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HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE

LITHUANIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

CHANGING PARADIGMS

The beginning of Lithuanian national historiography and the topic of 'National Revival'

The Lithuanian historical narrative was formed during the nineteenth century as a component part of a newly developing Lithuanian national discourse. One of the most important and most difficult tasks facing the construction of a modern Lithuanian identity was how to separate it from the Polish identity (as well as from its Russian counterpart, even though Russianness was not regarded as being so parlous for the 'purification' of national identity). It therefore comes as no surprise that Lithuanians construed their concept of history as an alternative to the Polish construction (and to a lesser degree to the Russian version). Most nineteenth-century Polish political movements, including schools of history, did not regard the Lithuanians as having any independent political future and so it is not surprising that they were inclined first and foremost to stress the benefits of Polish culture and civilisation in Lithuania's past. The Lithuanians had no other option than using their authentic ethnic culture as a counterweight to Polish civilisation. Conceiving Lithuanian identity as primarily ethno-cultural values, a concept of Lithuanian history was construed accordingly. The history of Lithuania was considered to be

the history of (ethnic) Lithuanians. Topics connected with 'national revival' have clearly dominated in texts devoted to nineteenth-century history. In this respect we encounter in effect the same concept of history common to other nations of Central and Eastern Europe: once upon a time there was a strong and mighty nation, which later suffered from external conditions (meaning that its national consciousness 'fell dormant') and then, given more suitable circumstances (here the role of the 'fathers of the national revival' is stressed particularly), the nation 'was reborn' or 'awoke'. Such concepts, of course, imply a primordialist understanding of the nation.
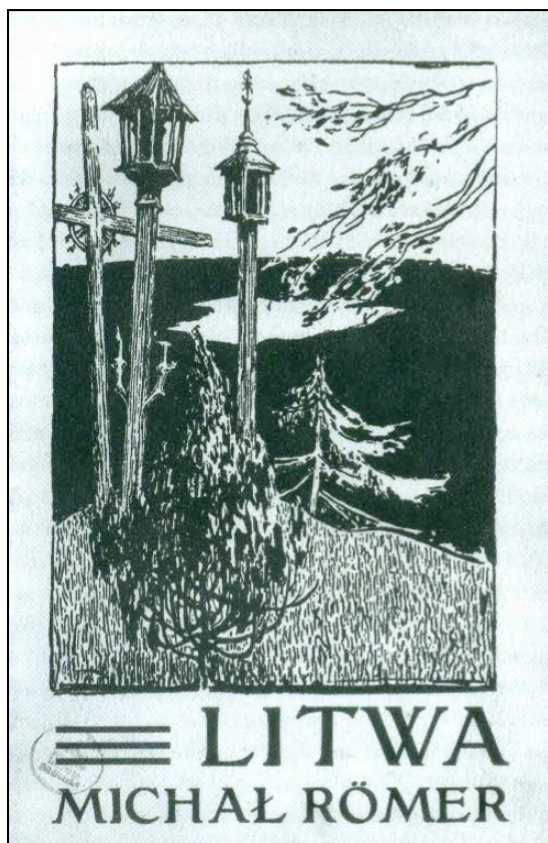
Cover illustration of Michał Römer's Study of national revival *(1908).*

In this context the work of Michał Römer (Mykolas Römeris) stands out as an exception. He was one of the leaders of the so-called *krajowcy* Movement.[1] In his study published in 1908, he predominantly used underground Lithuanian publications to present a history of the political fragmentation of the Lithuanian national movement.[2] To this day this study is regarded as one of the most authoritative studies of Lithuanian nationalism.

Interwar period

During the first half of the twentieth century there were several more factors in the independent Republic of Lithuania alongside the dominant ethnocentric anti-Polish paradigm, exerting influence over research into nineteenth-century history. Not only became the anti-Polish paradigm even stronger during the interwar period, a result of the historical capital of Lithuania being taken by force by an 'insurgent' Polish army and then incorporated into Poland, making it not so easy for historians to assess events from the recent past with the necessary distance. A no less significant obstacle to research was the unavailability of historical sources: the main archives connected with the history of Lithuania as part of the Russian Empire in the nineteenth century were kept outside the borders of the Lithuanian Republic, in Vilnius (then part of Poland), Leningrad and Moscow (in the USSR), rendering it impossible to research particular episodes of nineteenth-century history. This lack of archival material was compensated in part by other sources, primarily memoirs, especially those regarding opposition to the authorities' imposition of Cyrillic on legal publications in Lithuanian. The nature of these sources also influenced historical writing, which concentrated attention on Lithuanian opposition to so called Russification.[3]

The start of the Lithuanian National Movement is associated with 'the democratisation of social order' which took place during the nineteenth century (here we have in mind primarily the emancipation of the serfs), and the formation of ideas of national self-determination in Western Europe and perceptions of this in Lithuania.[4] The first half of the

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nineteenth century is regarded as marking the beginning of the national movement, when certain members of the Lithuanian gentry or intellectuals of gentry origin not only began to develop an interest in Lithuanian language, folklore, customs and history but also sought to have the common people educated in their native language.[5] The latter was the subject of Vincas Maciūnas's doctoral thesis.[6] At that time no other larger scale studies were written but a considerable number of research articles and memoirs were published; most often these were devoted to the production of illegal Lithuanian literature and its smuggling into Lithuania or to the Great Lithuanian Sejm (Parliament) of 1905.[7] However, the existence of this meta-narrative does not mean that there were no discussions or arguments over certain basic aspects of the Lithuanian national movement.

