

POLAND AND LITHUANIA:

THE NONE-TOO-EASY STEPS OF THE *MAZURKA*
WHEN *SUKTINIS* BECOMES *KRENCIOLKA*



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INTRODUCTION

A few years ago talking to the senior librarian of the Old and Rare books Department at Kaunas public library, I found out that a new database www.epaveldas.lt had been launched. The database covers the majority of Lithuanian periodicals (mainly in Lithuanian, but some of them in Polish, Russian, German, and Yiddish) published from the late 19th century to WWII. Moreover, there are quite a lot of searchable *.pdf files in the database. Unfortunately, the searchable part is very far from complete. This is an important limitation, which needs to be taken into account.¹ Therefore, final checking takes considerable time even if one is just looking for a few keywords. But the efforts are not in vain, if several rules are observed.² For example, the advertisements of dance schools or reports about dance events tend to be posted in the last pages of newspapers among other ads or various less relevant messages. Dancing, for example, is also mentioned at the end of many short reports about the cultural life in small towns. However, each publication has its own logic of classification and presentation which needs to be uncovered in the process of research.³ To sum up, the new online databases open huge possibilities (Cohen 2010), especially for researching narrow and specific topics, such as dance. One could imagine that before digitized search, the keywords relating to dance had been totally lost in the millions of pages of various publications. Now the keywords related to dance can be “fished up” from “the soup of words.” New technologies and digitalization of physical copies of publications allow addressing considerable

¹ For example, when trying to browse publications one by one instead of searching them in toto, I realised that a few issues of a daily newspaper were not converted into *.pdf. This means that the search engine would miss any information which these issues contain.

² Actually, the rules of working in this case do not differ from those of the traditional reading of microfilms, except that there is no need to go to the library and the job can be done by searching online.

³ For example, in *Kurjer Wilenski* announcements about forthcoming grand balls were published just below the title in the first page.

amount of articles, and make the search incomparably faster and less accidental. For this article the very basic methods of searching, reading, comparing, and summarizing were used. It means that this research was mainly developing in the very preliminary phase regarding the final aim, which is (by searching digital databases) substantially renewed understanding how social dancing was represented in the public opinion.

Some additional comments and clarifications need to be made regarding searching and reading. Because of the advancement of technologies not only a tiny keyword, such as ‘mazurka’, can become a rather efficient “fishhook” in the big “word soup” (the Collection of Dance instruction manuals at the Library of Congress⁴, for example), but the collection of tiny “fishhooks” can also be adjusted to “fishing” in many more separate “reservoirs” containing separate “word soups”. Before the liquid digital era there was obvious force majeure which prevented researchers from “fishing” in unknown “word soups” safeguarded by the boundaries of unknown language, space, time, and culture; by the walls of the national or local libraries and archives; by the distances to be covered; and by the resources of time and workforce necessary to actualize the potential of archives (Latour 1987; 1988). However, the liquid digital era offers such tools as Google Translate which become an important and fast help in cross-linguistic searching. The tool is improving incredibly and previous syntactic calamities become less and less obvious. It, of course, requires some basic knowledge of a foreign language and cannot be trusted if one wants to address intricacies of meaning or in-depth understanding. Nevertheless, it allows manipulating the keywords (either one-word or many words) from one language to another thus making possible to reach out – into and back from – the databases in different languages.⁵ For example, if one intends to use such “globally” efficient keyword as ‘mazurka’, one should take into account that in order to reach the Russian “word soup” one should start searching ‘мазурка’⁶ – the word written in the Russian phonetic alphabet Kirilica.

Moreover, manipulation of the keywords in national or local databases is much more complex than that. In our case, the knowledge concerning the keywords to be searched requires to take into account such fundamental issues as the difference between ‘mazur’ and ‘mazurek’ – the diminutive (“folk”) form of ‘mazur’ (Dąbrowska 1981, p. 307). It is also important to know that the concept ‘mazurka’ is the confusion of the genitive of ‘mazurek’ and the modern habit to feminize dance names (Stavělová 2010). The transformations of dance names are not totally

⁴ <http://memory.loc.gov/ammem/dihtml/dihome.html> - 21-02-2011.

