



THE INTEREST IN EAST PRUSSIAN ETHNIC CULTURE IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH CENTURY AND ITS IMPACT ON THE ACTIVITIES OF RICHARD DETHLEFSEN

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Abstract

The paper analyses the impact of his interest in 19th-century East Prussian ethnic culture on the activities of Richard Jepsen Dethlefsen (1864–1944), one of the pioneers of monument protection in the region. Dethlefsen's important activity in the area of recording and protecting the East Prussian cultural heritage also implied an acquaintance with the cultural values of Prussian Lithuania, whose roots were formed by the Reformation in the Duchy of Prussia; by Romanticism, which actualised the history of Prussia and the Prussian tribes; and a few other factors. Despite the impact of nationalism paradigms in the German Empire in the late 19th century, Dethlefsen's activities contributed to the understanding of the intentions of his contemporaries to consider East Prussia as a unique cultural space, whose historical conditions predetermined the survival of the uniqueness of several ethnic regions, by emphasising it as a value of the East Prussian province to be protected. The concept of pluriculturalism of the former East Prussia, as revealed in Dethlefsen's work, remains a relevant guideline for cultural heritage policy in west Lithuania (the former Klaipėda region).

Key words: cultural heritage, ethnocultural tradition, monument protection, East Prussia, Prussian Lithuania, west Lithuania.

Anotacija

Stripsnyje analizuojama, kokią įtaką domėjimasis etnine kultūra XIX a. Rytų Prūsijoje turėjo vieno iš paminklosaugos šiame regione pradininkų – Richardo Jepseno Dethlefseno (1864–1944) – veiklai. Reikšmingi Dethlefseno darbai Rytų Prūsijos kultūros palikimo fiksavimo ir apsaugos srityje implikavo ir Prūsijos Lietuvos kultūros vertybių pažinimą, kurio ištakas formavo Reformacija Prūsijos kunigaikštystėje; romantizmas, aktualizavęs Prūsijos ir prūsų genčių istoriją, ir kiti veiksniai. Nepaisant nacionalizmo paradigmos Vokietijos imperijoje XIX a. pabaigoje įtakos paminklosaugai Rytų Prūsijoje, Dethlefseno veikla padeda suvokti jo amžininkų intencijas Rytų Prūsiją traktuoti kaip savitą kultūrinę erdvę, kurioje istorinės sąlygos lėmė kelių etninių regionų savitumo išlikimą, akcentuojant tai kaip saugotiną Rytų Prūsijos provincijos vertybę. Buvusios Rytų Prūsijos daugiakultūriškumo samprata, atsiskleidžianti ir Dethlefseno darbuose, tebėra aktualus orientyras kultūros paveldo politikai Vakarų Lietuvoje (buv. Klaipėdos krašte).

Pagrindiniai žodžiai: kultūros paveldas, etnokultūrinė tradicija, paminklosauga, Rytų Prūsija, Prūsijos Lietuva, Vakarų Lietuva.

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The name of Richard Dethlefsen is associated with substantial progress in the field of monument protection in East Prussia at the turn of the 20th century. His important activities related to cultural monuments include the restoration of Königsberg Cathedral, the photographic documentation of cultural objects in Königsberg (1907–1913),¹ and the initiative for the Skansen-type Homeland Museum (*Heimatismuseum*), he proposed in collaboration with Professor Adalbert Bezzenberger.² The museum boasted some Prussian Lithuanian folk architectural details, although much more information of that kind was presented in his publication *Bauernhäuser und Holzkirchen in Ostpreussen* (1911). Richard Dethlefsen's statement about the main sources of information used for that interesting and still valuable study might be considered as the quintessence of the paper: 'In Königsberg, Privy Councillor Dr Bezzenberger presented some accurate knowledge about Lithuania [...], and the Prussian Antiquity Society in Königsberg, and the Lithuanian Literary Society in Tilsit, gave valuable advice and allowed us to make use of their museum collections.'³ These few laconic sentences witnessed Richard Dethlefsen's focus on the main protagonists who had been interested in East Prussian ethnic culture before him. In order to understand and properly evaluate his achievements in the protection of East Prussian and Prussian Lithuanian culture, it is useful to look at some aspects of the formation of the tradition in these activities. The volume of paper allows the author to highlight only a few aspects, as a discussion of the overall context of the issue would demand more extensive research.

