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RIVERS AS A PART OF THE MODERNIZATION PROCESS IN KAUNAS (LITHUANIA) BETWEEN WWI AND WWII

Summary. Recreation, leisure and entertainment have become important elements of the European urban culture long time ago. Places where nature and urban environment meet together have always been identified as comfortable. Thus, it is not surprising that the city parks, or even more, the beaches become a desirable part of the city's image. Kaunas city is not an exception, here the initiatives of the revitalization of the riverbanks have become a recent center of attention of urban activists as well as architecture historians. Interest in the history of Kaunas riverside relates to the fact that the areas of the modern leisure in Lithuania have a long tradition, as its starting point can be associated with the interwar period (1918-1940). The article provides a brief summary of the study of "the resort network" being built near the river throughout the Kaunas region during the WWI and WWII as well as of its leisure culture that was flourishing and the related architectural marks and shapes of urbanization: newly built summer houses adapted to provide treatment (rehabilitation) and a place for living, villas, Kurhaus, restaurants, sanatoria, health resorts, commercial places, and public infrastructure.

Keywords: rivers, modernization, Kaunas city, Lithuanian resort architecture between WWI and WWII.

INTRODUCTION

The interwar period (between WWI and WWII) brought crucial changes to the history of Lithuanian architectural environment. After the independence of Lithuania was proclaimed in 1918, the politicians of Lithuania aimed to build society based on national ideology and historical legacy. In regard to architecture, these ideas were expressed in the so called "national style". However, general European tendencies of modernization brought in another dimension. In consequence, a relation between tradition and progress was the burning issue among the important architectural problems of the time. Modernity came with changes in social lifestyle influenced by scientific, cultural, and commercial achievements. Such modernist ideas as hygiene, light and openness were spreading from the newborn capital Kaunas (Vilnius, the historical capital, was replaced by Kaunas, the temporary capital, for political reasons) to the countryside all over Lithuania.

It is important to note that the ideas of modernism in Kaunas are inseparable from natural environment. Kaunas is among those European cities

that are built on the confluence of the two largest rivers of the country (the Nemunas River and the Neris River). Thus, riverbanks and slopes became an important part of urban structure. The modern capital with more than 6000 new public, commercial, and dwelling houses formed a unique townscape in which architecture and environment intertwined into an inseparable entity (Fig. 1).

The dialog between tradition, modernity and natural environment first of all occurred in urban reconstruction projects based on the ideas of "Garden City". Moreover, this natural situation visibly influenced leisure sphere as well. Recreational river zones were among the most important areas where leisure, modernity, and nature met together (Fig. 2).

Here it should be noted that in general Lithuanian interwar resorts and its separate areas, for example, rivers, as a complex (social, cultural and architectural) phenomenon have not been investigated until now. While in the global theoretical practice resorts and spas are seen as a separate phenomenon of modern life (e.g. Bryan F. Tolles¹, Fred Gray², Cindy S. Aaron³, Małgorzata Omilanowska⁴, etc.). The



Fig. 1. Kaunas city and Nemunas River during the interwar period. From personal collection of Antanas Burkus



Fig. 2. Nemunas River and Kaunas old town with the beach area in the background. VMU Lithuanian Emigration Institute, f. 1, ap. 1-9, b. 6647

touch upon this theme by the country's architecture historians (Nijolė Lukšionytė, Jurgis Bučas, Zita Genienė, Morta Baužienė, Maja Ptašek, Kęstutis Demereckas and others⁵) and ethnic study researchers (Vytautas Kuzmickas, Daiva Nevardauskienė, Emilija Ediklienė and others⁶) was very fragmentary and approached mostly from a historical and/or stylistic point of view, describing/referring to one or more (often best known) objects of resorts, or to personalities associated with them or their memories in single papers, publications of popular science, or short texts in books and other studies, what is more, rarely related with Kaunas area. Therefore, the research on this thematic subject is based on the historical sources.

The research is relevant because between the WWI and WWII, the biggest concentration of wellness “hotspots” in Lithuania were situated around the capital. The development of the riverbanks for local and international transportation and shipping as well as for cultural and recreational needs was determined by two factors. The first of these was the implementation of the town's overall policy of cleanliness;⁷ the second was cultural hygiene as a forming basis for a modern, Western lifestyle and foreign examples. It is right to remark that one of the main tools to implement the propaganda of modern ideas was the interwar press.