One such discussion surrounded the role of the bishop of Žemaitija, Motiejus Valančius (Maciej Wołonczewski, 1801-1875) in the movement. The main issue to provoke discussion was Valančius's relationship with modern Lithuanian identity, that is first and foremost the Lithuanian language. Catholic researchers asserted that the bishop consciously fostered the use of Lithuanian as an important segment of national identity.[8] More liberally-minded historians considered Valančius to have been primarily concerned with Catholicism and that he viewed the Lithuanian language as a tool. Indeed, supporters of this second line thought that Valančius considered defending the Church against discrimination to be the most important matter; since the most important aim of the Russian authorities was to eliminate the Polish language, the bishop was left with nothing else than fostering the Lithuanian language alongside defending the position of the Catholic Church.[9]

In another case the basic meta-narrative was left quite far behind. Since the Poles were the main Lithuanian enemy during the interwar period, and the imperial authorities had followed anti-Polish policies in the nineteenth century, it was possible to view Russia in a positive light. Thus several publications appeared during the Second Lithuanian Republic (1918-40) even presenting a positive interpretation of Russian nationalities policy, including the imposition of Cyrillic on legal publications in Lithuanian. Among Lithuanian historians this view was propounded by Paulius Šležas,

who proposed rejecting the highly negative Polish view of the Vilnius governor, general Mikhail Murav'ev. In his opinion, Lithuanians ought to be grateful to this governor general for his anti-Polish policy, and the improvement of the economic position of Lithuanian peasants. Without all these measures on the authorities' part, according to Šležas, the 'Lithuanian revival' would have been impossible. The contribution by Murav'ev was apparently even more important than the negative
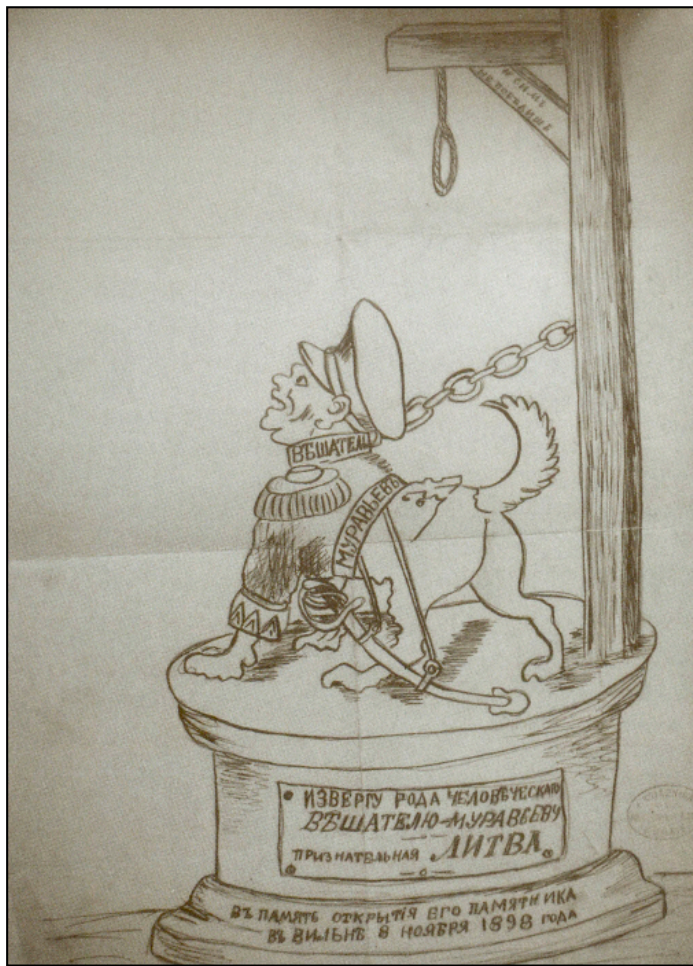
Cartoon on Mikhail Murav'ev's late-nineteenth-century monument in Vilnius.
LIETUVOS VALSTYBES ISTORIJOS ARCHYVAS, VILNIUS

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consequences of the attempts by the authorities to strengthen the Russian element in Lithuania.[10] Admittedly Šležas was in later publications more cautious in his assessment of Murav'ev's policy and its consequences for Lithuanians.[11] He acknowledged the difficulty in deciding whether the nationalities policy carried out by this governor general caused more harm or benefit.[12]

Certain public figures even allowed themselves to moot such issues as whether it had been worth opposing the imposition of Cyrillic at all, arguing that perhaps Lithuanian culture would have received more benefit from being able to foster literature freely, albeit published in Cyrillic characters. It was asserted that neither Lithuanian intellectuals nor the common people had been against using Cyrillic: 'Our political and public figures effectively had accepted the Russian alphabet but were unable to use it because other factors, engendered by the Russian authorities, alienated them from it, first and foremost by the shepherd of Žemaitija, Bishop Motiejus III Valančius'.[13] One more example along these lines: 'In effect the ordinary people are gradually accepting the Russian alphabet and thus a deep and ever deepening gulf is forming between the ordinary people and the enlightened classes in battlefield. In this case the restitution of the press came just in time – if the conflict had lasted any longer, Lithuanian society perhaps would have had to change its whole position on this matter.'[14] Most interestingly of all, such views were held not only by just any public figures but by famous cultural activists of the Second Republic, who had also actively taken part in the Lithuanian national movement at the turn of the century.

