on *Holme*, Rauši, and Vampenieši villages of Dole, Riga settlement and Salaspils on the Deep Daugava's right bank, where a small hillfort formed the ancient building complex. Someone Liv village was located every few kilometers away on the Daugava's banks. In total, thirteen villages with many groups of houses are known. The Daugava Livs according to their inhabited villages were divided into the inhabitants of Rīga, Sala (Salaspils), Ikšķile, Asscrade Hillfort, and the Hill of Gods on the Daugava right bank. During this time, a few-kilometres-wide strip was inhabited the most intensively, especially in the zone from Rīga to Ikšķile (Caune 1988b: 26–28). Archeological materials show that Liv-populated areas along the Daugava stretched to the densely populated Latgalian Principality of Koknese. In the 11th century, the Latgalians moved to the Selonians on the Daugava banks, and Oliņš Hillfort became the Latgalian craft and trade center near the Daugava Waterway crossed by the north-south-oriented

earth road. The important war route from the junction of significant traffic routes in the central part of the Principality of Koknese led to Cesvaine Hillfort, Alyst (now Alūksne), and Pskov and passed Arona Hillfort became the county center in the 11th–12th century. The Principality of Koknese, *castrum Marxne,* and Cesvaine Hillfort were on the Aiviekste's right bank (Mugurēvičs 1978).

The wide, sparsely populated Gauja River Valley divided Latgalian Tolowa Land into two parts. Old roads intersected near the small lakes of Brieži and Riebiņi on the Gauja's right bank, where an important trade route started and led to the lands inhabited by the Baltic Finns and the late entrants Latgalians and the main economic center of Sakala County and Pskov (Šterns 2002: 206–207). On the Gauja's right bank, where a *castrum* and any ruler were not mentioned, people created three settlements near each other. The Livs and Latgalians lived on the River Brasla's banks. In the past, the Brasla River was called Straupe (Apinis 1931: 91). Vējiņi Hillfort with a fifty-five-meter-long southwest slightly sloping triangular plateau was separated from the surroundings by a thirty-three-meter-long and two-and-a-half-meter-high rampart. The **east-facing slope of** the very steep-sided hillfort at the mouth of the River Brasla's tributary of Panūte was especially craggy. The smallest fortified settlement on forty-metre-high Panūte Hill (Latvian: *Panūtes kalns* or *Krančkalns*) with a flat triangular plateau on a relief projection of the Brasla's right bank between the Brasla River Valley and the Panūte River northeast from Vējiņi Hillfort was established near the road that led through Ledegore County to Lemisele fortified settlement. In a low place on the west side of the traffic road only two and a half kilometers away from Panūte Hill, the eight-metre-high Brasla's left bank protected the west side of a fortress on Battery Hill (Latvian: *Batarejas kalns*) of Mazstraupe, while a stream's ravine bounded its south side. The entrance was in the northeast corner of the plateau guarded by moats and ramparts in the north and east sides. A moat ahead of a one-to-two-meter-high rampart was on the north side of the eighty-meter-long and fifty-meter-wide plateau. A small outer section on the north side behind the moat was separated from nearby fields by the moat. An ancient town developed on the left bank of a stream that enters into the Brasla River. In the Augstroze Hillock, the Hill of the Cross (Latvian: *Krusta kalns*) less than a kilometer to the northeast seems to have been used for cult purposes. Northeast of Riga village, ethnically different people of common economic and social interests formed Ydumea County, a separate region in the surroundings of Raupe (Latvian: *Straupe*, German: *Roop*). The German name *Roop* was derived from the word *Ropa* or *Raupe*. A Lutheran pastor August Johann Gottfried Bielenstein (1826–1907) claimed that *Ropa*, *Raupa*, and *Raupena* are not Livonian names. The name of the Ydumean center of *Straupe* was an abbreviation of *Straujupe*. The Liv name *Idu* /northeast/ *maa* /land/ was explained according to the Old Testament. Land Edom appears in written sources relating to the Late Bronze Age and to the Iron Age in the Levant, such as the Hebrew Bible, and Egyptian and Mesopotamian records. In classical Greek, the

name was rendered as the cognate Ydumea, which geographically was a smaller area in the same general region. The Liv place name *Idu-maa* was Latinised as Ydumea.

Since the 11th century, the Finno-Ugric Livs had its county center on strong fortified Sattesele (Latvian: *Satezele*) Hillfort on the left bank of the middle reaches of the Gauja. They also settled on a plateau of the top-leveled hill (later called the Hill of the Cross). In the 11th–13th centuries, the Hill of the Cross of Sigulda associated with the Livs was considered to be a place of worship. A dirt road provided a link between other settlements of the Gauja Livs, the Estonian lands, Pskov, and Novgorod. At the right edge of the Gauja River Valley in the beneficial place for trade between the Latgalian and Liv inhabited lands, the Wends established a fortified *Wendorum castrum* on slightly elongated Riekstu Hill. A settlement developed on the left bank of the Gauja between Tolowa and Ydumea counties. The road from Riekstu Hill in a straight line led to Trikāta Hillfort in the center of Tolowa connected with Tanīsa Hill (Latvian: *Tanīskalns*). Most likely, the road from Celītkalns Hill led to Trikāta Hillfort and further to the biggest Estonian wooden fortress *Tharbatense* (dating back to the middle of the 1st millennium, existed until 1224) on Tarbata (also *Tharbata*, *Tharbete* or *Darbete*) Hillfort at the Emajegi River (Estonian: *Emajõgi*, *ema* – mother, *jõgi* – river). Beverina Road, Memecule Road (*via Memeculle*), Vendeculla Road (*via Vendeculla*), and dirt road from Lithuania, which crossed the Daugava and continued in the direction of Wenden and Pskov, were guarded during the war to prevent the enemy's attack (Mugurevičs 1961: 64).

The foundation of bishoprics and Christianity centers on lands subjugated along the East Baltic coast

The Germans began to appear more often in the Lower Daugava, where Liv culture appeared, and from the mid-12th century, they were accompanied by missionaries to convert the locals to the Catholic faith. They were well acquainted with the River Daugava's estuary in the second half of the 12th century and soon aimed to establish direct relations with merchants on the East Baltic coast attracted by the prospect of profit and hoped to obtain goods at the lowest price without the brokerage payment. Forces for larger military actions were too weak, and they called on German feudal lords and the Catholic Church to help. German merchants brought their ships soldiers and priests to the Baltic, and materially supported them and themselves as soldiers participated in conquest actions. Possibly German traders passing the Daugava occasionally visited and temporarily inhabited an islet *Holme*. At the end of the 12th century, great changes took place in the life of the Daugava Livs. The Livs, making defensive structures of wood and soil, improved the security of wooden dwellings in places protected by natural obstacles. The economy was based mainly on agriculture and stock-keeping. Craft production was increasingly concentrated in the hands of craftsmen – blacksmiths, jewelry smiths, etc. A distinctive culture of indigenous peoples reached its highest point of

development. Merchants who came to the Daugava's mouth denoted the Liv-inhabited Lower Daugava by the name of people living here. The designation given by strangers in Latin was *Livonia*, and in German was *Livland*. It would be *Līvzeme* in Latvian translation. Land conquest and the political situation at the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries contributed construction of stone fortresses in the context of the ethnopolitical situation of the previous era. The Germans formed fortified settlements at the most important destinations and interspaces. Archaeologist of the Institute of Latvian History, Professor Dr. Hab. Hist. Ēvalds Mugurēvičs (1931–2018) believes that the Germans first established themselves on the Hill of Gods, where they built a strong stone castle instead of a former fortress (Remmerts 1988).

The Germans took advantage of internal political divisions of the Baltic peoples, so they began to set up their first strongholds in Ikšķile village. Priest Meinhart from Segeberg Monastery took part in preaching the Catholic faith. Small St. Mary's Church (1184) with a praying hall of square layout and a choir was built on a dolomite rock of the Daugava's right bank. The building's façade faced the village. During archaeological research (1967–1973), Professor Ēvalds Mugurēvičs discovered that the first church was a wooden building on foundations of loaded stones (Šterns 2002: 341). In the summer of 1185, an almost square layout two-room *palatium* for Bishop's residence was built close to the eastern façade of the church (Benninghofens 2011: 16–17). A separate yard for every building was made by a defensive wall (Caune & Ose 2010: 214). *Palatium* included in the perimeter construction had a yard facing the Daugava Waterway. Professor Dr. Hab. Hist. Jānis Graudonis (1913–2005) found in 1972 that the church included in the defensive wall was part of the Bishop's structural complex. Primary fortified irregular layout power centers related to the early construction period of stone fortresses (1185–1237) in Livonia (Tuulse 1942). In Ikšķile village, a unified defense system for the L-shaped perimeter building complex was created. Architecturally simple St. Mary's Church built of stone was included in Bishop's fortified yard like the Archbasilica of St. John the Baptist Cathedral in Lateran on the Caelian Hill, where the Archbasilica connected with the Council Hall was perpendicular and tightly attached to the Lateran Palace. Therefore, the Archbasilica and Bishop's residence were included in the complex of a perimeter construction. The Bishopric of Uexküll (Latin: *Episcopatus Ixcolanensis*; 1186–1201) was established under the subjugation of the Archbishopric of Bremen. Cistercian monk *Thidericus* (around 1150–1219), a half-sister's son of the organizer of Livonian crusades Archbishop of Bremen Hartwig II of Uthlede, arrived from Bexhövede village and chose a place for the other center at the Liv village on a small islet named Holme /Island/. He built here wooden St. Martin's Church for the Catholic Parish. *Holme* began to call Church-island (German: *Kirchholm*, Latvian: *Baznīcas sala*, since 17th century Latvian: *Mārtiņsala*, German: *Martinsholm* /Martin's Island/) or Old Church-island (German: *Alt-Kirchholm*).

On 1 October 1188, Meinhart became Bishop of Uexküll, and St. Mary's Church gave the status of Uexküll Bishop's cathedral. Priests created the Canonical Chapter approved by the *Regula Sancti Augustini*. The Canonical Chapter's yard included St. Martin's Church on Church-island. Therefore, two building complexes as separate fortified urban structures were made in the Bishopric of Uexküll. *Castrum Holme* on this small islet became one of the most important centers, from which the Catholic faith began to spread in Livonia. Pope confirmed several castles in ownership of the Archbishopric of Riga, and since 1255, a fortification on Church-island appeared with a new name – *castrum Kercholme* (Caune & Ose 2004: 442).

On 28 March 1199, Pope Innocentius III consecrated Theodoric's brother Albert of Buxthoeven (1165–1229) as the third Bishop of Uexküll, and in the Bull on 5 October 1199, he invited Christians of Saxony and Westphalia to fight against the pagan Livs. In the following year, Bishop Albert and monks-knights managed that on the Daugava's right bank, a vast field between both Liv settlements of Riga in the eastern part of the gently sloping peninsula encircled by natural obstacles as waters of the Rīga and Daugava Rivers and marshy surroundings was allocated for the German settlement. Archaeologists have not found any older buildings there. However, a natural harbor in the extension of the lower reaches of the Rīga River at the village of local inhabitants had crucial significance. Innocentius III supported Theodoric's proposal of April 1200 to preach the Catholic faith in Livonia and forbid merchants from visiting the Port of Semigallia. Riga obtained the monopoly rights significant for trade at the beginning of two waterways near the estuaries of the Daugava and Lielupe rivers. Daugmale Castle Mound, the rich trade center of the Viking Age in the Lower Daugava region, stood devastated for several decades at the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries.

Riga village, which was not the regional administrative and economic center of the Livs in the 12th century, became a support point, a berth for seagoing ships, and a marketplace, where Russian traders met German merchants who came across the sea from Gotland. A natural harbor in the extension of the lower reaches of the Rīga River had crucial significance. At the end of the 12th century, Rīga became the principal center in the Lower Daugava region. At the turn of the 12th and 13th centuries, inhabitants of Riga could be the Livs, Cours, and Curonized Livs who came there from the Courland Peninsula's northern part. The Daugava Livs were in the minority among the oldest inhabitants of Rīga. The first people who settled there gave in the language they spoke the names of nearby rivers, hills, and islands of the Daugava River and their settlement. In any case, from the very beginning, Riga had an ethnically mixed population. Pre-German Riga was inhabited by the Wends (Latin: *wendi*, Latvian: *vendi*, Estonian: *võndlased*), Cours, Livs, and, perhaps, a few Latgalians and Semigallians. Often the guests were Russian merchants (Caune 1986: 22–24). Jewelry found near the second Riga Cathedral was once worn by the Curonized Livs (Caune 1988a: 28). Perhaps, the Cours,

expelling the Wends from Kube Hill, settled on the shores of a sandy peninsula by a small river, thus giving *Rīga* its name. The name of the Rīga River (*Riga rivus*, *flumen*) was first mentioned in documents of 1297. Back in the 14th century, the name of the river was written with the suffix -a (*Riga*, *Ryga*), in the 15th century only with the suffix -e (*de Righe*, *de Rige*), and in the 16th century, it was called Rīdziņa (*Rysing*, *de Risinghe*). The origin meaning of the word *Rīga* in modern language is not clear. The root of the word rig- does not occur in the Baltic and the Liv languages.

On the Liv-inhabited River Rīga's right bank, where geographical position ten kilometers from the sea was more suitable for the task of the new town on the Daugava's right bank, the third strong fortified *domus episcopi* (bishop's yard, curia, castle) for Bishop's seat was built In 1201 (Henricus 1993: 369). The Bishopric of Riga (*diecese Rigensi, Rigensi ecclesia*; 1201–1255) was founded. Albert became Bishop of Riga. Initially, it seems, the perimeter construction of *domus episcopi* consisted of two freestanding houses – a big residential (?) tower and a cult building whose side façade included the unified defense system that faced the town of Riga, which began to take shape. Later, the Bishop's palace (Latin: *palacium nostrum lapideum*) joined both buildings. Archaeological excavations (1930) indicated the location of Riga Bishop's former palace that possibly originally occupied the eastern part of the first fortified yard (1201–1215) of Riga Bishop (Šīrants 1978: 420). It occupied an area from the current Jāņa /John/ Street to St. John's (Latvian: *Jāņa*) yard including. The L-shaped fortified perimeter building complex of masonry structures was created for the most important Christian center in Livonia (Caune 1999: 219). In Livonia, early medieval towns were formed in German and Italian building ways. Initially, the construction of a moat, a rampart, and palisades for fortifications across the peninsula began and developed gradually. When a building area increased, palisades were transferred (Caune & Ose 2004: 392). The first yard of Bishop of Riga Albert (Latin: *Adalbertus Canonicus Rigensis*) at the intersection of traffic roads near the harbor was included in the fortified semicircle area divided by streets into four quarters (Šīrants 1978: 422). In Riga, the first Riga St. Mary's Cathedral (*ecclesia beate Marie*) was mentioned in 1206. The Knights under the guidance of the first Master (German: *Herrmeister*) of the Livonian Brothers of the Sword (1202–1209) Winno of Rohrbach (Latin: *Vinnenus*, *Wenno*, *Wynno*) encouraged military aggression against the Livs built dolomite *Domus Wittenstein*, or St. Georgi (*sente Uriân*) yard (1204) on the western side of the first Riga Bishop's yard. The perimeter construction of the fortified yard included a cult building. Both yards occupied one of Riga's quarters.