The press rhetoric was becoming important for housing modernization processes not only in



Fig. 3. The beach in the confluence of the two rivers in Kaunas, fourth decade of the twentieth century. From personal collection of V. Mìgonytė-Petrulienė

Kaunas and other smaller Lithuanian cities but also in resort areas that were gradually acquiring more and more features of urbanization. Social media used keywords of hygienic nature such as “light” and “cultured” which in the mentality of the modernizing country were closely associated with another keyword “future”. Such statements, that were aplenty in the Lithuanian press in the forties, very clearly demonstrated aspirations of the architectural environment that were associated with modernism and advantages of the urban life. Moreover, the characteristics of improvement in living conditions were particularly close to the spa environment:

“Human life must be also provided with some positive factors, which by their significance are classified as follows: clean air and good indoor ventilation, sunlight, gymnastics, walks, physical education, sports, rest, silence, various activities in the open air (in the garden, the kitchen-garden), child and adult intellectual culture, healthy, organic food and others.”⁸

This aspect of the modernity discourse was of particular relevance not only at the end of the thirties but through the entire inter-war period as modernism ideas were expanding.

Discourse on modernism had a huge impact on various aspects of everyday life. For example, at that time Kaunas had around twelve properly equipped beach areas⁹ (Fig. 3). They were highly popular

among the citizens of the temporary capital. For the inhabitants of the major part of the town, the riverbanks were probably the only source of water entertainment because other resorts were too far from Kaunas and thus too expensive to afford, e.g. Birštonas (a balneological type of resort), Palanga (a seaside resort).

Every year the commission formed by Kaunas Municipality would visit the riverbanks of Kaunas and decide which areas could be operated as public beaches and be opened for the entire season. The commission considered that all districts of the town should have a separate beach on the riverbanks. It was on the basis of this consideration that they would set appropriate locations to beach areas.

In the period of every warm season, the biggest part of the country was full of aquatic sport events, e.g. Yacht Club of Lithuania organized navigation for entertainment, a parade of illuminated ships and a powerboats race. Also, in the backwater of the river, lido was established which was a popular skating-rink in the wintertime. However, buildings close to the riverbanks were mostly built as temporary, e.g. changing cabins and beverage kiosks. The best infrastructure was set up in the zones where the most visited beaches were exclusively dedicated to recreational needs. One of those was in the Upper Panemunė district, which became a city resort area in 1932 after the Law of Resorts was adopted.¹⁰

At this point, it is right to note that the year of 1932 appeared to be a turning point in the history of leisure in Lithuania. The Ministry of Internal Affairs initiated a specific law which established the typological diversity of resorts. At the same time, it became to be a common factor of cleanliness and health policy in the country. The document defined a resort area as a place characterized by appropriate natural features and to which guidelines of infrastructure development, administrative obligations (an administrator has been elected to lead the resort) and legal principles of activities (conditions of possible charges) were applied. In other words, a resort is the place 1) with healing mud, proper premises, and necessary equipment for taking treatments and 2) providing facilities for recreation and improvement of health.¹¹ In fact, the document formulated two possible directions for resort development, i.e. wellness and leisure – entertainment.

RIVER RESORTS IN KAUNAS: UPPER PANEMUNĖ, KAČERGINĖ, KULAUTUVA, AND LAMPĖDŽIAI

Both of the directions, legible in the Law of Resorts, could be seen in Panemunė resort where surroundings of pine woods and two beaches were substantial natural factors in the development of a new born resort. Consequently, at the beginning of the fourth decade of the twentieth century, changing cabins, a

yacht club, two springboards (towers to jump from into the water), a kayaking¹², an enclosed nude sun bathing area, restaurants and kiosks for selling soft drinks were built close to the riverside as the most important area of the resort.¹³ Deeper into the pine-wood there was one of the main resort buildings, the Kurhaus, with a restaurant and a dancing hall¹⁴ as well as premises for mineral baths – building run by doctor Jurgis Veckūnas¹⁵, sanatoriums as a medical facility of the Red Cross Society to treat tuberculosis, the Society for the Fight against Tuberculosis was guided by doctor Vanda Tumienė¹⁶ and etc. (Fig. 4, 5). Also there were built plenty of villas, summer cottages, and dwelling houses around and nearby¹⁷ (Fig. 6). The national style and modern ideas, influenced by the trends of the capital, were merged in the architecture of these buildings.

In a little less than a decade, the Panemunė resort has developed from a small district into an overpopulated recreational area of the capital (“Garden in the City”):¹⁸

„Even if since the last year [1933] there was plenty of fresh air, the peace was hard to find in the areas of drier pine-wood. Unoccupied seats of vacationers were settled down by squads of newcomers from urban and suburban areas, so the forest in Panemunė, more appropriate for the recreation, was more of the garden for entertainment full of fun and noise than a resort.”¹⁹



Fig. 4. The sanatorium of The Red Cross Society, 1934. From personal collection of Antanas Burkus