Following the ideologem of 'friendship of nations'

After the Soviet Union occupied Lithuania in 1940 and again in 1945 the official historical view propagated by the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic had to be not only Marxist but also in line with the *ideologem* of 'friendship of the peoples', which developed within the USSR in the mid-1930s and claimed a leading role for Russians and Russian culture in the Soviet Union.[15] Furthermore, the official ideology was imbued thoroughly

with primordialism and this ideologem came to be applied to the whole historical process.[16] This meant that nations were attributed certain features uninfluenced by time, implying that some nations were destined to become symbols of progress (the Russians) and others of reaction (like the Germans and the Americans). Thus official historical writing began to require illustrations of the epiphany of the progressive role of the Russian people and culture during the course of history and how neighbouring peoples, including the Lithuanians, had 'been lucky' to be able to join the 'Great Russian People' in the fight for progress. It was according to this ideologem that the historical canon of the Lithuanian SSR was constructed: the Lithuanians created their state thanks to the Russians and together with the eastern Slavs they defended it from western aggression; the Partitions of the Commonwealth of the Two Nations were a marker of progress and so on. Such an interpretation of the past was supposed to help create a Soviet identity. This new identity did not deny the previous ethno-cultural identity at all; the latter was intended to be 'complemented' or 'clothed' by progressive Russian culture. As the main ideologue of Soviet ethnographic science at the time, Iulii Bromlei, claimed, 'almost every people (*narod*), every nation in our country, has maintained ethnographic groups thus far, and dialects survive; at the same time it is obvious that now we may speak of the primary stage in the process of the formation of a new ethnic community, the Soviet people (*narod*) which is typified by one language of communication between peoples, a certain communality of culture, and most importantly, of ideology.'[17]

When speaking of the Lithuanian national movement it was also necessary to maintain the ideologem of 'friendship of the peoples'. Thus when writing about the 1863-64 uprising in Lithuania, which was turned into a peasant struggle against landowners and tsarism rather than being a political liberation movement directed against the Russian authorities, it was *de rigueur* to stress the influence of 'progressive' Russian political thought on leaders of the uprising and the aid given them by Russian revolutionary democrats.[18] When discussing events of the 1905 revolution in Lithuania, historians were required to stress the leading role played by Russian social democrats (Bolsheviks).[19]

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Furthermore, the Lithuanian national movement was supposed to be analysed not only according to the ideologem of 'friendship of the peoples' but also on the basis of the Marxist concept of social progress. The latter states that nations are a product of the transitional stage from feudalism to capitalism and, as a consequence, national movements may be regarded positively insofar as they aid the destruction of the old (feudal) order. Only public figures representing the interests of peasants and workers had a positive role in the national movements themselves. Historians who disobeyed this dogma were accused of upholding the theory of 'unified current' and they could expect serious condemnation by official institutions.[20] The Lithuanian national movement of the end of the nineteenth century was assessed according to such criteria: 'Objectively in accordance with contemporary conditions this movement also played a certain progressive role. This was conditioned by the participation in it of workers and peasants and their struggle against social and national oppression. By encouraging the creation of industrial and commercial companies in towns and an increase in the commercial production of Lithuanian peasants, especially on bourgeois farms, it undermined the base of the rule of absolute monarchy, sped up the development of the country's productive forces, fought against national oppression, helped the Lithuanian bourgeois nation to form, and fostered the culture, public writing and literature of the Lithuanian nation.'[21]

Work devoted to the Lithuanian national movement written in strict accordance with the official Soviet historical canon is interesting as an object of history policy research but it has almost no value for further academic historical research. Such dogmatic approaches were very strong in the 1940s and 1950s, but relics of them survived until 1988. Alongside this there was a different approach to the history of the Lithuanian national movement or particular episodes within it. Here we might distinguish at least two groups with different outlooks. The first tried to follow (or at least to weaken) the 'friendship of the peoples' ideologem without going beyond the realm of Marxist methodology; the second represented traditional Lithuanian, essentially primordialist, nationalism, which they attempted to hide from Soviet censors under the disguise of empiricism.

An example of the first group is provided by the Lithuanian social democrat Stasys Matulaitis. As early as 1935, while living outside Lithuania in the Soviet Union, he published a small book in Minsk about the Lithuanian national movement. As an ideologically committed Marxist, Matulaitis associated the birth of the nation with the beginning of the formation of capitalism. Capitalism gave birth to the bourgeoisie propagating national ideas. Not only socio-economic reasons but also the ideas put forward by the French Revolution and Romanticism exerted influence on the formation of the Lithuanian nation. Following the emancipation of the serfs (1861) and the 1863-64 uprising against the Russian authorities even more favourable conditions were able to strengthen the Lithuanian bourgeoisie and with it, the Lithuanian nation, but this development was restricted considerably by the colonial policy of the Russian Empire. In the nineteenth century, when peasants joined the national movement in large numbers, and especially after the 1905 revolution, the role of the bourgeoisie became increasingly reactionary.[22] Matulaitis's study of the 1905 revolution in Lithuania, which he wrote during the Soviet period, was not published. The likely reason for this was the fact that Matulaitis regarded the Lithuanian social democrats rather than the Bolsheviks as the most important party to have been active in Lithuania during the revolution.[23] Moreover, in this text the Russian Empire is called the 'prison of the peoples'; the author wrote of 'compulsory Russification' and even claimed that the tsarist authorities held back the development of the 'country's forces of production'.[24] Matulaitis criticised the ideologem of 'friendship of the peoples' from the classical Marxist standpoint.[25] In doing so, he came into public conflict more than once with the main creator of the Soviet Lithuanian historical canon, Juozas Žiugžda, until finally he was dismissed from his job in 1950.[26] Žiugžda was a director of the history Institute of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences (1948-1970) and the leading figure in instrumentalising the work of historians for the needs of Soviet regime. Although Žiugžda himself did not produce any solid academic publications, he was during the first decades of Soviet regime in Lithuania chief editor of most of the important general books on Lithuanian history as well as the author of occasional texts related to anniversaries. Being a director of the main academic institution in the field of historical research and the editor-

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in-chief of the publications mentioned above, Žiugžda was trying to create an official Lithuanian Soviet historical canon as well as promoting the ideologem of 'the friendship of the peoples' in Soviet Lithuania.