Albert's brother, Dean of Convent (1202–1209) Engelbert of Buxthoeven from the Augustinian Abbey of Neumünster managed the Canonical Chapter (Caune 2000: 248) and brought the first German settlers came to Riga in 1202. On the right bank of the Rīga River (west of former Kurpnieku /Shoemaker/ Street or present Šķūņu /Barn/ and Skārņu /Market huts/ streets), where Bishop's yard

located between the two Liv settlements, and along present Kalēju /Blacksmith/ and Meistaru /Master/ streets and from Jāņa Street to Zirgu /Horse/ Street, the Germans started to build dwellings, which were met in their homeland and Lübeck. Šķūņu-Skārņu Street was created (Šīrants 1978: 420, 422). Pillar-beam structures pointed out building types used by the earliest German immigrants next to log houses of the local population. German merchants bought the Liv-inhabited land to monitor the Great Sandy Road, one branch of which led to Lake Riga and the other to a marketplace in the junction, where a four-metre-wide street started and led to the waterfront. A side street branched from the main street parallel to the Rīga River. The back of the area of the fortified semicircle of the German settlement of Riga clung to a natural water barrier of the Rīga River, which shore shortly before or during the construction of the Riga Town Wall (Latin: *murum civitatis*) began to fortify from Smilšu Street to its estuary without narrowing of the harbor. The oldest yard of Bishop of Riga from the side of the Rīga River was protected by an eleven-metre-high and two-and-a-half-metre-thick defensive brick wall mentioned for the first time in 1207 and raised in the summer of 1208 (Straubergs 1951: 62) and in 1209 and divided into two floors on the side of the town. In peacetime, deep vaults on the lower floor were suitable for warehouses, cart-houses, and workshops. Town defenders who observed the surroundings of the town used a passage above vaults (Šīrants 1978: 421–423). After the construction of the defensive wall along Kalēju Street, early strengthening was performed on the River Rīga's embankment to make it useful for unloading goods. More massive masonry foundations at the estuary protected the river shore from water damage (Caune 1992c: 53). The other embankment was built when the port had already been transferred to the Daugava and local river traffic ships and boats used the River Rīga's estuary as a winter harbor (Caune 1983: 88). The Germans could oversee both Liv settlements and trade in the harbor (Šīrants 1978: 420). Kaļķu /Lime/ Street crossed at right angles Skārņu Street with its continuation Šķūņu Street, which from the Central Gate (Latin: *Porta Magna*) guided in the town. The Great Sandy Road behind the central gate provided Riga with road traffic. The construction of the Riga Town Wall around the entire peninsula began after the formation of earlier earth fortifications. It seems, also appears inside the embankment along the inner edge of the rampart on the opposite side of Zirgu Street to surround the town's small area stretched from Jāņa Street to Zirgu Street and turned towards the Daugava. This wall to the southeast from Krāmu Street was arranged parallel to Daugava Street. The continuation of the defensive wall on over two meters thick masonry basement was in current Rozena Street and Krāmu Street. Preserved directions of streets Zirgu, Rozena, and Krāmu show the curve of the wall on the way to Daugava Street. The Old or the First Town /*prima civitas, prima pars civitates*/ were mentioned for the first time in 1207. The four-part layout fortified inland town (German: *Binnenlandstadt*) of Riga that represented the symbol of religion was not large and probably did not

reach the Daugava, and its back clung to a natural water barrier of the Rīga River. However, the marketplace at the junction of roads and waterways confirmed the interests of traders, which were more important than the meaning of the symbol. The fortified semicircle area of the German settlement of Riga was not large and probably did not reach the Daugava. German archaeologist, and historian, Professor Dr. Clara Redlich (1908–1992) found that earlier fortifications mentioned in *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae* were wooden fences and earthen ramparts. Excavations (1938) in the Old Town of Riga confirmed that the German settlement protected by a moat, small earthen ramparts, and wooden palisade fences stretched along Amatu Street, Tirgoņu Street, and Kungu Street, the southern edge of the square at St. Peter's Church and Jāņa Street. Present-day streets Zirgu, Rozena, Krāmu, Daugavas, Audēju, and Kalēju included the town of Riga surrounded by earthen ramparts formed together with the earliest stone buildings. Zirgu, Rozena, Tirgoņu (Merchant *Kopstate*), Kungu /Lord/ Street, and Jāņa Street formed a semicircle with a radius of about one hundred seventy-five meters (Caune 2000: 239–240). On Skārņu Street near the marketplace, householders of the townspeople Catholic Parish built St. Peter's Church built of wood mentioned for the first time in 1209 (Holcmanis 1992: 96–99). Possibly, initially, a freestanding tower was built to the church (Zirnis 1984: 21). Wooden houses behind St. Peter's Church were built on Jāņa and Skārņu streets. After the second big fire, stone dwelling houses began to be built following construction lines on Grēcinieku Street (Caune 2000: 258, 260, 264). Functional unrelated buildings made a medieval agglomeration around St. Peter's Church. During Riga's urban growth from 1201 to 1230, four yards for the Bishop, the Livonian Swordbrothers, the Canonical Chapter (later buildings of the Franciscan monastery), and merchants built behind each other along the road formed later Šķūņa–Skārņu Street. In 1961, German historian Dr. Phil. Friedrich Wilhelm Benninghoven (1925–2014) created the reconstruction plan of the 13ᵗʰ-century Riga, where on the River Rīga's waterfront, several yards were built along the town wall's inner edge. Architect Dr. Wilhelm Johann Carl Neumann (1849–1919) considered, that in the time of Bishop Albert's reign, a 1,5 km long town wall immediately enclosed the town of Riga. Archaeological excavations confirmed that medieval Riga formed by German immigrants in a strategically advantageous location next to Liv village developed like many German cities with marketplaces instead of an older village, and in the early 13ᵗʰ century, German settlement interrupted the local craftsmen and merchant settlement development process into a typical Eastern European city (Caune 1985: 39). In Riga, the Germans following German medieval urban traditions created defensive walls, established the secular and spiritual power center, a political and economic dual government and the main military base for expansion in the Baltics (Ose 2003: 210). Fortifications in front of the main entrance gate to the town and around the Old or the First Town (*prima civitas, prima pars civitates*) were mentioned in 1210. It was the beginning of a growth process for Riga

appropriated by German requirements. Historian, and archivist Roberts Malvess (1905–1982), comparing the growth of Riga and medieval cities in Europe, concluded that distance selling played a crucial role in establishing cities. In the first decades, the Germans intensified trade that affected distance sellers (German: *Fernhändler*) and visitors from Gotland, Lübeck, and other German cities but not local inhabitants (Caune 2000: 235, 239–240). Representation of citizens' power became the third alternative force in Riga. A monumental stone complex of an important polyfunctional center in Eastern Europe was made up. The concentration of three competing powers on a small plot of land proved to be problematic. Armed conflicts turned out. Bishop Albert envisaged to be built the second Riga Cathedral in laconic building forms. Before laying the foundation stone of the Riga Cathedral to create one of the biggest Christian centers on the Southeast Baltic Coast, he arrived at the Christianity Centre in Magdeburg, where a new choir for the German church according to the French Gothic sample was built for the first time. In front of the cathedral, a place called the 'new marketplace' (German: *Neuer Markt*) was occupied by the imperial palace (German: *Kaiserpfalz*, destroyed in the fire of 1207).

At the end of 1207, Bishop of Riga Albert and the Swordbrothers signed the agreement on the Partition of the Liv-inhabited lands (in *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*: *donatio tercie partis Lyvonie fratribus milicie*, German: *die Teilung des Livenlandes*) (Švābe 1937). Bishop Albert established the Bishopric of Livonia (Latin: *Episcopatus Livoniensis*, 1207–1255). The ecclesiastical state originally was under the control of the Archbishop of Bremen (Henricus 1993: 369). Bishop Albert subjugated himself to this favorable place for trade at the highway that from Riga led along the coastline of the Gulf of Riga and through Metsepole County as part of the Bishopric of Livonia and possibly built a fortified housing in 1223 (Arndt 1753, Mettig 1905, Juškēvics 1929). The Livonian Swordbrothers had not received enough land from Bishop of Riga '*in castris Ikescule et Leneward et Mezepol et terris Theodorici, et pluribus aliis locis*' /in districts of Ikšķile, Lielvārde and Metsepole, the lands of Theodoric [in Estonia] and many other places/. The founder of Latvian National History, Professor at the University of Latvia Dr Iur. Arveds Švābe (1888–1959) believed that Lemsal Castle could have been built as early as the beginning of the 13th century during the reign of Bishop Albert. Prominent researcher of medieval fortresses in the Baltics, art historian, and Professor at the University of Tartu Dr. Phil. Armin Tuulse (1907–1977) dated the construction of the castle to the time when it was first mentioned in historical sources (Auns 2017). The castle town (German: *Burgstädten*) of Lemsal (*Lemsel an Lemsa-jöggi*, Estonian: *Lemsalu*, Latvian: *Limbaži*) developed at the junction of important traffic routes. In the Bishoprics of Riga and Livonia, urban buildings and streets according to a four-part layout typology were arranged under local natural conditions and included townscape

components designed on principles derived from theology and developed in the context of the city of Jerusalem and was found in major diocesan centers in Western Europe (Ozola 2020c: 78).

Outside the Riga Town Wall on the River Daugava's bank, the building site of the second Riga St. Mary's Cathedral (Latvian: *Rīgas Doms*) was consecrated on 25 July 1211. The construction of the Bishop's second yard, the cathedral, and a monastery for the Canonical Chapter, whose lifestyle was determined by the *Regula Sancti Augustini*, was started between 1211 and 1215 in the New Town of Riga (*in nova civitate Rige*) (Caune & Ose 2010: 252). In the summer of 1211, Earl Bernhard of Lippe (also Bernard II, or Lord of Lippe, Latin: *Bernardus de Lippia*; around 1140–1224), who from 1177 to 1181 took the side of Duke of Saxony Henry the Lion in the war against the Archbishop of Cologne, participated in establishing Marienfeld Abbey and founded a planned town-shield of Lippstadt of a triangular plan. Later, Augustinian Monastery (1281) and four churches were included in Lippstadt. Bernhard of Lippe became an influential figure in the hierarchy of church authorities in 1185 and arrived together with large crusader troops in Livonia.

The Bishopric of Leal (Latin: *Episcopatus Lealensis*), or the Estonian Bishopric (Latin: *Episcopatus Estiensis* or *episcopatus de Hestia*; 1211–1224) was founded in the Estonian-inhabited Ridala Land (Estonian: *Ridala*, Latin: *Rotalia*). Immediately after Theodoric was ordained as Bishop of Leal, his brother Albert, who was the de facto head of the Germans armed expansion in the Baltic lands, appointed Bernhard as Abbot (1211–1217) of the Cistercian monastery in Dunamünde (Latvian: *Daugavgrīva*) at the River Daugava's mouth. Alt-Dünamünde Cistercian monastery in a strategically significant place not far from the Port of Riga became an important support site for the Knights arriving in Livonia (Henricus 1993: 354). Bernhard led the forces of *Thoreida's* defenders against the invasion of the well-organized Estonian troops and ordered them to block Estonian ships' movement through the wooden log dam across the Gauja. The Estonian attack on water was repelled and the episcopal administration retained its authority over these territories. In 1212, Bernhard took part in the siege of Satesele Castle and restored peace with the Livs. There was a major uprising of the Baltic peoples against the hegemony of German colonists and feudal lords. The Livs who initiated the Autin uprising were joined by the Autins' Latgals. Under the command of Bernhard, the army participated in the massacre of the wooden castle's defenders. As a result, the peace treaty with the Livs was extended. The fortress of Fredeland (1214) was built on the steep-sided hillfort of the Livs. A defensive wall surrounded the hillfort's plateau by a perimeter and formed the fortified complex of an extended layout. In Livonia, during the first construction period, fortresses built on an elevated relief reminded fortified yards (Ozola 2020a: 791). Bishop's fortified residence (1214), or *palatium* was included in the Riga Town Wall's track on the courtyard's west side. The main entrance was on the courtyard's north side. In 1239, the complex of the second largest Christian center outside Riga

was mentioned as Thoreida (Latvian: *Turaida*). A tall flighting-tower Bergfried was not designed for permanent habitation and became a typical building of medieval castles in countries under German influence. However, this was the characteristic difference between the slender freestanding tower Bergfried with little internal room, few vaults and windows, and a freestanding central tower-castle Dungeon (French: *donjon*, Latin: *dominionus*, Russian: *донжон*) built in the most protectable and hardest accessible place of the fortified area. Living quarters of the castle and the Bergfried separated by an adjacent building *palatium* combined functions of habitation and defense. In Bishop's yard of *Thoreida*, the cylindrical Bergfrid and a small south outer part of the castle were created. It was believed that the original task of German fortresses was to provide traffic control for the most important trade routes and large rivers Daugava and Gauja. The Swordbrothers got the lands on the left bank of the Gauja, which became a borderline, obtained trade routes on the Gauja foreland, and began to build early fortresses on natural hills protected by water near ancient settlements. Trade control in Riga was provided from the yard of the Swordbrothers next to the natural harbor of Rīga. Later, the commercial waterway was controlled from Bishop's yard on the Daugava's bank. At the same time, *castrum Holme* (Latvian: *Salaspils*), *castrum Ykecola* (also *Ixcola*, Latvian: *Ikšķile*), *castrum Lennewarde* (Latvian: *Lielvārde*), *castrum Asscrad* (Latvian: *Aizkraukle*), *castrum Kukonois* (Latvian: *Koknese*) located on the Daugava bank. The fortress of Thoreida, *Sygewalde castrum* (Latvian: *Sigulda*), *castrum de Woldemer* (Latvian: *Valmiera*), *castrum Wenden* (now Latvian: *Cēsis*) located on the Gauja's banks to observe the passing waterway.