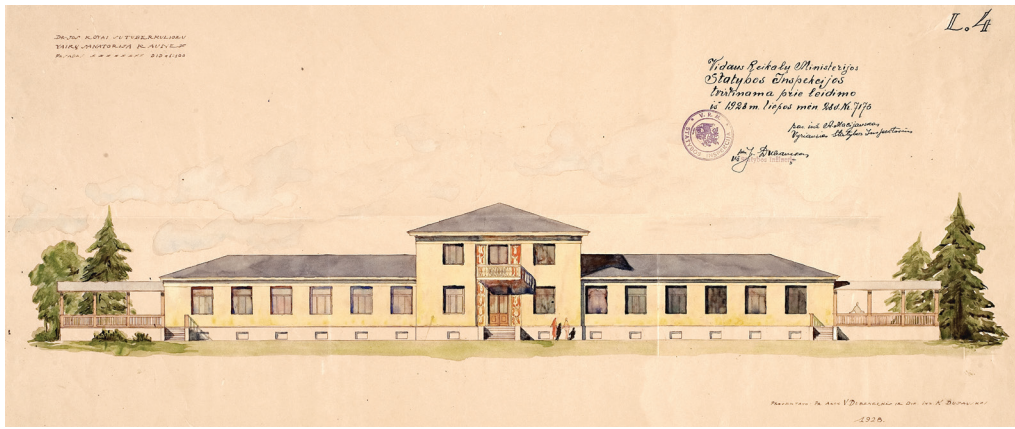


Fig. 5. Children's Sanatorium of the Society for the Fight against Tuberculosis, 1928 (arch. Vladimiras Dubeneckis, Klaudijus Dušauskas). LCVA, f. 1622, ap. 4, b. 1306, l. 8

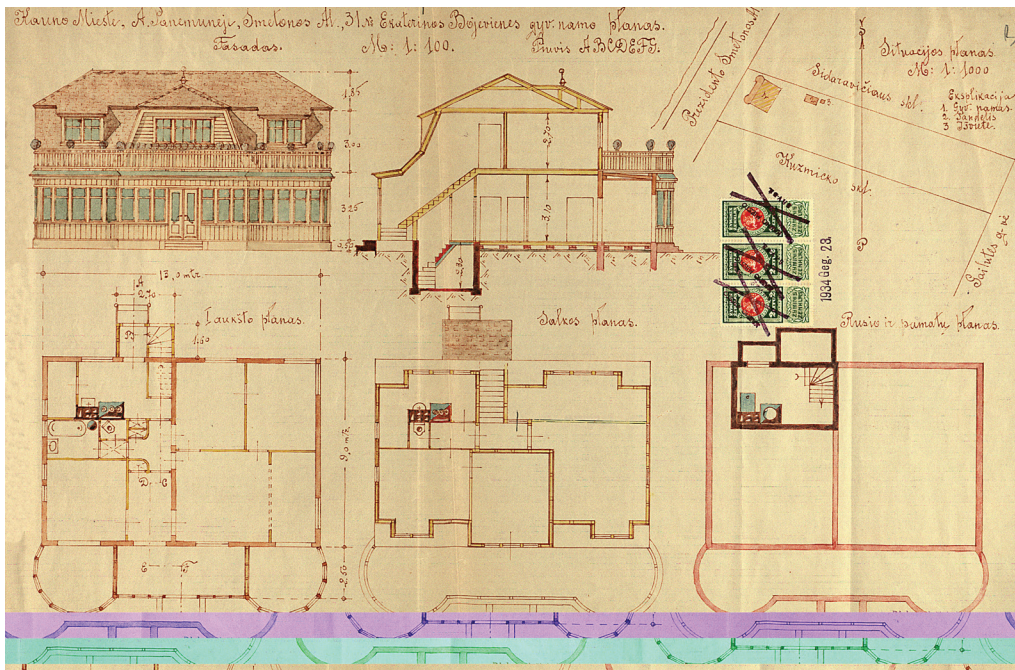


Fig. 6. The project of summer cottage of Ekaterina Bajovienė in Panemunė resort, 1934 (eng. Juozas Tyško). LCVA, f. 1622, ap. 4, b. 450, l. 3

Therefore, the resort was as a place for entertaining activities that were likely to prove immensely popular with all Kaunas residents who needed recreation and escape from their everyday life in the dust of town.

In the late interwar period, many pieces of land in Panemunė were sold out to the permanent residences. By the way, the popularity of the resort could be illustrated by the fact that compared to 1932, the land prices in 1939 have increased as much as four hundred percent.²⁰ Due to this, leisure activities came to be marketable and expensive.

Leisure culture as a phenomenon being institutionalized, traditions of recreation started to intensively emerge around the temporary capital in other

smaller places such as Kačerginė, Kulautuva, and Lampėdžiai. The resort status demanded that buildings should be constructed and transport including waterways should be improved with greater intensity. New resort areas became a good alternative places in Kaunas for the working class residents who needed cheaper and quieter holidays than in Panemunė resort.

