INTRODUCTION

'The soul of a nation dies only when the nation itself disappears', argued Eduards Volters (Volteris F17-294: 2),[1] a Latvian linguist, renowned ethnographer, archaeologist and public figure (1856–1941; see Figure 0.1), to the political leaders of the Russian Empire. His contemporary, the Danish traveller, linguist and ethnographer Age Meyer Benedictsen (1866–1927), described the few millions belonging to the Lithuanian nation as follows:

> This people, ancient in name and origin, have lived where they live now since time immemorial, south-east of the Baltic Sea, on the plain between the Valdai uplands and the sea on both sides of the Nemunas. It was once a strong and free nation. Its princes were the most powerful rulers of Eastern Europe in the 14th and 15th centuries. Now, this people is divided between two masters, the King of Prussia and the Tsar of Russia, intimidated and powerless. For centuries, it was considered a dying nation, and even European scholars who still study its language have predicted its complete extinction without hesitation. But suddenly, in recent years, it has woken up and is about to do so despite the prophecies or the stigmatizing oppression. This peasant nation, barely one seventh of which can read or write, is beginning to realize that it is, after all, a nation with a language and a land to be loved. (Benedictsen 1997: 16)[2]

Volters's research focuses on the Lithuanian and Latvian peoples living in the Northwestern Krai (region) of the Russian Empire and defines them from a historical perspective as a tribe and a nationality, or a people with the 'soul of a nation'. Volters was not the first to study the Northwestern Krai, where the concept of ethnic Lithuania was known. According to Lithuanian historian Darius Staliūnas, a different concept of Lithuania existed in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century society than the one we have today. There were many images of Lithuania. The concept of ethnic Lithuania was widespread.[3] The images created by elites were introduced to the masses; the concept of Lithuania of the Polish elite was introduced to Lithuanian-speakers. The concept of Lithuania was not stable under

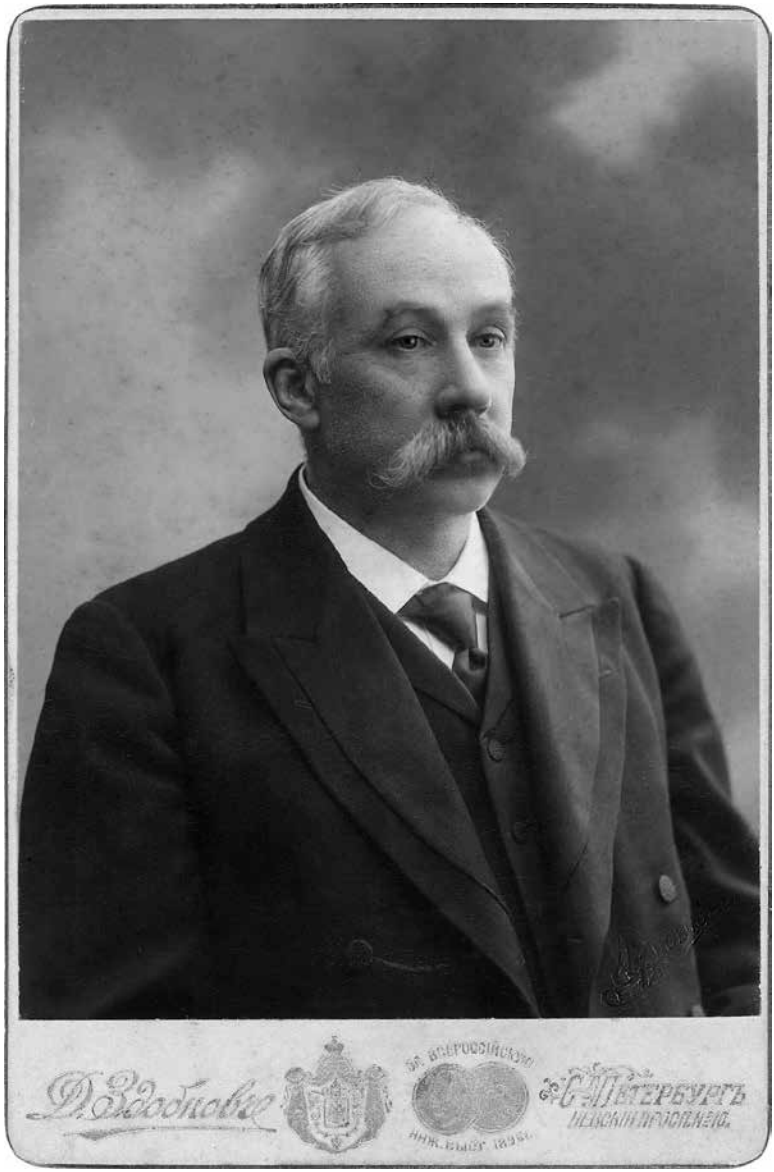

Figure 0.1. Eduards Volters (1856–1941). National Museum of Lithuania.

Tsarist Russia. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the local public perceived Lithuania as a territory encompassing the former lands of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and by the end of the nineteenth century they became interested in the notion of ethnographic Lith-

uania (Staliūnas 2015a: 8–9).[4] Benedictsen stressed that the exact number of Lithuanians was unknown. Lithuanians lived in Vilnius, Kaunas, Grodno and other governorates in the Northwestern Krai of the Russian Empire,[5] in the Suwałki governorate of the Kingdom of Poland, and in Prussia. Latvian lands were in the Vitebsk governorate, on the border of Muscovy, in the former territories of Lothavia and eastern Livonia (Voliteri 1890: ix–x), where there was also a significant Lithuanian population.

A Russian imperial document found in the University of Latvia Library's collection shows that the authorities were interested not only in the problematic national statistics of these populations, but also in ethnography (*Zhurnal Zasedaniya Otdeleniya Etnografii* [Journal of Meeting of the Ethnography Section] 1865: 1–2). In 1851, Piotr Keppen mentioned the Lithuanian people on an ethnographic map of European Russia. Roderich von Erkert's 1863 ethnographic atlas of Western Russia, published in French, depicted the ethnic composition of the population and the territories differently (see Merkys 2006: 44, 61; Petronis 2007: 203). Such contradictory research arguments encouraged extensive ethnographic statistical study of the population of these governorates. Volters was the first to study them (Milius 1993: 16–17).

Eduards Volters was born on 19 March 1856 in Hagenskalns, near Riga, into a family of pharmacists (see Figure 0.2 for more details). Education was a priority in the Volters family. Johann Christoph Wolter (1773–1858), the pastor of Cīrava and Vergalė, the brother of Eduard Volters's grandfather, was known as the 'Father of Courland Schools' because he promoted the education of Latvians in Courland in the first half of the nineteenth century (Vanaga 2009: 38–39). Volters essentially followed in his grandfather's footsteps. In 1875, he graduated from the Gymnasium of the Riga governorate. Then he began studying linguistics at the University of Leipzig (1875–77). According to Lithuanian folklore scholar Leonardas Sauka, Volters attended the University of Tartu (then Dorpat) from 1877 to 1880 to further his studies in Russian literature (Sauka 2016: 64). Later, in 1880, he studied at the universities of Moscow and Kharkiv.