On 4 March 1215, fire began at night in the town, and the first Riga Bishop's Cathedral burned down. 'The town's first part burned, that is, built first and encircled by the first wall, from St. Mary's Church burned along with big bells to Bishop's appartament house with proximal houses and to Knights Brotherhood's Church' (Latvian: '*Dega pilsētas pirmā daļa, tas ir, vispirms uzceltā, ko apņēma pirmais mūris, no Svētās Marijas baznīcas, kas nodega kopā ar lielajiem zvaniem, līdz bīskapa mājai ar blakus esošajām mājām un līdz ordeņa brāļu baznīcai*') (Henricus 1993: 16, XVIII-6). 'The Convent dwelled in the church built within the first town, and after the burning of this church and town, they began to build St. Mary's Church outside the Riga Town Wall near the Daugava and live there.' According to the text by *Heinrici Chronicon Livoniae*, historians concluded that there have been two cathedrals. The first Riga Cathedral was in the oldest part of the town and the other one later – on the Daugava River's bank, where the second Riga Cathedral is located nowadays (Caune 2000: 235). The construction of the Riga second St. Mary's Cathedral could have been affected by St. Mary's Church of Segeberg Augustinian Monastery and the Lübeck Cathedral, which was one of the biggest pillar basilicas. In 1215, Bishop Albert who spent his youth in the Bremen Cathedral highlighted often as one of the pre-sample of the second Riga Cathedral started to build the second

fortified yard (1215–1234) surrounded by a defensive wall and separated from the Riga Canonical Chapter's building complex that included the cathedral and a monastery. This time coincided with the upswing period of the Archdiocese of Hamburg-Bremen, the introduction of the expansion policy in the Baltics, and the active building of the Ratzeburg Cathedral. The layout of the Riga Cathedral with the tower, crowned by a slender, tall spire and clinging buildings was traditional. A pyramidal steeple in 1547 covered the three-story square tower in the middle of the western transept (14ᵗʰ century). The front hall layout confirms the initial intention to build two towers on the west façade (Caune & Ose 2010: 254–255). Presumably, an initial entrance with a semicircle covering was on the west façade of the Riga Cathedral. Nevertheless, a portal of the main entrance has been made on the north side. The preseason for these changes is not known, and it could be related to the desire to make the church more accessible to the newly-founded town, to which the north façade of the Riga Cathedral was turned. The equivalence of all three bays' size is an important feature of the cathedral's representable entrance. The altar part and a transept of the Riga Cathedral were finished in 1220. The cathedral was not made any more like the basilica with narrow side naves, but as a hall-type building on one level, covered with vaults. Strategically the most important turning point in the creation of the Riga Bishop's Cathedral, probably, was related to the transition, implemented in the building process during the 1220s. Buildings of the monastery were placed on the cathedral's south side at the end wall of the transept, and three cloister blocks surrounded the square yard. The east block of the cathedral's complex was built on the south side of the courtyard surrounded by cloisters. The Chapter Hall was on the ground floor, and bedrooms were placed on the top floor. Later, the south block with the kitchen and household rooms, and the west block for the Latin School were built (Šterns 1997: 31). The fourth or the north block was also planned. Defensive walls of the Canonical Chapter's yard and Bishop's yard alongside the Daugava were built simultaneously with Riga enlargement. The side wall of a long-extended residence by two towers, or *palatium*, and the Chapel of Apostle Bartolomey was included in the Riga Town Wall's track. The walls facing the town were not so massive and high (Caune & Ose 2004: 395). The perimeter construction complex of the Riga Bishop's second yard probably had stone houses – horse stables, included a sacral building, and created the perimeter complex L-shaped layout that reminded the solution of Bishop's residence on the Lateran Hill in Rome. The first and the second Riga Bishop's fortified yards were located on the outer boundary line of the strongly fortified town. Two urban structures formed a building complex that was made up next to the defensive wall. The Riga Cathedral, monastery, and the Riga Bishop's second yard influenced the formation of the street network and square placement in the city, as well as the erection of gates in the Riga City Wall. The first marketplace was built up, and a new square (later the Town Hall Square) was created at the end of today's Kalķu Street in the newly added part of the town, or

the New Town (*civitas nova*) on the Daugava side. The secrecy of outer space was one of the main features of the fortified Old Town of Riga included in the expanded town territory. The first Town Hall was located next to the main entrance gate built into the Riga Town Wall. Defensive walls were no longer able to protect the town, and the expansion of the borders of Riga became urgent. A new wall that surrounded the New Town of Riga continued the route of the oldest Riga Town Wall along the Rīga River and the Daugava. Professor Andris Caune assumes that in the first decades of the 13th century, immediately built the Riga Town Walls around the entire peninsula crossed it along the current Zirgu–Rozena–Jauniela route trace and included not only the new German settlement but also local villages (Ose 2003: 210).

Bishop recognized the rights of self-government of Riga in 1221 and founded the Town Council after 1221. An important development stage of Riga ended in 1225, and the town gained formal autonomy. In 1225, Riga got city rights from Visby, which received city rights in the early 13th century and became a town. Visby-Riga law or Gotland-Riga law (Latin: *iura Gottlandiae*) created following the example of Visby (Gotland) city law became the oldest version of the Riga law (German: *Rigisches Recht*). The first decades marked the beginning of a growth process for Riga affected by distance sellers (German: *Fernhändler*) from Gotland and German cities. German and medieval European requirements were adopted (Caune 2000: 239–240). The construction of the second defensive wall that surrounded the suburb 1225 was completed from 1226 to 1249. On 5 April 1226, written sources mentioned St. Jacob's Church (Latin: *ecclesia s. Jacobi, sita in suburbio Rigensis*) in the suburb of Riga (*in suburbio*) outside the Town Wall. It was not yet fully built around the New Town (*Suburbium*), which was mentioned for the first time in 1220 and included in the town's territory in 1234. The defense system created for Riga was one of the most powerful on the Baltic Sea coast. A medieval town surrounded by a wall was characterized by a situation, where any street and square were isolated from the outskirts of the town, with which it was connected only by a gate. The direction from the town entrance to the Town Hall Square was another feature of the medieval town center.

On 21 September 1217, Bernhard took an active part against Estonian forces in the historically significant St. Matthew's Day Battle at Fellin (Estonian: *Viljandi*). The German knights and their subordinate soldiers, in cooperation with the baptized Livs and units of the baptized Latgalians (about 3000 people), fought against the Estonians' defending united army (about 6000 people). As a result of the battle, the Estonians recognized the power of German invaders and agreed to re-adopt the Catholic faith and swear allegiance to the Pope. Bernhard of Lippe along with crusaders from the German lands returned to Livonia in the spring of 1223 to organize a war against the Estonians who did not want to accept the German feudal power and the Catholic elite's dominance. Bishop Albert and the Swordbrothers signed the agreement on the Partition of Tolowa in 1224 (Švābe 1937). In

Sakala County, the formation process of Fellin settlement at the intersection of two ancient traffic zones—the north-south long-distance road and the New Pernau-Peipsi Waterway—was directly related to the creation of a stone fortress in the second quarter of the 13th century. On 15 August, Bernhard took Fellin, and in 1224, the Swordbrothers started to build a stone castle instead of destroyed Estonian wooden fortifications by the Navest River (Atskaņu 1998: 313).

In Livonia, stone castles of irregular layouts, which were original types of fortresses gradually replaced wooden structures on castle mounds. A wall surrounded their area following a terrain configuration. Such castles became especially prevalent in the period immediately after a territorial conquest. The settlement developed behind the fortress. Settlements /*oppidum*/ or suburbs /*urbs mercatorum* also *suburbium*/ of merchants and craftsmen promoted economic activities. The land was allocated to each member of the community to provide housing on a plot of land enclosed by palisades. In 1223–1224, the Swordbrothers occupied *castrum Tharbatense* and destroyed the Estonian wooden fortress on the hillfort. On 21 July 1224, the Bishopric of Dorpat (German: *Bistum Dorpat*; 1224–1558) was founded. Bishop Albert's brother, Abbot (until 1219) of Bremen St. Paul's Abbey, Bishop of Leal Hermann of Buxthoeven (German: *Hermann von Buxhövden*; 1163–1248) obtained secular power in 1224, and he was approved to perform Bishop's duties in 1225. *Castrum Tarbatae* (1224–1279) for a fortified center was established on a strategically significant hill at the Emajegi River. *Palatium* was included in the perimeter construction of Bishop's yard of an irregular layout. The freestanding Roman-Catholic Cathedral of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul (Estonian: *Tartu toomkirik*; German: *Dorpater Domkirche*; 1224–1279) as a basilica began to build on a separate area of the Cathedral Hill (Estonian: *Toomemägi*) in Dorpat (Latvian: *Tērbata*, Estonian: *Tartu*, Latin: *Tarbatum*, Russian: *Дерпт*, since 1893 *Юрьев*), and a hall-type building was created. Bishop's fortified yard demarcated from its west fortified outer part by a moat, and the cathedral with the Canonical Chapter's house arranged side by side formed two urban structures of a spiritual center in the northwest part of Cathedral Hill, next to which a settlement developed at the floodplain. On the western façade of the Dorpat Cathedral, two massive, tall twin towers that German churches began to get in the 11th–12th centuries became the architectonic dominant of the Dorpat Bishopric Centre, where both urban structures formed a building complex in the north part of Cathedral Hill on the edge of the floodplain of the Emajogi River. At Cathedral Hill's foot, the oldest wooden church had already been in the settlement after 1224. St. John's Church (Estonian: *Tartu Jaani kirik, German: St. Johanniskirche zu Dorpat*) was built instead of the oldest wooden building of the early 13th century, and several streets at the beginning of the circular street took eastwards perpendicular to the Emajegi River flow and divided the residential area into sections. The construction of stone walls

around the triangular area of the settlement began in 1234. The defensive wall separated Bishop's fortified yard from the residential area. Trading took place on the most popular street.

On 1 October 1228, Bishop Albert linked up the Leal Bishopric with the Wiek Vogtei and the conquered *Saaremaa* Island and formed the new autonomous Bishopric of Ösel-Wiek (Estonian: *Saare-Lääne piiskopkond*, *Saare-Lääne Diocese*, German: *Bistum Ösel-Wiek*, Latin: *Ecclesia Osiliensis*; 1228–1560) included in the Holy Roman Empire. Wilhelm William of Modena fixed borders permanently in 1234 and built a church in the Ösel-Wiek Bishopric**,** which was legally established on 10 September 1234. Bishop Hermann founded Kärkna Cistercian monastery (*kloster Kärkna*, *Kaerkna klooster*; 1233/1234–1558) in Falkenau (*Falkenau*, *Valkena*) by the Emajegi River. In Livonia, due to frequent wars, Cistercian monasteries were used for defense and refuge. The rectangular building of construction volume blocks placed around the courtyard reminded a fortress of the Teutonic Order (Benninghofens 2011: 18). On 8 January 1235, Bishop of Leal Hermann obtained the title of Bishop of Dorpat and became Hermann I, the first Prince-Bishop of Dorpat. The assigned Bishop of Ösel-Wiek (1234–1260) Heinrich I transferred his residence from Leal to the coast of the Pärnu Bay, where a port in the estuary of the Pärnu River was mentioned for the first time in 1242. He made Perona at the mouth of the Pärnu River's right affluent Perona (now Sauga) or the town of Old-Pernau (German: *Alt-Pernau*, Estonian: *Vana-Pärnu*; 1251), which became the Ösel-Wiek Bishopric Centre in 1251 when St. John the Evangelist Cathedral was built. In February 1263, the Lithuanians destroyed Old-Pärnu on the border between Sontagana and Sakala lands.

Bishop of Riga achieved *Dondangen* (*Donedange*, Latvian: *Dundaga*) district in Courland (Latvian: *Kurzeme*, *Kursa*, Latin: *Curonia*), which had not been subjugated to the Knights' power yet, and the Bishopric of Courland was founded de jure on September 1234. Candidates began to divide the land. On 8 September 1234, Bishop of Riga (1229–1253) Nikolaus of Nauen (German *Nikolaus von Nauen*, Latin: *Nicolaus Canonicus Rigensis*) presented the first yard of Riga Bishop and plots of land belonging to it to Dominican monks who could settle down by the Rīdziņa (*iuxta Rygam in antiqua civitate*) and preached the Catholic faith in Livonia (Caune & Ose 2004: 392).

Development of urban space in cities of the German Hansa

The founding of cities and their gradual development into long-distance trade centers opened up new, unprecedented opportunities for the development of trade in the Baltic Sea region. Cities could provide much more secure trade than the fortified centers of earlier eras. Low German merchants founded cities in the most strategically important places, first of all, in the contact zones of the sea and rivers, as well as land trade routes. As a result, the combined wealth of German

merchants and the pulling power of their cities along the southern and eastern shores of the Baltic gave them such an advantage that merchants of the Norse, Gotland, and other groups had no choice but to fit into the newly established trade system. Already in the 13th century, the successful connection of sea and land trade networks, which was one of the most important trade innovations, gave German merchants an advantage over other trade participants in the Baltic Sea region (Misāns 2009: 47).

The evolution of some German cities into self-ruling constitutional entities of the Empire was slower than that of the secular and ecclesiastical princes. Therefore, in the course of the 13th and 14th centuries, some cities were promoted by an emperor to the status of imperial cities (German: *Reichsstädte*, Latin: *Urbes imperiales*). An imperial city held the status of Imperial immediacy and was subordinate only to the Holy Roman Emperor, as opposed to a territorial city or town (German: *Landstadt*), which was subordinate to a territorial prince—be it an ecclesiastical lord (prince-bishop, prince-abbot) or a secular prince (duke /*Herzog*/, margrave, count /*Graf*/, etc.). In the Holy Roman Empire, the collective term free and imperial cities (German: *Freie und Reichsstädte*), briefly worded as a free imperial city (German: *Freie Reichsstadt*, Latin: *urbs imperialis libera*), was used from the 15th century to denote a self-ruling city that had a certain amount of autonomy. This city was represented in the Imperial Diet (German: *Reichstag*), which had been founded by German kings and emperors in the 10th through 13th centuries and initially administered by stewards /*Vögte*/, and gradually gained independence as city magistrates assumed the duties of administration and justice. The Holy Roman Emperor Friedrich II raised Lübeck to the status of a free imperial city in 1226, as Hamburg at the Port of Hamburg (German: *Hafen Hamburg*) on the River Elbe had in 1189. In Lübeck, commemorating the victory in the *Bornhöved* Battle, which happened on Mary Magdalena's Day on 22 July 1227, the Monastery of St. Mary Magdalena (German: *Maria-Magdalenen-Kloster*; 1229) was founded northwards from the Old Town, where a small hall-type church was built. Triple-nave hall-type St. Peter's Church (German: *St. Petri zu Lübeck*; 1227–1250) with four bays and three apses appeared in the place of a wooden church made in 1170 at the market. A long period of self-government began in Lübeck. Its commercial importance in seaborne trade became even greater in 1241 when Lübeck signed a trade agreement with Hamburg (**Fig. 2**), where Dominicans founded the Monastery of St. John (German: *Dominikanerkloster St. Johannis*; 1236–1529) not far from Franciscan *St. Marien-Magdalenen-Kloster*, and the spiritual power center was established in 1236. Waterways influenced the placement of streets and squares connected in a single system in a medieval agglomeration. In Livonia and in the State of the Teutonic Order, Dominican and Franciscan monasteries were founded in towns, which affected the medieval construction. In Riga, Dominicans obtained the first yard of Riga Bishop near the Riga City Wall and founded a monastery separated

from the Order's properties by the frontier fortifications. The layout of the church and monastery buildings created a functional division for the fortified territory. The Riga Bishop's first yard was damaged possibly in the fire and the plot of land belonging to Dominican monks who could settle down by the Rīdziņa (*iuxta Rygam in antiqua civitate*) to preach the Catholic faith was presented by the Bishop of Riga Nikolaus on 8 September 1234 (Caune & Ose 2004: 392). In 1297, St. John the Baptist Church built instead of the ruined cult building of the first yard of Riga Bishop was mentioned for the first time (Kiše & Plauciņš 1956). It could be the early dating of this building whose altar partly occupied the chapel's place of residence. The apse was made next to the building's basics. Cloisters surrounded the courtyard. During archaeological surveillance (1988–1989) under the basement floors of existing houses in Jāņa Street 6–18, not only remnants of older stone houses but also some testimony of a former wooden building were found. In the basement construction of residential buildings on Jāņa Street, the remains of an old building started at the end of the altar of St. John's Church and ended at a residential (?) tower at Kalēju Street. In 1909, removing plaster from a wall on the east side of a choir, part of an older building was discovered. Art scientist and Professor at the Art Academy of Latvia, Dr. Hab. Art. Ojārs Sparītis describes the plan of St. John's Church in the place, where the first cult building was built by Bishop of Riga Albert formerly located. Excerpts of walls made of roughly trimmed big dolomite blocks, whose layout does not correspond to the plan of St. John's Church, can be seen in the basement under the altarpiece of the church. Masonry patterns with brick and stone insertion and cohesive substance enable us to recognize the stone origin of Riga (Spārītis 2007: 98–99).

