UNIVERSITY OF TARTU
Press

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Borderlands between History and Memory

Latgale's Palimpsestuous Past in Contemporary Latvia

Politics and Society in the Baltic Sea Region 4

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The publication of this series is supported by the University of Tartu.

Cover & layout: Kalle Paalits

Home page of the series: www.tyk.ee/psbsr

ISSN 2228–4451 (print)
ISBN 978-9949-77-296-4 (print)
ISSN 2228–446X (online)
ISBN 978-9949-77-297-1 (online)

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Acknowledgements

I wish to thank the many people without whose support and encouragement this book would have never seen the light of day. The monograph began life as a thesis for a double degree Masters programme run by the School of Slavonic and East European Studies at University College London and the University of Tartu. The thesis was written under the supervision of Eva-Clarita Pettai (University of Tartu). I am extremely grateful for her invaluable critical and moral guidance, both as my supervisor and editor as I navigated the processes of researching and writing the thesis and then revising the manuscript for publication as a book. Her passionate commitment both to Baltic Studies and to pedagogy is inspirational. The other formative figure in this project has been Tomek Kamusella, who first kindled my interest in Latgale – and indeed introduced me to the wonders of the lands between Germany and Russia – as a wide-eyed undergraduate in St Andrews. His commitment to intellectual inquiry, and resolute encouragement and friendship over the years, has greatly shaped my development as a researcher.

I am very appreciative of the generous financial support for my studies during this period provided by the Gay Clifford Award for Outstanding Woman Student at University College London (2013–2014) and the European Commission in the form of an Erasmus Mundus Studentship (2013–2015) and Erasmus Mobility Bursary (2014–2015). The opportunity to spend the second year of my Masters studying in Estonia was a life-changing experience and I hope that many future generations of students will be able to benefit from a similar opportunity.

This book has been greatly enriched both in its content and structure by critical comments from Uilleam Blacker, Linda Kaljundi, Siobhan Kattago, Heiko Pääbo, Heloisa Rojas Gomez, and Inese Runce at various stages in the project. I also wish to thank Richard Butterwick-Pawlikowski, Aleksandrs

Ivanovs, and Ligija Purinaša for their inspiring conversations over the years on the topic of Polish Inflanty and Latgale. The organisers and the participants of the 7th International Conference on Latgalistics at Rēzekne Higher Education Institute warmly welcomed me into their midst, especially Ilga Šuplinska, and shared their local knowledge with me. Papers feeding into this book were presented at the Conference on Latgalistics in Rēzekne in November 2014 and at the Summer School on Borders in Post-Socialist Space: Past, Present and Future in Chernivtsi in July 2015. I wish to thank the participants of both conferences for their stimulating discussions and for helping me to rethink some of my ideas about regional studies, borders, and memory. I also wish to thank the group of Baltic Sea Region Studies Masters students at the University of Latvia that I had the pleasure of teaching in Spring 2016 for their animated seminar discussions on the topics of this book.

I am greatly indebted to Ira Tretiakova, Galyna Lipelis, Svetlana Poleschuk, Alexander Polianichev, Lauma Krūvēvere, Rūta Liepiņa, and Krista Strode for proofreading and refining my translations from Russian and Latvian – спасибо and *paldies* to you all. Thank you also to Maryna Batsman for helping me with the transliteration of Yiddish place names. I also wish to thank the wonderful library staff at the European University Institute in Florence, where the manuscript was revised, especially Serge Noiret for his generous support in procuring books for this project and to Pernille Kjeldsen at the ILL desk for your diligence and ingenuity in sourcing publications in different languages for me.

Finally, my heartfelt thanks go to Ostap Maliuvanchuk for his unwavering love, support, and patience, and for being my wingman on numerous research trips to off-the-beaten track places. I am also eternally grateful for the constant encouragement of my parents Fiona and Paul to 'keep digging', wherever it may take me, and to my sisters Martha and Isla, who help me to maintain a sense of perspective on life. Special thanks also go to my mum for her diligent eyes in proofreading my manuscript. Despite all the abovementioned input from different people into this project, any errors that remain are my own.

Catherine Gibson
Tartu, August 2016

Figures

Abbreviations

DNMM	Daugavpils Novadpētniecības un Mākslas Muzejs (Daugavpils Local History and Art Museum)
DU	Daugavpils University
LU	University of Latvia, Riga
LNVM	Latvijas Nacionālais Vēstures Muzejs (Latvian National History Museum)
LKM	Latgales Kultūrvēstures Muzejs (Latgale Cultural and History Museum)
N.S.	New Style (Gregorian Calendar)
O.S.	Old Style (Julian Calendar)
RA	Rēzeknes Augstskola (Rēzekne Higher Education Institute)

A Note on Multilingual Names

As is increasingly becoming the convention in historical works on Central and Eastern Europe, the way in which this book deals with the region's multilingualism requires explanation at the outset. The names of places and people were known by different names to different people at different times. Latgale is no exception and in eastern Latvia today the particular uses of different names in different contexts continue to carry a strong emotional as well as political significance. This study follows the approach of using the version of the name used by the people in question during the relevant period, with alternatives given in parentheses where they are especially relevant to the discussion or in order to orientate the reader in instances where the contemporary name is more widely-known, e.g. Dvinsk (Daugavpils). When speaking about the region of the case study generally, the official name for the region in English, 'Latgale' – which is also the contemporary Latvian-language name – is used throughout. The alternative English spelling, 'Latgalia', employed in some English-language publications, is actually a transliteration of the Russian name (Латгалия) and not the official English-language name. Place names written in Russian and Belarusian Cyrillic are transliterated using the corresponding Library of Congress Romanisation systems. For the letters I, Ѣ, Ѳ and Ѵ that were eliminated in the orthographic reform of 1918, the Church Slavonic table was consulted.

Latvian	Latgalian	Russian	Belarusian	Polish	German	Yiddish
Aglona	Aglyuna	Аглона	Аглона	Agłona	Aglohn	הנולגא
Dagda	Dagda	Дагда	Дагда, Даґда	Dagda	Dagda	הדגד הדגאד
Daugava, Düna	Daugova	Двина	Дзвіна	Dźwina	Düna	הניוד
Daugavpils, Dinaburga, Naujene	Daugpiļs	Двинск, Невгин, Борисоглебск	Даўгаўпілс, Дзвінск, Дынабург	Dyneburg, Dźwinów, Dźwińsk	Dünaburg	׳גרובענעד קסניוד
Latgale	Latgola	Латгалия	Латгалия	Łatgalia, Inflanty Polskie	Lettgallen	הילגטל
Ludza	Ludza	Лужа, Лудза, Люцин	Лудза, Люцин	Lucyn	Ludsen	ויסדול הזדול
Krāslava	Kruoslova	Краслава, Краславка, Креславка, Креславль	Краслаўка, Краслава	Krasław	Kreslau	הוואלסארק הוולסרק הקוולסרק
Kurzeme		Курлянд	Курляндыя	Kurlandia	Kurland	דנלרוק
Preiļi	Preili	Прели, Прейли	Прэйлі	Prele	Prely	לאירפ
Rēzekne	Rēzne	Резекне, Режица	Рэзэкнэ	Rzeżyca	Rositen, Rositten	הנקזר הציזר
Varaklāni	Varakļuoni	Варакляны, Варкляны	Варакляны	Warklaný	Warka, Warkland, Warkelen	ואילקרוו
Vidzeme		Лифлянд	Ліфлянты, Інфлянты	Inflanty	Livland	דנלוויל
Viļaka	Vileks	Улех, Виляка	Віляка	Maryenhauz	Marienhausen, Villack	היקאיליוו
Viļāni	Viļāni	Виляны	Віляны	Wielony	Welonen	וולייוו

Preface: The Palimpsestuous City of Dünaburg/Dyneburg/Dvinsk/Daugavpils[1]

'*O Inflantach wiemy mniej niż o Sumatrze czy Borneo*'
(About Livonia we [the Poles] know less than of Sumatra and Borneo)
Gustaw Manteuffel in a letter to Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, 1877

My initial encounter with Polish history and culture was in eastern Latvia, a statement that might strike readers as somewhat oblique according to today's map of Europe. In the summer of 2013, I travelled to eastern Latvia to attend an Oral History workshop at the University of Daugavpils. I stayed at the recently opened Mark Rothko Art Centre which commemorates the American artist of Russian Jewish descent, born Marcus (Markus) Rothkowitz, who spent the first ten years of his life in Dvinsk in western Vitebsk *gubernia* of the Russian Empire. On my walk each morning from my accommodation to the university, I began to see evidence of an unseen city unfolding before me. It quickly became clear that the city was not only *Daugavpils* the second largest city in Latvia, or *Dvinsk* the Russian imperial city which was largely destroyed in World War II and rebuilt as a Soviet industrial city in the 1950s and 1960s, but also, lurking beneath the surface of everyday life, there were signs of *Dyneburg* the Polish-Lithuanian city. Dyneburg was part of the Duchy of Livonia (1561–1621), a vassal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and after the 1569 Union of Lublin, also of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. While a large part of

[1] This is a reworking of a short essay by the author entitled 'Dyneburg: An Unseen Polish City' which was awarded first prize in the 2014 Lingua Polonica competition. I wish to thank the Embassy of the Republic of Poland in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Lingua Polonica prize for their kind permission to republish a revised version of the text here.

the Duchy was conquered by Sweden during the Polish-Swedish Wars, the Commonwealth retained the southeastern territories, which between 1621–1772 constituted the voivodeship (or palatinate) of Polish Livonia or Inflanty. The legacies of these periods of Polish-Lithuanian political and cultural influence persist to this day.

My first clue as to Dyneburg's Polish past was the memorial in the Daugavpils Fortress, unveiled in 2013 jointly by the presidents of Poland and Latvia, to commemorate the 150th anniversary of the January Uprising of Polish-Lithuanian nobles against the Russian Empire in 1863–64. The inscription in Latvian, English, and Polish honours Leon Broel-Plater, a relative of Emily Plater (the celebrated heroine in Poland, Lithuania and Belarus who fought in the 1830 November Uprising), for his part in the January Uprising. Along with the other insurgents, he was detained and later executed in the fortress. The Platers were one of the many Polish-Lithuanian (or more specifically, Polish Livonian) noble families who established themselves in Inflanty, consolidated Catholicism (historically, widely referred to in this region as the 'Polish faith'), and introduced the Polish language to the territory.

Crossing the road, I paused at an information board with details of the first Catholic church built on this site in 1630 when Dyneburg became an important centre of the Society of Jesus. Later, an impressive baroque-style Jesuit church stood there from 1737 until it was destroyed during World War II. Leaving the fortress, I passed under the railway bridge of the St-Petersburg-Dvinsk-Warsaw railway line built in the early 1860s. This, along with bridges, viaducts, and some railway stations, was designed by Stanisław Kierbedź, an engineer of Polish origin. In the centre of Dyneburg, I encountered a memorial plaque dedicated to Józef Piłsudski, Commander-in-Chief of the Polish Army, who joined the Latvian forces in liberating Daugavpils in 1920 from the Red Army.

Walking around the city, I noticed further signs of Dyneburg on each street corner, visible beneath the everyday bustle of Daugavpils. There are three Catholic churches still standing in Daugavpils and another on the opposite bank of the river Daugava, in Grīva (formerly Grzywa). On Varšavas iela (Warsaw Street) I encountered the Józef Piłsudski State Polish Gymnasium and, further down the road, the Daugavpils Polish Cultural Centre situated in the magnificent building known as the Polish House, home of the Polish society *Promień* and folk collective *Kukułeczka*. Towering over the railway line, a 13 metre-high cross marks the burial site of Polish soldiers who died in the 1920 'liberation' of Daugavpils from the Bolshevik Red Army.

Today, when we think of Poland's 'eastern neighbours' [*wschodni sąsiedzi Polski*] or 'eastern borderlands' [*kresy wschodnie*], three countries come to mind: Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine. But, what about Latvia? The Inflanty Voivodeship, Duchy of Courland and Semigallia (which gave Poland its most successful colonial ventures in Tobago and West Africa), and Pitlene/Pilten Land [*Ziemia Piltyńska*] were all part, to varying degrees, of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and today form part of the territories of Latvia. The Inflanty Voivodeship in particular maintained strong ties with Polish culture and politics even after ceasing to be formally part of the Commonwealth in 1772. Today, there are approximately 50,000 Poles in Latvia and many Latvians continue to be proud of their Polish roots, including former Prime Minister Valdis Dombrovskis and the current Minister for Education and Science, Kārlis Šadurskis. According to the most recent census in 2011, 15 per cent of Daugavpils' inhabitants consider themselves to be Polish.