In the 19th century, Prussian Lithuania emerged as a relevant segment of the ethnocultural landscape of the East Prussian cultural community's own region (*Heimat*). Reflections on the ethnocultural uniqueness of the Lithuanians in East Prussia became especially strong in the second half of the 19th century, and acquired a definite goal, formulated by the initiators of the establishment of the Lithuanian Literary Society in 1879: to record and preserve for future generations the Lithuanian language and characteristic expressions of the ethnic tradition of the region.

However, the prerequisites for the formulation of a clearly articulated goal, relating to the preservation of the cultural heritage of East Prussian Lithuanians, matured much earlier, and they ought to be assigned to the impact of political, social and cultural processes in the Kingdom of Prussia on East Prussia (in a geographical but

¹ PRZYKOWSKI, J. Rinkinio istorijos apžvalga. In *Praeities reginiai: iš Rytų Prūsijos konservatoriaus archyvo*. Sud. M. MATULYTĖ, P. JAMSKI. Vilnius, 2006, p. 52.

² TRABA, R. „Wschodniopruskosc“. *Tożsamosc regionalna i narodowa w kulturze politycznej i Niemiec*. Olsztyn, 2007, s. 215.

³ „Insbesondere haben in lebenswürdigster Weise die Herren Geheimrath dr. Bezzenberger in Königsberg seine genaue Kenntniß des litauischen Gebietes [...] in den Dienst der Sache gestellt. [...] Die Alterthumsgesellschaft Prussia in Königsberg und die litauische litterarische Gesellschaft in Tilsit gaben wertvolle Hinweise und machten die Bestände ihrer Museen zugänglich.“: DETLEFSEN, R. *Bauernhäuser und Holzkirchen in Ostpreußen*. Berlin, 1911, S. 3.

not an administrative sense). A very broad range of factors affected both the configuration of the Prussian Lithuanian ethnic group and the growth of interest in the existence of that ethnic group in the East Prussian cultural community, which eventually took on specific forms of support for Lithuanian studies.

One global factor was the Reformation in the Duchy of Prussia (1525), which ensured a niche for the Lithuanian language at church and in school for centuries. An important role in the early 18th century was played by the 'Prussian political strategy', which emphasised the function of Prussian Lithuanians as transmitters of the cultural tradition of the Prussian tribes, and inspired an interest among East Prussian cultural figures in Lithuanian studies in a broad sense.⁴

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However, in the 19th century, a number of new factors emerged that contributed to the strengthening of the interest taken by East Prussian cultural figures in the ethnic-historical past of the region, including Prussian Lithuania. A favourable background for the development of this interest was created by social processes in all German lands: the growing political activity under the flag of liberalism, which was closely related to claims of national uniqueness boosted by Romanticism. In East Prussia, the deepening of this 'ethnic-historical direction' meant attention given to Prussian history and the historical period of Prussian tribes. It was no accident that titles of famous historical publications which were published in the 1830s to the 1860s, despite historical variations, always included the term '*preussische*' (Prussian) (*Preussische Provinzialblätter*, 1829–1842; *Neue Preussische Provinzialblätter*, 1846–1866). One of the emblematic outcomes of the trend, which witnessed a growing interest in the culture of Prussian Lithuanians, was the second edition of the collection of songs by Martin Ludwig Rhessa in Berlin in 1843. It was edited by the linguist Friedrich Kurschat,⁵ who was of Prussian Lithuanian descent. The second edition of Theodor Lepner's *Der Preusche Littauer*⁶ (Prussian Lithuanian) is also worth mentioning.

New inspirations for fostering the regional cultural heritage that stood out in the 19th century were also noted by Dethlefsen. In the introduction to the book mentioned above, he wrote: 'Currently not only individual educated people, but also administrative institutions are taking vigorous and targeted steps to preserve regional art.'⁷ He emphasised primarily the role of 'individuals'. It would be worth remembering the insights of Johann Gottfried Herder and the impact of the ideas of Romanticism on the motivation of East Prussian cultural figures and their attention to

⁴ GINEITIS, L. *Prūsiškasis patriotizmas ir lietuvių literatūra*. Vilnius, 1995, p. 54–55.