⁵ Just a few examples of such databases: <http://fbc.pionier.net.pl/owoc> (in Polish); <http://www.periodicals.lv> (in Latvian). For more see the list online: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:List_of_online_newspaper_archives 21-02-2011.

⁶ This Russian word was inserted into the text with the help of the Google translator.

accidental: they imply the rules understanding of which can help to “replay” such transformations. For example, the Polish concept ‘Mazur’ refers to a representative from Mazury (Masuria in Engl.), a region of Poland. When translated, the concept ‘mozūras’ refers to a Polish man from Mozūrija in the Lithuanian language. Consequently, in Lithuanian databases besides the expected ‘mazuras’ (-as is a grammatically required ending in the Lithuanian language) one could find references to the dance mozūras. Ethnologists discover an even more complicated picture.⁷ To summarize, the knowledge about keywords to be searched is by no means a fixed prerequisite; it implies a process of research.

It is also important to note that this article totally focuses on the public discourse as reflected in periodicals and not on the fieldwork done by dance ethnologists in various regions of Lithuania (Gulbinowicz & Nowak 1999, Urbanavičienė 2007, Mačiulskis 2008). It is obvious that people can tell much more than periodicals can publish. However, the task of analyzing the public discourse should be a necessary part of the whole picture composed by researchers of dance. Therefore, in order to achieve this more detailed picture, it is necessary to combine historiography and ethnography.

This article implies the broader context of the ideological debates about dancing and dances in Lithuania in the period from late 19th century to WWII (Karoblis 2011). However, it focuses on the ideological disputes related to dancing during the most sensitive period of Polish-Lithuanian relations from 1920 to 1939. At this time, as a result of the Treaty of Versailles and the turmoil following the WWI, the Klaipėda Region was detached from Germany and annexed to Lithuania. Vilnius, the former capital city of Lithuania, was annexed by Poland and the Constituent Assembly (Steigiamasis Seimas) of the Republic of Lithuania resided in Kaunas, the actual capital of Lithuania at that time. As a consequence, communities of Lithuanian people living in Vilnius (Wilno) and Polish people living in Kaunas (Kowno) became hostages of rather hostile political relations between Poland and Lithuania.⁸

The structure of the article consists of introduction, conclusion and three sections. The first, “Building the nation – differentiating dancing,” presents the pre-history of the politics of dancing in Kaunas and Vilnius. The second, “Vilnius: how suktinis became krenciolka,” attempts to reconstruct the politics of social dancing regarding the life of a Lithuanian community in Vilnius, and the third chapter, “Kaunas:

⁷ See the next paragraph for references.

⁸ Krzysztof Buchowski. 2006. *Litwomani i polonizatorzy : mity, wzajemne postrzeganie i stereotypy w stosunkach polsko-litewskich w pierwszej połowie XX wieku*. Białystok: Uniwersytet w Białymstoku; Arūnas Gumuliauskas. 2004. *Межвоенные отношения Литвы и Польши: возможность оттепели*. Białystok: Verbum.

none-too-easy steps of the mazurka,” does the same regarding a Polish community in Kaunas.⁹

BUILDING THE NATION – DIFFERENTIATING DANCING

The discourse of the first national newspapers *Auszra*¹⁰ (1883-1886) and *Varpas*¹¹ (1889-1905) focused on nation building, promotion of Lithuanian language and ethnic-historic self-awareness. In terms of social class it aimed at more ambitious lower-middle class people who were still eager to establish themselves rather than at already established higher social strata. These newspapers appealed to ethnic Lithuanians by strongly criticizing their “deviant behavior.” The critique included various issues of identity such as reluctance to speak Lithuanian language and keep traditional folk customs, but also the issues of morality, for instance, such futile activities as drinking or card playing in pubs. The Polish (or Polish-speaking) population in Lithuania was challenged as the real or the imaginary competitor in negotiations of the complicated Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth history. It was supposed that the competitor needs to withdraw in order to make space for an establishment of the modern Lithuanian Nation State. On the other side, a Polish-speaking upper class of Lithuania, with a few exceptions, mistrusted the idea of the establishment of the nation state based on ethnic and linguistic (Lithuanian) core. It was rather more sensitive to the romantic ideas about the great history of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and hopes that the past glory of *Rzeczpospolita* will be restored.