In 1882, while working on his master's thesis in Königsberg, Volters met the Baltic ethnographer Adalbert Bezzenberger (1851–1922), a former university rector. This encouraged Volters to organize expeditions to Lithuania Minor and then Lithuania proper. In 1883, he received a master's degree in Slavic Philology for his thesis *Razyskanie po voprosu o gramaticeskomi rodi* (Research into the Ques-

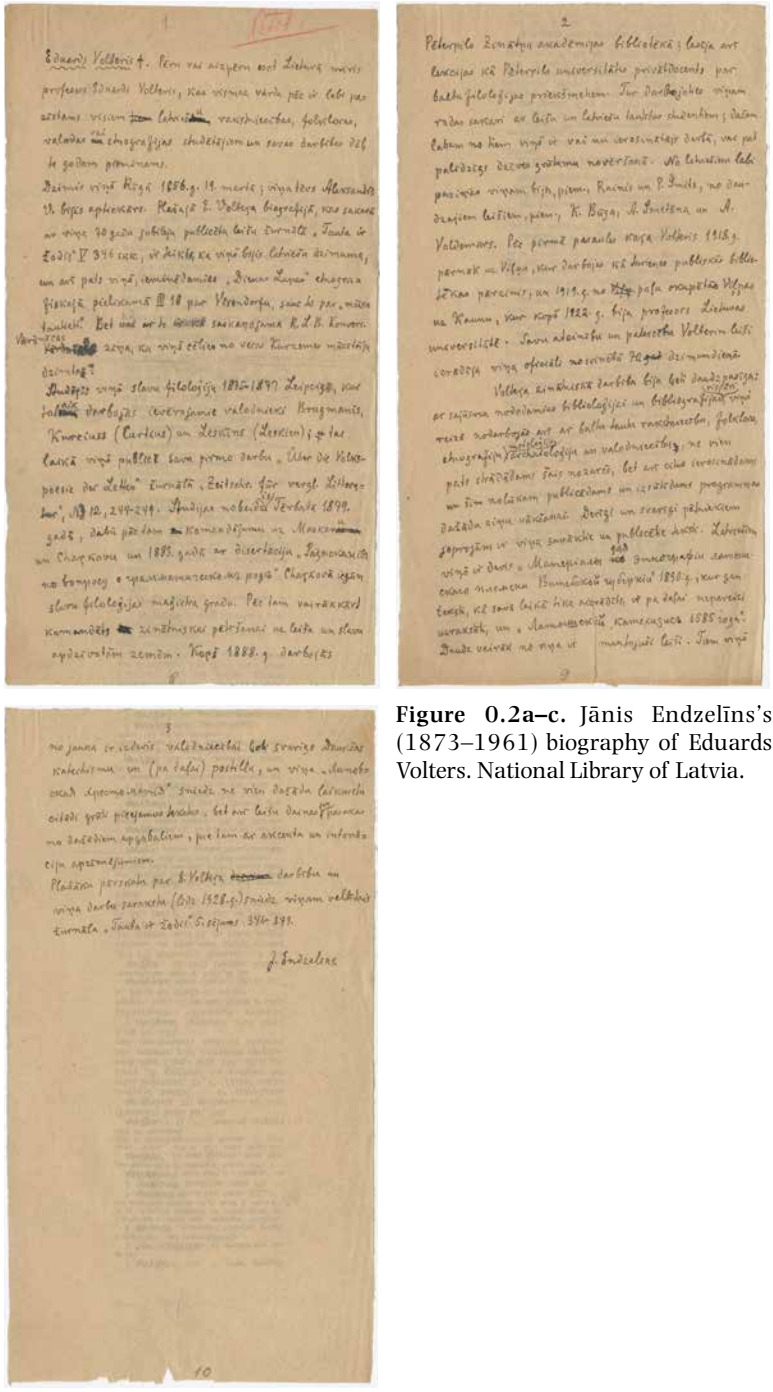

Figure 0.2a–c. Jānis Endzelīns's (1873–1961) biography of Eduards Volters. National Library of Latvia.

tion of Kinship in Grammar; see Voliter 1882; Kolmakova, Chernyshenko and Yermoshina 2018). In 1883–87, Volters began to explore the Lithuanian areas (see Nezabitauskis 1928) and for the rest of his life[6] he sought to explore Lithuanian and Latvian ethnicity through the interpretation of the concepts of nation (Savoniakaitė 2020, 2021a, 2021b).

In 1886, Volters's first wife, Agafija Stepanova, died of dropsy at the age of 27. The following year, he married his second wife, Aleksandra Maslauskaitė, who was born in Panevėžys, Lithuania, on 20 March 1862 (Girininkienė 2022: 160; Sauka 2016: 63). Aleksandra Volterienė did not speak Lithuanian (Rudis 2010: 58).

In 1864–1904, at the time when Volters began his ethnographic research on Lithuanians and Latvians, the printing of Lithuanian and Latgalian publications in the Latin alphabet was forbidden in the governorates of the European part of Russia, education in the mother tongue was restricted and the Polish language was excluded from public life. To recall Benedictsen's impressions at the time, no one was allowed to possess Lithuanian-language books published after the day the law banning the press was issued. Those who disobeyed were fined, imprisoned or deported. Each year, the Tsarist government allocated a mere 2,000 to 4,000 roubles for the printing of Lithuanian books in the Russian alphabet. Small schools attached to Catholic churches were also banned. Under the pretext that Russia would liberate the Lithuanian nation and free it from the rule of the Polish nobility and priests, the Russification of the nation was begun. These two million Lithuanians, who had no representative to defend their written and printed matter across the border, were at the mercy of their rulers. The Polish nobility, Jews and Germans were not interested in the independence or education of the Lithuanian nation. Lithuanian was spoken in the entire Kaunas governorate (essentially the old Samogitia), in the northern part of the Vilnius governorate, in some parishes of the Grodno governorate, in some areas along the southern borders of the Curonian governorate, and in the Suwałki governorate of Užnemunė, on the northern edge of the Kingdom of Poland, where two-thirds of the inhabitants were Lithuanians.[7] The land area where Lithuanians lived together with other ethnic groups was approximately 8,000 square kilometres, of which 3,000 were part of the Kingdom of Prussia and the rest subject to the jurisdiction of the Russian Empire. In 1883, the first monthly newspaper, *Aušra*,[8] was published in the German part of Lithuania, in Ragainiai, and from that day forward we can speak of a national rebirth in Lithuania (Benedictsen 1997: 184–86, 215–16, 221; see also Merkys 1994).

Volters faced the challenges of the Russian Empire's press ban policy. According to Mečislovas Davainis-Silvestraitis, who collected Lithuanian material for him, 'P. Edvardas Volteris, a Latvian by nature, a professor at the University of St Petersburg', was persecuted for the use of Latin characters in Lithuanian and Latvian academic works (Davainis-Silvestraitis 1891: 415; Mastianica-Stankevič 2019: 38). Volters encouraged the collection of ethnographic material in Lithuanian and an interest in dialects. According to Staliūnas, Volters, who initially advocated for the use of a modified Cyrillic alphabet, changed his attitude towards the use of the Cyrillic alphabet in Lithuanian writing and campaigned for the abolition of the prohibition of the Latin alphabet and sought to influence the imperial government (Staliūnas 2015b: 55–56).

Volters was received with hostility not only by his Russian colleagues, but also by sceptical Lithuanians during his first ethnographic field trips. Lithuanian intellectuals regarded Volters as an official of the Russian Empire, and thus received him with caution, ambivalence and sometimes open hostility. Volters was considered 'undesirable' by Lithuanian priest Silvestras Gimžauskas, who warned his colleagues in letters not to associate with Volters as a tool of Tsarist policy in the struggle against the Lithuanian national revival. Supporters of Tsarist policy criticized Volters for his non-imperial interests in his work. Mikhail Kojałowicz, a political journalist, member of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society, professor at the Orthodox Spiritual Academy in St Petersburg and historian of Belarusian origin, accused Volters of non-imperial interests during his expeditions and suggested that he should be expelled from the Geographical Society. Other colleagues, however, including the famous Lithuanian priest and poet Maironis, disagreed and supported Volters for his unique research. Bishop Antanas Baranauskas and many other priests cooperated with Volters (Milius 1993: 18–19). All of them recognized Volters's extensive education and his knowledge of languages and Lithuanian history.

The family home of Aleksandra and Eduards Volters in St Petersburg, on Vasilyev Island, Seventh line (street), house 2, apartment 20, was a special meeting place for Lithuanians and those interested in Lithuanian affairs (Volteris F17-3). 'The Volters's house was the centre of Lithuanian studies in St Petersburg at that time. Prof. Volters received all Lithuanian letters, and the most famous Lithuanians, such as Jaunius, Maironis and others, came to him, Prof. Volters was in the middle of the scientific movement through the Academy of Sciences and the University' (Voldemaras 1925, quoted in Gieda 2019:

274; Volteris F17-13E). Together with Jonas Basanavičius, he developed Lithuanian science (Basanavičius F43-13; for more details see Savoniakaitė 2019b). The Volters family was known for its sociability. Volters's home was visited by academics from a variety of countries (Girininkienė 2022: 161–62).