⁵ *Dainos oder litauische Volkslieder*. Neue Auflage. Durchgesehen, berichtigt und verbessert von F. KURSCHAT. Berlin, 1843.

⁶ GINEITIS, L. Op. cit., p. 157.

⁷ „jetzt nicht nur die private gebildete Welt, sondern auch die Verwaltungen beginnen, thatkräftig und zweckentsprechend für die Weitererhaltung bodenständiger Kunst zu wirken“ DETLEFSEN, R. *Bauernhäuser...*, S. 2.

Prussian Lithuania. However, perhaps the most striking example in this context was the activity of Martin Ludwig Rhesa (1776–1840). After Rhesa, the ethnic heritage of Prussian Lithuania was actively recorded by Eduard Karl Samuel Gisevius (1798–1880), a teacher of Lithuanian in Tilsit Gymnasium. Among 104 drawings left by him and stored in the Museum of the Prussian Antiquity Society (*Altertumsgesellschaft Prussia*), 58 were examples of the dress of Prussian Lithuanians, 41 were landscapes, and 16 were views of cities and castles. His contemporaries appreciated his work. A meeting of the Prussian Antiquity Society in 1890 concluded that Gisevius' works were invaluable for the history of culture, as he had recorded the living environment, dress, and work tools of Prussian Lithuanians that had been used before 1848.⁸

As for individual initiatives that attracted the attention of the East Prussian community to the Prussian Lithuanian landscape, several works of fiction from the mid-19th century relating to that landscape are worth mentioning. Of course, these works of literature cannot be equated to the documentary records made by Gisevius; however, they also undoubtedly formed an atmosphere favourable to the ethnographic interest in Prussian Lithuania. One of the authors is the well-known Ernst Wichert, and his 'Lithuanian Stories' (*Litauische Geschichten*, 2 vols, 1881–1890). Before him, the Prussian Lithuanian theme was developed by Jodocus Dedatus Hubertus Temme (1798–1881), who is almost unknown to the Lithuanian reader. Temme was one of the first German detective novelists to elevate the quality of the genre.⁹

In the novel 'The Black Maré' (*Die Schwarze Mare*, 1854) by Temme, with the subheading 'Pictures from Lithuania' (*Bilder aus Litthauen*), much attention was devoted to ethnographic motifs from Prussian Lithuania: almost two thirds of the book is more like a travel guide than a novel, with precise place names indicated (Groß Skaigirren, in Lithuanian Didieji Skaigiriai, Laugszargen, in Lithuanian Lauksargiai and others), and the dress of the local population is described in detail.¹⁰ A rather accurate architectural description of the village of Laugszargen is given by the author: it had 12 low wooden houses with thatched roofs, each house had a small flower garden, and there was a collection of manor buildings some distance away from the houses.¹¹

Faithfulness to the theme of Prussian Lithuania was witnessed by the title of another novel by Temme, *Anna Jogszis* (1856). It offers an impressive description of the

⁸ Altertumsgesellschaft Prussia 1890. Sitzung vom 19. September 1890. *Altpreussische Monatsschrift*, 1891, Bd. 28, S. 353.

⁹ See more: KLEIN, M. Wer war Anna Jogszis??? J. D. H. Temmes „Bilder aus Litthauen“. *Lietuvių Kultūros Institutas. Suvažiavimo darbai 2000/ Litauisches Kulturinstitut. Jahrestagung 2000*. Lampertheim, 2001, S. 78–94; KLEIN, M. J. D. H. Temmes literarisches Denkmal für die „Kacksche Ball“ (Kakšių bala). *Annaberger Annalen*, 2007, Nr. 15, S. 120–141; BRAZAUSKIENĖ, N. XIX a. Mažosios Lietuvos įvaizdis Jodocus'o Donatus'o Hubertus'o Temme'ės romane *Anna Jogszis*. *Literatūra*, 2015, t. 56, nr. 4, p. 7–19.

¹⁰ [TEMME, J. D. H.] Verfasser der „Neuen Deutschen Zeitbilder“. *Die schwarze Mare. Bilder aus Litthauen*. Bdchn. 1–3. Leipzig, 1854.