While in our mental map of today Latvia and Poland seem far-removed from each other, separated by Lithuania and the Russian Kaliningrad *oblast*, in the not so distant past Daugavpils was only a few kilometres from the border of the interwar Second Polish Republic. From a historical perspective, my introduction to Polish history and culture in eastern Latvia makes perfect sense. However, when I explained my observations to friends and colleagues I was met with puzzlement. Today's Latvian territories of the former Commonwealth of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania continue to be relegated to the fringes of Polish History as a peripheral and oft-forgotten region of Poland-Lithuania. While the Polish historical and cultural connections to the cities of Vilnius/Wilno/Vilnia, Hrodna/Grodno and L'viv/Lwów/Lemberg make it into History books, their Latvian counterpart, Daugavpils/Dyneburg/Dvinsk/Dünaburg, has been all but forgotten. The nineteenth-century Polish-Livonian historian Gustaw Manteuffel (1832–1916) famously lamented the Pole's lack of knowledge about their north-easternmost territory. Later, Leonid Dobychin (1894–1936), a Soviet formalist writer who spent his childhood in the city, aptly described the multicultural city as *Town of N* in his 1935 novel of the same name (*Gorod En*). This holds true to this day as there continues to be a mnemonic disjuncture between events from the city's past and what is remembered of the past.

My lasting impression was of a city that is many cities. Like a palimpsest, the city of Daugavpils has, with each change of rulers, borders and political, economic and cultural reorientation, added another layer in the collective memory of its inhabitants. The different historical periods and memories of

these periods have been superimposed and accumulated over time and are, in many ways, characteristic of the whole surrounding region of Latgale. Importantly, these elements do not mix; each new period overlays the last, but to an astute eye they are clearly visible, lying stoically but enduringly below the surface bustle of everyday life.

Introduction

In April 1917 (O.S.) in the town of Rezshitsa (present-day Rēzekne) in western Vitebsk *gubernia* of the Russian Empire, local delegates assembled at the First Latgale Congress to vote in favour of joining the Baltic provinces of Kurliand *gubernia* (Kurland) and southern Lifliand *gubernia* (Livland) in being part of a future independent Latvian state. This ambition was realised just over three years later in August 1920 with the signing of the Latvian-Soviet Russian Peace Treaty, which formally incorporated the region – known since the early twentieth century as Latgale (or as 'Latgola' in Latgalian and 'Latgalia' in Russian) – into the eastern part of the newly formed Republic of Latvia.[2] Almost twenty years later, a painting was produced in 1935 to commemorate the Latgale Congress by the artist Jēkabs Strazdinš on the initiative of Alfrēds Gobas, an employee of the Interior Ministry of Information and Propaganda (see Figure 1). The painting was reproduced as a poster as part of a campaign in schools to promote 'national unity' during the period of Kārlis Ulmanis' authoritarian rule in Latvia in the 1930s.[3] Tellingly, the poster depicts a scene from the second day of the Congress after the main critics of the proposal for Latgale to become a region of Latvia – political and cultural activist Francis Kemps and his supporters – had left.

[2] The precise location of this border was by no means 'natural' or foregone. The frontier had to be precisely outlined in the Peace Treaty and was implemented by a special joint border commission with members from both states (see Article III, Peace Treaty between Latvia and Soviet Russia, 1920). Certain regions were also disputed by Poland and Lithuania. See Jēkabsons (n.d.; 2006b).

[3] On the politicisation of visual art during the Ulmanis period in Latvia, see Pourchier-Plasseraud (2015, pp. 422–524).

Fast-forwarding now to February 2015, a print of the Latgale Congress poster was donated to the Latvian National History Museum (LNVM).[4] The news of the donation of the poster prompted journalists in Latvia to reflect once more on the importance of this event for Latvian History. As one journalist wrote, 'The history of the Latgale Congress is *clear proof* of the Latgalian political unity with other Latvians and call for the establishment of a territorially unified, autonomous Latvia' (Sprūde, 2015).[5] The media attention given to this event followed on from the commemoration of the 150th birthday of Francis Trasuns in Riga the previous May. Trasuns, a Catholic priest and important Latgalian literary figure, was one of the main organisers of the Congress and a supporter of Latvian independence in Latgale. A plaque was erected in his honour at St James's Cathedral in Riga (*Rīgas Svētā Jēkaba katedrāle*) (Juško-Štekele, 2014).

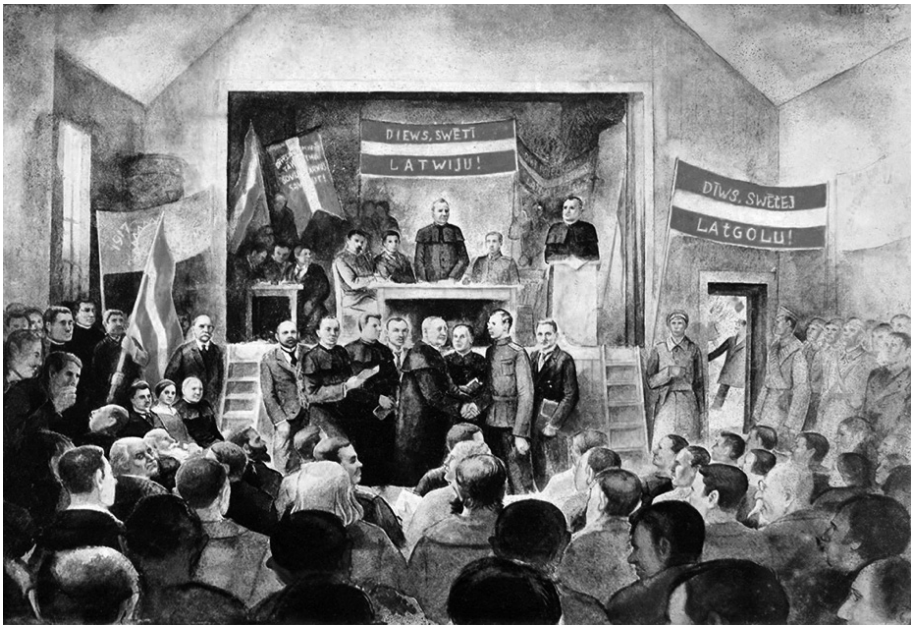

Figure 1: *Poster of the First Latgale Cong ress in Rēzekne by Jēkabs Strazdins (1935). http://www.historia.lv/jaunumi/lnvm-iegust-20gs-30-gadu-plakatu-ar-1917g-latgales-latviesu-pirma-kongresa-ainu*
The author gratefully acknowledges www.historia.lv for making this image available.

[4] The donation was made by Gunārs Ciglis, an antiquities collector, businessman, and a council deputy of Gulbenes county.

[5] My emphasis. All translations from Latvian have been carried out by the author unless otherwise indicated.

The transformation of this small meeting of local intelligentsia into a key part of the founding mythology of the Latvian nation-state – resurfacing in the public eye in both 1935 and 2015 – illustrates how events from the past can assume what Marek Tamm calls an 'afterlife' (Tamm, 2015). The past is neither irreversible nor static, but rather continues to persist in or haunt the present. As Tamm notes, 'The past has lost its autonomy and derives its meaning increasingly from the present' (2015, p. 1). This focus on the relationship between the past and present broadens the scope of the historian's job from not only studying the events of the past – or 'history as it really was', as famously described by Leopold von Ranke, the founder of modern academic History in the nineteenth century – but also to considering their subsequent interpretation and usage.

The story of the Latgale Congress poster is one example of how elements from Latgale's past continue to re-emerge in specific instances and are translated over time. The 'social, if not spectral, energy' of the Latgale Congress, to borrow again from Tamm (2015, p. 4), comes from the fact that it has been repeatedly perpetuated in contemporary Latvia as a symbolic reminder and reaffirmation of the unity of the Latvian nation and state. In 1935, it came to the forefront during Kārlis Ulmanis' nationalist regime as a propaganda tool to turn the multi-ethnic interwar Latvian state into a 'Latvia for Latvians' (*Latvija latviešiem*). In 2015, the media and politicians in Latvia used the occasion of the poster's donation to the National History Museum as an opportunity to talk about the 'solidarity' between the Latvian state and its eastern borderland region (Ilustrētā Pasaules Vēsture, 2015). This reaffirmation of Latgale's place within Latvia came about during a climate of domestic and international discussions about the stability of Latvia's territorial sovereignty in the light of Russia's annexation of Crimea in March 2014, the continuing fighting in eastern Ukraine, and Russia's various soft power manoeuvres in neighbouring territories regarded as the so-called 'near abroad' (*blizhnee zarubezh'e).* A closer examination of the ways the past is remembered highlights the conscious and unconscious logic of contemporary politics shaping cultural memories.

Spotlight on Latgale

Bordering Russia to the east, and Belarus and Lithuania to the south, Latgale continues to be perceived by many Latvians[6] (both in the west of the country and

[6] 'Latvians' is used here in the civic sense of 'the people of Latvia' or 'the inhabitants of Latvia', rather than in thet ethno-linguistic sense.

in Latgale itself) as standing apart from the other regions of Latvia. Although the region has now been administratively part of the Latvian state for almost one hundred years and the vast majority of its inhabitants identify themselves as members of the Latvian state, it nonetheless retains a distinct regional identity. In part this is due to the 'Latvians of Latgale', commonly known as Latgalians, who have retained their Catholic faith, cultural traditions, and widespread use of the Latgalian dialect/language as an informal everyday means of communication. These religious and linguistic differences between Latgalians and western Latvians, also known as 'Baltic Latvians', developed partially due to the fact that the Baltic German political and cultural influence never penetrated as deeply to Latgale.[7]

At the same time, Latgale as a region has also been intimately shaped by its history of multiple border changes and different rulers, which joined it at various times to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the north-western provinces of the Russian Empire, and the Pale of Settlement.[8] Vestiges of these multiple geopolitical border changes, migrations of different peoples to and from the region, and diverse historical and cultural influences remain strong to this day. As a result, Latgale continues to be the least ethno-linguistically 'Latvian' region of Latvia. The 'non-Latvianness' of Latgale today is often, mistakenly, attributed to the presence of a large number of Russian-speakers who moved to industrial cities such as Daugavpils during the Soviet period and continued to live there after Latvia regained independence in 1991. However, the composite nature of Latgale is in fact a product of much older and more complex historical factors and processes. Krzysztof Zajas, a Polish literary scholar specialising in Polish Livonia[9], succinctly captures the multifaceted nature of Latgale when he writes that:

> In one territory, there was (and there still is) a clash of several cultures, languages, traditions, and religions, several regionalisms and patriotisms, several political and national interests. It is a multiple borderland, where each pair (Polish-German, German-Latvian, Russian-German, Polish-Russian, Russian-Latvian, Latvian-Belarusian, Swedish-Latvian, German-Estonian, Polish-Lithuanian, etc., one could keep multiplying these pairings) contains an admixture of additional elements, neighbouring and co-participating either intentionally or through inadvertent interference. (2013, p. 262)

[7] See Chapter 2 for a more detailed exploration of the historical differences which led to the formation of Latgale as a distinctive regional entity.

[8] The western regions of the Russian Empire where Jews were allowed to reside permanently.

[9] Polish Livonia, or Inflanty, was the name of the Latgalian territory when it was governed as a palatinate of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. See Chapter 2 for a further discussion.

In this way, Zajas draws attention to how the very concept of 'Latgale' itself is a cultural construct. It is a collective term, which was popularised by Latgalian intellectual elites at the beginning of the twentieth century, to designate and popularise the concept of an imagined geographical entity embracing many different localised identifications. The unity evoked by the term 'Latgale' masks the diversity of the region's inhabitants who view themselves as belonging to quite distinct ethno-linguistic (Latvians, Latgalians, Russians, Belarusians, Poles, and Jews, among others), religious (Catholicism, Orthodox, Old Believers, Protestantism and Judaism being the main faiths), and socio-economic groupings (such as feudal estate, class or occupation).