In 1897, Eduards and Aleksandra Volters adopted Eugenij, the son of Aleksandra's sister Sofija Maslauskaitė, who was born out of wedlock on 11 October 1880. They gave him the surname Volters (Girininkienė 2022: 160).

Volters, together with Basanavičius and other Lithuanian intellectuals, founded the Lithuanian Science Society. In 1882–1918, while working as a researcher in Lithuanian studies at the Russian Imperial Geographical Society and at the illegal monthly newspaper *Aušra*, Volters advocated for the conducting of ethnographic research on Lithuanians in ways contrary to imperial academic policy (Savoniakaitė 2019b). Volters was able to involve the intelligentsia in ethnographic expeditions, including the well-known writer Vincas Mickevičius Krėvė. Volters was a prominent librarian at the St Petersburg Academy of Sciences. In 1904–17, Volters was a censor of Lithuanian books (Sauka 2016: 65–70). Basanavičius congratulated him on his new role (Girininkienė 2022: 364). Volters strictly disobeyed imperial prohibitions and collected material about the Lithuanian nation in Russian newspapers and on the Lithuanian national rebirth in the American press (Volteris F17-10). These efforts posed a considerable challenge for Volters, because, according to the historian Vytautas Merkys, it was nearly impossible to study the anti-Tsarist movement under the Tsar's rule (Merkys 1975: 10).

This book argues that Eduards Volters could be considered one of the founders of the literate Lithuanian and Latvian communities, and that his work is an important part in the history of anthropology. As the British anthropologist Jack Goody has asserted, writing allows for the creation of a new medium of communication within a political economic community (Goody 1981: 8). The dichotomy between 'illiterate' and 'literate' communities is considered a traditional problem of analytical historical knowledge in anthropology (Goody and Watt 1981: 46; Brass 1996; Savoniakaitė 2019b). In the words of Norwegian anthropologist Thomas Hylland Eriksen, social and cultural anthropology has for many years been associated with the study of 'remote places' (Eriksen 2017: 3) and small societies – most of which had no written language or state.

How did Volters, a researcher with the Russian Imperial Geographical Society, reconcile the ethnographic research being conducted

within the empire with the political goals of the Lithuanian and Latvian peoples? Volters hailed from a renowned family of Baltic German pastors from Courland. The brother of Eduards Volters's grandfather, Johann Christoph Wolter, wrote chronicles describing the weather, the war and the borderlands, and at the same time recorded a large amount of ethnographic material (Figure 0.3). According to Latvian ethnologist Lilita Vanaga, Volters did not pay much consideration to his own ethnic background, and his nationality was defined in various ways (Vanaga 2009). In contrast, according to the Latvian ethnographer Jānis Endzelīns (Figure 0.2), Volters's origin is German, and the spelling of his surname is 'Walteris'. As such Volters's identity was a hybrid one (Staliūnas 2018: 254–70). In the words of Lithuanian linguist Zenius Šileris, Volters renounced his German ethnicity and became a Latvian because of his fascination with Baltic history, languages and culture. Authorities in the Russian Empire allowed and promoted Latvians to work in Russian universities (Šileris 2006: 10; Volteris 17-3: 1). In the Republic of Lithuania, a passport issued by the Kaunas police precinct (Volteris F17-7, F17-9) states that the nationality of Professor E. Volteris was Latvian, and his religion was recorded as Evangelical Lutheran.

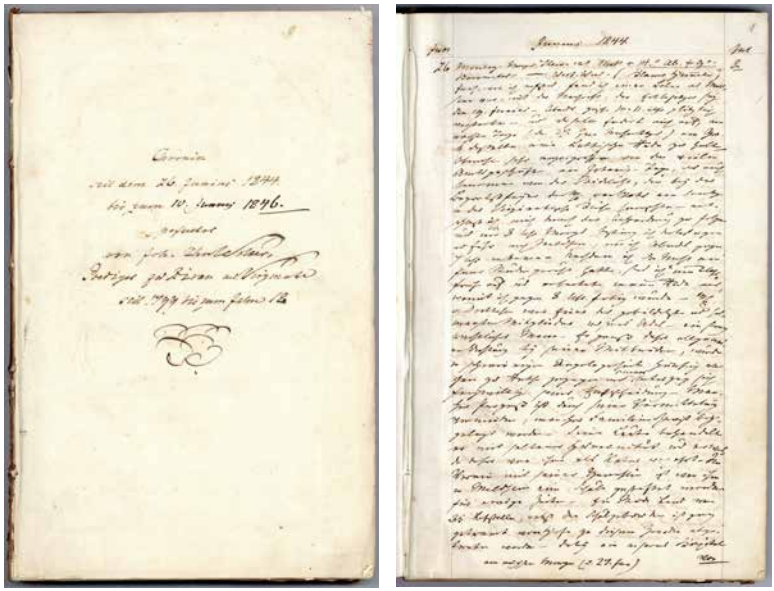

Figure 0.3a–b. Chronicle 1844–46 by the brother of Eduards Volters's grandfather, Johann Christoph Wolters (1773–1858). University of Latvia Library.

Let us distinguish two periods of Volters's scientific activity, in St Petersburg (1882–1918) and Lithuania (1919–41). In 1885–1918, Volters was a lecturer at the Department of Slavonic Studies at St Petersburg University. He taught courses in linguistics and ethnography.[9] Volters's biography, activities in scientific societies and academic legacy of more than four hundred publications are described in encyclopaedias and dictionaries,[10] but he is not mentioned as an anthropologist or ethnographer.

Volters was a pioneer of Lithuanian ethnography, the first to institutionalize courses in Lithuanian and Latvian ethnography and to study these peoples. In 1882, Volters began his studies of the Russian Empire in the Vitebsk governorate. In 1890, he published the results of the most important research in his book *Mamerualy dlia etnografii latyshskogo plemeni Vitebskoi gubernii*, Part 1, *Prazdniki i semeinyje pesni latyshei* (Materials for the Ethnography of the Latvian Tribe in Vitebsk Governorate, Part 1, The Festivals and Family Songs of Latvians). In 1883, he visited Lithuania Minor, interested in folklore and fishing customs. In 1884–87, Volters travelled around Lithuania, collecting ethnographic material and folklore, and in 1887 he published a review of this trip, *Ob etnograficheskiu poiezdkie po Litvi i Zymdi lietomi 1887 goda* (Regarding the Ethnographic Trip to Lithuania and Žemaitija in 1887), which is sometimes considered the first scientific study of Lithuanian ethnography (Čiubrinskas 2004; Gieda 2019: 275), and wrote on mythology (Voliteri 1887a, 1887b). The identity studies carried out together were presented in the book *Spiski naselennykh mest Suvalskoy gubernii, kak matiera dlya istoriko-etnograficheskoy geografiya kraya* (Lists of Inhabited Areas in the Suwałki Governorate as Material for the Historical and Ethnographic Geography of the Region, 1901). Volters compiled the Lithuanian Catechism of Mikalojus Daukša (Litovskii katehizis N. Daukshy [1595], 1886), reprinted the edition of Daukša's *Postilės* (see Vyik 1909; other editions 1904, 1927), compiled the publication *Lietùviška Chrestomatija* (Lithuanian Chrestomathy, 1903), and translated into Russian and published the grammar of the Lithuanian language compiled by Father Kazimieras Jaunius as *Grammatika litovskogo yazyka: Litovskii original i russkii perevod* (Yavnis 1908–16). He also prepared ethnographic research programmes, wrote articles and penned manuscripts.