¹¹ Ibid., Bdchn. 1, S. 26–29.

landscape of the village of Inse on the southern shore of the Curonian Lagoon. The village consisted of two parts: small and large Inse. The latter was situated on the right bank of the River Inse, and had an octagonal wooden church of outstanding architectural quality. Temme presents a memorable description of the rhythm of fishing village life: early in the morning, the peace is disturbed by fishermen getting into their *Kurrenkahn* (fishing boats), ready to sail into the lagoon. As the author notes, all the commotion would last for only 15 minutes; nobody would speak out loud or shout, since fishermen not only on the Inse, but all over the coast, believed that loud talk might bring disaster. A similar scene would repeat itself in the evening, when the fishermen returned from fishing. Buyers would appear briefly in the village of Inse and take the fish to Schaaken or Tilsit.¹² Works by Temme proved his excellent knowledge of the life of the Prussian Lithuanian farmers and the coastal fishermen, as, just like Ernst Wichert, Temme had worked for some time in law enforcement institutions in different places in Prussian Lithuania, and criminal investigations allowed him to be a deeper than average observer to learn about the character of the Prussian Lithuanians, their households, and the conditions of living at that time, such as the impact of smuggling.

Temme's attention to Prussian Lithuanian culture was also witnessed by a work by him of a different genre, *Die Volkssagen Ostpreussens, Litthauens und Westpreussens* (Folk Tales of East Prussians, Lithuanians and West Prussians, 1837), compiled in collaboration with Wilhelm Johann Albert Tettau. After it was published, a summary appeared in *Preussische Provinzial-Blätter*: it emphasised the printing quality and the good paper, and the fact that the book contained 271 historical and local legends and stories of folk customs, including 50 recorded by the authors themselves¹³ (in 1865, a second edition appeared). The same issue of *Preussische Provinzial Blätter* also carried a long article by Gisevius, 'Der Rombinus',¹⁴ on the subject of Prussian Lithuanian folklore.

Several decades later, a book of travel sketches *Aus baltischen Landen* (From the Baltic Lands, 1878) by the lawyer, author and translator Ludwig Passarge, appeared, which reinforced the traditional image of Prussian Lithuania that had built up in literature. True, the work also featured a provision stipulated by the Prussian Antiquity Society: to apply scientific methods to recording the diversity of the East Prussian ethnic tradition. Therefore, Passarge's book abounds in suggestive literary passages on the subject of Prussian Lithuanian localities, and especially the Curonian Lagoon. It also mentions the works of Rhesa and Donelaitis; moreover, Passarge demonstra-

¹² [TEMME, J. D. H.] Verfasser der neuen deutschen Zeitbilder, der Verbrecher usw., *Anna Jagszis*. Bdchn. 3. Leipzig, 1856, S. 1–9.

¹³ *Die Volkssagen Ostpreussens, Litthauens und Westpreußens*. Ges. von W. J. A. von TETTAU, J. D. H. TEMME. Berlin, 1837; *Preussische Provinzial-Blätter*, 1837, Bd. 18, S. 598.

¹⁴ GISEVIUS, E. Der Rombinus. *Preussische Provinzial-Blätter*, 1837, Bd. 18, S. 3–32.

tes his researcher's intentions by using archive materials to recount the biography of Donelaitis. His writing is rich in material that could have been collected merely by an attentive ethnographer. Substantial attention is paid to fishermen's wooden architecture, by providing precise technical drawings and accentuating log houses with thatched roofs and the style of construction. The author notes that fishermen's homes were not painted, and they would assume a dark grey colour due to the natural adaptation of the wood to the specific climatic conditions.¹⁵ Passarge devotes several pages to a description of the interior of a fishermen's home; he also emphasises the tradition of several generations of a family living under one roof, and its direct relation to the planning of the layout of the interior.¹⁶

The above-mentioned East Prussian activists, just like many others who focused on the ethnographic region of Prussian Lithuania in the early 19th century and several decades afterwards, were inspired by several global factors of that epoch: the impact of Romanticism, which encouraged an interest in the spiritual heritage of 'exotic peoples', and positivist provisions leading to the study of cultures on the verge of extinction.¹⁷