Figure 1. German educator, writer, and politician Ernst Heinrich Wichmann (1823–1890). Hamburg planning around 1070. 1863 (Wichmann 1863)
Figure 2. Ernst Heinrich Wichmann. Development of the Hamburg plan by the Elbe Waterway around 1240. 1863 (Wichmann 1863)
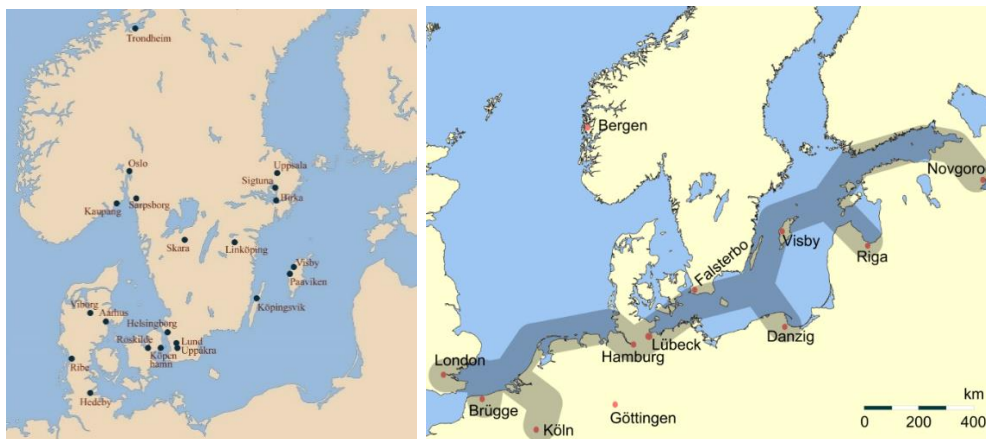
Figure 3. Swedish archaeologist, historian, writer Sven Rosborn. A map of Viking era towns of Scandinavia. 2006 (Own work of Sven Rosborn)
Figure 4. Flo Beck. The major trade route and the most important Hanseatic cities. 2006 (Own work of Flo Beck)

The trading center of Lübeck joined with Hamburg to form the nucleus of the Hanseatic League, which was a union of Northern German and other merchant cities in the Baltic Sea region that began to form in the mid-12th century to achieve trade security and legal protection for merchants in long-distance trade. During the existence of the Hanseatic League, it included about two hundred cities, including eleven Livonian cities (Auns 2017). It can be considered as the origin of the German Hansa whose center was established in the Gotland capital of Visby (**Fig. 3**), where a church had a large, single west tower on a limestone lower part and the unique arrangement of a tower gallery. A transept extended beyond the main building towards the north and south. Unusually, it lacked a choir projecting towards the east, and thus was almost T-shaped, barring, possibly, a central apse or lesser apses projecting from the transept. Gables of the transept, a single portal, the tower up until the uppermost corbel table and some pillars were all that remained of the first edifice. The rebuilding of the eastern part of the church seems to have started in 1211. The nave was enlarged to become as wide as the transept and was doubled in size. A new choir was added to the east of it. In the easternmost vault, constituting the ceiling of the choir, a round hole exists. The superfluous space between the ceiling and roof was turned into a large attic. A triple-nave basilica consecrated to the Virgin Mary on 27 July 1225 was transformed into a hall-type church with two towers constructed at the angle between the choir and the transept.

In Lübeck, a monastery for Cistercian nuns was built in 1246, and a triple-nave basilica of the Lübeck Cathedral was created up to 1247. A brick church, which appeared in the place of the wooden church from the first German colonization era in 1156 after the re-foundation of the town, no longer met the spatial and representative requirements of the self-confident, economically strongly emerging citizens. St. Mary's Church (German: *St. Marien zu Lübeck*, *Lübecker Marienkirche*; between 1250 and 1350) at the highest point on the island became the market church close to a market and the Town Hall. The city's foremost parish church as a symbol of the prosperity and power of the Hanseatic city

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formed the Old Town and dwarfed the nearby cathedral established by Henry the Lion and consecrated in 1247. Using the Lübeck Cathedral as a sample, a crown of chapels was made in the Schwerin Cathedral. Lübeck St. Peter's Church was rebuilt into a five-nave hall-type church got an irregular layout. The space around the altar was made around 1290. In Lübeck, three apses and a new altar for the Vicary in a triple-nave hall-type church (German: *deischiffige Backsteinhallenkirche*) of St. Jacobi (German: *St. Jakobi zu Lübeck*; 1276–1334) for the citizenship parish was made in 1287. Outside Hamburg covered by city walls, St. Jacob's Church (German: *Hauptkirche St. Jacobi*; 1255) was built. St. Catherine's Church (German: *Hauptkirche St. Katharinen*; 1256) in the south of the Old Town was placed in the community center on Grimm Island, which was formerly the southern boundary of the medieval city located opposite the historic harbor area on the Elbe River. The welfare of citizens increased, and the Hamburg Cathedral was rebuilt. The construction of a triple-nave hall church of bricks with the conclusion of three apses began in 1310. It was dedicated to St. Peter and St. Apostle Paul (German: *Hauptkirche St. Petri*) in 1327.

An important trade city of Riga became the economic base of the Teutonic Order and the administrative center of the Archbishopric of Riga (Latin: *archiepiscopatus provincia Rigensis*; 1255–1562) subjected to the Pope of Rome and Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. The building complex of the Riga Archbishopric Centre consisted of two yards – the Bishop's yard with a perimeter construction and the Canonical Chapter's yard with the building complex of the Dominican monastery. The chancel of St. John the Baptist's Church in the Dominican monastery was deep, for it partly occupied the place of the chapel of the Bishop's residence. Also in Riga, the triple-nave St. Catherine's Church had an elongated chancel, and the monastery's buildings were arranged northwards from the church (Ozola 2018: 83). Pope (1254–1261) Alexander IV in his letter of 2 August 1255 mentioned a place in Riga at St. Jacob's (also St. James's) Church (German: *Jakobskirche*, Latvian: *Sv. Jēkaba baznīca*), where a Cistercian monastery has to be established for citizens' unmarried daughters and widows' care. He mentioned the monastery's privileges and the *Regula Benedicti,* awarded to it. The formation of the monastery has to be related to 1 May 1257. St. Mary Magdalene's Church (Latvian: *Rīgas Svētās Marijas Magdalēnas Romas katoļu baznīca*) and buildings in the monastery's courtyard created a partition into two functionally different zones westwards from the entrance of St. Jacob's Church. In 1259, the Archbishop of Riga (*sancte Rigensis ecclesie archiepiscopas, der hilligen kerken to Righe ertzbisschop*) in the subsidy document confirmed the present to the monastery – a courtyard at St. Jacob's Church. The Canonical Chapter allowed the Cistercian sisters to use the courtyard while St. Mary Magdalene's Church of the monastery was built. A new wall would be built in the suburbs of Riga at the defensive wall around the monastery (Caune & Ose 2010: 282, 314). Riga joined the Hanseatic League in 1282 (Auns 2017).

On 26 May 1305, the Teutonic Order bought Dünamünde monastery for the surveillance of the river estuary (Ose 2000: 70). A water-filled moat surrounded the monastery complex that was converted into the commander's residence (1305–1560). A convent of 12 brothers-knights was established after 1329 (Caune & Ose 2004: 133), preserving the planning of the monastery and the placement of dining rooms and the chapel in the southeast corner (Henricus 1993: 355). Reconstruction of a triple-nave hall-type Riga St. Peter's Church of bricks with equal-width transepts and a little higher middle nave built in 1297 was carried out according to the sample of Rostock St. Mary's Church. The oldest building was surrounded by basilicas – within the dimensions of the current St. Peter's Church. Art historian, and pedagogue, Professor Dr. Art. Voldemar Vaga (1899–1999) considered that construction was started already during the second half of the 14th century. A circular passage and circuit of five chapels around a new chancel were made in 1408–1409. Around 1400, Riga became an important trade and crafts city on waterways and road crossings, the center of the Teutonic Order and the Archbishopric of Riga. Fortified yards were created close to the Riga City Wall, and the monastery complex was placed in the central part of the city, where the Riga Cathedral was included. The Riga Archbishopric Centre was made of two urban structures on a flat relief adjoined close by the Riga City Wall. Assessing in the European context, a common feature of the Riga Cathedral, which became the main building in the Archbishopric of Riga, in whose subjugation seven bishoprics got, was the ability to organize the urban environment in an architecturally active way. A distinctive feature was the structural construction of the Christian center – the mutual correlation between the Canonical Chapter and the Bishop's residence – two urban building structures, related to the cathedral. Functional solutions for urban building development have been developed in building plans of bishoprics' capital cities, but the aesthetic and artistic quality of the building was affected by the cathedral building-type further development.

Hanseatic merchants moved another floor into the nave as a storage floor in St. Mary's Church of Visby, so that merchandise could also be safely stored in the church. In the German Kontor known as Peterhof founded in 1259 by the Germans further up-river in Novgorod, one of the main scenes of the North-West Russian Viking Age, the common cash register of the Hanseatic Office was also kept in St. Mary's Church. Due to the double use, Saint Maria was a trading church, as it also existed in Peterhof, and was granted certain privileges that made German positions there more secure. Lübeck St. Mary's Church was reconstructed from 1277 to 1351. A passage with chapels arranged in a row was created in a wide transept, an anteroom, a lobby, and around the presbytery. Small Use chapels (German: *Einsatzkapellen*) at an entrance around a choir were barely visible from the outside. Nine larger side chapels (German: *Seitenkapellen*) and ten smaller tomb chapels (German: *Grabkapellen*)

were built in the basilica. Originally, one central tower was planned for this church. The west façade consisted of two towers, whose construction began in 1304.

The construction of a proper defense for Visby started with a land-facing wall in the 1270s and 1280s, and Visby from 1282 to 1470 became the most important Hanseatic city in the Baltic Sea. The Visby City Wall was connected to conflicts that arose between the city of Visby and the thing or assembly of Gotland, which led to a civil war on the island. Part of the wall east of the Mill Tower (Swedish: *Kvarntornet*), which has been razed, dates from the beginning of this war, when Visby was plundered. The East Gate (*Österport*) was built no earlier than 1286. Then followed the North Gate (*Norderport*) in 1289 and the Snäckgärds Gate (*Snäckgärdsporten*) in 1294. About twenty large towers between gates were added in the 1290s and early 1300s. The 'Queen of the Hansa' Lübeck provided access for trade with Veliky Novgorod, a great trading center of Eastern Europe, one of the main scenes of the North-West Russian Viking Age and a strong partner of the Hanseatic League, putting it in direct competition with the Scandinavians who had previously controlled most of the trade routes in the Baltic. The Peace of Rostock in 1283 stabilized cooperation between Hanseatic cities. Hansa societies worked to remove restrictions on trade for their members. The Treaty of Gotland (Swedish: *Gotländska freden*) in 1288 put an end to the competition: Lübeck merchants gained access to the inland Russian port of Novgorod. The construction of triple-nave basilicas and hall churches for citizenship parishes developed in German cities (**Fig. 4**) along the Baltic Sea were involved in the Hanseatic League. It was not common to make a transept in buildings, whose width exceeded its length. Therefore, secondary worship places of various functional meanings were arranged at the edges of side naves by the external wall. Apsidal chapels were placed at a circular passage around the altar. Hanseatic cities with striking speed during the 13th century achieved domination of trade in the Baltic, had their legal system, operated armies for mutual protection, and came to the aid of one another. German merchants in several towns were connected to the fast-developing Hanseatic commercial system with its well-organized trading. Hansa territories from the Baltic stretched to the North Sea and inland. Most German towns were gathered close to rivers Oder, Elbe, Weser, Ems, and Rhine. All over the Baltic area, new towns and trading ports were established during the 13th century. Old and new towns grew near good waterways and at river mouths, and also along trade routes on land. Many trading cities at the big rivers' mouths of the Baltic Seacoast developed as bishopric centers but churches for citizenship Catholic parishes became architectural dominates in Hanseatic cities. Various artistic trends in the construction of churches existed in different regions on the Baltic Sea coast. Medieval cities grew within the confines of walls, and churches, castles of lords, and monasteries surrounded by walls and moats as defensive elements dominated on terrain. Therefore, the choice of the construction site, occupying hilltops or islands,

was justified by strategic, aesthetic, and economic considerations. Small, narrow streets without sidewalks led to the main square. Façades of the church or the Town Hall closed street perspectives and can be viewed from different angles. Expressiveness to the Town Hall Square was given by the end façades of houses built next to each other. Roads tended to radiate from the marketplace in the center of towns toward neighboring gates with secondary lateral roadways connecting them. Towns assumed irregular character. Balance for the asymmetric arrangement of houses around the square was found in a contrasting relation between vertical towers and horizontal volumes. A complex ensemble of churches, castles, and squares was created over a long time to achieve artistic harmony.