From 1918 onwards, Volters's social activities and his Lithuanian wife, Aleksandra Volterienė-Maslauskaitė, who was born in Panevėžys, played an important role in his departure from Soviet Russia to Lithuania. In Kaunas, Volters headed the Department of Archaeology at the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Lithuania from 1922

to 1934, and the library of the University of Lithuania from 1920 to 1925. From 1919 to 1920, he taught courses on ethnography, regional studies and other topics.[11] In 1923–26, he was engaged in the study of Lithuanian mythology and folklore and organized archaeological, ethnographic, folklore and linguistic expeditions and seminars. Volters's interests included Baltic studies, ethnography, folklore, museology, archaeology, literary history, bibliography, mythology, statistics, book studies and monument preservation (Tautavičius 1992; Butkus and Vaisvalavičienė 2006; Apanavičius 2009: 149; Gieda 2019; Juzefovičius 2020; Paškevičiūtė-Kundrotienė F. 391). Volters died in Kaunas on 14 December 1941. He was buried in the Lutheran section of the Kaunas City Cemetery. The cemetery was closed and removed in the 1960s for ideological reasons and was later replaced by Peace Park on Vytauto prospektas. In 2006, a street in the Kaunas district of Romainiai was named after Volters.

The objective of this book is to show the characteristics of Volters's ethnography in the Russian Empire and Lithuania between 1882 and 1941. At that time, in many parts of Central and Eastern Europe, anthropological and ethnographic methods had not yet been developed. Democracy, the humanities, books and newspapers had a major impact on human knowledge (Hart 2022: 3). There is a lack of comprehensive studies of early Lithuanian ethnography. We do not know which institutions, individuals and theoretical perspectives influenced the first Lithuanian and Latvian ethnographic studies. Here, the book will take a fresh look at what the ethnography of empire and nation teaches modern society in the face of prolonged crises related to epidemics (Eriksen 2023) and war.

The Ethnographer Volters (1856–1941) in Historiography

One of the first to take an interest in Volters's ethnographic work was Reinder van der Meulen, a Dutch scholar and professor of Baltic and Slavic languages at the University of Leiden, who, in his dissertation 'Die Naturvergleiche in den Liedern und Totenklagen der Litauer' (1907), based his research on the nature comparisons in Lithuanian songs and lamentations compiled by Volters and Juška (Jurginis 1975: 49–50; Sabaliauskas 2007). Juozas Tumas-Vaižgantas, a Lithuanian priest and writer who collaborated with Volters, described his academic activities and discussed his biography (see also Nezabitauskis 1928; Tumas-Vaižgantas 1929; Valaitis 1932; Bušmienė 1973a; Vė-

lius 1995; Lasinskas 2004; Kaunas and Matijošaitienė 2011: 410–11, among other sources). Lithuanian historians have written on his political interests (Mačiulis and Staliūnas 2022: 20), his dissemination of illegal publications to Lithuanian youth in St Petersburg, his activity in the Lithuanian Mutual Aid Society (Rudis 2010: 10–21) and his archaeology and monument preservation efforts (Zabiela 1993; Griškaitė 2010). Lithuanian linguists have described Volters's research on dialects (Mikulėnienė and Stafecka 2011; Mikulėnienė 2018). Historiographers have written on his contributions to the theory of book science (Navickienė 2019: 236–57).

The literature review will focus briefly on what research has been done to shed light on Volters's ethnography and related issues and how Volters is distinguished in the literature, without mentioning the work of previous authors.

According to Lithuanian ethnologist Austė Nakienė, Volters, who was elected to the editorial commission of the Lithuanian Scientific Society's periodical *Lietuvių tauta* (Lithuanian Nation) and was also a member of the Folk Song Collection and the Ethnographic Data Collection Commissions, was keen to research the Lithuanian nation and amassed the first collection of audio recordings of Lithuanian folklore. He particularly appreciated lamentations and shepherd songs. He disseminated this research on the Lithuanian people to Lithuanian, German and Russian scholars. He probably wanted to collect samples of the language, folklore and folk music of all the ethnographic regions of Lithuania and the islands inhabited by Lithuanians, but he only partially realized this idea. A large part of his recordings has been lost, but the 113 surviving rolls, which contain 165 folklore pieces, are important documents for ethnology and folklore studies. After consulting with Basanavičius, Volters decided to store the Lithuanian phonograms in Berlin (Nakienė 2011: 170–72; see also Andronov and Andronova 2010: 409). Nakienė and Rūta Žarskienė have revealed how folklore was collected during the expeditions and described the features of the recordings of folk songs, *sutartinės* (polyphonic songs), fairy tales, fables, riddles, proverbs and spells collected by Volters and stored in the rollers (Nakiene 2011; Nakienė and Žarskienė 2011).

The stories recorded by Volters are important for Lithuanian archaeologists. Laurynas Kurila and Vykintas Vaitkevičius's research was based on a unique tale about the Migonys hill fort, which was recorded by Volters in 1888 during an archaeological expedition in southern Lithuania, in the counties of Trakai and Lyda. This story about how the bodies of the dead were cremated by lighting a bonfire

on top of the mound (Kurila and Vaitkevičius 2011: 119) helped with analysis of burial customs.

In 1909, Volters was one of the first to donate books to the Lithuanian Scientific Society and to lend a phonograph for recording songs (Jurginis 1975: 52, 56). Lithuanian librarian Jolita Steponaitienė reviewed the collections of Volters's personal documents, letters and manuscripts held by the Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania, as well as his efforts to recover his manuscripts from Russia (Steponaitienė 1994, 1996). Volters is valued for the antiquities he handed over to ethnographic museum collections (Galiopa and Fišman 2009; Lazauskaitė 2011).

According to Lithuanian historian Aurelijus Gieda, Volters's ethnographic travel books and statistical research have been judged to be a valuable legacy of Baltic studies (Dundulienė 1991: 22; Gieda 2019: 272–74), although they have not been studied in detail. The Lithuanian ethnologist Petras Kalnius has discussed the distinction between Lithuanians and Samogitians in Volters's works (Kalnius 2012: 70–71). Vida Girininkienė has described the people who collected ethnographic material for Volters and published his works (Girininkienė 2022). According to historian Modestas Kuodys, the Kaunas academic community and the government expressed their respect for Volters 'as a deep, erudite scholar, an author of authoritative works, and a veteran of the national movement who contributed a lot to Lithuanian culture' (Kuodys 2020: 63). Cultural historian Romualdas Juzefovičius has aptly described Volters's efforts to develop the cultural relations of the academic intelligentsia of independent Lithuania, his cultural expression and his contribution to the Lithuanian University (Juzefovičius 2022).

According to Milius, Volters's historical comparative linguistic approach is revealed in the scientific article 'Review of Lithuanian Ethnographic Works (1879–1890)', which is mainly devoted to the study of the Lithuanian language, not ethnography (Milius 1993: 22). Lithuanian and Latvian folklore researchers Alvydas Butkus and Kristina Vaisvalavičienė discuss Volters's path as a folklore writer and ethnographer (Butkus and Vaisvalavičienė 2006), while Sauka presents a biography and examines Lithuanian chrestomathy and other folklore activities (Sauka 2016). According to Latvian ethnologist Lilita Vanaga, Volters's activities in St Petersburg led to a flourishing of Latvian ethnological and folklore research (Vanaga 2009: 38–39, 49). Historian Silva Pocytė has described the methodology used by Volters in his research on Lithuanian and Latvian peoples (Pocytė 2016: 46–47). Slavic philologist Kristina Rutkovska highlighted

Davainis-Silvestraitis's collaboration with Volters in the field of Lithuanian ethnolinguistics and emphasized the importance of lexical and vernacular commentaries (Rutkovska 2013), which reveal the methodologies of the first scientific study of Lithuanian dialects and folklore.

The German historian Mathias Niendorf described Volters as a prominent Baltic scholar who used the nineteenth-century European controversy over the 'saga of the Semitic tribe' as an opportunity to develop his own ideas about the mythology of the Lithuanian nation and its research (Niendorf 2020: 242; Voliter 1886). Niendorf analysed the debates in Europe on the myth-making traditions of the Lithuanian people, discussing the Samogitians as 'people beyond the border', the Lithuanian book-bearers and the national revival. The most extensive coverage of Volters's ethnography in the Russian Empire has been provided by Milius (1993) and Vanaga (2009), aspects of whose research will be discussed in more detail in the context of Volters's specific works. A review of the historiography shows that Volters's books and related works on Lithuanian and Latvian ethnography have not been extensively studied. Thus, the issues outlined in this study – Volters's definitions of kinship and nation, his ethnographic strategies, theoretical conceptions of statistics, and perspectives on the nation, and his legacy – are all new. In seeking answers to these questions, the chapters will examine Volters's published ethnographic works and manuscripts to fulfil the book's stated aim.