New factors that encouraged participation in the preservation of the cultural heritage emerged in the last quarter of the 19th century. Their emergence was caused by the changes after the founding of the German Empire in 1871. The consolidation process of the German nation had various consequences, including ones related to the interest in ethnic regionalism and its incorporation into the process of imperial cultural policies. In this context, the appearance of different new institutions should be noted, such as *Zentralkommission für wissenschaftliche Landeskunde Deutschland* (the Central Commission for Scientific Regional Studies of Germany). Adalbert Bezzenberger published his study *Die Kurische Nehrung und ihre Bewohner* (The Curonian Spit and its Inhabitants, 1889) in volume 3 of the continuous publication of the Commission.¹⁸ In the late 19th century, the policy of national monument protection gained momentum, and its expression included continuous publications on the subject of monument protection in imperial provinces, among which *Inventar der Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler in der Provinz Brandenburg* (Berlin), launched in 1885, should be noted, as well as *Kunstdenkmäler im Grossherzogtum Hessen* (1885, Darmstadt). In 1891, Adolf Boetticher brought out volume 1 of *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Ostpreussen*, devoted to Sambia, and in 1895, a volume devoted to Prussian Lithuania. Moreover, since the very creation of the German Reich, government institutions of East Prussia paid substantial attention to the activities of the Prussian

¹⁵ PASSARGE, L. *Aus baltischen Landen*. Glogau, 1878, S. 214–215.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, S. 256–258.

¹⁷ GINEITIS, L. *Op. cit.*, p. 157.

¹⁸ [Besprechung von:] BEZZENBERGER, A. *Die Kurische Nehrung und ihre Bewohner*. *Altpreussische Monatsschrift*, 1890, Bd. 27, S. 157.

Antiquity Society: from 1883, the Society would receive an annual grant of 2,000 Reichsmarks, and in 1885 its museum was moved from the Königsberg Castle Tower, where the premises were damp, to the north wing of the castle. In 1889, the museum received a building in the city, officially opened by Ober-President of East Prussia Albert von Schlieckmann.¹⁹ The growing attention of the authorities to the activities of the Prussian Antiquity Society over a period of six years was rather eloquent.

To support Prussian Lithuania's cultural representation in their activity, members of the Prussian Antiquity Society supported the initiative to establish a more specialised cultural union, the Lithuanian Literary Society (*Litauische literarische Gesellschaft*). In the publication *Altertums-Gesellschaft Prussia*, Maximilian Voelkel, a senior teacher at Tilsit Gymnasium and a learner of Lithuanian, published information about the establishment of the Lithuanian Literary Society, and provided some interesting details: the idea for the Society was developed by a rather narrow circle of fans of the Lituianistic tradition (*Litauisches Kränzchen*) in Tilsit, while the statute of the Society, based on a similar model from Kurland (Latvian Literary Society), was developed in Memel (Klaipėda). Thus, on 7 October 1879, at a general meeting in Tilsit, the idea of establishing the Society was implemented. Voelkel emphasised the aspiration of the members of the new society not to lose sight of anything related to the Lithuanian language, and also to take an interest in Lithuanians and Lithuania from historical, geographical, ethnographic, mythological and musical points of view.²⁰ These intentions were prompted by the serious threat to the Lituianistic tradition in a broad sense from accelerated assimilation caused by German and Russian imperial policies in the late 19th century.

At the turn of the 20th century, personal initiatives in the representation of the uniqueness of East Prussian regions were also rather frequent. In this context, Franz Tetzner should be mentioned, whose activity represented the 'relay' principle in taking an interest in the Prussian Lithuanian cultural tradition, as, according to Leonas Gineitis, it was Tetzner who took up the baton of the activity from Passarge.²¹ Another activist to be mentioned is Albert Zweck, and his work *Litauen. Eine Landes- und Volkskunde* (Lithuania. Regional and National Studies, 1898)²² on Prussian Lithuania.

The works by the activists mentioned above suggest that the cultural efforts of several generations of East Prussians formed a favourable atmosphere which kept attracting new people, enthusiasts for recording and preserving the East Prussian

¹⁹ Alterthumsgesellschaft Prussia 1888. Letzte Sitzung vom 16. Nov. 1888. *Altpreussische Monatsschrift*, 1889, Bd. 26, S. 360–361; Alterthums-Gesellschaft Prussia. *Altpreussische Monatsschrift*, 1889, Bd. 27, S. 376.