It is important to stress that the adjective 'Latgalian', when applied to people, has a rather specific meaning. It is used to refer to 'Latvians of Latgale', both by western Latvians and as a self-descriptor by Latgalians themselves. They use it to express a sense of belonging to the region due to personal or family connections, their use of the Latgalian dialect/language (although the range of competency, especially in written form, varies widely among individuals), and their identification with local cultural traditions, which are often linked to the Catholic Church. 'Latgalian' in the pure sense of a geographical description – to denote someone coming from Latgale, as in the case of Bukovinians, or *homo bucovinensis,* from Bukovina[10] – is rarely used either as a descriptor (or as a term of self-identification) for Russians, Belarusians, Poles, Old Believers, or Jews from Latgale.

The reasons for devoting a book to Latgale are twofold. Firstly, despite its clear potential as a theoretically interesting case study of a borderland where the different political regimes have left their mark on collective memories of the region's History, Latgale has thus far been almost entirely absent in the literature on memory politics.[11] This neglect of Latgale as a case study actually goes far beyond memory studies and is symptomatic of a wider far-reach-

[10] When the Romanian regime took control of the Bukovina after World War I, a local Romanian nationalist Ion Nistor mentioned the need for destroying the '*homo bucovinensis*': 'Today, when the national principle is celebrating its great triumph, when the old states are tumbling down, and in their ruins are arising rejuvenated national states within the ethnic boundaries of each nation, "Bukovinism" has to disappear. […] Bukovina has reunited with Romania, within whose boundaries there is no room for homo bucovinensis, but only for civis Romaniae.' Cited in Livezeanu (2000, p. 49). I am grateful to Philippe Blasen for drawing my attention to this comparison.

[11] The notable exception is in the field of linguistics and language policy, and details publications on this topic can be found in the List of References. Zajas (2013) also touches briefly on some of these issues in his work on Polish-language literary representations of Latgale in the nineteenth century.

ing absence; there is very little literature in general published about Latgale outside of Latvia.[12] The second reason for writing a book about Latgale is more closely linked to recent events. While Latgale is rarely mentioned in academic literature, international media has shone the spotlight on Latgale several times in recent years, yet in a way which is often at best simplistic or at worst a gross misrepresentation.[13] The most extreme example of this was in February 2016 when Latgale gained considerable media attention after the screening of a controversial BBC Two docufiction entitled *World War Three: Inside the War Room*. The one-hour segment featured a dramatised Russian-backed separatist rebellion in the city of Daugavpils in eastern Latvia, clearly inspired by events in eastern Ukraine. Like the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinard in Sarajevo in 1914, the programme presented a pro-Russian uprising in Daugavpils as the first tumbling domino which escalated into World War III. Understandably, this broadcast was widely criticised by the Latvian- and Russian-language media in Latvia as well as abroad for its one-dimensional depiction of Daugavpils' Russian-speaking inhabitants and for the obvious lack of understanding on the part of the film-makers about the specific regional circumstances in Latgale.[14] Such sweeping generalisations and potentially dangerous misunderstandings about the region and its inhabitants draw our attention to the pressing need for a more penetrating and nuanced examination of Latgale as a borderland region. This should be made available in a format that is also accessible to audiences outside of Latvia.

This book contributes to this endeavour through a study of Latgalian *Geschichtspolitik* and an analysis of the ways in which Latgale's History is represented in museums in Latvia. It examines the ways in which the History of Latgale is constructed in museums, looking at which aspects of the region's past have been included and which have been excluded, as well as how Latgale's History is represented and narrated. The museums included within the

[12] Chapter 2 goes into greater detail on some of the possible explanations for why Latgale has been 'forgotten' in historiography.

[13] See for example the article about Latgale by Andrew Higgins which appeared in the *New York Times* in May 2015, 'A Latvian Region's Distinct Identity Attracts the Attention of Russia'.

[14] For a flavour of the critiques, see Chapman (2016), Khlapovskii (2016), and Lībietis and Koljers (2016). One glaring example of the way in which Latgale is misrepsentated in the docufiction is that the pro-Russian rebels were depicted hoisting the Latgalian flag in Daugavpils. However, within Latvia, this flag is associated with the Latgalian (in the ethno-lingusitic and religious sense, rather than geographical) local identity and cultural activism rather than any form of political pro-Russian sentiment.

framework of this book are the permanent exhibitions of the National History Museum of Latvia in Riga (LNVM) and two regional museums which focus specifically on the history of Latgale: the Latgale Culture and History Museum in Rēzekne (LKM) and the Daugavpils Local History and Art Museum (DNMM).[15] This selection enables a comparison of two museums specifically about regional History with how Latgale's History is presented on the national level in Riga. Moreover, in order to build up a more rounded assessment and to eschew the trap of examining relations simply between a centre and periphery, this book includes the museum in Rēzekne which is located in the Latgalian heartland and is the centre of the so-called Latgalian 'second-awakening'.[16] This is then contrasted with the History museum in Daugavpils which, while situated within the historical borders of Latgale, is located at the southern edge of the region and where around 80 per cent of the population are classified as ethnic minorities (Russians, Poles, Belarusians, and Ukrainians etc.).[17]

The analysis of the museums was carried out in two stages, in the winter and spring of 2014–2015 and in January 2016. No museums covering the history of Latgale in any substantial way currently exist in Belarus, Lithuania, Poland, or Russia[18], territories which share a past with Latgale, otherwise these would have been included in the analysis too. In 2014, a cross-border virtual museum devoted to regions in Latvia (Latgale), Lithuania (Kėdainiai), and Belarus (Hrodna) was launched as an educational initiative to link the histories of three former territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Russian Empire (Virtual Past, 2014). This museum is also briefly discussed in Chapter 6 as an example of a experimental initiative aimed at reframing the memory of Latgale in new transnational contexts. At the same time, one of the methodological

[15] In 2013 there were 111 officially accredited museums in Latvia (Garjans, 2014, p. 2). These three museums were selected based on their content (History, Archeology, Ethnography) and their coverage of Latgale, in whole or in part. The decision was made early on in the project not to include the museums in Naujene, Ludza, and Krāslava as these museums are very small, have a very localised focus and scope, or mainly include exhibits on archeology, nature, and ethnography.

[16] Besides the museum, the city is also the location of the Rēzekne Higher Education Institute, the Latgalian Publishing House, and the cultural centre GORS (the 'Embassy of Latgale') which play an active role in promoting Latgalian regional identity.

[17] In the 2011 Latvian census (the most recent population census data which has been published at the time of writing), the population of Daugavpils stood at just less than 100,000, of which 50,013 identified as being Russians. There were also significant numbers of Poles (13,278), Belarusians (6,774) and Ukrainians (1,795). The Latvian population numbered only around 20 per cent (18,447) [TSG-062] (CSB, 2011).

[18] In 2007 there was a one-month temporary exhibition at the Russian National Library on 'Latgalian books in Russia, 1917–1937' (Andronov and Leikuma, 2007).

Name	Inaugurated	Initiated	Main Actors	Ownership	Collection	Territory Covered	Time Span	Location
National History Museum of Latvia	1894	1876	Civil Society	Civil society (originally); Independent state agency (present)	Archaeology, Ethnography, History	Historical territory of Latvia only	Pre-history to present	Riga
Latgale Culture and History Museum	1990	1959[18]	State	Municipal	Local History, Ethnography, Art	Latgale region	Pre-history to present	Rēzekne
Daugavpils Local History and Art Museum	1938	1925	Civil Society	Municipal	Local History, Ethnography, Art	Daugavpils region	Pre-history to present	Daugavpils

Figure 2: *Overview of museums in comparative analysis*[20]

[19] As a branch of the Ludza History Museum; from 1961 as Rēzekne Local History. In 1990 it was renamed the Latgale Culture and History Museum to reflect the nature of its collections from across the region.

[20] The table and the information for the National History Museum are adapted from Ķencis and Kuutma (2011, p. 498).

shortcomings of the focus on the representations of Latgale's History in these three major History museums is that Old Believers, Jews, and Roma will not be extensively dealt with in this study. As will be discussed, these groups are generally absent from the three big museums and, in the case of the Old Believers and Jews, are represented instead in specific – often private – museums and collections. Nonetheless, their very absence from the major History museums also tells us something about the nature of the historical narrations of Latgale's past and their institutional manifestations.

In order to shed light on possible explanations for why some elements of Latgale's past are present in the museums, while other elements – such as certain minority groups – are notably absent, the analysis of the three museums is contextualised within the wider discussions among historians about how Latgale's past is remembered in Latvia. A small-*n* survey was carried out amongst experts of Latgale's History and culture to establish what research work on Latgale is being conducted outside of the museums, 'behind the scenes' so-to-speak, and to gain an insight into how individual agency and motivations shape collective memories of Latgale's past.[21] This was followed by two in-depth

[21] The survey was conducted during the 7th International Conference on Latgalistics at Rēzekne Higher Education Institute (Rēzeknes Augstskola, RA) from 21–23 November 2014. The questionnaire developed for this survey was divided into three sections: 1) personal information about the respondent; 2) their research and professional activities; 3) their opinions on Latgale in history and cultural memory. It consisted of both closed, Likert response scale and open-ended questions that allowed respondents to elaborate on a particular point further. Indeed, many respondents wrote lengthy paragraphs in answer to these questions. The questionnaire was provided in two languages, English and Russian. The questionnaire was distributed to 27 conference participants in total who held either a Master's or higher degree and for whom the history of Latgale was the topic of, or formed an important component of, their own research. Fifteen questionnaires were returned of which ten were eventually analysed based on the relevance of the responses to my research questions: responses from linguistic scholars whose work did not have a historical dimension were excluded, as were two responses with very short answers where the respondents did not give consent to answer follow-up questions. Detailed responses came from four scholars from RA, two scholars who work jointly at Daugavpils University (DU) and RA, one scholar from DU, two scholars from the University of Latvia (LU) in Riga, and one scholar who works at St Petersburg State University but who collaborates closely with researchers at RA and LU. Among the respondents were six professors and associate professors, two doctoral students and/or research assistants, and two Masters students. Moreover, the respondents' expertise covers the whole breadth of Latgalian history: the medieval period, the seventeenth-nineteenth centuries, early twentieth century, the contemporary period, and Latvian and Latgalian historiography. As the total number of experts on Latgalian history is very small, this sample can be seen to represent a substantial share of all the researchers working on Latgale. The majority of respondents answered in Russian and the responses have been subsequently translated by the author.

expert interviews carried out with Dr Aleksandrs Ivanovs from the Latgale Research Institute at Daugavpils University, the only expert on Latgalian historiography[22], and Dr Inese Runce at the University of Latvia, where she teaches a course on 'The Cultural and Historical Aspects of Latgale in the Context of Baltic Regionalism'. Open-ended questions were asked to allow for narrative-style responses and follow-up questions.

Aims and Scope

At its outset, this book has two primary aims. The first is to acquaint readers with a region which is relatively little-known outside of Latvia, but which is nonetheless an important and topical case study of memory politics in a borderland context. The second is to make a broader theoretical interjection into current debates and approaches to *Geschichtspolitik* and the interplay between History, memory, and borderlands in Central and Eastern Europe.

With the collapse of the Soviet regime, Eastern Europe has undergone somewhat of a cultural memory 'boom' as many of the formerly hidden narratives and memories were reclaimed in the public sphere as 'official' Histories and collective memories (Winter, 2001). Memories that were for many years relegated to the individual or private realm were – and continue to be, for this process is still very much ongoing – rescued from the half-century of Marxist-Leninist 'distortion' and are now appropriated and refashioned in new contexts in the public sphere. This is not to say that all parts of the past suddenly entered into public consiousness. The events of 1991 should rather be regarded as bringing about a break with the previous official Soviet mnemonic regime, circumstances which allowed for new mnemonic regimes and mnemonic actors to emerge. This political rupture brought with it different priorities for the construction of historical narratives, bringing some aspects to the fore while silencing or neglecting others. Moreover, this change did not occur overnight. The process of constructing, disseminating, and institutionalising new Post-Soviet cultural memories in the newly independent states (or in the case of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, with their restored independence) developed gradually and unevenly.