Dancing in the newspapers was mentioned very rarely (in comparison to folk singing or folk tales), but still it was considered to be an important marker of symbolic differences. For example, a reporter ironically describes her impressions of a Mass in a small town:

At the end I listen and don't believe my ears: before the High Mass an organist started to play – guess what, my reader? – a polonaise!! He's like doing it for fun. People were raising their heads and listening, but couldn't understand why the church where feelings should be directed upwards to God was made into a dance hall where polonaise dancers move in couples ... and that happens not only in Vaszkai, but in many other places (*Auszra* 1885, p. 19).

In this quotation, the dancing of a polonaise is implied as out of place simultaneously

⁹ Most of the reporters in the newspapers of the analyzed period did not give their names, only pseudonyms. Therefore, when referring to the articles only the title and the date of the newspaper will be indicated as the reference, not the pseudonym of the author. However, in the final list of references the pseudonym of the author will also be given, since that is likewise important information.

¹⁰ *The Dawn*.

¹¹ *The Bell*.

on three levels: social, regarding the distance between folk and its “shepherds,” i.e. priests and landowners; moral, regarding the higher aims of nation-building or demands of moral self-awareness, and national, regarding the ethnic culture of the people who are going to become the core of the nation. All three levels are connected into one logical net. First, the fact of distance between two classes of people is taken for granted. It means that the higher class cares nothing about the lower and is spending its days for fun. It is a situation that can no longer be tolerated. Second, the lower class is able to aspire to higher aims and to become a moral agent by itself. Thus it is able to decide, control, and evaluate what is happening. Third, becoming the moral agent for the lower class means establishing its own identity, which should first of all be ethnic-linguistic identity, including the whole spectrum of codes of behavior. Finally, the call to action is implied in the warning at the end: “that happens not only in Vaszkai, but in many other places.”

From the very beginning the editors of the first national newspapers took into account Polish national dances, such as the mazur, to a large extent popular among higher and middle class people in Lithuania at the end of 19th century. In 1889, starting from the very first issue, the newspaper *Varpas* offers to the reader a fiction series about Antanas Valys, a young Lithuanian student, the first son of a farmer, who studies at the St. Petersburg Medical Academy and returns back home during May and June. Antanas agrees to tutor the younger brother of the landowner Daubaras and enters into the “high society” of Daubariszkis – the people who “have Lithuanian surnames, but speak Polish” (*Varpas* 1889, p. 51). Already during the first encounter Antanas finds himself in the world of dancing. A daughter of Daubaras, with whom Antanas later falls in love, starts playing a polka¹² on the piano. Young girls invite Antanas to dance, but he refuses, claiming that he doesn’t know how to dance. Observing the dancing Antanas falls into dreaming memories:

In the saloon young people danced the mozur, even the floorboards and the windows vibrated. Antanas, standing close to the door, in his thoughts gradually returned back to Ramucziai, his village. Young people dance there too – he was thinking – but it is their own *szesztokas* or *suktinis*.¹³ They do not dance in a nice saloon, but on the swept yard, outdoors (*Op. cit.*, p. 52).

If the situation of Antanas is commonplace,¹⁴ then how could it be translated into a more general explanatory framework? One of the tasks of the activists of the national revival was to bridge the gap between the Imaginary Folk, which à

¹² The author, however, writes „polka“ in quotation marks, thus probably indicating the possibility that Antanas does not actually know what kind of dance it is.

¹³ A turning dance, faster than the waltz.