Researchers belonging to the second group contributed more to the study of the Lithuanian national movement during the Soviet period. They adhered to the rules of the game, beginning and ending each publication with some sort of quotation from Marxist classics. Probably the main part of these studies dealt with the Lithuanian opposition to so-called Russification, with the activities of book smugglers researched in particular detail.[27] In order to discover the circumstances in which Lithuanian books were printed in Prussia, and how their importation into Lithuania and their distribution were organised in the North West Province (Lithuania and Belarus), researchers needed not only to use published sources but also (and most importantly) to collect much material from Lithuanian and Russian archives. Another area where studies written in the Soviet period retain scholarly value is the 1905 revolution.[28]

Some historians even did not refrain from publicly challenging the official historical canon. Thus, for example, during a conference in 1983 devoted to the centenary of the first underground Lithuanian newspaper *Aušra* (The Dawn) (1883-1886), the director of the Communist Party history Institute Romas Šarmaitis explained that in essence *Aušra* sought to express the interests of the bourgeoisie (that is, it was 'opposed to social progress') and its publishers sought an agreement with the imperial authorities – and therefore it could not be admired. Rimantas Vėbra juggled with Marxist phraseology to prove the opposite point. *Aušra* was a progressive phenomenon because, being bourgeois and addressing 'citizens of a colonial feudal empire', 'it was a great compliment to call *Aušra* bourgeois'.[29]

Historians of this group did not always manage to distance themselves completely from the official interpretation, especially when they wrote collective volumes. This remark would apply also to one of the most important works of the Soviet period concerning the national movement, namely the collective monograph *Lietuvių nacionalinio išsivadavimo*

judėjimas (ligi 1904 metų) (*The Lithuanian national liberation movement (up to 1904)*). Here, as in other studies, national formation was associated with the beginning of capitalism when 'a feudal nationality turns into a capitalist nation'.[30] According to this theory, the beginnings of 'national revival' are dated back to the end of the eighteenth century and associated with the publication of Lithuanian books in East Prussia, which Lithuanian historians refer to as Mažioji Lietuva (Lithuania Minor, or *Klein Litauen* in the original German).[31] Three periods can be distinguished in the Lithuanian national movement. The first dates from the end of the eighteenth century to 1861, the so-called 'national revival or cultural linguistic period', when the gentry were most interested in Lithuanian language and culture, as they thought that the language and culture of the Lithuanians were becoming gradually moribund.[32] Admittedly we also see intellectuals of modest origins who associated their future with the common people of Lithuania. The movement's second period begins with the emancipation of the serfs and ends with the final decade of the nineteenth century. During this period the fall of feudalism and the consolidation of capitalism apparently laid the ground for the Lithuanian nation to form. The third period ends with the revolution of 1905-07.[33]

Generally speaking, having examined nineteenth-century research more closely, the selection of certain topics, the emphasis on the history of ethnic Lithuanians and the ignoring of other non-dominant ethnic groups as well as similar indicators, bear clear witness to the existence of an ethnocentric paradigm even during the Soviet period. This situation raises one more fundamental question about the similarities between Soviet and ethnocentric interpretations of Lithuanian history. The focus on the Lithuanian-speaking peasantry and the negative assessment of the Polish-speaking gentry are, albeit for different ideological reasons, typical of both interpretations. We can detect also similarities with the historians' 'mental maps'. During the Soviet period historians who operated according to the 'principle of work-sharing' were forced 'not to cross' the borders of the Soviet republic, while the researcher driven by ethnocentricity was naturally inclined to select the ethnic or ethno-linguistic area as his subject.

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Šiauliai Monument for the insurgents of 1863-1864.
DEPARTMENT OF CULTURAL HERITAGE, ŠIAULIAI

Even before historians in Soviet Lithuania wrote, or rather were allowed to write a separate study or monograph about the Lithuanian national movement, one such study was published in the People's Republic of Poland. The well-known medievalist Jerzy Ochmański wrote in his study on the Lithuanian national cultural movement before 1890, published in Białystok in 1965, that the gentry period of Lithuanian revival ran from the beginning of the nineteenth century until 1863, whereas the period

1864-1882 marked the struggle for national culture, in 1883 a revival started and during the period 1890-1905 the national cultural movement transformed into a national liberation movement. This unprejudiced book caused quite a stir in the Soviet Union because there it was only possible to write about such topics in accordance with the strict canons of Soviet history; furthermore Ochmański used work produced by Lithuanian *émigré* authors, banned in the Lithuanian SSR.[34]