[22] I contacted several other prominent Latvian historians but they were reluctant to answer my questions as they claimed they were not experts on the History and historiography of Latgale. They recommended that I contact Dr Ivanovs.

The various 'memory wars' (Brüggemann and Kasekamp, 2008) and 'disputes' (Andersen and Törnquist-Plewa, 2016) over interpretations of the past, which have emerged in the public sphere since 1989/1991, can be seen as symptomatic of the pluralisation of historical memory linked to the democratisation of the public sphere after 50 years of 'distortion' and fabrication under the communist regime.[23] With regard to Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, the literature on mnemonic controversies in the Baltic States has been dominated by the issue of whether World War II and the subsequent communist period should be remembered as an occupation or liberation. In bringing to the surface the inherent tensions between remembering and forgetting, they address questions such as: How should we comprehend the different narratives and contradictions in the memory of the past? What consequences do deep divisions in cultural memory have for social cohesion and stability? What consequences do historical amnesia or denial have for a society? What are the wider political and international implications of these multiple circulating narratives about the past? As Siobhan Kattago cautions,

> One needs to take seriously the different interpretations of history that influence collective identity. Democracy is less about consensus than about how individuals deal with difference within a given polity. The first step towards pluralism is a wider understanding of democratic participation emphasizing mutual respect, rather than impenetrable difference. If we are to take pluralism seriously, then total consensus about the past is impossible and perhaps even undesirable. (2010, p. 384)

The literature on memory politics has actively engaged with these questions, abandoning the positivist investigation of the past in favour of research into the multiple ways in which images of the past are communicated and shared in the present. Nevertheless, there still remains a tendency to conceptualise the establishment and institutionalisation of narratives about the state and nation in ways that impose crude ethno-cultural divides and collective categories not shared by large parts of society. In the case of Estonia and Latvia, much public discourse, as well as many scholarly works, operate on a binary logic of an 'Estonian' or 'Latvian' interpretation of the past in opposition to a 'Russian'

[23] For a further discussion of this subject, see thematic issue of the *Journal of Baltic Studies* (Vol. 41 (3), 2010) on 'Memory and Democratic Pluralism in the Baltic States – Rethinking the Relationship'.

one, situated against the backdrop of wider discussions about Estonian-Russian and Latvian-Russian, ethnic majority-minority relations.[24]

Using the example of Latgale, this book aims to deconstruct notions of singular ethno-culturally defined memories and to show how many different groups and individuals participate in the construction of publicly articulated collective memories as a healthy by-product of the process of democratisation over the past 25 years (Onken, 2010). It argues that especially in borderland contexts where forms of identification are often more fluid and multi-layered, it is important that we move beyond ethno-cultural binaries in our understanding of memory in Eastern Europe. Instead, we need to look at the relationship between History, memory, and the present as a dialogic, nuanced, and complex articulation of various interests that cannot be reduced to ethno-linguistic labels. In order to do this, we must approach memory as something which is both spatially and temporally located: it is constructed and shared in a specific place, among a certain group of people, and in a specific socio-political context; it emerges at a specific time, in response to actual circumstances, and engages with the lingering traces of memories and political narratives about the past which preceded it; it is expressed through different media and genres, which also vary in time and depend on specific socio-cultural contexts.

Like archaeologists, researchers of memory must tread softly, eschewing preconceptions about the content, creators, and audiences of memories. Instead, they must lightly excavate their subject of research in order to expose the layers that have been laid down over time and space. The title of this book employs the palimpsest as a metaphor for the complexities of the relationship between history, temporality, memory, territory, identity, and politics, which lie at its heart.[25] Just as in a manuscript where layers of text have been

[24] Mārtiņš Kaprāns (2013, p. 137) has studied the representation of the Soviet period in Latvian public opinion and concludes that 'the attitude towards the Soviet regime in Latvia and its origins is still significantly different among Latvians and [the] Russian-speaking minority as two ethno-lingusitic groups'. Katja Wezel is more careful about ascribing such binary ethnic labels to Latvia's inhabitants, yet in her recent book on Latvian memory politics since 1990, *Geschichte als Politikum: Lettland und die Aufarbeitung nach der Diktatur* (2016), her analysis is still framed in terms of the split in Latvian society between Latvian- and Russian-speakers' historical and cultural interpretations of the events of the twentieth century.

[25] Palimpsests have been widely employed as a metaphor for describing the complex interactions of memory and urban landscapes, notably by Jan Assmann and Andreas Huyssen in *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (2003), and was picked up as a metaphor for memory in borderlands by Felix Ackermann in his book *Palimpsest Grodno. Nationalisierung, Nivellierung und Sowjetisierung einer mitteleuropäischen Stadt 1919–1991* (2011).

superimposed, partially effacing the previous text yet still leaving traces of its previous form, varying interpretations of Latgale's past were introduced and consolidated in different periods and under different political regimes. The legacies of these different attempts by the region's rulers to shape collective memories of Latgale's History continue to have a lasting impact on popular narratives of the region's past in Latvia today.

Chapter Outline

This book is structured accordingly. **Chapter 1** discusses the well-trodden key theoretical frameworks of nationhood, History and memory that underpin this analysis. The discussion will show how these concepts converge around Jan Assmann's concept of 'mnemohistory' and Aleida Assmann's distinction between functional and storage memory. An examination of the implications of these theories for the study of borderlands follows. This chapter then discusses specific sites where the relationship between history and memory is narrated. An analytical and methodological framework is then developed for investigating the relationship between History and memory in borderlands. Within this framework, four types are proposed: 'used', 'referenced', 'negated', or 'relicised' past. *Used* past refers to elements of the past that are collected and preserved. They are incorporated into the national canon and consolidated, elaborated, and disseminated through institutions, such as the education system. As such, these elements become easy prey for partisan instrumentalisation. The *referenced* past denotes those parts of the past that are generally remembered in society, but which have less immediate bearing on the national canon. *Negated* past refers to those aspects of the past where efforts have been made to deliberately push them out of popular History and memory so that they are largely forgotten in the dominant discourse. The *relicised* past refers to what A. Assmann (2011, pp. 123–5) calls the 'amorphous mass' of 'unused and unincorporated' aspects of the past which are floating around, dispersed, neglected, and largely disregarded.

Chapter 2 aims to provide readers unfamiliar with the main developments in Latgale's history with the necessary overview to then be able to engage with how the memory of this history is actualised in the present. This summary is by no means exhaustive, but as there is scant material on Latgale dealing with the History of this region from the perspective of the *longue durée*, it is worth devoting considerable space to this subject. The first part of this chapter

presents readers with an overview of the region's history structured chronologically according to the various regime and border changes throughout the last 800 years, as well as the main political, economic, social, religious, cultural, demographical changes (or continuities) which characterized each period. The second part revisits Latgale's past from the standpoint of how its History has been interpreted and written about in various historiographical traditions over the past 200 years. This chapter thus lays down the important context through which to interpret various mnemonic responses to the region's History discussed in subsequent chapters.

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 present readers with a detailed analysis of the three museums in Latvia. Each museum presents a distinct narrative of Latgale's History. Chapter 3 begins with the broad location of Latgale in the Latvian national narrative in the Latvian National History Museum. Chapters 4 and 5 analyse the construction of local narratives in the Latgale Culture and History Museum in Rēzekne and the Latgale Regional and Art Museum in Daugavpils. The analytical framework developed in Chapter 1 is applied in order to ascertain how the past is being *used* in the present, both in terms of the narratives that are constructed: what is remembered – as well as what is left out – and what is forgotten. Three strikingly different narratives about Latgale's past can be observed in the three museums, which are the result different political projects – the Latvian national, Latgalian region, and the traces of the former official memory shaped by Russian imperial and Soviet discourses. Together they constitute examples of the plurality, multiscalarity, and dialogic nature of memories about the past that converge in this region. To fully understand these various narratives requires us to move beyond considering only ethno-cultural differences, that is, a split between 'Latvian' and 'Russian' interpretations of the past.

The analyses of the museums are contextualized, using material gathered through two interviews and a small survey of leading experts in Latvia on the History of Latgale, in order to situate the narratives about Latgale's past as represented in the three museums into the wider debate on the cultural memory of Latgale's past and about the practise of 'doing History' in and of borderlands. In these chapters, the discussion thus also moves beyond the more functional narratives presented in the three museums to investigate the amorphous mass of knowledge about Latgale which exists outside of the museums. These chapters illuminate the tensions between the incorporation of Latgale's past into the national canon and its marginalisation as a peripheral curiosity. They examine the efforts of certain Latgalian activists

to re-regionalise Latgale's History in order to strengthen a sense of a specific Latgalian regional identity, and review the recent growth in interest in writing the History of Latgale from outside of Latvia.

Chapter 6 discusses the project to create a cross-border virtual museum as an example of a new initiative, which attempts to narrate Latgale's History from a non-national perspective by drawing on transnational approaches. While this trend is still very much in its infancy, it nonetheless provides an interesting counterpoint to the narratives of Latgale's past visible in the three museums. This chapter also looks more closely at the role of individual historians in actively shaping and changing popular narratives about the past, as well as some of the particular challenges of researching and writing borderland Histories. Overall, Chapters 3 to 6 explore the politics behind how and why certain memories about Latgale's past become institutionalised and functional, while others are neglected or forgotten.

These various strands are then drawn together in a summarising **conclusion**, which schematises the narratives about Latgale's past in the three state museums in order to illustrate of the plurality of interpretations and representations of the region's History. It emphasises how these diverse memories of Latgale's past exist as a result of the different political regimes and projects which have sought to exercise interpretative sway over public representations of the region's History, and thus cannot be simply pinned down to the views of different ethno-linguistic groups. This concluding reflection also highlights areas for the potential wider applicability of this analytical approach to the study of History and memory for other borderlands.

I. Framing the Subject

This chapter presents a theoretical sketch of the main concepts explored in the book: History, memory, and borderlands. Its aim is not only to weave together the literature and terminology from different disciplinary fields, but to connect the dots and operationalize these ideas into a conceptual framework for studying their interactions. The chapter begins with a brief overview of the main trends in nationalism studies relating to questions of identity, territory, and nation-building. In the discussion of the relationship between History and constructions of nationhood, the question of how the past can be used in the present to construct a shared sense of belonging comes to the forefront. Peter Burke's (1989) understanding of History as a form of 'social memory' is then used as a bridge to link the literature on nationalism with the equally vast area of scholarly work dealing with collective and cultural memory. Addressing similar questions from a different perspective, the memory studies literature draws attention to how the past can persist and haunt the present. Aleida Assmann's (2011) important distinction between 'functional' and 'storage' memory is discussed as a response to how the 'afterlife' of the past plays out in contemporary societies and, importantly, to draw attention to the role of politics in shaping what is remembered and actualised of the past in the present and what is 'forgotten'.

The second half of the chapter is more methodologically orientated towards a discussion of different ways in which History and memory might be concretely studied in specific sites. Using Alexander Etkind's concepts of hard and soft memory, educational textbooks, war memorials, and History museums are briefly discussed as examples of the ways in which scholars have approached the study of History and memory. This is followed by an overview of the ways in which borderlands have in recent years increasingly featured as case studies in research on memory politics, as sites where conflicts between different

interpretations of the past occur. However, the discussion argues that putting more emphasis on these kinds of regions is still needed. Moreover, the field could still benefit from methodological innovations which pay attention to regions located outside the centres of the major nation-states and theoretical frameworks which might open up this field to more comparative studies. The main thread running through all four sections of this chapter is politicisation of the past – the 'uses and abuses' of the past in the memorialisation of public History – and how it is instrumentalised in the present. The final section of this chapter synthesizes the concepts discussed above and proposes four typologies – *used, referenced, negated* and *relicised* memory – for categorising and describing the different ways in which the past can have an 'afterlife' in the present. It draws attention to how both functional and storage elements are at work in shaping what is remembered in the realm of public History, as well as what is forgotten.