¹⁴ For instance, in 1910 a reporter writes: “It is desirable that the chief of the dance evening not forget the Lithuanian working class, which also wants to drub the *suktinis* or polka even for an hour, instead of yawning at some mazurkas or gawking at some gentry etc. (*Lietuvos žinios* (LŽ) 27-01-1910, p. 2).

la Rousseau was honorable by its very nature and à la Herder had the right to the nation state, and the requirements of good manners that applied to the Real Folk. According to Kęstutis Skrupskelis, competent social dancing was so important because it was a sign of good manners: “our deepest and most difficult [Lithuanian] revival was inner and psychological: born bonded peasants, we had to become citizens” (Skrupskelis 2010, 481). Such an insight, of course, is possible only from the distance: by looking a hundred years back. Many obvious examples of this experience at that time had a different meaning. An editor of a newly established journal, Rev. J. Tumas-Vaižgantas presented his report from the first congress of Lithuanian women. In the report Tumas was wondering why Polish women hadn’t come to the congress. The author guessed that it was because of the arrogance of the Polish people and their derogatory treatment of Lithuanians. After a short “accidental” talk with a few Polish ladies during the Congress, the author repeated the words he heard: “Thank you for your Lithuanian meetings! I have been there once and wouldn’t go to any more. There was dancing in the folk house. Cavaliers invited ladies to dance by saying: ‘shall we groove?’¹⁵” (Tumas 1907, p. 2). The area of manners is not easy to master, especially in a short time. Therefore, until the formation of an ethnic Lithuanian bourgeoisie in the capital city in the 1920s, the issue of manners was often colored by a resentful attitude towards foreigners: “Dances were polonaises, padekatas, waltzes, mazurkas; only during the breaks, the *suktinis* or *klumpakojis* was tried “for the sake of variety.” However, the director of dancing didn’t lead either the *suktinis* or the *klumpakojis*, and musicians weren’t able to play them; therefore these dances were abandoned. Moreover, foreigners mocked us and made fun of the names of these Lithuanian dances” (LŽ 5-12-1909, Nr. 53, p. 2).

However, it must be noted that there were reports implying no obvious value-judgments based on nationalism. For instance, a reporter writes: “I don’t know how it is in Vilnius, but in Kaunas dance art progresses noticeably. The dances of all nationalities are danced: there are “coquettish” Polish “polkas”¹⁶, German waltzes and even the somewhat unknown Japanese *hiarata*, a snake, in Lithuanian... There are obviously Lithuanian ones: the old “*suktinis*”, “*katinėlis*”, “*aguonėlė*,” and others find their supporters” (Viltis 6-01-1912, p. 2). In the latter quotation the repertoire of dances from various countries seems to be wondered at, but approved or tolerated at least. Another, more ambiguous report, summarized the event which took place in the small town of Rokiškis: “Almost all girls in the national costume. The speech is pure Lithuanian. Dances: waltz, mazur, *klumpakojis*, *aguonėlė*, *žilvitis*, *rūtelė*, etc. Lithuanian and diverse. Everything is Lithuanian and a great fun” (LŽ 13-11-1911, p. 4).

¹⁵ The Lithuanian word used is very similar in meaning.

¹⁶ I haven’t found any reference to polka as a Czech dance in Lithuanian newspapers.

It is impossible to understand from the text whether the author considered the waltz and the mazur to be a part of the Lithuanian repertoire or classified them as foreign (under the concept “diverse”).

VILNIUS: HOW SUKTINIS BECAME KRENCIOLKA

From 1920 to 1939 Vilnius, the former capital city of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, was annexed by Poland. To the Lithuanian people this was an issue of paramount importance, strongly affecting the ideological fights. This applies both to life in Kaunas and in Vilnius. Some “dance stories” from Kaunas will be presented in more detail in the following section. Here I will focus on the life of the Lithuanian community in Vilnius during the “Polish” period and on some specific concerns regarding dancing. In the beginning of the 1920s, a majority of the leaders of the Lithuanian community in Vilnius were forced to migrate to Kaunas. Only a few newspapers tried to survive under the new conditions. Nevertheless, it is possible to follow the life of the community from their publications. When reading these newspapers through the glasses of dancing, one realizes that in the beginning of the separation no important shifts, different from the public discourse in Kaunas, took place. Only some reporters regretted that dance parties were being organized too rarely, because of the uncertainty of the political situation (Vilnius (V) 26-01-1921, p. 2). For example, one could observe that in early 1920s, as in Kaunas, sports and/or artistic gymnastics gained relevance and tended to some extent to overwhelm dancing (V 16-02-1921, p. 2; V 19-04-1921, p. 4).