Development of urban space in Hanseatic cities of the Archbishopric of Riga (1255–1562)

A functional, composition, and artistic concept of fortified urban space in spiritual life centers of the Riga Archbishopric (1255–1562) formed in the context of an evolution of sacral buildings and the cathedral building type in Europe. During the 13th–14th centuries, medieval urban agglomerations developed in towns of Bishopric centers, and churches for citizenship Catholic parishes as architectural dominates created the urban environment in Riga (**Fig. 5**) and other Hanseatic cities. The first towns in the Archbishopric of Riga were Dorpat (Estonian: *Tartu*; 1262), Kokenhusen (Latvian: *Koknese*; 1277), and Hapsal (Latvian: *Hapsala*, Latin: *Hapsalia*, *Habsalia*, *Hapselia*, Estonian: *Haapsalu*; 1279). The nice surroundings and convenient traffic with Riga determined the choice of Kokenhusen as a place of Archbishops' residence (Apinis 1931: 86). In 1255, Pope Alexander IV confirmed the property rights of Riga Archbishop to several counties (including Metsepole) and castles. Only Turaida and fortifications on the banks of the Daugava were named among the castles. There is no evidence that there was an Archbishop's palace in Metsepole in the middle of the 13th century (Auns 2017).
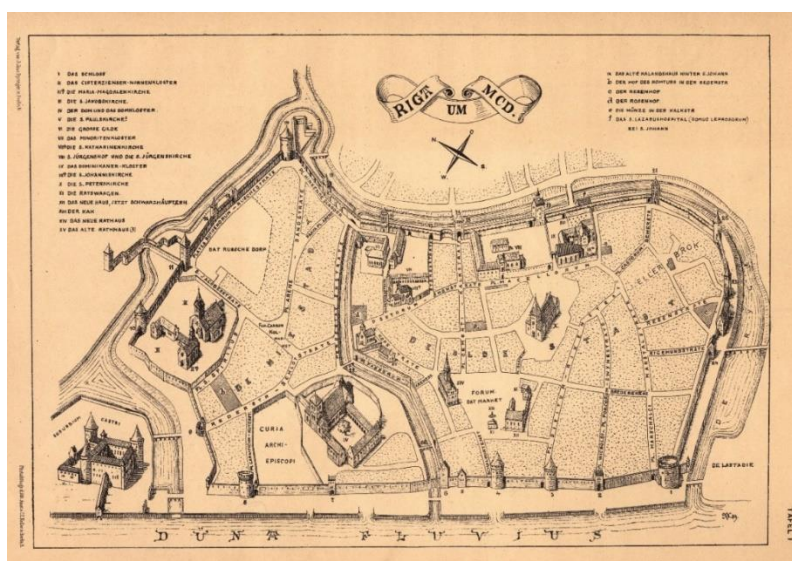
Figure 5. Architect Johann Wilhelm Carl Neumann (1849–1919). Reconstruction plan of the fortified German town of Riga around 1400. 1889 (Schröder 1942: 57)

Near the Daugava Waterway on the Latgalian-inhabited hillfort of a triangular outline, the Swordbrothers built *castrum Kukonois* (*Kocanois*; 1209) instead of a former settlement of locals 444baptised in Orthodox. Two two-story dolomite blocks placed mutually at a narrow-angle formed an early irregular layout double-block castle of the Bishop of Riga. Both residential blocks were included in the unified defense system created by a defensive wall of stone. St. Paul's Church (around 1225?) for the townspeople Catholic Parish was built at the market in front of the castle. Pope Alexander IV confirmed in 1255 that *castrum Kukonois* as the base for the conquest of the Daugava Waterway belonged to the archbishop. On 13 July 1277, Archbishop of Riga (1273–1284) Johann I of Lune awarded the Riga law (German: *Rigisches (Stadt) Recht*, *Rigischen Statuten*) to the castle settlement. He determined the borders of Kokenhusen Town (German: *Stadt Kokenhusen*) and mentioned that Kokenhusen Town Wall (destroyed in the 1680s) had been built. The road determined the longitudinal axis orientated from the *castrum* through the settlement towards the Land or Town Gate built in the north part of the Town Wall. On 14 July 1397, the *castrum* was transformed into a residence. Every year from Pentecost, the festival in the Christian church, to Michaelmas, or the Feast of Michael and All Angels on 29 September, the Archbishop of Riga and his court lived in the Kokenhusen fortified building complex. Kokenhusen became a Hanseatic city.

The Cours, Semigalians, Latgalians, and Prussians began protests in 1260; and Alexander Nevsky's son, Grand Prince Dmitry (Russian: *Дмитрий Александрович*) arrived with troops in Dorpat and destroyed the Dorpat Bishopric Centre in 1262. Medieval Dorpat was restored. The city of Lipstadt (**Fig. 6**) founded by Bernhard of Lippe was used as a model for the planning of bishoprics' centers in Livonia. Bishop's residence and the cathedral erected at the hill's highest point were protected by the town-shield: a circular street was created at the hill foot and streets began to divide the area into residential blocks. Such a plan was not characteristic of regularly planned cities of bishoprics' centers established in the subordinate Prussian-inhabited lands (Ozola 2020b: 806). Dorpat achieved the Riga law in 1262 and became a capital of the Bishopric of Dorpat with its own ruling Town Council subjected to the Bishop; the castle and its outer part were reinforced with at least four towers and gate towers (German: *Torturm*). The layout of the stronghold on a hill above the city (**Fig. 7**) is poorly recognized and very hypothetical. It probably consisted of the Upper Castle equipped with a cylindrical main tower, standing next to the eastern wing of the castle probably in a mixed brick and stone structure. Bishop's Castle surrounded by the wall with the Dome Gate along with Cathedral Hill was distinguished from the rest of the plain by the moat. The building complex of two urban structures on Cathedral Hill included the cathedral and was connected to the Dorpat City Wall consisted of twenty-seven towers, of which nine had gates (Bernotas 2011) and, together with

residential houses of citizens, was included in the common defense system (**Fig. 8**). A path (German: *Schloss Strasse*) at the gate of Bishop's yard led down to John's Street (German: *Johannis Strasse*), where St. John's Church of stone for the citizenship Catholic Parish (**Fig. 9, 10**) was located. Greater Market (German: *Grosser Markt*) on the expanded street (**Fig. 7**) started from John's Street and was closed by the German Gate, behind which was a bridge across the river. The most important streets of the town-shield took to Jacob's Gate at the end of streets on the northwest side, the Russian and Monks' gates on the east side, and St. Andrew's Gate on the south side of the City Wall directed towards the waterway. Dorpat became a Hanseatic city in the 1280s. The Dorpat Cathedral, which spaces around the altar and nave, was created in 1299; and the Canonical Chapter's house on the highest spot of Cathedral Hill behind Bishop's Castle and its outer part separated from the urban building by a defensive wall of stone were completed in the late 15th century. Massive, tall twin towers on the west front façade of the cathedral became architectonic dominants of Dorpat.
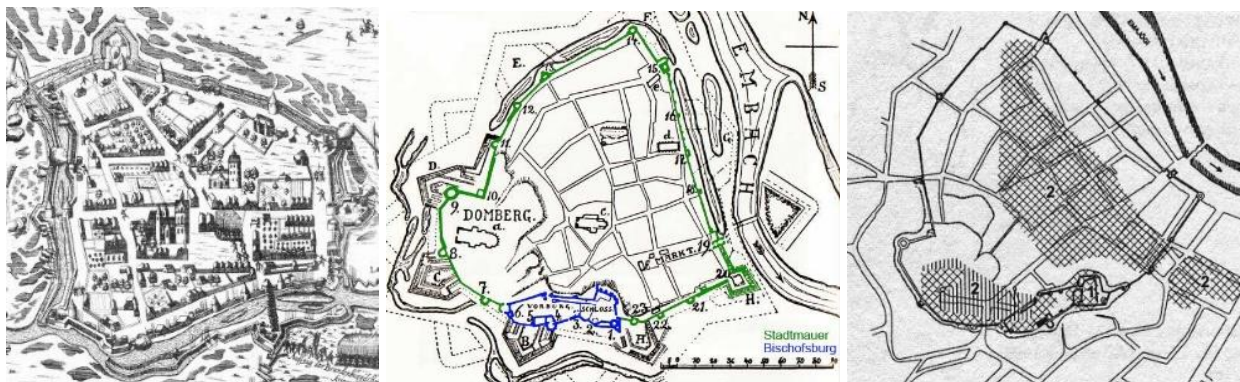
Figure 6. The general view of the town-shield of Lippstadt (1184–1185). 1623 (Property of Lippstadt City Museum since 1965, from Lippstadt ownership)
Figure 7. Researcher of castles Dr Phil. Karl Woldemar von Löwis of Menar (1855–1930). Plan of the fortified town-shield of Dorpat: a – the Dorpat Cathedral, b – St. John's Church (1323), c – St. Mary's Church (1842), d – the main gate, e – house, f – the Town Hall. 1922 (Löwis 1922: 14)
Figure 8. Estonian archaeologist Andres Tvauri (b. 1970). Plan of the oldest part of Dorpat Town: 1 – Bishop's residence, town walls, 2 – the prevalence of cultural layers. 2001. (Hermanni 2005: 165)

In February 1263, the Lithuanians destroyed Old-Pernau Town, and the Bishop chose Hapsal for a new center of the Bishopric of Ösel-Wiek. The establishment of the castle for the Bishop's residence (**Fig. 11**) on the south coast of Haapsalu Bay, where a settlement developed around a marketplace on the Baltic Seacoast plain, can be dated to the 1260s, when the town-creation attempts of the Bishopric of Ösel-Wiek had failed both in Leal and Old-Pernau. Hermann of Buxthoeven (also *Bekeshoevede*; 1230–1285), Bishop of Ösel-Wiek consecrated on 20 August 1262 in Lübeck, began to build a double-block castle for the Bishop on Cathedral Hill (**Fig. 12**) surrounded by a curving street. A single-nave cult building built between 1263 and 1270 was included in the complex of a secular and spiritual power center first mentioned in 1279.
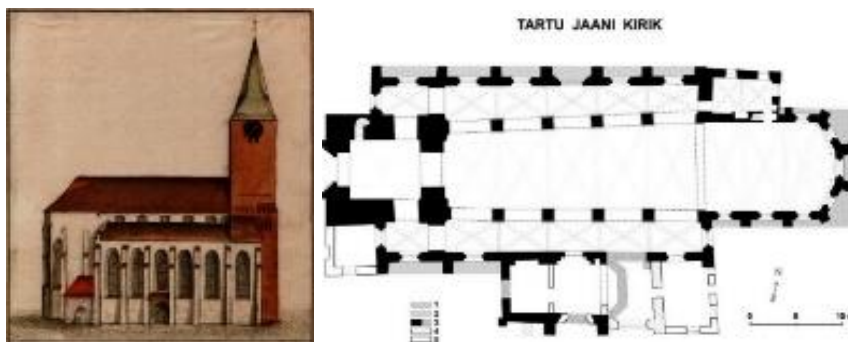
Figure 9. Lutheran Pastor, archaeologist, historian Eduard Philipp Körber (1770–1850) (?). St. John's Church for the citizenship parish in Dorpat. 1794. (Brotze 2006)
Figure 10. Architect Raul Vaiksoo. Plan of Dorpat St. John's Church. 2008. (Vaiksoo 2008)
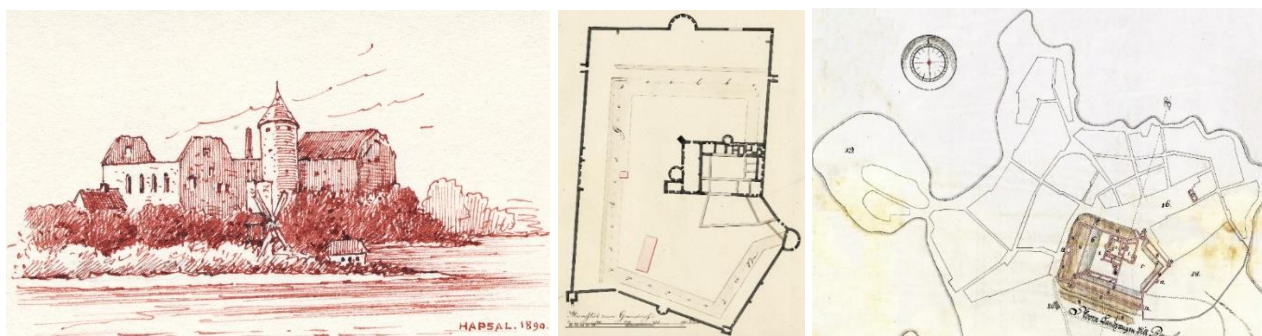

Figure 11. Hapsal Castle. 1890 (Academic Library of the University of Latvia, Library of Misins, Ms1185-6-128)
Figure 12. Plan of Hapsal Castle (Livonijas 2008)
Figure 13. Swedish fortification officer Samuel Waxelberg (1643–1704). Plan of Hapsal town-shield with a castle, cathedral and inner outer part, West and East outer parts, a marketplace with the church from the 16th century, and the oldest street network of Hapsal. 1683 (Waxelberg 1683)

Natural features determined the location of structures, the position of the castle, and the earlier urban settlement. The castle on Cathedral Hill westwards from a marketplace promoted the development of the Hapsal town-shield (**Fig. 13**) protected by natural water obstacles on the plain of the seacoast. Natural elements provided optimal living conditions for inhabitants, regardless of the size of continuously inhabited settlements. Elements of the natural landscape became the basis and the most important components of urban structures. In their turn, cities had a constant impact on natural components, deforming and adapting them to their needs (Ozola 2023: 59). The first construction stage of Hapsal Town occurred at the same time as the castle was made; and the authority figures, members of their defense, and builders lived on the future urban territory to the north outside of the building site of the castle (Bernotas 2013: 270–271). Bishop of Ösel-Wiek Hermann wrote the charter of Hapsal, which was the first written record of the cathedral dedicated to St. John the Evangelist. Bishop Hermann I, the founder of the town, wrote: "...we, the ones having established the cathedral in Hapsal and having provided our canons with the appropriate dwellings and income, determined a certain site to be a town, where everybody who has chosen it as their place of living together with us, could gather and find shelter there; and if needed would be able to defend the church

with all the means at their disposal." Initially, the castle consisted of the north block. Two curtains of the wall about eight meters high connected this block with the cathedral on the south side, and a small four-sided turret protruded in front of the western curtain. A cross vault covered a circular baptismal chapel built in the second half of the 14th century. A twenty-nine-metre-high and tall tower (13th century) for neighborhood observation protected the main entrance in the west of the courtyard of the outer part of the castle. The town-shield protected the Bishop's residence and the cathedral at the hill's highest point: a circular street was created at the hill foot, and streets began to divide the area into residential blocks (Ozola 2020b: 806). Hapsal achieved the Riga law in 1279. Considering the local conditions, it was revised in 1294. The Riga-Hapsal law was the third version of the Riga law. The cathedral of Bishop's Castle (1260) was originally not incorporated in the united defensive system, but was later adapted for protection: the attic space could serve as a shelter. Bishop's seat or the so-called Small Fort located there. The 11.5-meter wide cathedral with its fifteen-and-a-half meter high vaults was the throne—the official chair of Bishop of Ösel-Wiek and the place where the Hapsal Canonical Chapter worked. The design of the cathedral with star vaults was based on set requirements of the Cistercian Order (Latin: *Ordo Cisterciensis*). The portal was originally with an eyelash on a round arch that provided space for the figure of the patron saint in a niche. Paintings decorated the inner walls. The floor was covered with tombstones of clergymen and nobles. A unique round baptismal chapel was built during the second half of the 14th century. The Hapsal Cathedral as the largest single-nave cult building in the Nordic and Baltic countries was referred in historical sources as St. John the Evangelist, and sometimes, St. John the Evangelist and St. John the Baptist. It is possible that the Baptist became the second patron of the church only from the mid-15th century.

During the war with the Bishop of Ösel-Wiek, the Teutonic Order conquered the Ösel-Wiek Bishopric's capital city (1279–1560) Hapsal. The first major Teutonic invasion was in 1297 when the army occupied the castle. In 1300, the first construction stage of this complex with the cathedral was completed. Bishop of Ösel-Wiek regained the residence in 1302 and moved it to Arensburg in *Saaremaa*. Hapsal lost its political significance and became the local trade center (14th–16th century). In the 14th century, the Zwinger was in front of the gate, and two square towers were erected on the east side of the castle. The defensive wall was reinforced. The boundaries of the town's area were marked and the harbour locations were determined in 1323. The regular town structure was oriented from the castle and a central marketplace. The continuous withdrawal of the sea caused a change in the location of the harbor. As the town expanded westwards, the building of a wall with built-in five gates started on the seaward side of Hapsal. The north side of the town-shield, facing the sea, was strongly protected. The Russian Gate, Great Gate, German Gate, and Water Gate were built in fortifications.