Nationhood and the Invention of History

This book elides with a social constructivist or classical modernist perspective in viewing nations as entities that are socially constructed in the modern era by elites and institutions (Gellner, 1996; Hobsbawm, 1992). At the same time, it follows Rogers Brubaker's methodologically-informed challenge to existing theories of nations and nationalism, which he sees as being grounded in a fundamentally developmentalist view of nations which only serves to reify the very concept of 'nations' as real existing entities (1996, pp. 14–15). Instead, Brubaker argues that 'we should think about nations not as substance but as institutionalised form, not as collectivity but as practical category, not as entity but as contingent event' (*ibid.,* p. 18). He urges that we should avoid conceptualising nations as 'categories of practise' and instead think of them as 'categories of analysis' (*ibid*., p. 15). Taking its lead from Brubaker, this book is concerned with 'nationhood' as an institutionalised cultural and political form and 'nation' as a category of social vision and division. In a similar vein, the term 'identification' is used to convey the importance of agency and to avoid reifying 'identity' as an object of study (Brubaker and Copper, 2000, p. 14).

Scholars today have generally reached a consensus on the constructed nature of nationhood, yet there are wide-ranging explanations as to exactly *how* it is constructed. Anderson (2006) famously advanced the notion of the nation as an 'imagined community' to explain how a group who had never met face-to-face

might identify as a collective. He argues that national identification involved projecting sentiments of belonging and kinship beyond direct experience, but only up to the specific edge or boundary of the imagined community. Adding a geographical dimension to this 'imagined community', Anssi Paasi pointed us to the importance of '"circumscribing" and signifying territories in space' for national identification (1996, p. 53). However, identification with the nation-state cannot rest on social relations or territorial and spacial associations alone. Cultural identifications – that is, shared knowledge and practises, representation, rituals, and symbolism – play a key role. Theorists differ as to the exact way in which nationhood is constructed through culture, stressing at one time the importance of the spread of vernacular literature and print capitalism after the Reformation (Anderson, 2006), and at other times the emergence of a system of mass education at the time of industrialisation (Gellner, 1996). Central to all these theories, however, is the idea that once national sentiment has been generated it needs to be actively maintained. While 'nationhood provides a continual background for [states'] political discourses, [and] for cultural products', this place cannot be taken for granted (Billig, 1995, p. 8). Instead, nations must be constantly reproduced or performed through a 'complex of beliefs, assumptions, habits, representations and practices' (*ibid*., p. 6). This elides with Brubaker's view of nationhood as 'institutionalised cultural and political form' and 'nationness' as an event (1996, p. 21).[26]

History is one such 'invented tradition' (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983) that is used to invest the space of the nation with meanings and present it as coherent, continuous, and discrete. The term 'History' is used in this book in E. H. Carr's sense of 'history with a capital H', to denote the formal Rankean process by different actors – often professional historians, but not exclusively – study and record past events. This is distinguished from 'history with a small h', which is understood here to be simply a synonym for 'the past'. The efforts by intellectuals to codify History and local traditions provided the 'cultural meat for the nationalist meal' (Spencer and Wollmann, 2006, p. 74). In a way, the past can be approached as a natural 'resource' to be mined (Kalinin, 2013, p. 256). This way of understanding the relationship between the past and present is not new. For Anderson (2006), a shared History – elements of the past remembered as well as elements forgotten – is crucial to the construction of an 'imagined community' through which individuals and groups envisage

[26] On how the Latvian national 'idea' was constructed through culture in the early twentieth century, see Pourchier-Plasseraud (2015).

themselves as members of a wider collective with a common present and future. Likewise, Thongchai Winichakul argues that:

> To talk about the past, one may think about what happened. But the fact is that only what we can recall can constitute the body of the past which is meaningful to us. In English, the past is what can be re-collected. The past exists in relation to our constitution of the knowledge of it. The past we can know, therefore, is always a representation of it which is created from our own conceptions but believed to be the true past. History, a field of study, is always a discourse of the past. It is a language that can make the elements recollected meaningful and intelligible. It is not so much a matter of discovering fragmented facts as a matter of how to re-member them. (1994, p. 140).

Going back further, in the mid-nineteenth century G. W. F. Hegel discussed the relationship between past events, their narration, and constructions of nationhood in order to explain how 'the State […] presents subject-matter that is not only *adapted*[27] to the prose of History, but involves the production of such history in the very process of its own being', and which then becomes 'the perennial object of the formation and constitution of the State' (1861, pp. 63–4). Hegel is saying something very similar to Hobsbawm, Ranger, and Gellner, both in his understanding of History as a cultural artefact – 'prose' that has been 'adapted' and 'produced' in a 'process' of construction – and also how it then takes on the appearance in society of something that is 'perennial' (Connor, 2004). Moreover, Hegel acknowledges that this has a clear political dimension: 'the State' plays a key role in the cultural production of History, and History has an important function in the 'formation and constitution of the State'. Hegel's observations from the nineteenth century have a powerful resonance for the twenty and twenty-first centuries. As Celia Applegate argues, 'the whole process by which the writing of history established itself as a profession in the modern era has been closely interwoven with the making and legitimising of nation-states' (1999, p. 1159).

Finally, History is not written by some abstract entity such as 'the State', but by individual actors. Human agency is crucial for understanding the role of intellectuals 'in the shaping of national understanding, propagating the values of the nation, disciplining the people internally, and enforcing the rules and boundaries of the constituent people' (Suny and Kennedy, 1999, p. 2). Historians, both professional and amateurs, have also played an important

[27] Emphasis in original.

role both in the 'invention of tradition' and the shaping of knowledge about the past of both empires and nation-states. Their activities can be used to imply a continuity with the historic past and provide legitimacy for political regimes and states, as well as to challenge prevailing understandings and uses of the past (Berger and Lorzenz, 2010). As Monika Baár (2010) has shown in her analysis of the contributions of five East-Central European nineteenth-century historians, these scholars played prominent roles in voicing perceptions of their national past and, as leading figures in their respective Polish, Lithuanian, Czech, Hungarian and Romanian national movements, contributed to and shaped contemporary political debates. In the late 1980s and 1990s, many scholars have noted the prominent role played by historians in the process of restoring Estonian and Latvian independence (Kivimäe, 1999; Onken, 2003; Hackmann, 2010; Tamm, 2008; 2016).

Running in parallel to this top-down effort by leading intellectual figures to shape narratives of the past, Michael Billig (1995) developed the concept of 'banal nationalism' in reaction to the Marxist tenants of the likes of Hobsbawm and Ranger who focus on the uses of history in the political struggle for hegemony among various social groups and who, consequently, focus only on nationalism in its most overt displays. Instead, Billig argues that the historical institutionalisation of nationhood is not only part of the master narrative that elite supporters of the nation-state or professional historians impose from the top-down to assert control over their citizenry, but permeates ordinary everyday experiences.[28] Moreover, Billig reminds us that 'banal does not imply benign' (*ibid.,* p. 6) and suggests that nationalism is actually most powerful in these banal forms: the more normalized a nationalistic discourse becomes, the more powerful its mobilizing potential is and the harder it is to challenge. However, as Billig laments, 'the banal episodes, in which nationhood is mindlessly and countlessly flagged, tend to be ignored' (*ibid.,* p. 38).

Cultural Memory and Mnemohistory

When thinking about the uses of the past in the present, we should not only concern ourselves with Carrian-style 'History with a capital H', but also with how the past is instrumentalised in collective memories. The concept of

[28] In this respect, Billig's work resonates with the ideas popularised by Johann Gottfried Herder (who lived and worked in Riga for a time) of how the 'national spirit' (*Volksgeist)* was to be found in everyday experiences such as language and folk traditions.

'collective memory', popularised by Maurice Halbwachs in the middle of the twentieth century (Halbwachs, 1997, pp. 131–5), was developed as a term to describe how *what* we remember is directly associated with *how* we remember, as well as the social context within which the process of remembering occurs (Ricœur, 2004). Aleida Assmann, one of the most influential contemporary memory theorists, describes collective memory as how an:

> individual's memories become part of an intersubjective symbolic system and are, strictly speaking, no longer a purely exclusive and unalienable property. By encoding them in the common medium of language, they can be exchanged, shared, corroborated, confirmed, corrected, disputed, and even appropriated. (2008b, p. 99)

A. Assmann's husband and another influential memory theorist, Jan Assmann, proposes a sharpening of Halbwach's original concept into four sub-cateogries of collective memory: material memory (objects), mimetic memory (imitation), communicative memory (oral discussion), and cultural memory (written and visual carriers of information). The differentiation between communicative and cultural memory is important for this study. Communicative memory corresponds to the period when multiple eyewitness narratives circulate orally and contest each other[29], whereas cultural memory refers to a longer phase when the people who directly experienced the events have died and a society only has fragments and stories left as a reminder of past experience (J. Assmann, 1999, pp. 48–65; 2008). As this book is interested in the long historical perspective and not just the recent past, its primary focus will be on aspects of 'cultural' and 'material' memory, that is the 'body of reusable texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch, whose 'cultivation' serves to stabilise and convey that society's self image' (Assmann, 1995, pp. 132).[30]

Throughtout the nineteenth century and large parts of the twentieth century, 'History' and 'memory' were generally regarded as being epistemologically opposed. As discussed earlier, the Rankean 'capital H' concept of History developed this new discipline as the most 'scientific' and 'objective' way of representing the past, and one which was able to uncover the 'truth' about the

[29] In this respect, Oral History is one method of researching communicative memory (Thompson, 2000).

[30] Although J. Assmann identifies museums as being part of cultural memory, the way in which museums combine objects and text means that they can be regarded as a hybrid and contain elements from more than one category. Moreover, J. Assmann's distinction between cultural and material forms of memory implies that text and images are not material objects.

past. Memories of the past, by contrast, were regarded as subjective and lacking in 'hard evidence' and 'proof'. Over the last thirty years, however, historians have been increasingly self-reflective about how History, especially as practised in its most popular forms outside of academic settings (often referred to as Public History), is just another form of cultural memory. By constructing and communicating stories about the past, historiography becomes yet another 'social mnemonic practise' (Tamm, 2008, pp. 510).

In 1997, J. Assmann coined the term 'mnemohistory' (*Gedächtnisgeschichte*) to describe this new, self-reflective trend among historical scholarship which sought to understand not the past as such, but 'the past as it is remembered. It surveys the story-lines of tradition, the webs of intertextuality, the diachronic continuities and discontinuities of reading the past' (1997, p. 9). J. Assmann does not see History and mnemohistory as in opposition, but rather regards mnemohistory as a branch or sub-discipline of History. The main departure in mnemohistorical studies is that they are not primarily concerned with the *synchronicity* and *factuality*[31] of the past, but rather the *actuality* of the past (*ibid.*). This concept builds on Hegel's distinction between past events and narrations of the past:

> […] the term History unites the objective with the subjective side, and denotes quite as much the *historia rerum gestarum* [narrations of history], as the *res gestae* [what actually happened] themselves; on the other hand it comprehends not less what has happened, than the *narration*[32] of what has happened.' (1861, 63)

Like Hegel, J. Assmann is concerned with how events are translated over time and their impact and reception rather than the past for its own sake. We find similar ideas in other theorists' writing, such as Peter Burke's distinction between History as 'recorded' past and memory as 'represented' past (Burke, 1989, p. 99) or Pierre Nora's notion of 'history [as] … the reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete, of what is no longer. Memory … [as] a perpetually actual phenomenon, a bond tying us to the eternal present' (1989b, p. 8).

There have been various applications of mnemohistory to historical research. Marek Tamm (2013, p. 464) suggests that one of the earliest examples is *Le Dimanche de Bouvines* (1973), in which Georges Duby argues that the importance

[31] Taking my lead from Burke, I interpret Assmann's use of the term 'factuality' not in the positivist sense, but as meaning 'anomalies' (Burke, 1989, p. 113). Nonetheless, J. Assmann's opposition of the supposedly objective History with subjective mnemohistory is problematic.