Also in the 1960s Czech historian Miroslav Hroch created his famous typology of national movements. In the Lithuanian case he dated the transition from Phase A to Phase B or from an interest in ethno-culture solely to active agitation, in the year 1883.[35] He retained this dating in later writings, asserting that the beginning of the national movement can be traced to 1883 and the transition to a mass movement (Phase C) dates to 1905. [36] The Lithuanian national movement was classified among the type of 'late' nationalisms. Hroch attributed this lateness to the fact that the social base of the Lithuanian national movement consisted of peasants; a further brake on its development was the autocratic nature of the Russian political regime.[37] Hroch gathered data on more than 200 Lithuanian 'patriots', that is persons who took an active part in the national movement at the end of the nineteenth century: it emerged that the absolute majority of them were peasants by origin, while judging by their activities there were also (actual) peasants, students and representatives of the liberal professions involved, while a lesser role was played by the catholic clergy, teachers, the petty gentry and civil servants.[38]

Recent developments

During the last twenty years nineteenth-century history has attracted more research than at any period since Lithuanian professional history writing began. The political changes that started in Lithuania in 1988 helped reinterpreting the past. After 1988 greater significance has been attributed to 'political Lithuanicity'. There are several reasons for these changes. First of all it became clear that after the liberation from the Soviet Union, there were no real threats left to Lithuanian ethnic culture. At the

same time it was understood that the ethnocentric interpretation of history provides no possibilities for ethnic minorities to find their place in Lithuania's history and thereby feel themselves to be fully-fledged Lithuanian citizens. Secondly, opportunities to learn about western historical methodologies and in the end the application of the most simple principle of historicism, forced Lithuanian historians to review their understanding of the object of Lithuanian history and Lithuanicity in the past. Great influence on the reinterpretation of certain issues, primarily the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the nineteenth century, has come from Polish academics (Juliusz Bardach, Jan Jurkiewicz) who had escaped earlier on from the narrow confines of ethno-linguistic nationalism.

After 1988, of course, the traditional understanding of the 'national revival', that is the primordial view of nations has not disappeared. Not only Lithuanian historians of the older generation but also a fair number of middle-generation scholars treat the Nation as something unchanging in its parameters (to put it somewhat more simply, the Lithuanian language was always a criterium of Lithuanian identity) and describe the nation-building process as an 'awakening', that is, if we may say so, a special 'reminder' to peasants, who form the basis of the Lithuanian nation, of the objective existence of their national identity. Thus in this case the 'national revival' is treated as an inevitable natural process, which could take no other form than it did. Thus it is no surprise that historians as Vytautas Merkys and Antanas Tyla understand nineteenth-century Lithuanian history essentially as the history of ethnic Lithuanians.

However, since 1988 we can spot another tendency. A group of historians working on *Lietuvių atgimimo istorijos studijos* (*Studies in the Lithuanian national revival*) presents a fresh approach to nineteenth-century Lithuanian history and the nation-building process in Lithuanian historical writing.[39] Lithuanian nationalism has begun to be studied by critical standards similar to any other historical phenomenon. Lithuanian nationalism is treated as an inevitable process, the beginning of which can be dated to the turn of the 1810s-1820s, but at the same time it is stressed that its form (an ethno-linguistic guise with a very clear anti-Polish element) was not inevitable. In Lithuanian historical studies, attention was directed to the fact that the cultural Polonisation of the gentry did not

necessarily mean their political identification with the still-forming modern Polish nation and moreover a large section of the Žemaitijan gentry were little affected by even cultural-linguistic Polonisation.[40] Therefore it has become quite popular to speak of a dual ethno-political consciousness among the Lithuanian gentry: an identification with both a larger entity – the macro-nation including all the Polish-speaking gentry of the former lands of the Commonwealth of the Two Nations – and also the Lithuanian nation as a historically-formed group subordinated to this macro-nation. This way the nineteenth-century Lithuanian gentry has become accepted by Lithuanian historians as no longer alien, even though for the most part they spoke Polish.[41]

The typology put forward by Hroch as applied to the Lithuanian national movement was not forgotten; it was however made more accurate. According to Antanas Kulakauskas, Phase A should be situated during the first two decades of the nineteenth century while the period of active propagation (Phase B) began later, although the researcher did not dare offer a more precise date.[42] He also regarded the very end of the century as the beginning of the mass movement (Phase C) and selected 1896 as a symbolic date since that year saw a clear political fragmentation within the movement.[43] At the same time, nationalism theories (as by Ernest Gellner, Karl Deutsch, Theodor Schieder, Benedict Anderson, Anthony D. Smith or John Breuilly) have not been applied to the Lithuanian case. None of Lithuanian historians could be described as a constructivist, which is to some extent quite understandable: for example, how would it be possible to apply Gellner's theory on the relationship between industrialisation and nationalism in Lithuania, when the former actually only started during the Soviet era, and the latter already occurred in tsarist Russia? If there are more general reasons why these nationalism theories have been not applied by Lithuanian historians it is quite difficult to detect them. The most plausible explanation is that Lithuanian historiography is dominated by a factographic and at the same time primordialistic approach. Therefore no need is felt for any kind of theories, including those on nationalism.