A moat and two outer parts surrounded the castle in the 14th and 15th centuries. Quadrilateral and, later, semi-cylindrical towers strengthened the outer defensive wall. Quadrilateral towers in two eastern corners led to the town but two extended gate towers on the northwest and southwest sides of the wall connected the outer part of the castle with the suburbs. One gate of the eastern outer part was linked with the town, while the other with the foreground of the castle in the east. The western ends of two parallel west and east blocks were connected by buildings to create a rectangular structure of Hapsal Castle around the courtyard surrounded by cloisters (15th century). Walls were raised in the 15th century due to the construction of several rooms and a sacristy next to the space around the altar on the south side of the cathedral. The defensive wall was reinforced, and a big west outer part for household buildings was finished in 1507–1508. The castle, after its expansion in the 15th and early 16th centuries, consisted of three blocks arranged around a rectangular courtyard, which still closed the cathedral from the south. All three blocks had cellars, some of which served as a prison and others as warehouses for storing food and drinks. A cathedral school and the great refectory were on the first floor of the north block. During the 15th century, the tall tower increased by nine meters, and a bell was placed. Probably in the 15th century, a thirty-eight-metre-high cylindrical tower called Clock Tower replaced the older, slender four-sided turret and was added to the west block used for Canonical Chapter's House. The ground floor was occupied by utility rooms and an armory. The most important representative rooms of the Bishop, Hapsal Canonical Chapter, and church officials were located on the first and second floors. Bishop's chambers were in the northeastern corner but a large refectory occupied the northern range. There was the Chapter's House in the west. The third floor had defensive functions by placing guard porches and served as a granary.

On Cathedral Hill, the Bishop's fortified residence and Canonical Chapter's House included into the track of defensive walls formed a fortified building complex, and it was directed towards the marketplace, which ended with St. Nicholas Church built in the 1520s and first mentioned, together with the patron saint, in 1524. The 15th-century warehouse was rebuilt to create St. Nicholas Church for the townspeople Catholic Parish, and it differs from other churches for its location of the north-south orientation. A five-metre-high stone altar and a wooden pulpit were made for St. Nicholas Church, and ordinary townspeople were buried under the floor and in the garden. The bell in the church tower is one of the oldest in Estonia. The Christen Chapel connected to the cathedral and the sacristy next to the altarpiece on the south side of St. Nicolas Cathedral were built in the 15th century. There was no similar chapel in any other church in the Baltic. In the post-medieval period, a change occurred in the patron saint. After a heavy storm in March 1726, when the cathedral lost its roof, the parish moved to St. Nicholas Church and took the name of Saint John. Since then, the church for the townspeople parish had borne the name of Saint John. After reconstruction in the 19th century, the

former cathedral was dedicated to Saint Nicholas on 15 October 1889, thereby completing an exchange of patron saints between the two churches (Mänd 2009: 200–201). Bishop of Ösel-Wiek moved his residence to Arensburg, and Hapsal as a member of the Hanseatic League lost its political significance and became a local trade center (14th–16th centuries).

A double-block fortress was built also in one of the largest Lithuanian State centers Trakai. At different times, three castles were built in the 14th century. The oldest one was the wooden castle of Old Trakai (Lithuanian: *Senieji Trakai*) surrounded by a defensive wall of stone and brick (Hermanni 2005: 260). This castle lost its meaning when on the peninsula between Galvė and Luka Lakes Lithuanian Grand Duke Kęstutis (1297–1382) built Trakai Island Castle (Lithuanian: *Trakų salos pilis*) of two parallel residential blocks linked by a defensive wall and a built-in high gate tower. In the fortress of a two-division layout, a deep ditch separated the residence from the outer part of the castle. Lithuanian historian, Dr. Algirdas Antanas Baliulis (b. 1936), Lithuanian architect Stanislovas Mikulionis (1935–1992), and Antanas Miškinis (1905–1983) have developed a hypothesis that the construction on the Island Castle began in the first half of the 14th century. They presumed that the Island was initially built as a *castrum*, transitional to the castle, style containing Romanesque features. In archaeologist Birutė Lisauskaitė's opinion, the construction of Trakai Island Castle began in the second half of the 14th century. Archaeologist Albinas Kuncevičius (b. 1957) assigns Trakai Island Castle to the beginning of the 15th century when the second construction period of brick and stone castles was in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Rackevičius 2002).

In Poland on a strategically significant island of the Bzura River, Archbishop of Gniezno (1342–1374) Jarosław of Bogoria and Skotniki (Polish: *Jarosław Bogoria Skotnicki*) built Łowicz Castle (Polish: *zamek w Łowiczu*; around 1355) of brick for Archbishop's manor evolved into the main residence since the 13th century and extended at the end of the 14th century. The defensive wall surrounded a compact double-block castle of parallel blocks. One block was meant for flats, and the second one on the courtyard's opposite south side was used for household needs and had the form of a small courtyard surrounded by a wall. A building stood along its northern side. A gate tower by an entrance gate was built in the east part of the rectangular courtyard (Guerquin 1984: 208) providing the fortress' constant defense. A chapel was placed on the tower's upper floor. An oval wall and a moat additionally surrounded the whole complex. On an island of the Rgilewka (Polish: *Rgilówka*) River, political and religious leader, Archbishop of Gniezno (1423–1436) Wojciech Jastrzębiec built a double-block volume of Borysławice Castle (Polish: *Borysławice Zamkowe*; around 1423) surrounded by the defensive wall. Two parallel residential blocks and the entrance gate tower between them created a rectangular courtyard. At the hilltop on the left bank of the River Bug's left tributary of Liwiec or Liw, the Knights for their defensive needs built compact Liw Castle (Polish: *Zamek w*

Liwie; 1429) consisted of two parallel residential blocks and the entrance gate tower. Later, one block of a double-block structure was knocked down to make a courtyard (Guerquin 1984: 114, 200).

In the Dundaga Rise (Latvian: *Dundagas pacēlums*), man-made steep-sided Kalnadārzs /hill garden/ Hillfort (Latvian: *Kalnadārza* or *Kalna dārza pilskalns*) with a well leveled, seventy-meter-long and thirty-five to fifty-five meter-wide rounded elongated rectangular plateau protected on the eastern side by a two and a half-meter-wide rampart made of stones and earth, rose on a peninsula of the bank of the River Lonaste's right confluence of Pāce (Latvian: *Pāce*, in the middle course *Kazeņupe*, *Kaziņupe*) six to seven meters above a water level. Dundaga was the extreme northern limit of the Curonian expansion, therefore, no safe conclusions can be drawn about the ethnicity of inhabitants. In the 1st millennium AD and until the 13th century, local inhabitants used the hill, on whose southwest side, a twenty-metre-wide and seven-metre-deep moat separated the hillfort from the place, where an outer part probably existed. A terrace eight to nine-meter-wide was created on the slope one meter below the plateau's level, and a four to five-meter-wide terrace was designed three meters below. A six to eight-meter-wide terrace installed one meter below the plateau's level was on the northeast hillside. One hundred meters to the east of Kalnadārzs Hillfort, a small elongated Dundaga Hillfort (Latvian: *Dundagas pilskalns*) with a thirty-meter-long and twenty-six-meter-wide plateau enclosed by a three-meter-high rampart on the northwest side was designed on the opposite bank of the pond flooded by the river. A moat and a three-meter-high rampart separated the rest of the plain from the hillfort on the promontory between the pond and the ravine. An entrance was on one side. An outer part probably to the north of the hill was naturally bounded by the valley of a small river. It is likely that the Cours mainly inhabited this fortification in Vanema. By damming the Pāce River, a pond was created, and it stretched southward for almost three kilometers. Two islands were formed in the northern part of this body of water, and they rose a little higher than two meters above the water level. The size and location of the island were suitable for Pāce Hillfort (Latvian: *Pāces pilskalns*) with a fifty-meter-long and twenty-five-to-forty-meter-wide plateau. The original hillfort was located on the five-meter-high cliff of the Pāce's bank, and the river once also ran along the other side of the hill in marshy and wooded surroundings. In 1245, the Riga Canonical Chapter received the *Dondangen* district-owned Bishop of Riga Nikolaus but the Cours rose in rebellion. Up to 1290 on a flat relief peninsula surrounded by the Pāce River and Mill Pond, *Dondangen* Castle of stone as an elongated square triple-block castle for the Bishopric Centre began to be built close to the fortified settlement *Kalnadārzs* of indigenous people (Caune & Ose 2004: 165). The middle block was the first erected. An excavated moat in front of it made it difficult to access the peninsula. Later, two parallel shorter side blocks facing towards the peninsula's banks created the U-shaped plan. A defensive wall connected the ends of blocks and created a closed courtyard. In the fortress, the outer

part was included together with a residence in the unified defense system. In 1434, the Bishopric of Courland got the fortress and lands belonging to the Riga Canonical Chapter.

The Peace Treaty of Christburg was signed, and the Prussians finished revolts in 1245 (Milicers 2009: 101). Grandmaster decided on territorial division of the Prussian-inhabited lands and began to establish administrative structures. During the second half of the 13th century, the construction of castles expanded, and irregular wooden fortifications and stone castles appeared instead of former Prussian buildings. Authorised by the Grandmaster of the Teutonic Order in Livonia (1251–1254) Eberhard of Sayn (Latin: *Everhardus Seyn*) turned to the conquest of lands that separated Prussia from Livonia. During two months in 1253, *castrum Memele* (*castrum inter Mimelam et Dangam*, *castrum Mimelburch*, *borch to Mimelborgh*) of stone was built on an island in the Dange (Lithuanian: *Dane*, *Danija*, *Akmena*) River. On 8 February 1253, the Teutonic Order and Bishop of Courland dealt with each other the newly built castle in Memel (now *Klaipėda* in Lithuania). The document mentioned that the cathedral and residence of the Bishop of Courland had to be built in Memel, and St. John's Evangelist Church (German: *St. Johanniskirche*, *St. Johannis evangelische Stadtkirche*) was erected here. On 19 April 1260, Pope Alexander IV confirmed that the Bishopric of Courland still did not have the Canonical Chapter. Bishop of Courland (1263–1299) Edmund of Werde mentioned in 1263 that Goldingen should be the home of Bishop of Courland. The Teutonic Order's regulation dated from 1264 pointed out that brothers-knights, priests, and servants called a convent (Šterns 2002: 418–420) had promised to fight against pagans, had to live in monasteries and to give the monks' promises of poverty, chastity, and obedience. Curonian riots stopped, and Bishop Edmund founded the Courland Canonical Chapter in January of 1290. In the document issued on 7 February 1290, Bishop presented half of Memel St. John's the Evangelist Church to the new Canonical Chapter (Strauskaitė 2005: 13). The settlement near the market on the Dange's left bank obtained an unofficial name *Neu Dortmund*.

Bishop of Courland and the Teutonic Order divided the conquered Curonian-inhabited lands in 1253, and two centers under the Archbishopric of Riga were established in the Bishopric of Courland. A sacral building included in the perimetral construction around the courtyard was built in fortified complexes of bishopric centers. In the placement of the Bishop's residence chosen in Pilten on the Winda's right bank near the Port of Winda (Apinis 1931: 126), the wooden castle of the Courland Bishopric's political, economic and cultural center on a peninsula got under the Teutonic Order's control and was replaced by a regular stone castle (before 1309) (**Mugurēvičs** 2005: 164–182**).** **V**olumes organized around the courtyard were included in the trace of the defensive wall. An outer part of the castle took up the biggest part of a strong fortified area. The time of the first church's building is unknown. The castle with its outer part and the town, where merchants and craftsmen

surrounded their houses by palisades, made two separate parts of the triangular fortified building complex. Each of them had its defense system. On 20 June 1557, the last Bishop of Courland (1540–1560) Johannes IV of Münchhausen once again confirmed the Riga law for Pilten.

High Beida Hill on a peninsula populated by the Cours was one of the centers in the Principality of Bandava, and the navigable Tebra River facilitated traffic to the Port of Saka and reaching the Baltic Sea (Apinis 1931: 99). In Courland, the resistance of the population was overcome, and in 1261, the Bishopric of Courland acquired Aseboten fortification (Brastiņš 1923: 99–100) on Beida Hill. A fortified building complex of the perimeter construction conformed to the surface of relief of the plateau was created in the placement chosen for Courland Canonical Chapter's House on the right bank of the border-river Tebra (Bākule 1990a, Bākule 1990b). Around 1290, Hasenpot St. John's the Evangelist Church (**Fig. 14**) was built in the hillfort's southwest part (Ozola 2019b: 36). A ring wall whose southwards and eastwards sides were straight and northwards probably created a curved or broken line surrounded Canonical Chapter's House of stone recorded in the document on 8 September 1338 and built, supposedly, at the east end of the church. Merchants, using the harbour at the River Saka's estuary, took their goods in barges to Hasenpot (Latvian: *Aizpute*) established as a town-shield of the two-stage triangular layout building structure. The trade center developed in the early 14th century. Economic activities promoted the formation of *oppidum* or *suburbium* (Latin: *urbs mercatorum*) and four streets (now *Liepājas*, *Atmodas*, *Jāņa,* and *Katoļu*) at the castle mound's foothill (**Fig. 15**). Each member of the community had a piece of land for residential and household building at traffic roads. One could get into the castle-settlement, surrounded by palisades and moats, over a wooden bridge across a moat and through the gate of palisades. On 17 March 1378, it was awarded the Riga law, which Goldingen and Windau (Latvian: *Ventspils*) had already obtained, and borders for *civitas* were determined. Each part of Hasenpot, the capital of the Bishopric of Courland, had a different defense system. Archbishop of Riga (1484–1509) Michael Hildebrand (Latin: *Michael Hiltebrant*) allowed Franciscans to found a monastery in the Bishopric of Courland. Since 1484, the Monastery of St. Clarissa (burnt down in 1523) for Franciscan nuns was formed northwards from Hasenpoth (Zandberga 1980: 43, 50–51, 57).
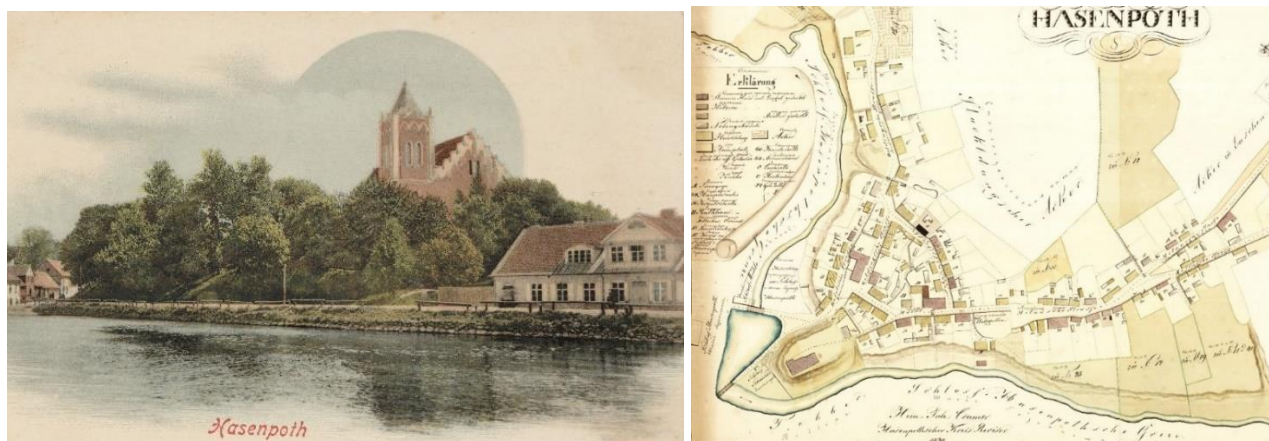
Figure 14. The building complex with St. John's the Evangelist Church for the Courland Canonical Chapter on Church Hill in town-shield Hasenpoth. The late 19th century (Stored at Aizpute Local History Museum)
Figure 15. Auditor of Pilten and Hasenpoth Counties Heinrich Johann Cramer. Plan of town-shield Hasenpoth and the Church's Hill by the Church of the Courland Canonical Chapter's building complex. 1830 (State Archives of Latvia, Fund 1679, Description 162, Case 1, File 1)