[32] Emphasis in original.

of the Battle of Bouvines in 1214 lies not in the event itself, but in the way it was subsequently interpreted. More recently, Tamm himself edited a collection on *The Afterlife of Events: Perspectives on Mnemohistory* (2015). However, both these works take an event-centred approach to mnemohistory. While Brubaker has shown that 'nationness' can be viewed as a contingent event or 'happening' (1996, p. 21), it is not limited to this. Mnemohistory can also be applied to master narratives of nationhood; indeed, this was J. Assmann's original context for developing the term 'mnemohistory' for the ways in which historical narratives of Egypt's past accumulate and are translated over time, and how they are actualised and circulate in the present. A more recent example of this second approach is *Empire and Memory: The Representation of the Roman Republic in Imperial Culture* (Gowing, 2005) which explicitly identifies itself as a mnemohistorical analysis of the ways in which imperial Romans remembered the Republic over time.[33]

Although A. Assmann does not specifically use the term 'mnemohistory', preferring instead to formulate her arguments around the term 'cultural memory', she is clearly dealing with the same concept of the usable past. She proposes that we distinguish between 'functional memory' (*Funktionsgedächtnis*) and 'storage memory' (*Speichergedächtnis*). In the former, fragments of the past are 'culturally framed': 'unstructured, unconnected fragments are invested with perspective and relevance; they enter into connections, configurations, compositions of *meaning*' (2011, p. 127). The latter refers to the 'amorphous mass' of 'unused and unincorporated memories that surround the functional memory like a halo' (*ibid*., p. 123–5). Importantly, A. Assmann's distinction reminds us that the functional uses of the past in the present are inherently politicised, for not every member of the community is endowed with the legitimacy to influence the content of cultural memory. Control over how the past is remembered should be understood in terms of power struggles. Collective agents, such as states and nations, create functional memories by adapting versions of the past and defining goals for the future in order to make a political statement and to profile a distinct identity. Storage memory, on the other hand, has almost 'no virtual ties to the present and no bearing on identity formation'; it is the preserver of memories that are not considered relevant by the present frames of functional memory (*ibid*., p. 127). Both functional and storage memory are subjective ways of remembering the past, but the different social contexts in which they emerge result in the construction of different cultural memories. This theme will re-emerge in the subsequent chapters in relation to the Latgalian case.

[33] This work is also discussed by Tamm (2013).

This book uses museums as examples of a more functional form of memory. The survey and interviews with Latgalian experts are used to shed light on the storage aspects of Latgale's past. Nevertheless, it is important to stresss that the concepts of functional and storage memory are not treated as dichotomous. As A. Assman reminds us:

> We need not necessarily conceive of these two dimensions in terms of a binary opposition of conscious versus repressed memories, but may look at them in terms of creating a perspective, separating a visible foreground from an invisible background. This structure of foreground / background can account for the dynamics of change in personal and cultural memory: as soon as the dominant configurations break up, current elements may lose their unquestioned relevance and give place to latent and formerly excluded elements that may resurface and enter into new connections and narratives. The deep structure of memory, with its internal traffic between actualised and non-actualised elements, is what makes it possible for changes and innovations to take place in the structure of consciousness, which would ossify without the amorphous reserves stored in the background. (2011, pp. 125–6).

Following A. Assmann's lead, this study examines the ways in which museums can be used to construct a functional narrative of Latgale's History or contribute to a storage memory of Latgale, especially if the museum exhibits are rather old and the museum does not have a lot of visitors. Likewise, historians write monographs and articles, which are largely read by a narrow and specialised audience of fellow academics, thereby contributing to the storage memory of a particular topic. Yet at the same time, historians also frequently employ their historical expertise by serving as commentators in public media, communicating their research through popular educational initiatives, or becoming engaged in political activism.[34] By paying attention to both the functional and storage aspects of the way in which the past is remembered in the present, a

[34] An example of such a public intellectual is Timothy Snyder, who, as well as being a distinguished Yale professor, has been very influential outside of academia. He writes regularly for newspapers such as the *New York Times*. His books have been widely translated, are readily available in high-street bookshops and have become best-sellers among the general reading public and not just by other academic specialists in the field. He is regularly cited by journalists and politicians, and appears on radio and television. In a world where academics are increasingly under pressue to make their research outputs visible and departments are subjected to 'impact-rating' assessments, the line between functional and storage engagements with the past becomes increasingly blurry. Another notable example is Paul Robert Magocsi, Chair of Ukrainian Studies at the University of Toronto, who plays an active role in the modern Carpatho-Rusyn revival (Ziac 2001).

deeper understanding of the dynamism and pluralism of cultural memory can be built up.

Sites of Memory

Having established that the past does not lie dormant and the exercise of interpretative power over the past is intensely political, this section considers some of the different sites in which the past is narrated in the present. Pierre Nora famously argued that the past manifests itself in the present in particular '*lieux de mémoire*' (Nora, 1989a). Questions of space have come to feature prominently in research on memory, such as: How do people attach meanings to their surroundings? How do collective identities 'crystallise' around particular places and sites? Why do particular locations come to be associated with specific values, emotions, and morals? Paul Connerton's work, for example, has been important in drawing links between memory and human geography, and how topography functions 'as a grid onto which the images of the items to be remembered are placed in a certain order' (2009, p. 5). The issue of the 'sites of memory' is also an important methodological consideration for anyone embarking on research on memory. Memory is a notorious amorphous concept and needs to be anchored in particular localities in order to make it into an object of study.

One approach to studying the relationship between History and memory has been to focus on individuals as sites of memory. In recent decades, life history research based on Oral History methods has experienced a boom as researchers seek to understand the relationship between so-called 'big' historical events – such as World War II – and individual memories of the past, as well as how individual memories are established and confirmed through social interactions with one another (Thompson, 2000). This field of research has also been rather actively pursued in all three Baltic States[35] as demonstrated in the recent survey of developments in Oral History in the Baltic States and Russia (Ilič and Leinarte, 2016). Regarding the specific case of Latgale, an Oral History Centre was founded in 2003 at the University of Daugavpils under the leadership of Professor Irēna Saleniece in order to specifically collect and analyse life history testimonies of Latvia's eastern inhabitants. Yet studies of

[35] An indication of the broad spectrum of work in this field can by gleaned from consulting works such as Kõresaar (2002), Jaago et al. (2007), Garda Rozenberga and Zirnīte (2011), and Davoliūtė (2013).

life histories are, by default, limited in their temporal range to the lifetime of available participants. As a result, these studies, in the case of the Baltic States, mostly focus on themes linked to World War II and the Soviet experience during the second half of the twentieth century.

In order to understand how memories of the *longue durée* of Latgalian history are actualised in the present, a different approach is therefore needed. In this respect, Alexander Etkind's (2004) distinction between soft and hard mediums of memory is helpful. Soft memory, Etkind argues, is made up primarily of texts, public opinions, historical debates, literary imagery, whereas hard memory consists of monuments. He argues that these categories are not mutually exclusive, and many museums, cemeteries, festivals, guided tours, and history textbooks combine elements of soft and hard memory. Soft memory would disappear if it did not become anchored in monuments, memorials, and museums. Likewise, hard memory is often mute and invisible unless it is actively discussed, questioned, and interpreted (*ibid*., p. 40). Etkind argues that 'The hardening of cultural memory is a cultural process with specific functions, conditions and thresholds. It is not the mere existence of the hardware and software but their interaction, transparency, and conduct that give cultural memory life' (*ibid*., p. 40). This helps to shift our focus from looking at the form and content of the memory to its societal and political function.

These different examples of soft and hard sites of memory are linked by the fact that they structure our understanding of the world through a 'narrative construction of reality' (Bruner, 1991, p. 4). In creating a story from various parts of the past, narratives not only describe but also attempt to explain structures and processes. As Hayden White (1980) famously argued, narrative is what ties our otherwise cold and fragmentary knowledge of the past together. Different modes of emplotment and established genre conventions give meaning to the 'raw material' components of the story, and are embedded in particular social, cultural, political, and economic contexts.

It is important to emphasize the agency involved in these narrative processes. As Duncan Bell reminds us, 'myths do not simply evolve unguided' (Bell, 2003, p. 75). Bell continues that:

> we should understand a nationalist myth as a story that simplifies, dramatizes and selectively narrates the story of a nation's past and its place in the world, its historical eschatology: a story that elucidates its contemporary meaning through (re)constructing its past.' (*Ibid*., p. 76)

Narratives can be constructed by individual actors, such as Burke's remembrancers or Onken's 'memory actors', discussed earlier. It is also important to bear in mind that the construction of narratives also has a strong institutional element. States play a key role in creating, consolidating, maintaining, or reinvigorating national myths. From this perspective, memory politics are top-down processes whereby political and intellectual elites attempt to shape what is remembered and forgotten in the public collective memory (Augé, 2004; Ricœur, 2004). This is not to deny the role of individual social actors or bottom-up memories. Counter-memories (of an ethnic minority, socio-economic, or regional group) and understandings of the past can resist and present alternatives to the dominant narrative, thus challenging state hegemony over the discursive realm of the past. Counter-memories can also occur when there is a regime change, which brings with it a new interpretation of the past, as illustrated by the official rejection of the former Soviet historical narratives in Central and Eastern Europe. For the remainder of this section, educational textbooks, war memorials, and history museums are discussed as three examples of interactions between soft and hard elements. While far from exhaustive, they illustrate some of the various approaches in which scholars have studied the way in which narratives about the past are constructed and debated.

Educational textbooks are one example of a site where narratives about the past are created, consolidated, and disseminated. Through their content and form, textbooks select and organise knowledge to construct particular modes of understanding social reality.

> Texts are really messages to and about the future. As part of a curriculum, they participate in no less than the organized knowledge system of society. They participate in creating what a society has recognized as legitimate and truthful. They help set the canons of truthfulness and, as such, also help re-create a major reference point for what knowledge, culture, belief, and morality really are.' (Apple and Christian-Smith, 1991, p. 4).

In a study of post-Soviet Estonian History textbooks, Heiko Pääbo (2014) demonstrates how Estonian textbook-makers have rejected the Soviet-era idea that Estonia belongs to part of the Russian civilisational world and reframed the narrative of Estonian History within the context of the Baltic Sea Region as an alternative regional identity and historical space. This serves as a reminder of how textbooks are created by specific groups of people and conflicts over the

content of textbooks often function as proxies for broader power struggles.[36] Market forces also come into play as textbooks are economic commodities and have to sell. Moreover, how the textbooks are used by teachers in the classroom (the way in which teachers mediate and transform the textual material) and their reception among the students also have an impact.

War memorials constitute an example of what Etkind categorizes as a more hardened form of memory. The artistic form and content of war memorials is often particularly ideologically charged and shaped by political interests that transform spatial and temporal experiences (Assmann and Huyssen, 2003). As Siobhan Kattago argues, war memorials

> as places of memory […] are supposed to symbolize events from the past for future generations. As works of art, they are supposed to make time stand still. However, since time marches on and societies change, the attempt to freeze time visually into space is fraught with difficulty.' (2008, p. 150).

Bill Niven reminds us of the methodological implications of using war memorials to research memory, stressing that:

> we need to understand that debates in the present can crystallize not just around views of the past, but also quite physically around the memorial traces of that past; of all cultural artefacts, it is the memorial that most frequently becomes the flashpoint of struggles over history, politics and identity. (2008, pp. 44–45).

The controversies surrounding the moving of the Bronze Soldier statue in Tallinn, built in Soviet Estonia in 1947 to commemorate the liberation of Tallinn by the Red Army, are a good illustration of this. In 2007 the Estonian government proposed to relocate the Bronze Soldier from the centre of Tallinn to the Military Cemetery, which prompted an outbreak of violence over clashing interpretations of Soviet liberation versus occupation and victory versus trauma. The Bronze Soldier illustrates how the same object can have different meanings attached to it: the conflict was part of a wider reassessment of World War II and the communist past. Moreover, while the public debates

[36] Widely studied in this respect are the notorious textbook conflicts between Japan and South Korea (Seraphim, 2008). At the same time, textbooks and History education can also be used by states as a means to overcome hostilities as in the post-WWII German case (Gardner-Feldman, 2010).

which emerged in Estonia in response to the Bronze Soldier controversy on the one hand represents a democratisation of memory in Europe – official remembrance in Estonia is no longer dictated by Moscow – the relocation of the memorial to the cemetery also represents 'a certain degree of silencing in the sense that the vocal opinion of many in the Russian community in Estonia was spatially marginalised from the centre to the periphery' (Kattago, 2008, p. 163).