Recently a lot of research has been put into the political history of the Lithuanian national movement. Studies have been written on the history of political parties or trends, the major political events, Lithuanian political

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activity during the Great War and relations with the Poles; not very long ago researchers have turned their attention to relations with Belarusians and Jews. Another area where progress has been made concerns the relationship between the Catholic Church and the idea of modern Lithuanian identity. Monographs have been published regarding the activities of several social organisations.[44]

Recently attempts have been made to associate Lithuanian nationalism with the formation of the intelligentsia in Central- and Eastern Europe, which was conditioned by the specific nature of modernisation in this region, that is its backwardness and underdevelopment. The theory goes roughly as follows: the modernisation introduced through the bureaucratic system of the Russian Empire also implied a drive towards uniformisation, leading to the cultural assimilation of people of different ethnic origins; at the same time the modernisation process influenced the formation of a new social class, the intelligentsia. As the intelligentsia experienced increasing difficulty establishing itself in the empire's traditional structures, it created or joined opposition movements, seeking support among the peasantry. It thus was left with no alternative but to lay stress on the importance of ethno-cultural values. The importance attributed to those values should also be associated with the attempt by intellectuals to maintain their distance from the traditional elite.[45] This interpretation, as we can see, regarded the ethno-cultural type of Lithuanian nationalism as essentially 'inevitable', that is, preconditioned by the 'backwardness' of this region and its repressive imperial regime.

Even so, such attempts at offering conceptual explanations of the formation of the Lithuanian national movement or its development are rare. This should come as no great surprise since most historical studies of the national movement are descriptive in form and deal with rather minor problems, while sociologists are not inclined to take on historical subjects. Furthermore, throughout the past twenty years no generalising academic study of Lithuanian nationalism has been written in Lithuania. At the same time several such studies were written beyond the borders of Lithuania.

To my knowledge at least six doctoral dissertations were defended in Western Europe or the United States during this period dealing to a

greater or lesser degree with Lithuanian nationalism.[46] Some of these are serious academic studies but their subjects are quite narrow.[47] Two dissertations are of a generalising type. They take different approaches and try to discuss the development of modern Lithuanian identity. Nerijus Ūdrėnas (2000) analyses how the modern Lithuanian identity came into being and changed. He based himself on the thesis that moments of crisis (such as the 1863-64 uprising, the 1893 Kražiai massacre, when local Catholics opposed the closure of their church, the 1905 revolution) best illustrate changes in identity. The author shows how Poles were the most important opponents Lithuanians had regarding the 'purification' of national identity and fighting for national rights at the beginning of the twentieth century. Tomas Balkelis's book (2009) on the development of the modern Lithuanian identity project at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth century is important because it presents the international academic community with research predominantly based on Lithuanian sources. Balkelis's aim is to show how the Lithuanian patriotic elite created the concept of a modern Lithuania and tried to consolidate it in the minds of the common people. The author discusses the social and political conditions behind the formation of the modern Lithuanian nation; then he examines the circumstances in which the intelligentsia was formed as well as the attempts by intellectuals to gain hold in Lithuanian towns where Poles or Jews were dominant. He covers the course of the 1905 revolution in Lithuania and especially the similarities and differences between the aims of the intelligentsia and the peasantry. He devotes space to the role of women and refugees (who fled the German advance in 1915 to seek refuge in the central *gubernias* or governments of the Russian Empire) in the creation of modern Lithuania. The book draws attention to problems which hitherto had only attracted scant reflection: the concentration of secular Lithuanian intellectuals outside the borders of Lithuania before 1905, which made it difficult for them to communicate with the peasants; the role of the intelligentsia in the revolutionary movement in Lithuanian villages at the end of 1905; the role of Lithuanian war-time refugees in Russia in creating the Lithuanian nation state and certain other issues. Often the author repeats the results of research by Lithuanian scholars; sometimes he uses a very narrow base of primary sources and ignores a considerable part of recent Lithuanian historical writing; he ignores the

clerical trend within the Lithuanian national movement, which in some periods was the strongest; and thus he reaches rather daring conclusions. For example, his book leads one to understand that the Lithuanian national movement formed its aim for independence only during the Great War and that it was only then that the movement became a mass movement (Hroch's Phase C).

Instead of conclusions

Given the present stage of research, one could say that the political aspect of the movement has been investigated best (the ins and outs of the formation of political parties, the evolution of their manifestos, their political activity, relations with parties representing other national (ethnic) groups). At the same time we might identify at least three groups of problems deserving closer attention. The first one concerns the identity of Lithuania's Polish-speaking gentry before 1863. Although there is considerable work being done on individuals and their activities, we still lack sociological investigation to be able to study the forms of identity belonging to the social elite of that period. We therefore have no clear picture of how the transformation within the collective identity took place from pre-modern (political) to modern (cultural or ethno-linguistic) types.

The second matter worthy of closer investigation is, to paraphrase Eugene Weber, how peasants turned into Lithuanians. Even though we have separate studies of attempts by intellectuals to nationalise the masses, we still lack an analysis of changes in peasant identity. Thus far, more often than not almost any activity connected with for example the defence or propagation of the Lithuanian language, has been explained as nationalist activity.

The third issue we consider needing further research is closely connected with the first: the question to what extent the Lithuanian national movement was a mass movement. Indeed, we may say that during the 1905 revolution this decisive shift was realised: approximately two thousand, in many cases elected delegates gathered to attend the Great

Sejm of Vilnius and many returned home to report on the resolutions that had been passed. In many a place in Lithuania, especially in the Kovno (Kaunas) Gubernia, Russian civil servants and teachers were driven out *en masse* and in effect local self-rule was introduced. However, we know the print runs of only some of the news prints and we have no general figure for the participation of Lithuanians in various associations.

The historiography of the Lithuanian national movement has therefore not run its course by any means and deserves to be closely monitored in the foreseeable future.

Endnotes

[1] 'Natives', from the Polish word *kraj* (land); the *krajowcy* looked for democratic premises to restore the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, thereby resolving territorial disputes between various national movements.

[2] M. Römer, *Studyum o odrodzeniu narodu litewskiego* (Lviv, 1908).