More differences came about later, when the longer separation caused some specific concerns among Lithuanians in Vilnius and surrounding territories. Some of these included dancing. First of all, reports about the ethnically and politically “dangerous” behavior of young Lithuanian women began appearing. According to these reports, the Lithuanian female population, including young teachers, was very keen to participate in dance parties organized by Polish troops dislocated in the border area (Vilniaus rytojus (VR) 15-12-1928, p. 7; VR 12-01-1929, p. 7). An explanation that such a situation seems to be quite ordinary in the context of the history of wars is hardly necessary here. The presence of soldiers at dancing parties was an important factor during that time because they were not only the “most wanted” male partners in dancing but also musicians who naturally were leading and directing the whole dancing event. The music they were able to play was a rather more modern shimmy than that of traditional Lithuanian dances (VR 7-09-1929, p. 7). Therefore, one could suppose that the presence of Polish troops in the countryside made a significant impact in both “globalizing” and Polonizing the population of Lithuanian villages on the borderland between Poland and Lithuania.

Another important issue became resistance to the dancing phenomenon defined by reporters as “*kóleczo*”:

There was dancing after-party, for which two young men were responsible – i.e., directed dancing. All young people were Lithuanian; therefore the first dance was the *suktinis*. But later a few “*szlachta*”¹⁷ appeared eager to show off their “*kóleczo*”¹⁸ and “*krzyzyczek*”¹⁹ etc. But there were a few smart young people who instead of “*kóleczo*” were doing *ratelis*,²⁰ *krepšelis*²¹. As a consequence these “gentlemen” were offended and agitated; they even started to get angry at some young men saying “*jak to oni nas nie sluchaja...*”²² But immediately a police officer appeared and by acting correctly and impartially made an end to the incident (VR 26-01-1929, p. 7).

There were other similar reports about unrest during social dancing, because of the hostility between the fans of *kóleczo* and *ratelis* (VR 12-02-1930, p. 3). It is not so easy to decide whether the debate concerned only the naming of the dance (form) or the dancing itself, because both – the Polish and the Lithuanian – terms refer to a circular form of movement. The title “*kóleczo*” hardly refers to a specific Polish dance; it is rather a general term used to describe the specific formation of dancing couples. The same applies to Lithuanian concept “*ratelis*”. Some light on this struggle could be thrown by taking into consideration the fact that dancing (including formations) was usually directed by a leader. For example, there were complaints that control was lost during the dancing because there was no dance director, no leader, and musicians (Polish soldiers) played whatever they wanted (VR 7-09-1929, p. 7). Then it seems most plausible that the *kóleczo* or *ratelis* confrontation was actually a struggle for power in the leading of the dance. Lithuanian newspaper reporters considered it to be very important sign of the loss of power if a dance leader announced a dance formation in Polish as “*kóleczo*” instead of using Lithuanian concept “*ratelis*”. However, it might also be the case that the linguistic struggle for power in dance-leading on the level of labeling resulted in decisions to choose really different dance formations. A hint could be found in the quotation above, in which the concept “*krepšelis*” (a small basket) is used. The concept morphologically refers to a different kind of dance formation which cannot be confused with a “*krzyzyczek*” (meaning a small cross).

In another case of the politics of dancing, the issue unambiguously concerns the naming of the dance as the main indication of its ownership. The article which pre-

¹⁷ Polish gentlemen.

¹⁸ A small ring.

¹⁹ a small cross.

²⁰ a small circle.

²¹ a small basket.

²² *How can it be that they do not listen to us?* – my translation.

sented the problem was titled “Krenciolka,” which is the Polish translation of the Lithuanian word “suktinis.”