The construction and the development of resort activities in Kačerginė, Kaulautuva and Lampėdžiai were based on the same socio-cultural model as in the Panemunė resort. In the summer resorts, until 1940s, the main focus was given to the construction of new villas, mostly with “national style” elements²¹

(Fig. 7). Cityscapes of the resorts were enhanced with a few new buildings of a therapeutic-rehabilitation function: Children's summer colony of Kaunas City Patient fund²² as well as villa-dispensary of engineer Reklaitis were established in Kačerginė; Baths built by Rosa Gerberienė,²³ and holiday home for students and seminarians from "Jerešun" association (Fig. 8) were set up in Kulautuva; Baths built by Boris Fleišmanas²⁴ and Children's summer

colony were opened in Lampėdžiai.²⁵ Complexes for recreational needs (restaurants, cafes, pavilions, kiosks) were built as well²⁶ (Fig. 9).

However, the unifying feature of these zones was the fact that the epicenter of the resort life was moved to riverbank instead of a park as it was used in other bigger resorts in Lithuania. Beaches and steamboat wharfs were the most important elements of urban environment in recreational areas. The riverside

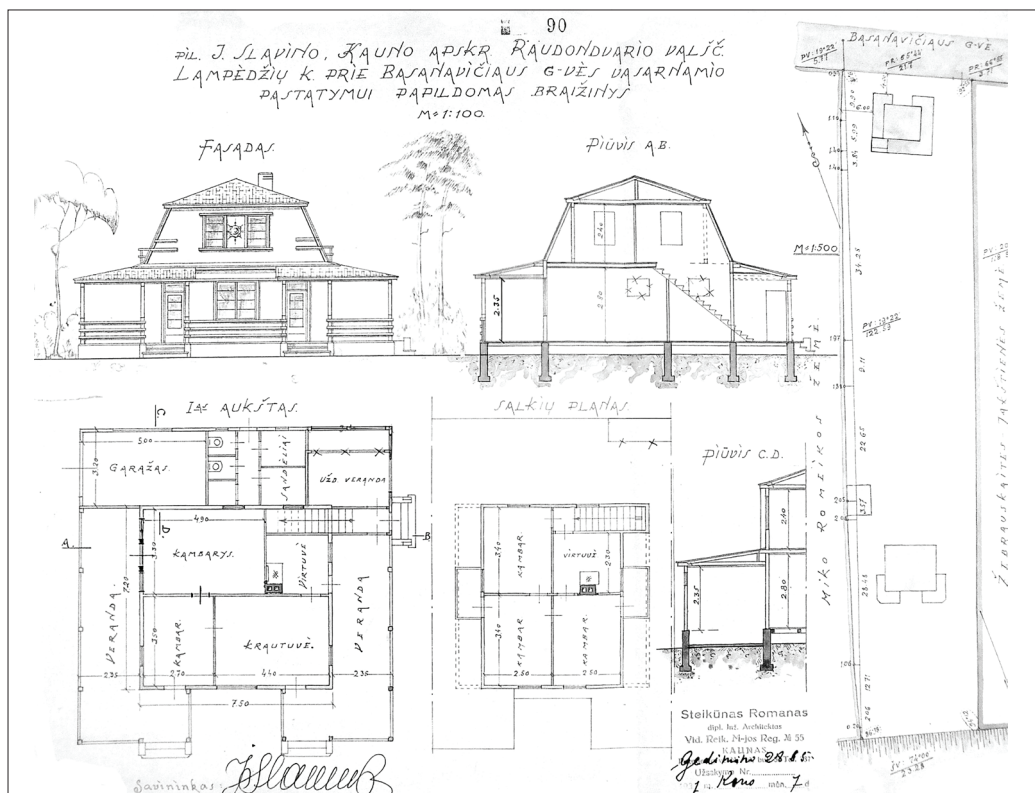


Fig. 7. The project of summer house of I. Slavinas in Lampėdžiai resort, 1937 (arch. Romanas Steikūnas). LCVA, f. 1622, ap. 4, b. 719