The works of German ethnologist Wolfgang Kaschuba and Dutch anthropologist Han F. Vermeulen are very important for this study of Volters's ethnography. The study is based on Kaschuba's analysis of the origins of European ethnology (Kaschuba 2012: 21–23). Its aim is to reveal the origins of ethnology in Central and Eastern Europe, specifically in Lithuania and the Vitebsk governorate (now the Latgale region of Latvia), both of which were once part of the Russian Empire. This book analyses Vermeulen's (2015) work on the origins of ethnography and ethnology during the German Enlightenment. Drawing heavily on Vermeulen's assertion that Johann Gottfried von Herder's (1744–1803) ideas sparked a national revival in Bohemia and Poland in the early nineteenth century (ibid.: 324), it explores the impact of these ideas on the development of ethnography, ethnology and anthropology (Figure 0.4). The works of British anthropologist Alan Barnard (2000), along with those of many other historians of anthropology, are also of great significance to this research.

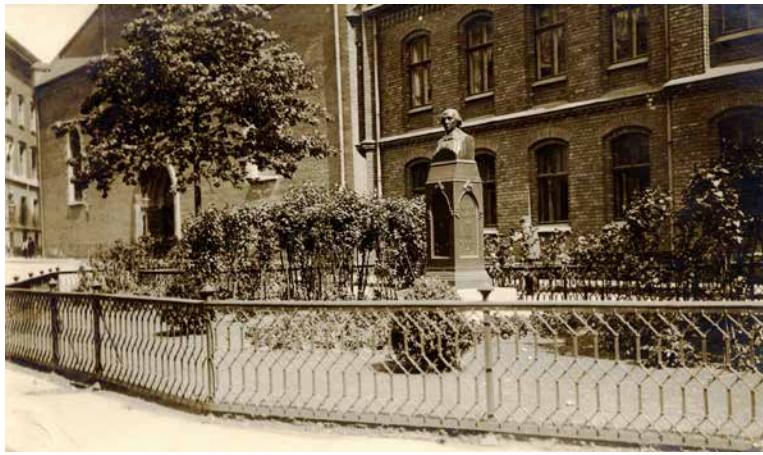

Figure 0.4. Memorial to Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803) in Riga. Anša Grinberga Fund, University of Latvia Library.

Research Methodology and Organization of the Book

A new document discovered in the University of Latvia Library's collection clearly asserts that the Russian Empire used local ethnography for imperial political purposes. The document states that in 1865, the most precise object of Russian ethnography as a science was a systematic description and comparative genetic arrangement of all the tribes and nationalities living in Russia – their physical, linguistic and religious-bourgeois characteristics. This was facilitated by accurate statistical data. This should reveal the relationship between the people of the nationality itself, as well as the relationship between the people of this nationality and the ruling nationality, as it was written – the main Russian nationality. Such a study would reveal and facilitate the processes of absorption of elements of a different nature by the dominant nationality (*Zhurnal Zasedaniya Otdeleniya Etnografii* [Journal of Meeting of the Ethnography Section] 1865: 1–4). Thus, Volters's studies of the Lithuanian and Latvian nationalities, commissioned by the empire, were precisely defined by the empire as local ethnography. In addition to local ethnography, there was also general ethnography, the aim of which was to develop the self-awareness of the Russian people. This concept of ethnography has not been studied at all in Lithuania. Therefore, this book will provide a fresh perspective on Lithuanian and Latvian ethnography within the Russian Empire, as seen through the lens of the history of anthropology from 1882 to 1941.

Volters's work will highlight aspects of decolonization (Pels and Salemink 1994; Rosa and Vermeulen 2022: 18) in Lithuania and Latvia. Volters's eminent personality is of interest not only to ethnographers: this book is intended for both the academic and the general public. Volters was one of the first to help found the Lithuanian Science Society, to, in the words of its chairman Basanavičius (1882), develop 'scientific friendships', to encourage ethnographic research in the press, to create national research programmes and to teach various humanities courses at universities, disseminating Lithuanian and Latvian research to the international scientific community and establishing and developing social and political contacts. Volters's scholarship may be of interest to readers seeking a deeper knowledge of the Lithuanian Science Society and the concept of a 'literate community' (Goody 1981: 8).

Ethnographic methods, interviews, observations, archival research, court documents, programmes and the qualitative evaluation of data are not solely of interest to a narrow academic circle. It is not only young academics in anthropology, ethnology and cultural studies who benefit from an interdisciplinary approach to ethnographic methods, but also the public. Volters's activities were extremely broad in scope. This is why, when writing this book, I tried to interweave historical, linguistic, philosophical and political facts with ethnographic insights using an interpretative comparative approach.

The main research method in this book is an analytical interpretive discourse analysis (Darnell and Gleach 2021: xiv). In particular, the most important published ethnographic works by Volters, which are recognized in historiography, have been analysed. Later, the documents found in the Martynas Mažvydas National Library of Lithuania (F17-405 and F17-294) were studied, as Volters did not publish any books on ethnography in Lithuania. These documents, manuscripts and autobiographical records, which have become public in archival collections, are highly valued in the anthropological tradition for their ability to transport the reader back to a particular situation (Pedersen, Kofoed and Romer 2020: 33–34). Visual ethnographic facts in photographs and drawings augmented my research.

The analysis of Volters's main works and documentary texts is based on comparative studies and sources. Research on ethnographic sources from archives, libraries and manuscripts helps to understand why Volters chose certain research priorities and methods and what theories he developed. Finally, the discovery of new archival sources makes it possible to evaluate aspects of Russian imperial policy and to assess the extent to which Volters complied with this policy.

Volters's texts are presented in an interpretive mode, together with a broader discourse analysis and comparative realities of contemporary or earlier history of anthropology. The aim is to show the influence of European institutions, individuals and schools on concepts, theoretical perspectives, politics and human knowledge. In this way, the book will reveal the unique characteristics and contributions of Volters's personality and ethnography.

The book is structured as an intellectual biography of Volters. It will focus on Volters's main published ethnographic works and important new manuscripts found in Lithuania, Latvia and Germany, as well as on the facts of his intellectual biography and legacy. The biographical facts complement the study of his works. In this way, the book reveals Volters's life as an early ethnographer.

The introduction defines the key issues of the ethnography of the Russian Empire, as well as Volters's ethnography as an object of research in historiography, and raises relevant questions. A short biography of Volters is presented. The novelty of Volters's ethnographic research in relation to known concepts of ethnography, ethnology and anthropology and their development since the eighteenth century are discussed. The methods, tasks and concepts of research are identified.

Chapter 1 provides an overview of the research perspective on the Russian Empire and the history of ethnography of the nation. It describes the first debates on anthropology at the universities of Vilnius and Königsberg. The chapter discusses the Prussian philosopher Kant's concepts of geography and anthropology. It analyses the debates between the naturalist traveller, James Cook expedition member, Georg Forster and Kant, and Herder on the study of race and nation. Forster's historical academic background is examined. My research describes the first expeditions organized by the Russian Empire to the Northwestern Krai. It examines the political strategies behind the national statistics of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society and reveals a concept of geography somewhat different from that of Franz Boas, developed at a similar time, which included human geography or ethnology as well as physical geography (Lewis 2022: 73). The chapter further highlights the contribution of institutions and individuals who studied Lithuanians and Latvians at the beginning of the revival. The descriptions of the Lithuanian race and nation by the Danish traveller, linguist and ethnographer Benedictsen are discussed. The academic environment, individuals, schools of historical theory, and governmental and scientific policies that may have influenced Volters as an ethnographer in the Russian Empire are explored.