The translations of Lithuanian or Belarusian songs, tales and even dances into Polish language do not include the notification that this is translation from Lithuanian or Belarusian. Vilnius Radio organizers act as indecent writers, unable to create anything original, silently translating valuable works from other languages and signing their own names. On Vilnius Radio, the word “regionalism” substitutes for all names and surnames. Under its cover, for example, the music of the Lithuanian folk dance “suktinis” is played and referred to as “Krenciolka”. But, God save us from that, there is no mentioning that it is a Lithuanian dance. No. It is only “regionalny taniec”²³ (Lietuvos aidas 12-07-1938, p. 3).

Many important political aspects were touched on in this short comment. One point is that the ethnic minority community was eager to defend its heritage by raising the copyright issue. The term ‘plagiarism’ was mentioned and the moral implications of the power to name and classify dances were made obvious. The second important point is the reference to the concept of “regional dance”: the article is very short and presents the problem very briefly, but it nevertheless obviously touches the nerve. To classify some dances as regional means to make them an attribute of a smaller sphere (region); the smaller sphere is included in the larger (national) one. However, the author resists this mereological statement. Why? In the given case, the very attribution of the region (Vilnius) to the larger entity (Poland) is under question. Consequently – the concept of regional dance is also under question. However, the case can also be a good example how the system of immunity for a minority works. Any “translation” from the inside of a community to the outside implies a process which can be described as an immunological examination (Sloterdijk 1998-2004). Each movement in this process is evaluated by examining how much it affects the sustainability of the community.

KAUNAS: THE NONE-TOO-EASY STEPS OF A MAZURKA

In July 1921 an unprecedented event took place: a jostle in the Lithuanian Parliament. The representatives of the Polish minority in the Lithuanian Parliament wrote a letter to the United Nations complaining about bad treatment and violation of human rights. Along with many points taken mainly from political life, the last piece of evidence for the charge of bad treatment centered around the mazurka: the authors claimed that the Polish minority representatives was not allowed to dance the mazurka at their meetings:

²³ Regional dance.

Even [our] private meetings are attentively monitored by the police, and one could find examples when police officers brutally and officially prohibited the dancing of the mazurka (loud laughter in the hall. Voices could be heard: Rev. Liaus wants to dance the mazurka; applause) because it is a national Polish dance. (Steigiamojo Seimo darbai²⁴ 1921, p. 58).

The letter was translated from the French and read by Lithuanian Prime Minister Kazys Grinius during the session of the Constituent Assembly. It occupied a few hours of discussion among members of the Parliament (*ibid.*). The scandal received attention in the press. Its reaction was mainly ironical and seemed to be focused more on the mazurka than on other political aspects. In a similar way, the last sentences of the letter as read mostly seemed just funny to the Lithuanian members of the Parliament, and only a few of them took the time to respond seriously to the accusations point by point, including the mazurka.

A few years later, another scandal involving the mazurka erupted in the Western part of Lithuania, a sign that the situation had really heated up. On the 8th of February 1924, the newspaper *Klaipėdos žinios* published an article titled “The clubs of our citizens and intelligentsia” in which an anonymous author criticized the custom of dancing the mazurka during get-togethers in Kretinga. Then, a month later, *Trimitas*, a journal of the Union of Lithuanian Riflemen, raised the same issue and accused the chief of the district of heading mazurka enthusiasts against their opponents (20-03-1924, p. 28). In the following issue of the journal the district chief published a denial of the accusation and explained that he neither supported the “mazurkians” nor himself knew how to dance the mazurka at all (10-04-1924, p. 27). This shows that the district chief really was afraid. The power of more or less autonomous military organizations was an important factor at that time and the police were sometimes unable to interfere. For example, the report “From the life of Lithuanian Riflemen” describes another conflict:

... when dances began, the public was surprised by a group of polakomaniacs who started to direct dances in their own genteel language. It was expected that the Riflemen as organizers of the evening would demand the lovers of the genteel language to stop. When these expectations failed, the organizers were afraid that those gentlemen would start dancing the mazur. Therefore some officers asked these polakomaniacs speaking their genteel language to take their mazur to Warsaw and leave it out of the Lithuanian dancing evening. Those gentlemen were put in their place. It is the duty of the Riflemen to cherish their language (*Trimitas* 4-01-1923, p. 30).