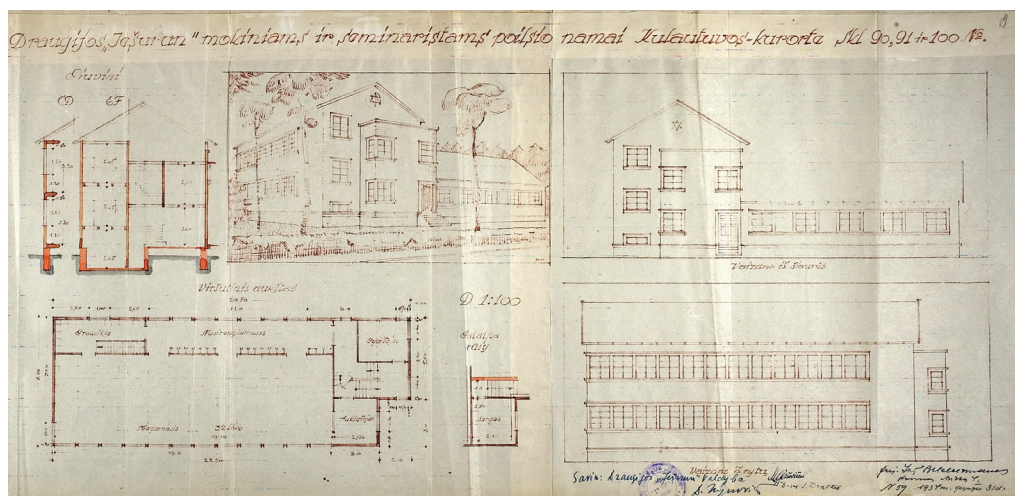


Fig. 8. The project of holiday home for students and seminarians from "Jerešun" association in Kulautuva resort, 1934 (eng. Borisas Helcermanas). KAA, f. 17, ap. 1, b. 78, l. 13

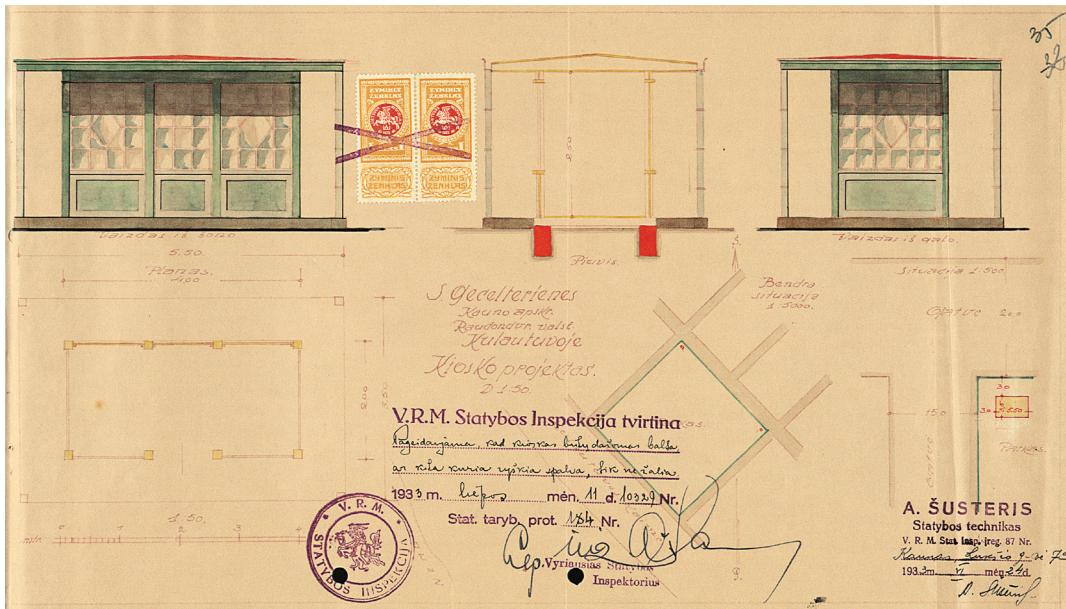


Fig. 9. The project of kiosk by S. Gecelterienė in Kačerginė resort, 1933. KAA, f. 17, ap. 1, b. 74

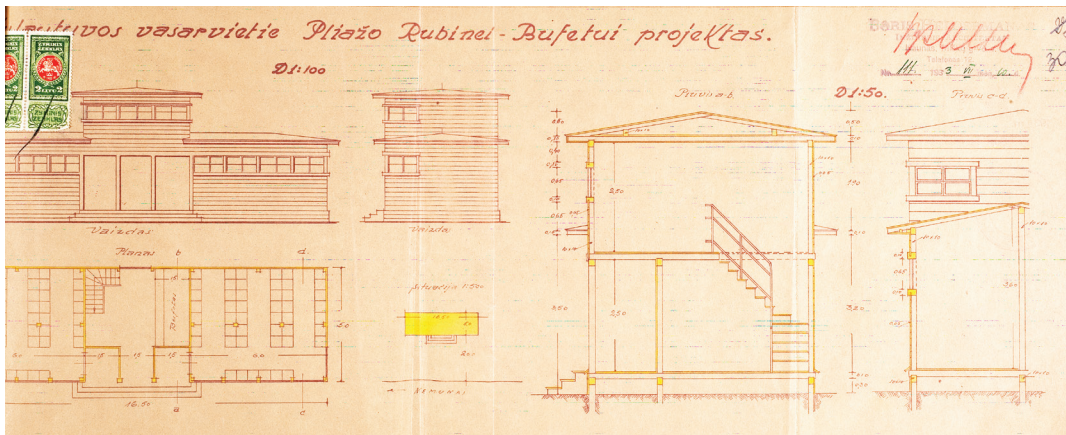


Fig. 10. The project of Buffer – Cloakroom in Kulautuva beach, 1933. KAA, f. 17, ap. 1, b. 78, l. 3