²⁰ VOELKEL, M. Zur Begründung einer Litauischen Gesellschaft [mit Statuten-Entwurf]. *Altpreussische Monatsschrift*, 1879, Bd. 16, S. 483–486.

²¹ GINEITIS, L. Op. cit., p. 194.

²² ZWECK, A. *Litauen: eine Landes- und Volkskunde* (Ostpreussen. Land und Volk, Bd. 1). Stuttgart, 1898.

cultural heritage. Thus, in his activities, Dethlefsen absorbed the experience of numerous participants in the 'relay', who sought to know and foster the cultural uniqueness of the ethnic regions of the East Prussian provinces by highlighting their ethnic tradition. This was shown in his published writings, and not merely at the beginning of the article in the study on wooden architecture mentioned above, but also in the later copiously illustrated publication *Das schöne Ostpreussen* (Beautiful East Prussia, 1916), which showed typical ethnic characteristics of Prussian Lithuania: the rural architecture, and especially the granaries (they were noticed by most of those who were interested in the subject of the ethnic heritage of Prussian Lithuania, starting with Passarge), *krikštai* (wooden grave monuments), and weathervanes.²³ In the introduction to the publication, Dethlefsen states that the first edition of the book (10,000 copies), published, incidentally, by the already famous and highly respected R. Piper & Co publishing house, sold out in eight weeks.²⁴ This fact was not only a compliment to the author, but also a reflection of the increasing interest in East Prussia and the diversity of its cultural tradition. Of course, the popularity of the publication can be put down to multiple factors. They included the highlights of imperial policy: East Prussia aroused an interest due to one of the most glorious victories by the German army during the First World War, the Battle of Tannenberg in August 1914. Dethlefsen's book was dedicated to a hero of the battle, Field Marshal Paul von Hindenburg. Another important aspect was the treatment of the architectural history of the land, starting from the times of the Teutonic Order. However, although the introduction to the publication conveyed impressions of the spirit of the times, that is, highlights of the imperial consciousness, Dethlefsen retained in his book the tradition of focusing on the uniqueness of the East Prussian ethnic regions, particularly Masuria and Prussian Lithuania, which were distinct since the first half of the 19th century.

Conclusions

The interest in ethnic culture and its dissemination in East Prussia, which in the first half of the 19th century was mainly based on the efforts of individual activists, and in the second half also on the activities of societies, affected the expression of monument protection policy in East Prussia. The activities of Richard Dethlefsen, a pioneer of monument protection in the region, in recording and protecting the East Prussian cultural heritage, also covered an acquaintance with Prussian Lithuanian ethnocultural values that had formed over several centuries.

²³ DETHLEFSEN, R. *Das schöne Ostpreußen*. München, 1916, S. 42–51.

²⁴ Ibid., S. 8.

Richard Dethlefsen's works highlighted the efforts of his contemporaries, East Prussian activists, to treat East Prussia as a unique cultural space, where the tradition preconditioned the retention of the uniqueness of several ethnic regions. This was accentuated as a value of East Prussian provincial culture to be protected. This positive attitude towards East Prussia as a unique cultural region, with the traits of an ethnic mosaic, would also be relevant to contemporary researchers in order to avoid the exclusive treatment of any part, such as an ethnocultural region, of the East Prussian cultural heritage that might violate the organic link with the total East Prussian historical and cultural context.

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DOMĖJIMOSI ETNINE KULTŪRA XIX A. ANTROSIOS PUSĖS RYTŲ PRŪSIJOJE ĮTAKA RICHARDO DETHLEFSENSO VEIKLAI