In the early 14th century, a settlement that expanded near Lemsal Castle became an important economic center. Documents of the 14th century mentioned a castle and town of Lemsal, but the origins of *castrum Lemeselle* and the town are not documented (Mettig 1905: 50–58). Plots of land were divided into large yards. Lemsal Castle between two lakes became Archbishop's dwelling from Candlelight on 2 February to Pentecost (Šterns 1997: 42, 44). Two stone blocks made a building of an L-shaped layout. Later, three blocks arranged around the inner courtyard created the castle with a U-shaped layout (Caune & Ose 2004: 301–302). The castle, which was included in a ringwall, had a square tower at its north corner. A four-sided roof covered a tall square gate tower atop the main entrance built-in the defensive wall (**Fig. 16**) between both blocks provided defence in front of a marketplace at the church near the crossroads. A moat separated the castle from the outer part surrounded by palisades on outer walls (Caune 2014: 14), and an autonomous defence system was obtained. It is possible that the word *Lemsal* used by the Germans reflected the oldest Liv name. Therefore, according to linguists, the place name *Lemsal* mentioned for the first time in a document of 1318 issued by Pope (1316–1334) Ioannes XXII could be connected with the Liv word *lämmi* /suffocating/, *lemmõz* or *lemm* /heat/ and the Estonian word *lembe* /lovely, gentle/. It listed the properties of the Archbishop of Riga and the Canonical Chapter, including the Lemsal (*Levisel*) Castle seized by the Teutonic Order. After that, Archbishop of Riga (1348–1369) Fromhold (Bromhold) of Fünfhausen (also *Vyffhusen*, Latin: *Vromoldus à Funffhausen*) in 1357 issued a document, where Lemsal Castle (*schlott Lemsell*) was mentioned. *Castrum Lemeselle* was mentioned in the lawsuit of the Riga Archbishopric and the Teutonic Order in 1359 (Auns 2017).

Figure 16. Architect, restorer, and art historian Tatjana Vītola (1920–2007). Reconstruction of the east facade of Lemsal Castle. 1989 (Vītola 1999b: 268)
Figure 17. Johann Christoph Brotze. St. Lorenz Church for the townspeople parish in the panorama of Lemsal Town. 1773 (Broce 2002)

Provost Aleksandrs Goldikovskis published a study of Lemsal history in the Middle Ages (Goldikovskis 1992). The town was small and governed by the Town Council with a burgomaster at its head (Auns 2017). Privileges pointed out, that farmers of Lemsal, who were mainly merchants /*koopmanne efte borger*/, must live in the town. At the same time, the population existed on a hillfort—in the *castrum* on the square plot surrounded by a moat—and its outer parts. A bridge across the moat on its northeast side (Vītola 1999b: 264). Two different defense systems protected the town residence of Lemsal and its eccentrically placed castle (Vasiļjevs 1969: 177).

In 1360, the Archbishop regained the residence taken by the Teutonic Knights during the Livonian Civil War from 1297 to 1330. *Thidericus de Wittenstein*, *civis in Lemeselle* /a householder of Lemsal Town/ was named in testimony of 1362, and Lemsal as *civitas* for the first time was mentioned indirectly in written sources. This recess (decision) of the representatives of the Hanseatic cities gathered in Stralsund on 6 October 1368 was the first evidence of the connection between Lemsal and the Hanseatic League. *Lemmesellenses* were mentioned in the recess of the meeting of Hanseatic cities, from which it follows that Lemsal was *civitas* at that time. The participation of Lemsal as a small town in the Hanseatic League was not unusual – many German small towns were also members of the Hanseatic League. Their participation in activities of the Hanseatic League was poorly documented (Auns 2017). Small towns also enjoyed the benefits and privileges of the Hanseatic League (Stein 1915: 163–169). St. Lorenz (St. Lawrence) Church (14th century) /*paer kerken to Lembsell*/—first mentioned in writings in 1371 and dedicated to preserver Saint Lorenz (Latvian: *Sv. Labrencis*), the patron saint of the town—was built for the townspeople Catholic Parish (**Fig. 17**). A vicar was established to keep private priests, and vicar priests (vicar, auxiliary priests) were chosen to serve the altar, which was set up to honor the holy one. A garden was given to the Lemsal church for the townspeople parish to be able to keep the vicar of Saint Anna. Archbishop of Riga (1374–1393) Johann IV of Sinten (German: *Johannes Walteri von Sinten*, also *Zinten*) mentioned *opidum Lemmezelle* in the document of 1378 and confirmed the previously granted the

Riga law to a settlement on 31 March 1385 (Šterns 1997: 49, 56). He gave a plot of land for further growth in the southeast of *castrum Lemeselle* (Caune 2014: 14), ordered the town to fortify by ramparts, moats, and palisades and mentioned the city (German: *der Stad to Lemzelle*) with its rural area (*stades marke*) in the Lemsal Book of Freedom (Latvian: *Limbažu brīvības grāmata*). According to this document, it can be seen that Lemsal was surrounded by a defensive wall (Auns 2017). Sometimes in the literature, 1385 is recognized as the year when Lemsal was granted the city rights, but Lemsal as a city was mentioned earlier. Therefore, in 1385, the city law for Lemsal was probably confirmed in a revised and supplemented version. Professor Arveds Švābe discussed the emergence of the town of Lemsal in the publication '*Limbažu brīvības grāmata*' /the Lemsal Book of Freedom/ (Švābe 1939); he argued that Lemsal had acquired city rights as early as the end of the 13th century. Analyzing the content of the Lemsal Book of Freedom, Švābe concluded that the document of 1385 was the city rights or privileges granted to Lemsal by Archbishop of Riga (1294–1300) Johann III (German: *Johannes von Schwerin*) in 1296 or 1297 (Auns 2017). The 1663-year radial-centric Lemsal town plan (**Fig. 18**) showed strong defensive walls of stone mentioned in the document of 1385. An economic center grew, and the development of Lemsal town of a concentric radial layout was not dependent on the position of the castle and developed around the marketplace. One street from the crossroads near Market Square led to the castle towards the Burtneck (Latvian: *Burtnieki*) Gate, the other – to the Wenden (Latvian: *Cēsis*) Gate, the third – to the Riga Gate in the southwest, and the fourth – in a westward direction out of the town (Bākule 2001: 147–148). The four-part layout castle town of Lemsal (**Fig. 19**) that represented a symbol of religion developed autonomously from the location of the Archbishop's fortified residence and acquired a functional role at the crossroads of earth roads and the waterway. The interests of traders were more important than the meaning of the symbol. In Lemsal, St. Anna's monastery for Cistercian sisters was founded before 1450. Franciscan monasteries were in all towns of the Archbishopric of Riga: a monastery on the outskirts of Lemsal northwards outside the defensive wall was built from 1466–1472. A tower of a monastery's church became a significant orienteering on the east side of the town not far from the town wall. The Russians burned down the town in 1558. However, it is possible that the monastery's buildings and a church were destroyed during the Russian invasion in 1577 (Caune & Ose 2010: 33, 167–168, 198, 200).
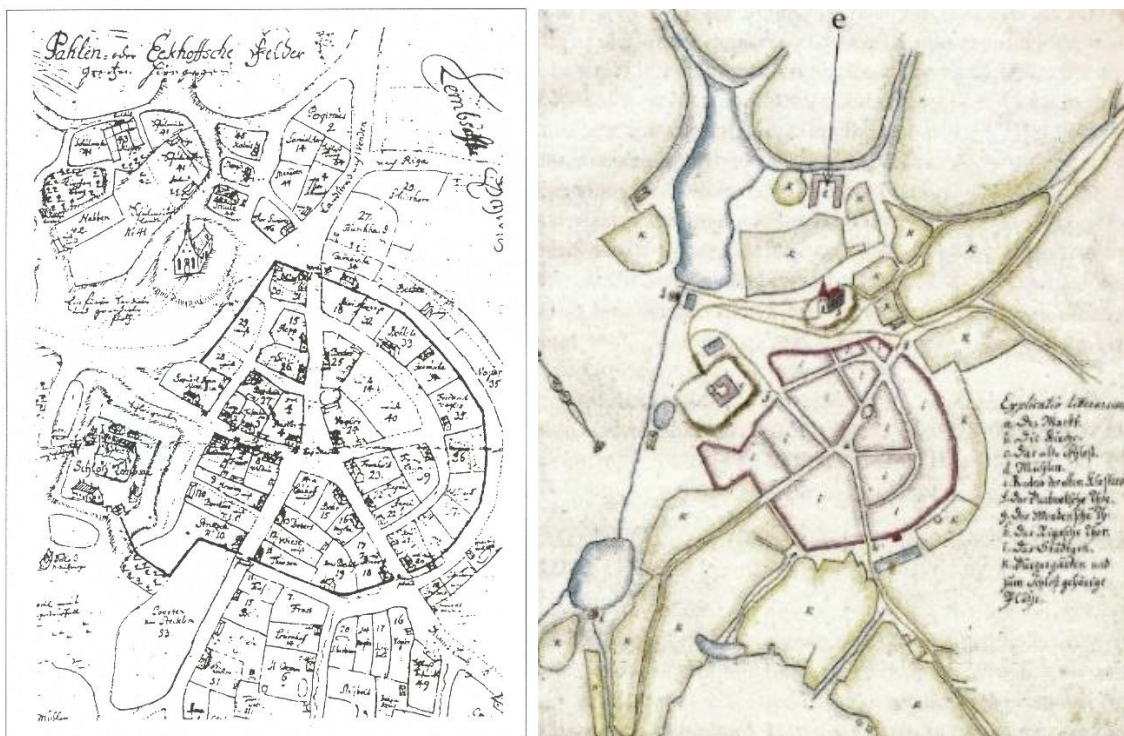
Figure 18. Johann von Sweinburg. Plan of Lemsal Town with St. Lorenz Church in front of the Archbishop's residence and at a marketplace near the crossroads. 1663 (Vītola 1999b: 266)

Figure 19. German pedagogue, artist, and ethnographer Johann Christoph Brotze (1742–1823). A copy of the four-part layout town of Lemsal with a stand of the Archbishop's residence using the plan of Lemsal made by Johann von Sweinburg (Brotze 2002)

Near the Latgallian Tanīsa Hill on the borderland of the Confederation of Livonia, the first Archbishop of Riga (1253–1273) Albert II Suerbeer (Latin: *Adalbertus Westphalus* (*Saurbier*)) of Cologne built around 1262 (Vītola 1999a: 243) the largest and the safest one Archbishop's castle along the great trade route leading from the Gauja River Valley to Pskov and Novgorod. Fortified Ronneburg Castle (also *Rownenborgh*, German: *Schloß Ronneburg*, Latvian: *Rauna*; 1262, 1273–1284) of stone on a high steep-sided hilltop on the Rauna's left bank at the estuary into the Gauja became the major center of power from the 14th to the 16th century. The castle was constructed in the second half of the 14th century. Since 1420 Archbishop of Riga had Ronneburg Castle (**Fig. 20**) – one of the three main residences listed as winter dwelling-house (**Fig. 21**) in the mid-16th century documents. Archbishops lived here each year from Michaelmas on 29 September to Candle Day on 2 February. Open two-story galleries surrounded a yard (**Fig. 23**) of rectangular triple-block Ronneburg Castle with of U-shaped layout (**Fig. 22**): the chapel and Canonical Chapter's Hall whose walls were decorated by portraits of bishops and archbishops of Riga were at the end of the south block. Dining rooms (German: *Remter*, Latin: *refectorium*) were placed in the west block. A settlement Rownenborgh without a defensive wall on the Rauna's bank occupied an area of four kilometres lenth from present-day Lorenči to the River Cimziņa's estuary. The Livonian War from 1558 to 1583 did not touch Ronneburg Castle, but its political significance was lost after the

liquidation of the Archbishopric of Riga. Town-shield of Ronneburg (14th –18th century) next to the fortress existed until the Great Northern War (1700–1721) (Iltnere & Placēns 1999: 22). Archbishop of Riga (1509–1524) Jasper Linde (Latin: *Gaspar Lindius*, *Casparus Linde*) significantly expanded the castle and built a square tower 'Tall Caspar' (Jasper) (Apinis 1931: 89) to the end of the north block of bedrooms (Latin: *dormitorium*). The most important part of Rauna Castle was a *castellum*-type fortress – the inner castle, which served as the Archbishop's residence and was built as a closed building volume around the inner courtyard. Jasper Linde made a large-scale reconstruction of the castle, as well as ordered to create towers and fortification ramps of the fortress. Defensive walls with built-in five cylindrical towers surrounded the residence which had three outer parts. Stables, cattle sheds, and buildings for households were in the north outer part. Water barriers formed the fortified building complex incorporated into the walls' track and the united defense system (Caune & Ose 2004: 381, 383–384). Ronneburg Town (**Fig. 24**) won the city law in 1590 and was destroyed during the wars between the 16th and 18th centuries.
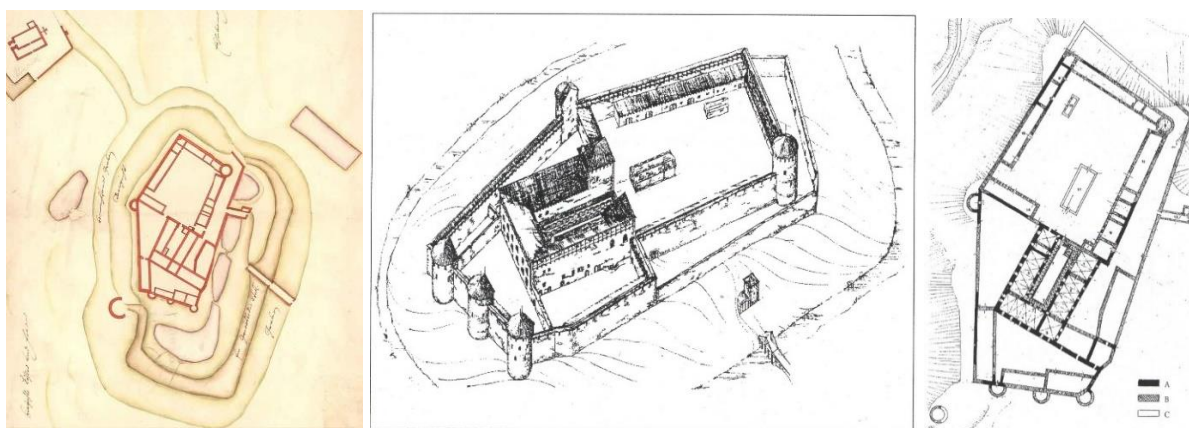