became a symbolic gate of summer holidays and a landmark of leisure activities that was the main direction for the development of those resorts.²⁷ For this reason, the banks of the river became an important artery to settle the infrastructure for main leisure activities, mostly, sunbathing and spending leisure time in the open air or on the beach (Fig. 10). Therefore, the Nemunas River connected all the recreational zones of Kaunas region.

CONCLUSIONS

Wellness and leisure-entertainment activities were influenced by natural settings (like riverbed) and affected new habits developed by the modern society. Amongst the most important changes was an

increased accessibility of recreation to the public seen as a popular form of public behavior. All leisure activities related with the river were the relevant factor at this point. It is also important to admit that the river was a path of modernization processes. Urban life forms as well as the artefacts of the construction activities migrated through the rivers of Lithuania. Therefore, the environment of the resorts met the higher standards of recreation. The Law of Resorts and the good example of Kaunas came to be an inspiration for constructing recreation network all over Lithuania in the late 1930s.

Unfortunately, during the period of the soviet occupation, the relation with the river had decreased gradually because of the two crucial factors. One of

them was a hydro power plant built in 1956 and the other – a wide street paved to make the flow of the traffic throughout the town easier, which, however, had separated the central part of the town from the river. Despite the above mentioned, a positive point has to be noted here, which is, the last decade of the twentieth century witnessed the growth of various forms of urban activism aiming to reconnect the town of Kaunas with the Nemunas River.

Notes

¹ *New Hampshire Architecture: An Illustrated Guide* (1979), *The Grand Resort Hotels of the White Mountains: A Vanishing Architectural Legacy* (1998), *Summer Cottages in the White Mountains: The Architecture of Leisure and Recreation, 1870 to 1930* (2000), *Resort Hotels of the Adirondacks: The Architecture of a Summer Paradise, 1850-1950* (2003), *Summer by the Seaside: The Architecture Of New England Coastal Resort Hotels, 1820-1950* (2008).

² *Designing the Seaside: Architecture, Society and Nature*, 2009.

³ *Working At Play: A History of Vacations in the United States*, 1999.

⁴ Pabaltijo Zakopanė. Palanga Tyszkiewiczų laikais [Zakopane of the Baltics. Palanga in the time of Tyszkiewicz], 2014.

⁵ Lietuvos architektūros istorija (nuo XIX a. II-ojo deš. iki 1918 m.) [History of Lithuanian architecture (since the second half of the 19th century to 1918)]. T. 3 / ed. N. Lukšionytė-Tolvaišienė. Vilnius: Savastis, 2000; Bučas, Jurgis. Senoji Lietuvos kurortų architektūra [Ancient architecture of Lithuanian resorts]. *Urbanistika ir rajoninis planavimas*, 1990, 16, p. 107; Ptašek, Maja. *Medinė kurortų architektūra. Medinė architektūra Lietuvoje [Wooden architecture of resorts. Wooden architecture in Lithuania]*. Vilnius: Vaga, 2002, p. 111-122; Baužienė, Morta. Rekreacinio miesto savitumas (Birštono medinės architektūros pavyzdžiu) [Singularity of recreational city (By the example of wooden architecture of Birštonas)]. *Archiforma*, 2012, 1-2 (50), p. 34-41; Genienė, Zita. *Palangos miesto ir kurorto raida XIX-XX amžiais. Palangos istorija [Development of Palanga as a city and a resort in 19th-20th centuries. History of Palanga]* / ed. Vladas Žulkus. Klaipėda: Libra Memelensis, 1999; ir kt.

⁶ Nevardauskienė, Daiva. *Aukštosios Panemunės istorija. Istorinė apžvalga nuo seniausių laikų iki šių dienų [History of the Upper Panemunė. Historical review since the oldest times to nowadays]*. Kaunas: Prix Fixe, 2010; Ediklienė, E. *Palangos kraštotyrimiai tyrimai*. Rankraštis. [Ethnographical research on Palanga. Manuscript]. Palanga public library, Department of Ethnography, 8 right; Kuzmickas, Vytautas. *Birštono krašto istorijos lobiai ir paslaptys (III). Ieškokime senųjų Federavičių namų pėdsakų... [Historical treasures and secrets of Birštonas (III). Seeking for traces of the old house of Federavičiai...]* Internet access: <http://kvitrina.lt/birstono-krašto-istorijos-lobiai-ir-paslaptys-iii-ieskokime-senuju-federaviciu-namu-pedsaku/>, [see. October 2, 2015].