[3] As a rule they understood Russification policy as assimilation. A couple of new studies on this issue: D. Staliūnas, *Making Russians. Lithuanian and Belarus after 1863* (Amsterdam - New York, 2007); M. Dolbilov, *Russkii krai, chuzhaia vera. Etnokonfessional'naia politika imperii v Litve i Belorussii pri Aleksandre II* (Moscow, 2010).

[4] The terms national movement and nationalism are used in this text as synonyms.

[5] P. Šležas, 'Lietuva rusų valdžioje', in: A. Šapoka (ed.), *Lietuvos istorija* (Kaunas, 1936) 494-497.

[6] V. Maciūnas, *Lituanistinis sąjūdis XIX amžiaus pradžioje. Susidomėjimas lietuvių kalba, istorija ir tautotyra* (Kaunas, 1939).

[7] See the bibliography in Šapoka, *Lietuvos istorija*, 685. There are studies on leaders of the Lithuanian national movement (e.g. [V. Kudirka], *Vinco Kudirkos jubilėjinis Varpas* (Kaunas, 1924)) or on the history of particular political movements (e.g. V. Kvieska, 'Lietuvių tautinis judėjimas ir varpininkai', in: *Varpas*,

1 (1931) 33-62). Literature dealing with the Great Sejm of Vilnius (1905) is listed and discussed in E. Motieka, *Didysis Vilniaus Seimas* (Vilnius, 1996).

[8] J. Stakauskas, 'Valančiaus laikų lietuviškasis darbas', in: *Tiesos kelias*, 11 (1938) 740-741.

[9] V. Biržiška, 'Iš vysk. M. Valančiaus veiklos', in: *Mūsų senovė*, vol. 2, no. 3/8 (1938) 355-371; V. Biržiška, 'Spaudos draudimo klausimai', in: *Kultūra*, 5 (1929) 249-253.

[10] P. Šležas, 'Muravjovas ir mūsų tautinis atgimimas', in: *Rytas*, no. 239-241 (1929).

[11] Šapoka, *Lietuvos istorija*, 486-487.

[12] P. Šležas, *Muravjovo veikimas Lietuvoj 1863-1865* (Kaunas, 1933) 39-40; a very similar interpretation in: P. Klimas, *Muravjovo laikmetis Lietuvos žemės ir žemininkų istorijoje* (Vilnius, 1920).

[13] J. Tumas, 'Rusų rašmenims nepasisekus. 25 metų sukaktuvėms', in: *Lietuvos aidas*, 82 (1929) 2.

[14] Biržiška, 'Spaudos draudimo klausimai', 249. The Russian government started to introduce Cyrillic letters and banned Latin characters in 1864-1865. The ban stayed in effect until 1904. For more on this, see D. Staliūnas, *Making Russians*, 233-282.

[15] In this instance 'ideologem' is taken to mean a component part of a given ideology which expresses quite clearly an interpretation of a certain phenomenon. Being a component part of an ideology bears practical implications, that is, the ideologem models the (compulsory) outlook, values or actions of a given group.

[16] T. Martin, *The affirmative action empire. Nations and nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1939* (Ithaca - London, 2001) 432-461.

[17] Vilnius, Scientific Archive of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, F. 16, ap. 1, b. 238, fo 58: Contribution made by Iulii Bromlei in a meeting of the Social Sciences Section of the USSR Academy of Sciences, December 1966.

[18] D. Staliūnas, *Savas ar svetimas paveldas? 1863-1864 m. sukilimas kaip lietuviška atminties vieta* (Vilnius, 2008) 68-110.

[19] D. Staliūnas, '1905 metų revoliucijos sovietinė lietuviškoji istoriografija ir "tautų draugystės" ideologema', in: *Parlamento studijos*, 5 (2005) 65-78.

[20] A. Švedas, *Matricos nelaisvėje. Sovietmečio lietuvių istoriografija (1944-1985)* (Vilnius, 2009) 56, 59-60, 151; V. Merkys, *Atminties prošvaistės. Atsiminimai* (Vilnius, 2009) 203-205. The works of historians who failed to stress social and economic conflict within the nation were termed representatives of the 'unified field theory'.

[21] R. Šarmaitis, 'Nacionalinio išsivadavimo judėjimas Lietuvoje', in: *'Aušra' ir lietuvių visuomeninis judėjimas XIX a. pabaigoje* (Vilnius, 1988) 22-43 (27).

[22] S. Matulaitis, *Lietuvių tautinio pasiliuosavimo judėjimas ir jo klasinė esmė* (Minskas, 1935).

[23] S. Matulaitis based this choice of the major player on the following arguments: of the 'revolutionary parties' only the Lithuanian social democratic party (LSDP) was active throughout Lithuania because its members, unlike the representatives of other (social democratic) parties, could speak Lithuanian; this party had its own newspapers and so it was easier for the general public to find information about its activities. Many documents on this matter survive in the archives; the author himself could rely on personal memoirs: Vilnius, Lithuanian Institute of History, Manuscript Dept, Ms 161, fo 146: S. Matulaitis, 1905 metų revoliucija Lietuvoje, s.d.

[24] Lithuanian Institute of History, Manuscript Dept, Ms 161, fo 16, 19: S. Matulaitis, 1905 metų, s.d.

[25] 'Žiugžda here appears to be neither a follower of historical materialism nor a Marxist. The centuries are not a frozen unchanging process. As in nature, so in the course of history all flows, all changes. It is the task of the historian to understand, see and assess changes in each separate period, and explain new social driving forces and the formation of new ideologies' (Vilnius, Vilnius University Library, Manuscript Division, F1-F1,000, fo 9: S. Matulaitis, Lietuvos istorijos recenzija, s.d.).