In summary, the mazur or mazurka in Lithuania became a scapegoat in dancing. The resistance among Lithuanians themselves to dancing the mazurka inevitably affected the life of Polish minority. Therefore, it seems that the complaints of the Polish members of Lithuanian Parliament addressed to the United Nations weren't empty.

²⁴ The Acts of the Constituent Assembly.

However, the pressure did not come from the Lithuanian government, but from some organizations or individuals who were not able to combine the intention of building their nation state with the construction of a civil society. At this time many individuals and organizations were not able to combine their ethnic and civic values. The mazurka as a dance form, at least as one could judge from newspaper publications, was in various ways suppressed in Lithuania. Certainly, there were no advertisements about mazurka dance classes available in Kaunas and, in contrast to the waltz and the polka, dance teachers lost the memory of the dance quite soon (Mintaučkis 1967). By contrast, at the same time in various newspapers of Riga (Latvian capital) one could find numerous advertisements posted by dance teachers announcing special courses of the mazurka (Students 15-11-1922, p. 8, Policijas vestnesis 15-01-1924, p. 5). The same could be said about Vilnius, the current Lithuanian capital, in which the dance teacher P. Borowski was announcing his dance classes in mazur (Kurjer Wilenski 1-01-1928, p. 6).

CONCLUSION

In the late 19th – early 20th century the newspapers of the Lithuanian revival were focused on displacing traditional Polish dances such as the mazur or mazurka and encouraging games and dances that were played and danced in Lithuanian villages. This attitude sometimes resulted in confrontations during dancing events. In July 1921 the representatives of the Polish minority at the Constituent Assembly of Lithuania wrote a letter addressed to the United Nations which included the complaint that Lithuanians do not allow Polish people to dance the mazurka. However, the whole scandal has to be interpreted in the context of increased tension in the relations between two nations competing for the city of Vilnius (which at that time was occupied by Polish troops). By the end of the 1920s the echo of the mazurka scandal was still present in newspapers. At the same time, Lithuanian newspapers in Vilnius describing the life of the Lithuanian community in the region were reporting about struggles against the increased usage of Polish language during dancing. In this case, the target was not the dance itself, but its translation into Polish concepts. *In spite of a very specific political situation during 1920-1939, the struggles of Poles in Kaunas and Lithuanians in Vilnius reveal many general features of how the immunity systems of minorities mobilize dancing for political aims.*

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LENKIJA IR LIETUVA: NELENGVI MAZURKOS ŽINGSNIAI, KAI SUKTNIS TAMPA KRENČIOLKA

Santrauka

Pagrindinė straipsnio tema – pramoginių šokių politika lietuvių nacionalinio išsilaisvinimo ir valstybingumo palaikymo judėjime. Dėl įvairių „politinės choreografijos“ priežasčių suktinis Lietuvoje tapo nacionaliniu šokiu, o mazurka, siejama su lenkiška tapatybe, iš visų šokių nukentėjo labiausiai. Straipsnį sudaro įvadas ir trys dalys. Įvadą galima skaityti kaip atskirą metodologinę refleksiją: joje aptariama šaltinių paieška įvairiose skaitmeninėse Europos duomenų bazėse, pirmiausia domimasi istorinių laikraščių duomenų bazėmis. Pirmoje dalyje „Tautos prisikėlimas ir šokiai“ aptariamos šokių politikos gairės, nubrėžtos pirmuosiuose lietuviškuose laikraščiuose; trumpai apžvelgiami laikraščių korespondentų reportažai apie pasilinksminimo šokius Kaune ir Vilniuje iki nepriklausomybės atkūrimo ir per Vilniaus okupaciją. Antroje dalyje „Vilnius: kaip suktinis tapo krenčiolka“ nagrinėjamas lietuvių bendruomenės gyvenimas Vilniaus krašte lenkiškuoju laikotarpiu, o trečioje dalyje „Kaunas: nelengvi mazurkos žingsniai“ aptariami keli skandalai, kilę dėl mazurkos, trečiojo dešimtmečio Lietuvoje.

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