Figure 20. Plan of Ronneburg Stronghold in the 17th century (The original stored at Kungliga Krigsarkivet /the Military Archives of Sweden/ in Stockholm)
Figure 21. Tatjana Vītola. Reconstruction of the 16th-century Rauna Castle (Vītola 1999a: 252)
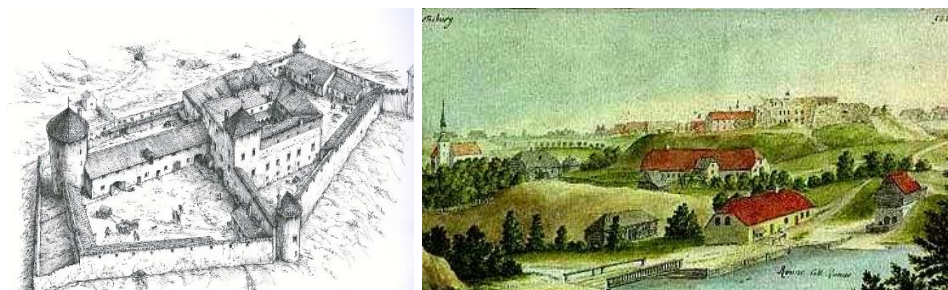Figure 22. Tatjana Vītola. Reconstruction of the 17th-century plan of Rauna Castle. (Vītola 1999a: 250)

Figure 23. Architect Dr. Arch. Ilmārs Dirveiks. Overview of the 16th-century Rauna Castle. 2021 (Plētiena 2021)
Figure 24. Johann Christoph Brotze. The castle and church for the townspeople Catholic Parish in the town-shield of Ronneburg. Around 1810 (Broce 2002) (online 23.02.2019, source: https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/lv/9/93/Rauna.jpg)

In the autumn of 1206 and winter of 1207, Priest Daniel arrived in Ymera to preach the Catholic faith, created the yard near the Brasla River, and built the first wooden church (1206, burned down in 1211) on Baukalns Hill in Raupe (Henricus 1993: X 15, XV 2). Henry of Livonia (Latin: *dominus Hinricus plebanus de Papendorpe*), who was Priest of Ymera, separated the Ydumea inhabitants from the Livs and Latgalians. Since 1213, Ydumea County in the Jumara River's Basin area has been ruled by Riga Bishop's brother Theodoric (Latin: *Theodericus de Raupena*), husband of Sofija (1190–?) of Pskov who was a daughter of Vladimir Mstislavich, Prince of an important trading center of Pskov. Theodoric's estate has extended to Lake Burtnieks and the Salaca River, and *Dominus Theodoricus de Ropa* and Priest Henry of Ymera, agreed with Komtur of Wenden (1217–1234) *Rutolfus de Cassele* on boundaries of the property. His sons, the brothers *Waldemarus de Rosen* and *Otto de Rosen*, became vassals of the Archbishop of Riga (*sancte Rigensis ecclesie archiepiscopas, der hilligen kerken to Righe ertzbisschop*) in Livonia and councillors of the King of Denmark in Estonia. They first appeared in a document on 8 September 1282 with *Otto et Waldemarus fratres* /Otto and his brother Woldemar/, still without the family name. In 1288, Woldemar was mentioned as *Dominus de Rosen* /from Rosen/ in Riga, and on 17 July 1291, *Ottone dicto Rosen* /said Rosen/ in Ribe, Jutland. Vassal Woldemar I (around 1225–1288) was the father of Woldemar II of Rosen (German: *Woldemar II von Rosen*; 1265–1325). His son was Woldemar III of Rosen (German: *Woldemar III von Rosen*; 1295–?), while Otto I of Rosen was the father of Otto II of Rosen (?–around 1338) whose son was Otto III of Rosen (after 1296–1345). Most of the territory of the Archbishopric of Riga was given to the Riga Canonical Chapter, or vassals contributed establishment of the settlement near the residence. The Archbishop of Riga and his vassals set up an area in the neighborhood of their residences, and town-shields were installed (Ozola 2020b: 806). Otto II and Woldemar II owned considerable properties in the Estonian lands. The fathers of tribes of Rosen were Otto Johann of Rosen, who built a fortified residence in Klein-Roop (Latvian: *Mazstraupe*) at Wolmar–Lemsal highway (**Fig. 29**) and Kersten or Christian of Rosen—a residence (German: *Schloß Rosen*) in Roysenbeke (*Rosenbeck*) in 1272, later Hochrosen (Latvian: *Augstroze*) at Lemsal–Gross-Roop highway (Rosen 1876). In the 13th century, Riga Archbishop's vassal Otto Fabian of Rosen won the property on the River Brasla's left bank and built a fortified housing close to an important Riga–Dorpat trade road (*hellewech*) laid between a construction site and the Brasla, which was richer in the water at that time. Historian Johann Gottfried Arndt first mentioned the construction of a fortified residence called Rosen House (*husz tho Rosen*) in Gross-Roop (Latvian: *Lielstraupe*) in 1263, enveloped by water obstacles of the hydraulic pond system created by the Brasla's tributary, to block the access from the southeast. On the south side, three ponds formed from a flooded tributary. The enclosure on the northeast side was a moat with a rampart. Professor Armin Tuulse assumed that only a separate tower and wooden farm

buildings surrounded by a perimeter wall could exist for a long time in the 13th century. The evolution of the sizes of the tower has not been clarified yet. The origins of Rosen House, of which the yard's outline was marked by the contour of the defensive wall, related to the end of the 13th century. It already existed at the beginning of the 14th century, when a defensive wall was built for a planned castle place to delimit the area with wooden or half-timbered farms. Gross-Roop Castle was first mentioned in documents of 1310 when it was encircled by Lithuanian troops (Caune & Ose 2004: 283). A free-standing church built northeast of the castle in the 13th century became part of the building complex. However, all assumptions about the church's date are still hypotheses, as the timing of the erection is determined based on formal comparative analysis and not solid evidence. It is believed that both were constructed around the same time. At present, it is not possible to unambiguously determine, which was built first—the castle or the church. The full member of the Latvian Academy of Sciences, Dr. Hist. Ieva Ose (b. 1961) admits that the church was built soon after the castle. It can be concluded that the tower was originally added to a defensive wall surrounding the castle site. The northeastern defensive wall was built at a time when a free-standing church building already existed, and construction could take place very shortly (Dirveiks & Co 2018: 65–66).
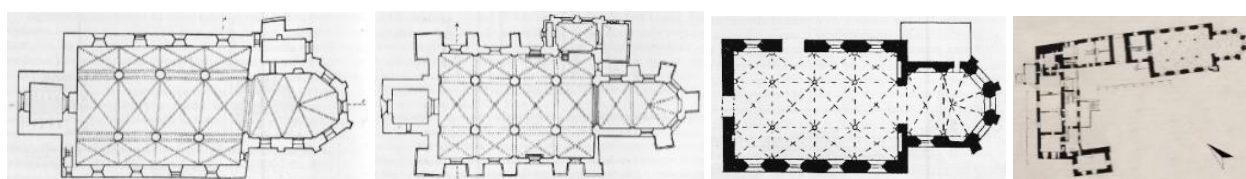

Figure 25. Plan of St. Simon and St. Jude Church (1283) for the townspeople Catholic parish in Wolmar. (Caune & Ose 2010: 444)
Figure 26. Plan of St. John the Baptist's Church (1284) for the townspeople parish in Wenden. (Caune & Ose 2010: 113)
Figure 27. Pernau city architect, Assistant Professor of Civil Engineering at the University of Dorpat Reinhold Ludwig Ernst Guleke (1834–1927). Plan of St. Anna's Church for the townspeople parish of Gross-Roop fortified castle complex. 1896. (Guleke 1896: Tafel LII)
Figure 28. Architect Heinz Pirang (1876–1939). Plan of Gross-Roop fortified castle complex. 1909. (Pirang 1926)

Figure 29. Roop manor land plan with the town of Roop by the river and traffic roads at the end of the 17th century. (GRG)
Figure 30. Dorpat Revisor Otto Gustav Dreijer. A copy of the original Roop manor plan with the town of Roop at the southeast-northwest oriented Riga–Wolmar traffic road made by Christian Roman in 1683. 1786. (Dreijer 1786)

Figure 31. Karl Woldemar von Löwis of Menar. Situation plan of Gross-Roop Castle with its outer and inner parts and the town-shield of Roop at Riga–Wolmar road (Löwis 1922: 42)

During the 14ᵗʰ–17ᵗʰ centuries, St. Anna's (?) Church had a polygonal altar room (**Fig. 27**), which was related to St. Simon and St. Jude Church (German: *St. Simeon-Kirche*) in Wolmar (**Fig. 25**), and St. John the Baptist's Church in Wenden (**Fig. 26**). In Latvian medieval sacral buildings, the narrowest side naves in the basilica volume with an elevated central nave can be attributed to the end of the 14ᵗʰ century and the first half of the 15ᵗʰ century. However, the installation of pylons in the parish hall of St. Anna's Church does not mean that the work was completed to raise vaults in the central nave. The northwest front façade originally had an independent completed architectural composition with three niches of pointed arches, which shapes, dimensions, and edges of the brickwork were analogous to windows on the side façades of the church. It served the town as a separate building. The perspective entrance portal of profiled bricks was analogous to the edges of windows. St. Anna's Church had decorative pointed niches and circular niches in the western corner. Two pointed arch openings were in the attic of the church. There was probably a bell in the center of the church's northwestern pediment. Initially, openings could be related to the service of the church's bell. The lower opening had a door. In the north of the Rosen House, a town-shield of Roop (*stat to Rope*, Latvian: *Straupes pilsēta*, first mentioned in writings in 1352) enclosed by palisades developed closely in the 1320s–1330s (**Fig. 31**). Small gardens at the homes of townspeople occupied few usable areas in the town.

The Knights Wolmar (German: *Woldemar von Rosen*; ?–1391) and Hennike (German: *Hennike von Rosen*; ?–after 1385) from the Rosen family got the land in 1350, hatched by Otto III of Rosen. Archbishop of Riga (1348–1369) Fromhold (German: *Fromhold (Bromhold) von Fünfhausen, Vyffhusen*, Latin: *Vromoldus à Funffhausen*) rented 'the Rosen House with yard' (*husz tho Rosen*) for his vassal Woldemar of Rosen in 1350. Roop became a Hanseatic city in 1356 and was mentioned as the town and *oppidum* in documents of the period from 1356 to 1555. In 1374, Wolmar from the Rosen family became Governor of the town, and Roop obtained the Riga law in the same year. Professor Armin Tuulse put forward a version that Gross-Roop Castle was built in the second half of the 14ᵗʰ century. The *castrum* was created, and it appeared in 1408. The tower was built on the defensive wall located in the northern corner of the *castrum*. The outer part of the *castrum* gradually developed into a small town. The evolution of the tower volume in the corner of *castrum* Gross-Roop remains unexplored. After the death of the owner Hans of Rosen, Archbishop of Riga (1424–1448) Henning Scharpenberg (Latin: *Henningus Scarpfenbergius*) rented out his *castrum* to his cousins Kersten of Rosen and Woldemar of Rosen in 1428. *Palatium* (German: *Palast*) an excellent housing block (**Fig. 28**) for the northwest part of the *castrum* was built in the 15ᵗʰ century (Dirveiks & Co 2018: 13–17). Its construction time is disputed. Archbishop's rule over Ydumea County had become

formal and weak in the second half of the 15th century. Rosens became actual owners of the town-residence of Roop after 1457 and determined all processes taking place there. '*De castro Rop*' was created, and it was first mentioned in 1475. In the west of the brick *castro*, the large outside yard surrounded by a wall was adjoined to the town. Defensive walls were on the south and east sides. The defensive wall of the *castro* had a gateway to the town, which itself was probably too narrow in 1495. The road started from the main entrance on the town's side and led over a moat and a large bridge called a high bridge during a fire in the town in 1531. The northeastern part of the *castro* was further erected. Due to rebuilding over several centuries, Gross-Roop Castle got complicated planning around a courtyard with the buildings on the northwest and northeast sides and the defensive walls. Two almost perpendicular buildings (15th century (?)) were added to the castle dominant – a four-storey square tower-castle, which, possibly, was the oldest building. Residential rooms were in the west structures of the castle, and the main gate of the castle was located in the north building. The Town Hall and St. Georgi Chapel at Riga–Wolmar highway (**Fig. 30**) were located near a marketplace in the middle of the town fortified by two moats and a rampart on the northeast and northwest sides of Gross-Roop Castle. '*De castro Rop*' played a dominant role in relations with the town but it is not known that the northeastern perimeter of the *castro* wall was added to the church. St. Anna's Church, where there were at least two altars, can be visually perceived as a unified whole, as it probably did exist. The church borders the outer wall of the newly built part of the castle. It can be seen that the end wall of the church was built before the current wall, but the time between the construction of the church and the *castro* wall is unknown. Architect Gunārs Alfrēds Jansons (1928–2013) pointed out that the church was necessary for the new town of Roop, which was provided with ramparts, palisades, and moats from the beginning but did not have walls, defensive towers, and gates. Archbishop of Riga Jasper Linde ordered the removal of the church door to the western entrance facing the building of the northeastern part of the *castro* to prevent direct access from the *castro* to the church and determined how to create the main entrance to the church. The perimeter wall was connected to the church (Dirveiks & Co 2018: 67), which was included in the common defensive system at the end of perimetral building (**Fig. 28**). Therefore, the structure used by the townspeople Catholic Parish had an elongated sacred section with a polygonal closing and was not orientated exactly towards the east. The triple-nave and four-bay church had two entrances built into the northern and western walls. There had also been two vicaries. The church owned a large garden, building plots, and houses in the town. The evolution of construction was more complex and still unclear. The door of the *castro* and the passage (probably along the wall between the tower and the church) leading to the church were first mentioned on 4 October 1512. The church faced the courtyard and performed protective functions based on highly placed windows, which could be related to security

considerations. Its architecture influenced changes in the façade of the *castro*, which faced the town. It is believed that a separate free-standing belfry was built after the church and a castle with a connecting wall was included in the same complex. Konrector (1768–1804) at the Riga Imperial Lyceum, German pedagogue, ethnographer, and painter Johann Christoph Brotze (1742–1823) drew ruins of a belfry near an altar room of the church in 1772. The longitudinal orientation of the church was significantly different from the traditional east-west direction (Dirveiks & Co 2018: 13, 15–17).

The navigable Brasla River contributed to the prosperity of Roop in the 15th–16th centuries. Since 1518, '*Schloss und Gut Roop*' /Palace and Roop Manor/ and, in 1548, "*zu Schloss Roop*" /to Roop Palace/ were used in addition to the town-residence of Roop, which ceased to exist as a town after its destruction during the Polish-Swedish War of 1600–1629, and only 115 inhabitants remained after the Great Plague epidemic.

Conclusions

The spatial environment in the main sacred centers of the Archbishopric of Riga was created according to the models of Western European city planning. The cathedral became the main architectural dominant in the urban environment. The most important centers of bishoprics subordinate to the Archbishopric of Riga were granted the rights of cities. Newly founded cities were allowed to participate in the Hanseatic League and to develop trade relations and the economy. Architectural accents changed in the urban environment. The parish church with a high tower became one of the main buildings that were located at the market square in the economic center of the city.

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