It is important to note that the conflicts between different meanings and functions attached to memorials and monuments do not just have to be between different ideological interpretations of the monument itself. In the case of Auschwitz, or the Soviet memorial park 'Grutas' in Lithuania, dubbed a 'Disneyfield StalinWorld' (Velmet, 2011, p. 203), a clash can be observed between the function of these places as sites of memorial and their function as important tourist attractions. Commemoration and memorialisation in these instances becomes a business that is often perceived as morally clashing with the original purpose of the monument.[37]

Finally, **History museums** are often presented to the general public as authoritative sites where meaning is constructed and replicated. They function as 'sites of persuasion' which frame and shape interpretive messages (Dubin, 2006, p. 478). Museums only have the space and resources to display a tiny fraction of their artefacts, often only between one to ten per cent of the total collection (Gardner, 2007). Their content and layout reflects hierarchies and spatial priorities – the selection of museum displays, the presence or absence of objects and events deserving representation and meriting a place in public remembrance – as well the method and mode of their exhibition, and the use of elements such as captions, multi-media, and the exhibition design. The process by which exhibitions in History museums are often constructed to represent a particular national historical narrative gives an insight into the actualisation of the past which forms part of the national historical canon as opposed to those elements of the past which remain hidden away to gather dust in the archives and storehouses. All the while, it is important to remember that the phenomena preserved in archives or in storage still enjoy a better status when

[37] The counter-monument movement has emerged in response to such tensions and seeks to create a more pluralised and individualised form of public commemoration. As James Young demonstrates in his study of German memorialisation, counter-monuments combine the ethical duty to remember with a self-reflective aesthetic scepticism about the assumptions underpinning traditional memorials, and interrogate the relationship between the very acts of remembrance, memorialisation, and the event itself (Young, 1992, p. 271).

compared to objects or phenomena that have not made it there and have been completely forgotten.

In museums, like in educational textbooks, the *longue durée* narrative element is particularly strong, as opposed to monuments where the narrative is often focused on a single event or historical personality. While museum exhibitions do not always explicitly present themselves as stories, curators select important elements to include (or exclude), choose the chronological beginning and end points, and use visual media to tell chronological or thematic narratives and teach lessons about how the past and its historical actors should be perceived. National History museums in particular often portray narratives of genealogy and present objects as the collective possessions of the nation (Macdonald, 2003, p. 3).[38] While History museums often put forward a nationalized narrative of the past, this is not always the case. For example, the initiative of the European Parliament to create a 'House of European History' in Brussels exhibiting a common European History, and the story behind the process of European integration, is clearly an attempt to move beyond the nationalization of History in favour of a more transnational approach. However, this attempt to narrate a common European History has not been without its difficulties.[39]

Museums construct narratives of the past under the cover of authoritative objectivity: objects and artefacts are presented as the 'tangible things' under the auspices of provenance and expert knowledge (Ulrich et al., 2015). The ordering and reordering of objects, their positioning and relation to one another, reflects particular social and political hierarchies which occur beneath the high ceilings, polished stone and grand staircases of the 'temple of wisdom' that is the national museum, and which present culture and identities as 'simple, factual, and real' (Levitt, 2015, p. 7). Moreover, museums are often the venue for a range of associated activities, temporary exhibitions, workshops, educational projects, and school visits, which reinforce the key messages (Trofanenko, 2008).

The most sophisticated museums also have the power to challenge accepted narratives, to be myth-breakers as well as myth-makers. Museums can provide

[38] For a discussion on how museums play a role in the taxonomisation of knowledge about the natural world and construct relationships between different objects on display, see Foucault's famous discussion in *The Order of Things: An Archeology of the Human Sciences* (2001, pp. 136–179). This book is based on the premise that many of the same principles also apply to the presentation of information and display of objects used to construct narratives of History.

[39] For a description of some of the project's trials and tribulations, see Vovk van Gaal and DuPont (2012).

a space through which to present competing histories, contested certainties, and cultural differences, especially museums that collaborate closely with historians at the *avant garde* of revisionist interpretations of national history. Peggy Levitt (2015) also reminds us that no museums are entirely national but rather position themselves somewhere on a continuum between nationalism and cosmopolitanism in their self-portrait of themselves in relation to the rest of the world. However, for the most part, national History museums shy away from presenting dramatically revisionist accounts of national History and tend to reaffirm and constitute the national canon. In part, this is due to the fact that national History museums are often funded, partly if not wholly, by the state (White, 1997). Museums are also constrained by their collections and budgets: they have to tell the stories of the objects they have or can loan and borrow. Finally, they have to create long-lasting permanent installations, which have a large appeal to the maximum number of people.

It is important to add a caveat here on the issue of reception of memory. In the literature, there has been a methodological shift in focus over the last two decades from studying the institutions that produce cultural memory to studying the audience's reception (Kansteiner, 2002). Individuals do not just passively receive the information presented to them in a museum; when individuals visit, they bring with them their own social context, knowledge, and preconceived ideas which shape how they interpret the past as it is presented to them in the museum. In this respect, every visitor becomes a 'remembrancer' in his or her own right. However, as the primary focus of this book is on the politicisation of the past in the present, this study follows J. Assmann in understanding:

> "reception" […] not to be understood here merely in the narrow sense of transmitting and receiving. The past is not simply "received" by the present. The present is "haunted" by the past and the past is modelled, invented, reinvented, and reconstructed in the present. (1997, p. 9).

The notion of the multiplicity of memory is useful because it allows us to understand the relationship between History and mnemohistory as the co-mingling of reception, representation, and contestation, and also linking back to A. Assmann's notion of two layers of cultural memory, as a background and a foreground (2011, p. 126). This multi-scalar and multidirectional approach will also allow me to explore the 'politics of location that articulates local concerns with national and transnational scales' (Rothberg, 2014, p. 655).

Consequently, from a methodological perspective, this book focuses on how the past is received in the present rather than looking at, for example, visitors' reactions to museums or comments in visitor books, while acknowledging that this would be a fruitful area for future investigation.

Contesting the Past in and of Borderlands

Borderlands have become a popular topic in various fields of humanities and social sciences in recent decades. Research in the field of Border Studies has drawn our attention to how popular understandings of borders, as lines on the map indicating the boundaries of states, are actually a relatively recent phenomenon.[40] Prior to the Treaty of Westphalia, Europe consisted of multiple borders and loyalties were fragmented among various sources of power: the local lord, the emperor or monarch, and ecclesiastical boundaries. Territories were claimed multiple times over by the same people and identities were not strictly linked to territoriality.[41] After Westphalia and the gradual erosion of the powers of the Holy See and feudalism, there was an increasing centralisation of power around the absolute monarch who became the symbol of state sovereignty. The influence of the French Revolution, Napoleonic Wars, the Industrial Revolution, and 1848 'Springtime of the Peoples', which gradually spread across Europe from west to east, gave salience and legitimacy to the modern concept of the nation-state and the importance of national borders as symbols of collective national identitification.

The reorganisation of political space along ostensibly national lines was only realised in the wake of the collapse of the ethnically, religiously, and

[40] Political geographers often distinguish between 'borders' as precise, linear divisions within a restrictive, political context, and 'boundaries' involving more zonal qualities or as 'institutions and symbols that are produced and reproduced in social practises and discourses' (Sahlins, 1989; Paasi, 1996, p. 67). This book does not stick to these hard definitions and uses the terms 'borders' and 'boundaries' interchangeably.

[41] In many ways, the European Union today marks a partial return to the pre-Westphalia understanding of borders and territoriality, with nation-states nested within a wider political entity that facilitates cross-border politics and fosters cooperation among regions. Inhabitants are at the same time citizens of a state and citizens of the European Union centred in Brussels. The open borders allowing the free movement of people for work and travel within the Schengen zone means that many Europeans live and pay taxes in a state other than their passport-country. In addition, many religious communities have a strong sense of loyalty and connection to an ecclesiastical power somewhere else, such as Catholics and Greek Catholics with respect to the Vatican.

linguistically diverse empires of the Romanovs, Habsburgs, and Ottomans after World War I. This was based on the political principle that the 'political and national unit should be congruent' (Gellner, 1996, p. 1) and, more specifically, that each ethno-linguistic group should have its own nation-state in fulfilment of the 'normative isomorphism of language, nation and state' (Kamusella, 2006; 2009). This credo of 'national self-determination' was given legitimacy by Woodrow Wilson and Vladimir Lenin following World War I. However, the overlapping of nation-state borders and ethno-linguistic identities is a myth. Not every self-identifying ethno-linguistic group received its *own* nation-state and there were many minorities left on the 'wrong' side of state borders, making them the target of violent population transfers, ethnic cleansing and (re)nationalisation policies in the 'bloodlands' of twentieth century Europe (Snyder, 2010).

During the nineteenth century, the discipline of Geography emerged alongside History as an umbrella term for the body of knowledge preoccupied with measuring the world.[42] It was closely intertwined with History writing: it helped to define the geographical scope and boundaries of national historical narrative. In the middle of the twentieth century, however, it became unfashionable to talk in spatial terms, resulting in several decades of what Karl Schlögel (2009) describes as '*räumliche Atrophie*' ('a weakness of the spatial imagination').[43] In the past two decades, however, the humanities have undergone a 'spatial turn' and 'a return of geography', whereby greater attention is being paid to what Schlögel terms the inseparable connection between '*Einheit von Zeit, Ort und Handlung*' ('unity of time, place, and action') (Schlögel, 2003, p. 40; Withers, 2009). Following this spatial turn, there has been a burgeoning body of scholarship on the History of borderlands and regions as objects of study in and of themselves, rather than just of the boundaries between centres of power which has been the dominant focus of much prior History writing. For '[b]orderlands, like the nation, have their space and time, their history, their politics, religion, culture, and literature – and their contradictory aims' (Zajas, 2013, p. 259).

Along with this interest in borders, borderlands, and border regions, there has been a conceptual shift away from the geographical concerns of 'where

[42] This is discussed in greater detail with respect to the Latvian case in Chapter 2. The writing of History within the geographical confines of nation-state borders has continued to be the dominant trend in History writing since the nineteenth century. Only in recent years with the growing popularity of transnational History is this approach beginning to be challenged in earnest.

[43] Schlögel argues that this was partly due to the Nazis' ideological linking of space with biology.

the border lies' to the 'b/ordering of space' (van Houtum, 2005, p. 675) and its social construction (Diener and Hagen, 2009). Borders are more than just the frontiers of state sovereignty and also play an important role in constructing identities and territories, and in establishing boundaries between 'us' and 'them'. This burgeoning interest has been marked by the publication of several edited volumes in recent years specifically on the History of border regions as liminal spaces of interaction (Kuropka, 2010; Readman et al., 2014) and 'shatterzones' of contestation (Bartov and Weitz, 2013). Indeed, Lloyd Kramer claims that 'the history of borderland regions, peoples, and cultural exchanges has become one of the most innovative areas of contemporary historical scholarship' (2014, p. 312).

This focus on borderlands has also had theoretical and methodological implications. For, by shifting our gaze 'far from an established center, which could be constituted by both the cultural capital of a state and, for example, the tradition of mythology formed by the culture associated with a given language' (Zajas, 2013, p. 261), new approaches and theories have to be developed. As Kramer continues, 'borderlands are geographical, political, and social spaces where lines between cultures become blurred, and this blurring of boundaries extends also to the influence of borderlands history on the familiar categories of historical analysis' (2014, p.312). This book contributes to this energising field of study by suggesting that the construction of narratives about borderlands such as Latgale necessitates a rethinking of some of the basic assumptions we make about writing traditional (i.e. nationally-orientated) History (Gibson, 2014). History and memory are important concepts in this respect for methodologically and theoretically reframing approaches to researching borderlands.

The historiographical 'spatial turn' has been particularly pertinent to our understanding of Central and Eastern Europe where the stability of borders has quite often been the exception rather than the rule.[44] The geographical landscape of much of Eastern Europe, consisting of rolling hills, small lakes, marshland, forests, and farmland, yields no obvious topographical borders between Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, Russia, Ukraine and Poland. Most rivers bisect states rather than mark boundaries between political entities. Instead, borders have often migrated over populations throughout history

[44] Some borders, however, have remained relatively stable. For example, the eastern border of the Holy Roman Empire with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth or the boundaries between the Kingdom of Hungary, Poland-Lithuania, and the Czech Crown survived for almost a millennium until 1918, and correspond closely to present-day borders (Magocsi, 2002).