Chapter 2 examines how Volters was one of the first to describe the Latvian and Lithuanian peoples of Vitebsk. He argued to the scholars of the Russian Empire that Latvians and Lithuanians were different from Slavs. This research is reminiscent of German historical geography and ethnography. From 1833 to 1846, the Bavarian linguist Johann Andreas Schmeller studied the language of the population during his travels and used their dialects to identify people's regional affiliations. Augustin Unterforcher Aguontum studied place and street names in Tyrol. The Academy of Sciences in Vienna studied names. Historical geography included the study of border areas. There was an interest in etymology. As many as four hundred place names were collected. According to the German ethnographer Christ Schneller, researchers were interested in what people called horses (Schneller 1905: 24–26). Volters analysed the concept of horses while researching names in the Vitebsk province. Like Herder, he analysed the distinctive memory of people in folk songs. Volters's theoretical approach was like Herder's hermeneutics of anthropology. The chapter shows how Volters defined the identity of the Vitebsk Latvians through their belief in the calendar and family customs, the concept of Latvian kinship and the specific aspects of the language. The political specifics and particularities of ethnographic research in the Vitebsk governorate, which was part of the Russian Empire, are highlighted. This governorate was different from other areas of Latvia where ethnography flourished.

Chapter 3 looks at Volters's social relationships during his ethnographic travels in Lithuania. Ethnographers who 'broadcast' the cultures they have discovered provide unexpected insights into how to approach research questions in a new way and how to choose topics related to the themes they are investigating. The choice of topics is influenced by many factors, including ethnographic research practices and the interests of the researcher (Holmes and Marcus 2020: 23). Theoretical approaches to the study of Volters's ethnographic journey to study Prussians, Lithuanians and Samogitians reinterpret this idea from a historical perspective. This chapter shows how Volters tried to define these identities. It presents various Lithuanian definitions. The chapter highlights Volters's distinctive theoretical approach to social integration in fieldwork. It demonstrates how Volters's views on positivism and observation in ethnography differed from the policies of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society researchers. Finally, the chapter discuss Volters's discoveries and challenges during his long ethnographic journey through Lithuania, as well as the political and philosophical origins of ethnography.

Chapter 4 is devoted to a discussion of Volters's ethnographic statistics for Lithuania and Belarus. In the mid-nineteenth century, at international statistical congresses in Europe, the French felt that the question of nationality in statistical censuses was meaningless, since there was only one nation in France. The Germans gave priority in statistics to the language of the people. Austrian ethnographers supplemented statistics with ethnographic research (Staliūnas 2009: 182). Volters developed ethnographic statistics, as did Austrian researchers. The features of Volters's programme for the statistics of Suwałki, Vilnius and Kaunas governorates, which have been analysed, show his distinctive view of how statistical research should be directed differently in each province. Volters's political interest in creating a Lithuanian 'literate community' is examined, cleverly hidden in his comments on place names printed in Lithuanian during the period of the publication ban. It shows Volters's distinctive conception of geography in the Russian Empire and its links with the work of Austrian and Czech statisticians. Volters's concepts are compared with the statistics on crosses and chapels compiled by his ethnographic student, expedition assistant and later follower, the physicist and ethnographer Ignas Končius. The intentions that unite these studies by different scholars are highlighted: interest in Lithuanian religiosity, the history of their country, and patriotism.

Chapter 5 analyses Volters's theoretical concepts as recorded in his notes. It compares these concepts with German statistics. The concept of border research is reminiscent of the Austrian 'anthropology of the border', in which research topics are intertwined with historical discourses of human commonality (Pina-Cabral 2021: 234). However, the chapter demonstrates that Volters uniquely combined archaeology, physical anthropology, physical geography, ethnography, statistics and ancient place-name studies to explore Lithuanian history, culture and identity.

Chapter 6 seeks to answer the question posed at the beginning of the book: How did the anthropological ideas of one of the most famous German philosophers, Johann Gottfried von Herder, which helped to propel national feelings and revivals, also known as 'Czechoslovakism' or the hermeneutic concept of the Romantic nation, spread in Eastern Europe and resonate in Lithuanian ethnography? Nineteenth-century German travellers, including the influential naturalist Alexander von Humboldt, were strongly influenced by humanism, liberalism, pluralism and monogenism, but perhaps most importantly by Herder's tradition of the 'soul of a nation'. Later, in the German Empire (1871–1907), new universities were established and interest in material culture, ethnographic museum collections

(Penny 2008: 81–83) and the importance of education increased. Here, Volters's article 'Lietuvos etnografinių-statistinių studijų klausimas-straipsnis', 1930 (The question of ethnographic-statistical studies in Lithuania), which presents his idea of a modern statistical study of Lithuania and describes the Romantic nation characteristic of 'Czechoslovakism', is examined.

Chapter 7 summarizes Volters's legacy. It discusses Volters's concepts of ethnicity, race and nation. Volters linked the study of language, which was widespread in the study of Slavic peoples among the scholars of the University of Prague (Pogodin 1905: 463–71), with the study of place names and later with local history. For Volters, 'Lithuanian anthropology and ethnography' (*Lietuvių Mokslo Draugijos Vilniuje Įstatai* [Statutes of the Lithuanian Science Society in Vilnius] 1937: 3–4), similar to 'anthropology and ethnography' at the University of Vienna in the late Austrian Empire period of 1800–1920, was a common field that included physical anthropology, ethnography, that is, sociocultural anthropology, and the study of folklore and archaeology (Gingrich 2021: 9), and was linked in a specific way to statistics and the protection of cultural heritage. The ways in which Volters combined evolutionary and diffusionist perspectives and the influences of European and Russian imperial schools is examined. This chapter discusses Volters's exceptional scientific policy and social activities, and his unique ability to establish both academic and social connections that contributed to the development of an educated Lithuanian and Latvian community. The conclusions present the results of the research into the ethnographer Volters's intellectual biography.

At the beginning of each chapter, the book provides Volters's definitions of key terms, discusses their problematic nature and describes the areas he was exploring in contemporary terms. The aim is to use Volters's terms. The book evaluates the historiography, sets out the premises under consideration and emphasizes the most important aspects of the research. Short summaries are provided at the end of each chapter.

The lists of manuscripts at the end of the book present the documents on which this research is based, as well as Volters's extensive manuscript legacy in Latvia, Lithuania, Russia and Germany. Some of these manuscripts are discussed in greater detail in the book.

Volters's Ethnographic Concepts of 'Literate Communities' and 'Czechoslovakism'

The term 'literate community' is defined from a theoretical perspective. Firstly, Lithuanians sought to restore the use of the Latin al-

phabet. Writing was essential for the awakening, consolidation and education of the nation. During the period when the Russian Empire banned printing, Volters printed Lithuanian and Latvian texts in his books and received special permission from imperial officials who censored his scholarly works. Secondly, according to British anthropologist Jack Goody, for the 'literate community', writing allows the creation of a new intercommunication within the political-economic community (Goody 1981: 8). As an official of the Russian Empire, Volters explored the peripheries of the empire for political purposes. One of the goals of the empire was to reveal the problems and development of the economy in peripheral lands. The notion of the 'literate community' encompasses the characteristics of the economic and political formation of community as a nation. By looking at how Volters created Lithuanian and Latvian 'literate communities', the book will discover the politics, philosophy, and theory of Volters's ethnography in the Russian empire and Lithuania.

According to Wolfgang Kaschuba, in European ethnology the origins of the knowledge of 'peoples' can be traced back to the book *Allgemeine Nordische Geschichte* by the historian August Ludwig Schlözer of the University of Göttingen, published in 1771. The term *Volkskunde* was coined at the University of Göttingen in 1782 as a description of observations made on journeys. In 1787, the Prague-based statistician Josef Mader used the term *Volks-Kunde* in the title of his book on the country, folk and statistics of Bohemia. This term was also used in the context of the emerging 'Czechoslovakism', that is, the beginning of a national movement (Kaschuba 2012: 21–22). Ethnicity and identity have been defined as primordial, instrumental or constructed (Banks 1996; Brass 1996: 89; Staliūnas 2009: 183–85; Banton 2015).

Volters's ethnography, as several of his discourses show, tended towards the notion of a 'social contract', with debates on the importance of language and the law of relations between people, kinship, customs and education. Theoretically, this book draws on Alan Barnard. The study of anthropology emerged alongside the teaching of anthropology in universities and museums, as well as the increased activity of anthropologists in public institutions. Barnard defined the origins of anthropology as the concept of the 'social contract' and the resulting notions of human nature, society and cultural diversity. This is linked to eighteenth-century debates on the nature of language and nineteenth-century discourses on the relationship between humans and primates, including the problems of 'races', which were said to have different natures (Barnard 2000: 15).