[26] Vilnius University Library, Manuscript Division, F1-F1,050S: Matulaitis memoirs, s.d. These mention also disagreement over assessments of the 1905 revolution: 'All the same, even though Žiugžda cannot fail to have known that workers and peasants, and intellectuals too also took part in the 1905 revolution in Lithuania on matters of local concern which were particularly painful for them, he seems not to see Lithuanian action in the revolution. The revolution was the

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left wing of the Russian social democrats' (Vilnius University Library, Manuscript Division, fo 316).

[27] V. Merkys, *Nelegalioji lietuvių spauda kapitalizmo laikotarpiu (ligi 1904 m.). Politinės jos susikūrimo aplinkybės* (Vilnius, 1978).

[28] A. Tyla, *1905 metų revoliucija Lietuvos kaime* (Vilnius, 1968).

[29] R. Vėbra, '"Aušros" idėjinės orientacijos', in: *'Aušra' ir lietuvių visuomeninis judėjimas XIX a. pabaigoje* (Vilnius, 1988) 44-55.

[30] L. Mulevičius, 'Pabaigos žodis', in: *Lietuvių nacionalinio išsivadavimo judėjimas (ligi 1904 metų)* (Vilnius, 1987) 257-265 (257).

[31] V. Merkys, 'Dėl nacionalinio atgimimo pradžios', in: *Lietuvių nacionalinio išsivadavimo judėjimas (ligi 1904 metų)* (Vilnius, 1987) 71-75 (73).

[32] J. Ochmański, *Litewski ruch narodowo-kulturalny w XIX wieku, do 1890 roku* (Białystok, 1965).

[33] Mulevičius, 'Pabaigos žodis', 259-263.

[34] Merkys, *Atminties prošvaistės*, 343. For the 'loosening of the screws' on nineteenth-century research in People's Poland, see E.K. Valkenier, 'The rise and decline of official Marxist historiography in Poland, 1945-1983', in: *Slavic review*, 44/4 (1985) 663-680.

[35] M. Hroch, *Die Vorkampfer der nationalen Bewegungen bei der kleinen Volkern Europas* (Prague, 1968) 62.

[36] Elsewhere Hroch dated the beginning of Phase C in the Lithuanian national movement to the final decade of the nineteenth century (M. Hroch, 'Das Erwachen kleiner Nationen als Problem der komparativen sozialgeschichtlichen Forschung', in: P. Burian & Th. Schieder (eds.), *Sozialstruktur und Organisation europäischer Nationalbewegungen* (Munich - Vienna, 1971) 125).

[37] M. Hroch, *Małe narody Europy. Perspektywa historyczna* (Wrocław - Warsaw - Kraków, 2003) 35-37, 93.

[38] Hroch, *Die Vorkampfer*, 62-72; M. Hroch, 'Das Erwachen', 121-139.

[39] *Lietuvių atgimimo istorijos studijos* (Vilnius, 1990-2001) 18 vols.

[40] Žemaitija (Samogitia; literally *lowlands*) is the territory of the former Duchy of Žemaitija within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. It is also one of the Lithuanian ethnographic regions with a separate dialect (the ethnographic region being smaller than the territory of Duchy of Žemaitija).

[41] See *Lietuvių atgimimo*.

[42] A. Kulakauskas, 'Apie tautinio atgimimo sąvoką, tautinių sąjūdžių epochą ir lietuvių tautinį atgimimą', in: *Lietuvių atgimimo istorijos studijos* (Tautinės savimonės žadintojai: nuo asmens iki partijos, 1) (Vilnius, 1990) 132-142.

[43] That year publication began of the Catholic newspaper *Tevynės sargas* (*Guard of the Fatherland*) which illustrates the formation of a modern Catholic political movement. Also in 1896 the Lithuanian Social Democratic Party was founded.

[44] See *Lietuvių atgimimo*; E. Gimžauskas, *Baltarusių veiksnys formuojantis Lietuvos valstybei 1915-1923 m.* (Vilnius, 2003); E. Bendikaitė, *Sionistinis sąjūdis Lietuvoje* (Vilnius, 2006); V. Sirutavičius & D. Staliūnas, *Pragmatic alliance. Jewish-Lithuanian political cooperation at the beginning of the 20th century* (Budapest - New York, 2011).

[45] V. Sirutavičius, 'Vincas Kudirka's programme for modernizing society and the problems of forming a national intelligentsia', in: *Lithuanian historical studies*, 5 (2000) 99-112.

[46] They are of varied scholarly value: N. Ūdrėnas, *Book, bread, cross, and whip. The construction of Lithuanian identity in imperial Russia* (PhD diss., Brandeis University, 2000); V. Krapauskas, *Nationalism and historiography. The case of nineteenth-century Lithuanian historicism* (Boulder, 2000); L. Eriksonas, *National heroes and national identities: Scotland, Norway and Lithuania* (Brussels, 2004); A. Janužytė, *Historians as nation state-builders. The formation of Lithuanian University 1904-1922* (PhD diss., University of Tampere, 2005); V. Petronis, *Constructing Lithuania. Ethnic mapping in tsarist Russia, ca. 1800-1914* (Stockholm Studies in History, 91; Södertörn Doctoral Dissertations, 21) (Stockholm, 2007); T. Balkelis, *The making of modern Lithuania* (London - New York, 2009).

[47] Petronis, *Constructing Lithuania*.