Nijolė Strakauskaitė

Santrauka

Prūsijos Lietuva XIX a. išryškėjo kaip vienas iš Rytų Prūsijos kultūros bendruomenei aktualių savojo regiono (*Heimat*) etnokultūrinio peizažo segmentų. Prūsijos lietuvių etnokultūrinio savitumo refleksijos Rytų Prūsijoje ypač sustiprėjo XIX a. antrojoje pusėje, nors prielaidos Rytų Prūsijos lietuvių kultūros palikimo saugojimui subrendo daug anksčiau ir buvo susijusios su Reformacijos pasekmėmis Prūsijos kunigaikštystei, o vėliau – su Prūsijos karalystės politinių, socialinių ir kultūrinių procesų poveikiu Rytų Prūsijai. XIX a. pradžioje išryškėjo nauji veiksniai (romantizmo idėjų įtaka etnoistoriniams tyrinėjimams Rytų Prūsijoje), turėję lemiamą įtaką stiprinant Rytų Prūsijos kultūros veikėjų domėjimąsi Prūsijos Lietuva. Ryškų pėdsaką šioje veikloje paliko Karaliaučiaus universiteto profe-

sorius Martinas Ludwigas Rhesa (1776–1840), Tilžės gimnazijos lietuvių kalbos mokytojas Eduardas Karlas Samuelis Gisevius (1798–1880). Rytų Prūsijos visuomenės dėmesį į Prūsijos Lietuvos etnokultūrinį peizažą dėmesį atkreipė ir keli XIX a. viduryje pasirodę grožinės literatūros kūriniai, susiję su Prūsijos Lietuva: Ernsto Wicherto *Lietuviškos apysakos* (orig. *Litauische Geschichten*, 2 t., 1881–1890). Jodoco Dedato Huberto Temmės romanai – *Juodoji Marė* (orig. *Die schwarze Mare*, 1854) su paantrašte *Bilder aus Litthauen* ir *Anna Jogszis* (1856), kuriuose nemažai dėmesio skirta etnografiniams Prūsijos Lietuvos motyvams. Teisininko, literato ir vertėjo Ludwigo Passarge'ės kelionių apybraižų knyga *Aus baltischen Landen* (1878) įtvirtino jau tradicinį literatūroje kurtą Prūsijos Lietuvos vaizdinį, bet jis taip pat paisė ir Senovės draugijos „Prussia“ paskleistos nuostatos – remtis moksliniais metodais, fiksuojant Rytų Prūsijos etninės tradicijos įvairovę.

Nauji kultūros palikimo politikos aspektai Rytų Prūsijoje, susiję su etninio regionalizmo akcentais, išryškėjo XIX a. paskutiniame ketvirtyje, susikūrus Vokietijos imperijai. Neatsitiktinai Richardo Dethlefseno vardas asocijuojasi su ženkliais progresu paminklo saugos srityje Rytų Prūsijoje XIX–XX a. sandūroje. Jo veikla susijusi su tokių svarbių kultūros paminklų kaip Karaliaučiaus katedra restauravimas, Karaliaučiaus kultūros objektų fotodokumentavimu (1907–1913), Skanseno tipo Tėviškės muziejaus (*Heimatismuseum*) įkūrimu, etc. Savo veikla Dethlefsenas absorbavo gausios „estafetės“ dalyvių, siekusių pažinti ir puoselėti Rytų Prūsijos provincijos etninių regionų kultūrinį savitumą per jų etninės tradicijos išryškinimą, patirtį. Tai atsiskleidžia ir jo publikacijose: *Rytų Prūsijos valstiečių namai ir medinės bažnyčios* (orig. *Bauernhäuser und Holzkirchen in Ostpreußen*, 1911), *Gražieji Rytprūsiai* (orig. *Das schöne Ostpreussen*, 1916). Richardo Dethlefseno darbai išryškino jo amžininkų – dalies Rytų Prūsijos kultūros veikėjų – pastangas, nepaisant nacionalizmo epochos įtakų, Rytų Prūsiją traktuoti kaip savitą kultūrinę erdvę, kurios istorinė tradicija lėmė kelių etninių regionų savasties išlaikymą, akcentuojant tai kaip Rytų Prūsijos provincijos kultūros pakilimo saugotiną vertybę. Nuostata dėl Rytų Prūsijos, kaip savito kultūrinio regiono su etninės mozaikos bruožais, svarbi ir šių dienų tyrinėtojams. Ji skatina vengti kurio nors Rytų Prūsijos kultūros paveldo segmento – etnokultūrinio regiono – išskirtinio traktavimo, idant nebūtų pažeistas kadaise egzistavęs organiškas ryšys su visu Rytų Prūsijos istorijos ir kultūros kontekstu.