In an article published in the Vilnius Governorate Calendar in 1887, 'On the Study of the Lithuanian Language and Tribe', Volters wrote: 'There is still much in the Lithuanian household and language of the Vilnius Governorate that it would be desirable to collect and preserve for the purposes of science before it is irretrievably lost' (quoted in Milius 1993: 19–21). In Lithuania, as in France, Italy and England, the early ethnographer Volters met people interested in Lithuanian antiquities, domestic life, language, folklore and folklore collection. Volters provided questions for the study of Lithuanian and Belarusian customary law, as well as instructions for the collection of linguistic, archaeological and ethno-demographic material and customs.

In his article 'On the Study of Lithuanian and Samogitian Family Life', published in the Kaunas Governorate Calendar in 1889, Volters asserted that the Samogitian, Lithuanian and Latvian tribes were one ethnographic branch, as shown by their language, identical mythological and religious images, and shared customs of family life, weddings, births and deaths. He suggested that customs, songs and lamentations should be written down in the vernacular, taking into account the peculiarities of the local dialect, and that, following the example of the studies of the German linguist Leopold von Schröder (1851–1920), who worked at the University of Dorpat, the tables should contain concepts of kinship. He also suggested that research should not answer all questions, but only the better-known ones (Milius 1993: 21–22). Volters published texts encouraging ethnographic and statistical research.

The question of the people of the Northwestern Krai of the Russian Empire and, later, the concepts of interwar Lithuanian research in ethnography and anthropology were barely discussed in European ethnology. The history of Lithuanian ethnography shows that this science was influenced by the activities of the Russian Imperial Geographical Society and the societies of Russian technicians, Lithuanian literature, Polish ethnology and Lithuanian science, as well as the Šiauliai Regional Studies Society (Milius 1993: 5–6, 30; Vyšniauskaitė 1994: 3–5; Merkienė 2007; Savoniakaitė 2008a, 2008b; Stundžienė 2012; Mardosa 2016; Čepaitienė 2021; for more on the European context see Vermeulen 2015: 417).[12] According to Lithuanian ethnologist Irena R. Merkienė, at the end of the nineteenth century a differentiation of sciences became apparent in Lithuania, which included ethnological theoretical works. These dealt with general questions of the development of world culture, the regional distribution of phenomena, ethno-cultural analogies, questions of ethnogenesis intertwined with physical anthropology, and ethno-theory analogous

to *ludoznawstwo* and folklore during the Second World War (Merkienė 2011: 128–29). Lithuanians studied their nation and its ethnic groups (Anglickienė 2008; Klimka 2008; Čiubrinskas 2011: 49–51; Šaknys 2011: 9–13; Sliužinskas 2018; Šidiškienė 2019; Čepaitienė 2021). We do not yet know how the concepts of Lithuanians and Latvians were given by the Latvian early ethnographer Volters in the Russian Empire.

The first writers to deal with natural law and social contracts and to write beyond ethnographic 'facts' (Barnard 2000: 16) were seventeenth- and eighteenth-century lawyers and philosophers. They were interested in the abstract relationships between individuals and society, between society and its government and between peoples or nations. In the eighteenth century, Jean-Jacques Rousseau argued that government and the 'social contract' were different things. The social contract was based on democratic consent. He described an ideal society. The theory of the 'social contract' summarized the logical distinction between the 'natural state' and the 'social state', although many anthropologists today would argue that we cannot distinguish between the 'natural' and the 'cultural' (ibid.: 18) because both concepts are rooted in the idea of humanity.

In the words of Franz Boas, the German and later American pioneer of anthropology, the first anthropologists studied foreign lands and their inhabitants, as well as human history, biology, sociology and psychology. Humanity was interested in 'man' and his place in the 'animal kingdom'. Eventually, the 'strange people' of the Far East and beyond became of interest, and sociology, economics, political science, history and philosophy gained value in academia and society at large (Boas 2014: 22–23; see also Durkheim 2014; Radcliffe-Brown 2014). Finally, anthropologists introduced concepts such as 'individual' and 'group' alongside 'evolution' and 'development'. They became interested in biology, kinship, race and the dynamics of societies and cultural forms (Boas 2014: 31).

According to Han F. Vermeulen, the study of 'peoples' is defined by ethnology, while the study of 'people' is defined by anthropology (Vermeulen 2015: 1, 295, 360–79). Anthropology originated in the late 1860s and early 1870s based on the philosophy of Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) and Johann Gottfried von Herder. The anthropology of humanity was conceived as the philosophical and physical study of humanity – unlike ethnology, which sought to study sociocultural diversity (ibid.: 324). Ethnology, as the general study of peoples or nations (*Völkerkunde*), was defined by historians in Göttingen, northern Germany, and Vienna, Austria, during the late Enlightenment period

of 1770–80. Both sciences, the first as descriptive and the second as general, are attributed to the new fields of science created in Germany, such as the 'description of peoples' (*Völker-Beschreibung*, 1740) and the 'study of peoples' (*Völkerkunde*, 1771–75), only to be later referred to in neo-Greek terms as *ethnographia* (1767) and *ethnologia* (1781–83) (Vermeulen 2015). Vermeulen argues that the term *Volkskunde* began to be used in Leiden (1776) and somewhat later by the German historian August L. Schlözer in Göttingen (1782). The term 'ethnography' was coined by Nikolai A. Polevoy in the journal *Sibirskii vestnik* (1824). Ethnographic expeditions were organized in Russia as early as 1768–74 (ibid.: 354–55, 447; Vermeulen 2018: 41–54).

It is interesting to note the influence on the development of national studies of Georg Forster, a naturalist, ethnographer and anthropologist who taught at the University of Vilnius. Schlözer was accompanied in Göttingen by his father, the South Sea explorer Johann Reinhold Forster, statistician Gottfried Achenwall, geographer Johann Ernst Fabri and historian Matthias Christian Sprengel. This group of scholars debated the concepts with French scholars (Kaschuba 2012: 21–22). Johann Reinhold Forster participated in expeditions to the Russian Empire and his son Georg Forster, while working at the University of Vilnius (Kudaba 1988: 22–23), debated with Herder in his critique of Kant and proposed new concepts of race and nation that were studied as part of the *Historia naturalis* and were similar to French sociology. The foundations of the sociological tradition of French anthropology were laid by Montesquieu in his *Persian Letters* (1964 [1721]), in which two Persian travellers tell the story of French society. The book refers not only to ethnography but also to reflexivity. Montesquieu, in another book, *Spirit of the Laws* (1989 [1748]), looked at forms of government, the temperament of people and the influence of climate on society, using ethnographic examples from around the world. He put forward the idea of a 'common spirit', which was considered to be the fundamental essence of a given culture. This empiricism was of great importance to the structuralist and structural-functionalist traditions. His student, Auguste Comte, called the discipline *sociologie*. The field of *sociologie* embraced the ideas of French writers, evolutionists who thought anthropologically about society (Barnard 2000: 22–23).

Could it be that the concept of 'race', interpreted as monogenic or polygenic, gave rise to Volters's evolutionary and diffusionist thinking? According to Barnard, it is often said that the early nineteenth century is the period that has received the least attention from anthropological historians. At that time, two approaches were taking shape.

One was that society was 'monogenic', with a single nature. The advocates of this idea were the medical doctors James Cowles Prichard, Thomas Hodgkin and Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton. Opponents, led by the English anatomist Robert Knox and later James Hunt, believed that society was 'polygenic', with multiple natures, and that 'races' were close to species (Barnard 2000: 23–24).

Evolutionary anthropology was called ethnology in Britain and Europe in the 1860s, and in Denmark it was particularly associated with archaeology. Evolutionary thinking in anthropology is defined as unilinear, universal and multilinear, as well as neo-Darwinist. Evolutionary thinking combines biological and anthropological traditions. The central concern of evolutionism to understand human society was later continued by functionalism and relativism (Barnard 2000: 27). In Lithuania, evolutionism spread through the work of Polish ethnographer Jan Michało Witort (Čepaitienė 2017) and the ideas of Russian university graduates.