⁷ Kauno kronika [Chronicle of Kaunas]. *Lietuva*. January 9, 1921, p. 2.

⁸ Miestų gyventojų laisvalaikis ir sveikata [Leisure and health of city residents]. *Savivaldybė*. July, 1939, p. 193.

⁹ 1. The beach in the confluence of the two rivers; 2. Karmelitai beach; 3. Old town beach at Jonava street; 4. Beach in the district of Vilijampolė at the street of A. Kriščiukaitis; 5. Beach in the district of Vilijampolė at the shelter of "Child Jesus"; 6. Beach in the district of Lower Šančiai at the Mažeikiai street; 7. Beach in the district of Lower Šančiai in front of the hill of Napoleon; 8. Beach in the district of Lower Šančiai beside the "Drobė" factory; 9. Beach at Aleksotas district; 10. Beach in the district of Žaliakalnis at the Kapsų street; 11. The first beach in the Upper Panemunė district; 12. The second beach in the Upper Panemunė district.

¹⁰ A. Panemunė tvarkoma kurortiška [Recreational control of U. Panemunė]. *Lietuvos aidas*. June 27, 1933, p. 5.

¹¹ Kurortų įstatymas [The Law of Resorts]. *Vyriausybės žinios*. December 22, 1932, p. 1.

¹² A. Panemunės jachtklubas [Yacht club in U. Panemunė]. *Lietuvos žinios*. April 16, 1935, p. 7.

¹³ A. Panemunėje bus plaukiojimo mokykla [Shipping school is about to open in U. Panemunė]. *Lietuvos aidas*. April 18, 1934, p. 5.

¹⁴ Panemunės miške projektuoja Kurhauzą statyti [Kurhaus is designed to be built in the forest of Panemunė]. *Lietuvos žinios*. April 12, 1935, p. 7.

¹⁵ Dr. Jurgio Venckūno mineralinių vonių gydymo A. Panemunėje projektas [The plan of mineral baths of Dr. Jurgis Venckūnas in U. Panemunė], 1930. LCVA, f. 1622, ap. 4, b. 64, l. 5.

¹⁶ Prof. Vandos Tumėnienės mūr. priestato prie vaikų sanatorijos projektas [The plan of masonry wing of prof. Vanda Tumėnienė near the Children's sanatorium]. 1939. (eng. K. Sienkevičius). LCVA, f. 1622, ap. 3, b. 219, l. 4.

¹⁷ Viktoro Tamulevičiaus medinės vilos A. Panemunėje projektas [The plan of the wooden villa of Viktoras Tamulevičius in U. Panemunė], 1925. (eng. A. Jokimas). KAA, f. 17, ap. 1, b. 26, l. 174; Liudo Šimonėlio medinės vilos projektas A. Panemunėje [The plan of the wooden villa of Liudas Šimonėlis in U. Panemunė], 1925. KAA, f. 17, ap. 1, b. 26, l. 122; Kap. Jeronimo Matulionio vilos projektas A. Panemunėje [(The plan of the villa of the chaplain Jeronimas Matulionis in U. Panemunė), 3rd decade of the 20th century (eng. Valiukėnas). KAA, f. 17, ap. 1., b. 25, l. 91; Povilo Vaidylos medinio namo projektas A. Panemunėje [The plan of the wooden house of Povilas Vaidyla in U. Panemunė], 1925. KAA, f. 17, ap. 1, b. 26, l. 212; Pil. J. Zalcbergo pastatymui medinės vilos A. Panemunėj planas [The plan of the wooden villa of J. Zalcbergas], 1930. (arch. S. Rezeris). KAA, f. 17, ap. 1, b. 26, l. 297 and etc.

¹⁸ Kauno vasarvietėse [In the resorts of Kaunas]. *XX amžius*. June 22, 1939, p. 3.

¹⁹ Kauno Palanga [(Palanga of Kaunas). *Lietuvos aidas*. April 25, 1933, p. 6.

²⁰ Kodėl keičiamas kurortų įstatymas. Kodėl nuosavybei įsigyti kurorte norima įvesti leidimų sistemą [Why the Law of Resorts is being changed. Where from comes the idea to introduce permission system in order to purchase a land in the resort]. *Lietuvos aidas*. January 2, 1939, p. 6.