Diffusionism has its roots in eighteenth-century philology, which looked for historical links between Indo-European languages. Its origins trace back to Prussia. In the early nineteenth century, diffusionism was influenced by Prussian diplomat Wilhelm von Humboldt, brother of Alexander von Humboldt, who was interested in Basque – a European, but non-Indo-European language. Echoing Herder's earlier ideas, Humboldt put forward new ideas about the close relationship between language and culture. At the same time, Jacob Grimm (the famous collector of fairy tales with his brother Wilhelm) identified the sounds that distinguish German from other Indo-European languages. Franz Bopp studied comparative Indo-European grammar. All these ideas had a profound influence on the British tradition, first through the German British orthodox scholar Friedrich Max Müller, who studied Sanskrit in Leipzig and then worked at Oxford, and others. It was not until the late nineteenth century that German ethnographer Adolph Bastian, a museologist, popularized the ideas of diffusion. In 1860, Bastian set up institutions for museum ethnography and ethnological theory in Germany, thus encouraging the spread of diffusionism. Although his theories were much criticized (Barnard 2000: 48), they were widely analysed and cited in the works of ethnographers in the Russian Empire.

Firstly, for the purposes of this book, let us define 'ethnography' and 'nation' as mentioned in a rare document from the Russian Empire that was unexpectedly found in the University of Latvia Library collection. The document distinguishes between two types of ethnography: Russian ethnography and general ethnography. It states that the

primary objective of Russian ethnography as a science was to provide a systematic description and genetic arrangement of all the tribes and nationalities living in Russia. Ethnography focused on their physical, linguistic and religious characteristics. In this respect, Russian ethnography had a very important theoretical significance for general ethnography, the aim of which was to develop the consciousness of the Russian people through higher education. From an applied point of view, Russian ethnography was intended for the internal politics of the Russian state.

One of the first tasks of Russian ethnography was to study the non-native Lithuanians and Latvians of Aryan origin, their relations with Poles and Germans on the one hand, and their relations with Russians on the other. It was important to protect them from Polonization and Germanization. In ethnography, the method of comparative genetics was important in revealing the relationship of Russians and other nationalities to the Slavic Russians, the rulers of the empire.

The most important research question of global historical significance was that of the relationship between the Germans and the Slavs. The scope of this research was broad: it focused on the German colonization of the Baltic lands and the actions of the Prussian and Austrian empires hostile to the Slavs. Ethnography focused on the politics and influences of nations from the thirteenth century onwards. It examined the influence of German gymnasiums and pro-gymnasiums in Riga, Mintauja, Liepaja and other cities, as well as German universities. It is said that it was necessary to ban in Russia the opinions of great contemporary German patriots, publicists and statesmen, who were committed to the strengthening of Prussia, and to fight against the development of Germanism through the dissemination of Russian literature. Ethnographic research was devoted to analysing relations between Germans and Slavs, the attitude of the Germans towards the Russians as the dominant nationality, and the position of the Germans in Russia. The Russians argued that, above all, it was necessary to compile statistics on the German element as a different nationality, which was important for science, for Russian self-awareness and for the benefit of the Russian state (*Zhurnal Zasedaniya Otdeleniya Etnografii* 1865: 1–4). It is not known to what extent Volters relied on the ethnographic programme outlined here.

Secondly, Volters's erudition and political activity give raise to hypothetical questions about his distinctive concepts and strategies as an ethnographer of the Russian Empire, influenced by his studies in Europe. Kaschuba has identified three strands in the origins of European ethnology. The first strand derives from the old cameralism, that is,

topography and statistics, geological and geographical descriptions, medicine as economic statistics, the documentation of the history of a region, the study of settlement, land and people, and the study of the cultural-historical semantics of a region. The 'nation' is revealed as an image of historical roots and culture is presented as an ethnically homogeneous community. The second strand of European ethnology emerged from the observations and descriptions of travellers such as Cook and Forster. The third strand is the cognitive and pedagogical ideas of Herder's anthropology[13] (Kaschuba 2012: 18–32). In early nineteenth-century Germany, *Volkskunde* and *Völkerkunde* were associated with the 'science of the settled population', that is, demography. Disciplines such as statistics, geography, the philosophy of history and linguistics were not institutionalized in *Volkskunde* and *Völkerkunde*. Germany included Prussia and Austria, where regional traditions of the concept of 'nation' developed (ibid.: 22–23).

Anthropologists are re-examining the origins of anthropological writing (Nielsen and Rapport 2017). Recalling Austrian anthropologist Eric R. Wolf, who was familiar with the societies of Central and Eastern Europe, Germany, England and the United States, it is only when scholars understand the web of connections surrounding the terms 'nation', 'society' and 'culture' and 'place them in the field in which they have been defined' (Wolf 2014: 293) that they can hope to avoid false conclusions and gain interest from their insights into the study of the Lithuanian and Latvian nations. Thus, this book will adopt a comparative analytical approach to discuss the anthropology of the Lithuanian and Latvian peoples from the nineteenth century onwards.

Notes

1. In Latvian, Eduards Volters; in Lithuanian, Eduardas Volteris; in German, Eduard Wolter; in Russian the Latvian name Eduards Volters is spelled Eduard Voliter (Вольтер) and in some publications Voliteri (Вольтерь).
2. It was decided to publish Benedictsen's 1985 book about Lithuania in English after the Council of Lithuania declared the restoration of independence in 1918.
3. In 1795, after the third partition of Lithuania and Poland between Russia, Austria and Prussia, the Russian Empire was given control over the ethnic Lithuanian lands and the Duchy of Courland, while the Kingdom of Prussia received part of Lithuania Minor.
4. The geographic terms Poland, West Land, Northwest Land, Samogitia, Lita/Lite, Belarus, East Prussia and Prussia/Lithuania Minor 'competed'

with the term 'Lithuania', that is, they were perceived as a part of Lithuania, or as a larger unit (Staliūnas 2015a: 8–9).

5. The Northwestern Krai consisted of six governorates: Vilnius, Kaunas, Grodno, Vitebsk, Minsk and Mogilev (Staliūnas 2009: 9).
6. See Eduard Volters's biographical dates.
7. Užnemunė, part of Lithuania on the left bank of the Nemunas River, is inhabited by the Suvalkians in the northwest and the Western Dzūks in the southeast. Until the middle of the twentieth century, Užnemunė was called Sūduva and its inhabitants Sūduviai.
8. *Aušra* (*Auszra* [Dawn]), the first monthly public political and literary magazine in Lithuanian, ran from 1883 to 1886. Originally written as 'Auszra' in the magalizine but also used as 'Aušra' in the discourse. The latter form was used by Volters.
9. 'Ethnography and Old History of the Lithuanian Peoples' in 1888, 'Ethnography of the Lithuanian and Latvian Peoples' in 1891–92, 'Lithuanian Customary Law' in 1890–92 and 'Historical Ethnography of the Baltic Tribes' in 1916–17, as well as courses in old literature, Lithuanian mythology and folklore (Kirikova 2018; 'Voliter Eduard Aleksandrovich' n.d.).
10. 'Voliter Eduard Eduardovich' (n.d.); Fishman (n.d.); see also Kolmakova, Chernyshenko and Yermoshina (2018).
11. From 1919 to 1920 Volters taught the following courses at the Vytautas Magnus University in Kaunas: 'Ethnography of Lithuania', 'East Prussian Regional Studies', 'Ancient Culture and Ethnography of the Baltic Aryans', 'Latvian Folklore', 'Ethnography and Literature of Latgalians' and 'Latvian Folklore'.
12. Physical anthropological studies were also organized in Lithuania. The works of Jurgis Žilinskas are well known, as are archaeological studies, museum collections of antiquities and folklore studies.
13. The path of '*Volkskunde*/*Europäische Ethnologie*' was a particularly long one. European ethnology was institutionalized in Germany, the Ludwig Uhland and Marburg Institutes in 1971 (Kaschuba 2012: 20–21).