²¹ P. J. Ambrazevičiaus medinio vasarnamio pastatymui Lampėdžiuose projektas [The plan of the wooden summer house of P. J. Ambrazevičius in Lampėdžiai], 1933. (techn. Mykolas Želvys). KAA, f. 17, ap. 1, b. 80, l. 2; B. Fleišmano vasarnamio projektas Lampėdžių kurorte [The plan of the summer house of B. Fleišmanas in Lampėdžiai resort],

1932. (eng. S. Mako ir A. Netykso). KAA, f. 17, ap. 1, b. 80, l. 50; Pil. J. ir B. L. Kacų medinio vasarnamio pastatymui Kulautuvoje projektas [The plan of the summer house of J. and B. L. Kacai in Kulautuva], 1936. (techn. Ignas Gastila). KAA, f. 17, ap. 1, b. 75, l. 69; Pil. A. Kadišo medinio vasarnamio pastatymui Kulautuvoje braižinys [Drawing of the wooden summer house of A. Kadišas in Kulautuva], 1933. (eng. L. Soloveičikas). LCVA, f. 1622, ap. 4, b. 333, l. 12; Pil. M. Bruveloitės medinio vasarnamio pastatymui Kulautuvoje braižinys [The drawing of the wooden summer house of M. Bruvelovaitė in Kulautuva], 1934. (techn. Ignas Gastila). LCVA, f. 1622, ap. 4, b. 448, l. 12; Kapitono V. Demidavičiaus medinės vasarinės statomos Kačerginėje projektas [The plan of the wooden summer villa of captain V. Demidavičius in Kačerginė], 1939. (arch. Viktoras Malejinas). KAA, f. 17, ap. 1, b. 99, l. 8 etc.

²² Kauno miesto ligonių kasos mūrinės sanatorijos Kačerginėje projektas [The plan of the masonry sanatorium of the Kaunas city National Health insurance Fund in Kačerginė]. LCVA, f. 1622, ap. 4, b. 736, l. 11.

²³ Gerberienės Rozos Kulautuvoje tynės pastatymui projektas [The plan of the summer house of Roza Gerberienė in Kulautuva], 1928. KAA, f. 17, ap. 1, b. 74, l. 200.

²⁴ B. Fleišmano vasarnamio projektas Lampėdžių kurorte [The plan of the summer house of B. Fleišmanas in Lampėdžiai resort], 1932. (eng. S. Mako ir A. Netykso). KAA, f. 17, ap. 1, b. 80, l. 50.

²⁵ Vaikų vasaros kolonija Lampėdžių kurorte [Children's summer colony in Lampėdžiai resort], 1934. KAA, f. 17, ap. 1, b. 81.

²⁶ Restoranto brėžinys Kačerginėje [The drawing of the restaurant in Kačerginė], 1934. LCVA, f. 1622, ap. 4, b. 446; G. Barenblato kiosko projektas Kulautuvoje [The plan of the kiosk of G. Barenblatas in Kulautuva], 1933. (arch. A. Šusteris). KAA, f. 17, ap. 1, b. 74; Jokūbo Jermalovskio kioskų projektai Kačerginėje [Plans of the kiosks of Jokūbas Jermalovskis in Kačerginė], 1936. KAA, f. 17, ap. 1, b. 75 etc.

²⁷ Vabalas, A. Lietuvos vasarvietės [Resorts of Lithuania]. *Lietuvos aidas*. February 19, 1938, p. 8.

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UPĖS KAIP MODERNIZACIJOS PROCESO DALIS TARPUKARIO KAUNE

Santrauka

Poilsis, laisvalaikis ir pramogos nuo seno laikomi svarbiais Europos urbanistinės kultūros elementais. Gamtos ir miesto sandūros vietos pasižymi ypatingu komfortu, todėl nenuostabu, kad miesto parkai, ar juo labiau – paplūdimiai, yra geidžiama miesto įvaizdžio dalis. Ne išimtis ir Kaunas, kurio upės krantinių atgaivinimo iniciatyvos pastaruoju metu atsiduria ne tik urbanistinio aktyvizmo, bet ir istorikų dėmesio centre. Kitas ne mažiau svarbus aspektas, aktualizuojantis šią temą, – tarpukario laikotarpis, kai mieste ir jo regione formavosi modernios laisvalaikio kultūros tradicijos. Straipsnyje pateikiamas glaustas tyrimo apibendrinimas apie visame tarpukario Kauno regione prie upės susiformavusį „kurortų tinklą“ ir klestėjusią poilsio kultūrą. Taip pat aptariami su ja susiję architektūriniai „miestietiškejimo“ ženklai: kurortiniam laisvalaikiui, gydymui (reabilitacijai) ir gyvenimui pritaikyti ar naujai pastatyti vasarnamiai, vilos, kurhauzai, restoranai, sanatorijos, gydyklos, prekybinės paskirties objektai, viešoji infrastruktūra.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: upės, modernizacija, Kaunas, Lietuvos tarpukario kurortų architektūra

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