(Bös and Zimmer, 2006).[45] To give an example, the poet Adam Mickiewicz was born in Zaosie in the Russian Empire 1798, in a region which until the Third Partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1795 had been part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and which is now the village of Zavosse in Belarus. Lithuania and Belarus both claim Mickiewicz (or Adomas Mickevičius in Lithuanian, Adam Mitskevich in Belarusian) to be part of their national literary-cultural heritage. However, he is best known as Poland's national poet because he wrote in Polish, but from a contemporary geographical perspective he never actually set foot in Poland. More recently, the multiple border movements in the last century in the border region of Transcarpathia gave rise to a humorous anecdote:

> A visitor, encountering one of the oldest local inhabitants, asks about his life. The reply: "I was born in Austria-Hungary, I went to school in Czechoslovakia, I did my army service in Horthy's Hungary, followed by a spell in prison in the USSR. Now I am ending my days in independent Ukraine." The visitor expresses surprise at how much of the world the old man has seen. "But no!", he responds, "I've never left this village!" (Batt, 2002, p. 155).

Although these are both somewhat extreme examples, the phenomenon of migrating borders occurred to some degree throughout much of Central and Eastern Europe.

In spite of this, in the collective memories and national Histories, especially for those inhabitants not living in the affected borderlands and border regions, there is often a 'hyper-stability of border structures' (Zhurzhenko, 2011, p. 66). Borders are often imagined as being fixed, demarcating the boundaries of territorial sovereignty, and 'naturally' occurring, even when they are not. Aside from the obvious cases of such phenomena in Europe, of Kosovo, Northern Cyprus, Crimea, Transnitstria, to name but a few, there are also many examples of borders which are widely perceived as being fixed but which are ambigious in legal terms. For instance, the border treaty signed in February 2014 formalising the border between Estonia and the Russian Federation, which is also the external border of the European Union and NATO, has yet to be ratified by the Russian Federation at the time of writing.

Territoriality is defined as the 'the attempt by an individual or group to affect, influence or control people, a phenomenon, and relationships, by delimiting and asserting control over a geographic area' (Sack, 1986, p. 19).

[45] For an overview of the changing borders in the region, see Magocsi (2002).

Territoriality, as such, is a key instrument for the construction and legitimisation of nationhood and for the symbolic mapping out the 'geo-body' of a nation (Winichakul, 1994; van Houtum, 2012). As John Coakley writes, 'ethnic communities feel a strong association with a particular, so-called "national" territory and use historical, pseudo-historical, or even mythical arguments to press claims to it' (1993, p. 2). Elsewhere Ken Coates writes that 'the modern state created, imposed, maintained, and empowered boundaries, not just by establishing border crossings and implementing custom duties but also in creating and sustaining a sense of national distinctiveness' (1997, p. 166). This link between imaginings of nationhood and space means that border changes resulting in territorial gains are often perceived by the state concerned as corrections to bring about the 'normative isomorphism of nation, state and language' (Kamusella, 2009), that is, in line with the perceived natural and rightful 'geo-body' (Winichakul, 1994) of the nation-state. Border changes resulting in the loss of territory are perceived by the 'victim' state in question as illegal occupations of national homelands by an external 'aggressor'.

A historical perspective on the fluid nature of borders reminds us that, from a nationalist perspective, borders are more important for the 'definition of the spatial boundaries' than for the actual 'control of a particular land or soil' (Conversi, 1995, p. 77). In order to fully appreciate the symbolic power of borders we also need to move beyond the concept of borders as 'hard' lines on the map to understanding them as a multi-level 'process', involving the state and the local population, created through a mutual co-construction between neighbouring polities (Sahlins, 1989). Sabine Dullin (2014) argues, for example, that the boundaries of the Soviet Union were actually a 'thick' or 'wide' border (*la frontière épaisse).* She reconceptualises borders as a zone, a space that is neither permanent nor stable, which can be moved or 'thickened' according to political prerogatives. Dullin sees frontiers between polities not as a boundary but as a region where sovereignty can simultaneously be exerted and disrupted. States are thus conceptualised as a political project subject to revisions, especially concerning their internal and external boundaries. This also reminds us that borders are temporally contingent and relational. Dullin's work on the Soviet Union has eerie parallels with present-day Russian foreign policy: South Ossetia, Abkhazia, Transnistria, and most recently, Crimea and eastern Ukraine can all be viewed as examples of the 'thickening' of Russia's borders.

The instrumentalist ways in which states exert power in borderlands is not limited to physical measures: erecting fences, building watchtowers and border crossings, and stationing border guards or troops, and so on. There is a

vast literature on how History and memory too can be used as instruments of exercising political power in borderlands, and how they function as catalysts for conflicts, or can be used to justify conflicts where the main interests are political or economic (Traverso, 2012).[46] As Pierre Bourdieu (1991) has argued, the 'di-vision' of a state into regions is a way for the government and different groups in society to put forward different visions of space, and is part of a network of meanings linked to power and symbolic representation. John Agnew (2001) has shown how these discourses are combined with social, political, and economic networks that play a role in their creation.

For the most part, these modes of thinking have been applied to the study of the 'hot' conflicts in the headlines current affairs, such as those between Israel and Palestine on the Left Bank and, more recently, the Russian annexation of Crimea. However, borderlands and border regions can also provide fuel for subtler and yet more pervasive 'banal nationalism' at the constellation of different national Histories and memories. Situated in zones which have undergone multiple borders throughout history, these spaces today feature prominently in the History and/or memory of multiple nation-states and ethno-linguistic groups and constitute important sites for the recovery and negotiation of the past. Even though the following examples are of regions that are not the sites of 'hot' memory conflicts today, it must be noted that many of these regions were previously sites of tensions, conflicts, and wars. For example, detailed studies have been conducted on the Polish-Ukrainian border region that includes the city of Lemberg/Lwów/L'vov/L'viv (Zhurzhenko, 2011; 2013), the role of Transylvania in both Hungarian and Romanian national mythologies (Kürti, 2001; Blomqvist et al., 2013), the multiple (re)constructions of Albania's borders (Kalemaj, 2014), and the Wilno/Vilnius region in the Polish and Lithuanian nationalist narratives (Snyder, 2003; Weeks, 2015; Mačiulis and Staliūnas, 2015), as well as in the lesser-known (on the international plane) Belarusian (Bazan, 2014; Davies, 2011, pp. 232–308) and Jewish canons (Shneideman, 1998). Another case is the Kaliningrad oblast of the Russian Federation which continues to occupy a prominent place in the Germanic and Lithuanian mental maps (Sezneva, 2000; Berger 2015).[47]

[46] This is in spite of the reality that in most cases border-drawing has not resulted in open conflict, especially in the Baltic region: the Estonian-Latvian and Latvian-Lithuanian borders were established in 1919 and 1921 respectively through the work of commissions arbitrated by the British (Alston, 2002).

[47] In the Germanic case, this is in part due to famous Prussians such as Immanuel Kant (1724–1804) and Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803) who lived in Königsberg.

At the same time, rather than being loci of contested History and memory, borderlands can also present a problem for states for the opposite reason, namely their precise lack of identification with a nation and its History and memories. Many people in the remote and rural borderland regions of Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, Poland, and Ukraine referred to themselves up until the middle of the twentieth century simply as 'locals'. In the Slavic languages, they often used versions of the word *tuteishi* (literally, 'from here'). Anna Engelking (1999) explores this in detail in her study of the rural inhabitants of the Belarusian-Lithuanian-Polish border region and concludes that the local people identified not as being of a particular nation, but according to '*natsyas*' (religious groups and language of prayer): Catholics pray in Polish and/or Lithuanian, Orthodox in Old Church Slavonic or Russian. Tara Zahra (2008; 2010) uses the concept of 'national indifference' for this phenomenon and, in her account of the Czech-German borderlands during the first half of the twentieth century, she sheds lights on the various means by which pro-German and pro-Czech activists sought to 'nationalise' the school children and their families through educational and social activism. Less well known is the similar covert policy carried out in interwar Latvia to encourage parents in Latgale to send their children to Latvian-language schools instead of to Russian, Polish, or Belarusian schools by providing free lunches as an incentive (Purs, 2002).

The phenomenon of 'national indifference' shifts the focus away from the 'geopolitics of memory' (Zhurzhenko, 2007) and the negotiation and contestation of the past between states – the dominant trend in investigating History and memory in relation to borders – to draw attention to how multiple memories of the past are recovered and negotiated within a single nation-state in its relationship to its borderlands. This is by no means to suggest a return to thinking about History and politics within the framework and conceptual boundaries of the nation-state; far from it, this book is strongly influenced by the contemporary scholarship that emphasizes transnational historiographical approaches.

Ilir Kalemaj, in his study of the imagining of the Albanian national space in the early twentieth century, argues that one of the main shortcomings of much constructivist literature is that it discusses the creation of national borders, but neglects the processes of deconstructing and reconstructing borders in the national imagination. In doing so, constructivists 'are as teleological as the modernists in imagining that something is rooted and then consolidated, which is to say that it goes in one direction' (Kalemaj, 2014, p. 13). Instead, this book investigates how borderlands' pasts are used in pluralistic ways by various

actors and are contingent on socio-political factors. History and memory are continually and dynamically being constructed, deconstructed, and reconstructed in the ever-changing present. This approach opens up many possible avenues for research, including questions such as: how are borderlands with a past of 'migrating borders' incorporated into national History and memory? What aspects of the borderlands' past are remembered, and what is forgotten? What discords, contestations, and counter-Histories and memories exist? Do borderlands construct their own History and memories of the past? Why do some borderlands become nationalised within the History and memory of a nation-state, whereas many other borderlands and regions in Central and Eastern Europe have remained contested? Why do some borderlands not feature in the History and memory of the neighbouring states? What does this tell us about the relationship between centres of power and borderlands, and how is this manifested in the discourses of History and memory? This small book by no means provides answers to all these questions, but hopes to open these areas up for enlivening discussion and possible future research.

Used, Referenced, Negated or Relicised: Developing a Framework for the Study

How does one go about transposing the abovementioned theoretical literature into operational analytical categories that can be applied to investigations of the layering of the past in borderlands? Taking A. Assmann's discussion of 'functional' and 'storage' aspects of memory as its starting point, this book proposes a multi-scalar theoretical framework for understanding what, how, and why different elements of the past are actualised and used in the present. Equally, it draws our attention to what is not present, those elements of the past which are either deliberately forgotten or simply neglected, buried in the '"lost-and-found office" for what is no longer needed or immediately understood' (Assmann, 2008a, p. 106).

Four typologies are developed based on whether the memories are functional or stored, and whether they are remembered or forgotten. The matrix is depicted in Figure 3. **Used past** refers to elements of the past that are collected and preserved. They are incorporated into the national canon and consolidated, elaborated, and disseminated through institutions such as the education system. They are perceived as helping to further political goals. The **referenced past** denotes those parts of the past that are generally remembered in society,

but which have less immediate bearing on the national canon. These might be curiosities, particular events, and figures who are remembered in archives and footnotes, but knowledge about them is usually passively accumulated rather than deliberately *used* in support of particular political aims. The term **negated past** refers to those aspects of the past where efforts have been made to deliberately push them out of popular History and memory so that they are largely forgotten in the dominant discourse. The material records and sources relating to these events and periods are either kept under lock-and-key as state secrets, or have been buried or destroyed. These topics are either taboo, subject to strict censorship, or publicly discredited as belonging to the rubbish-heap of the past. Finally, the **relicised past** corresponds to what A. Assmann calls the 'amorphous mass' of 'unused and unincorporated' aspects of the past which are floating around, dispersed, neglected, and largely disregarded (2011, pp. 123–5).

	Functional	Storage
Remembered	Collected, preserved Institutionalised canon ***USED PAST***	Accumulated curiosities Archival material ***REFERENCED PAST***
Forgotten	Locked up, buried, destroyed Taboo, censorship, rubbish ***NEGATED PAST***	Disregarded, neglected Dispersed ***RELICISED PAST***

Figure 3: *Analytical framework*

These cateogories are not static. At different periods of time and under different political circumstances, elements of the *referenced* or *relicised* past can be dredged up and either *used* and incorporated into the national canon or purposefully buried and *negated*. Likewise, parts of the national canon can be deemed no longer *useable* and set aside as part of the *referenced* past or even, if enough time passes, the *relicised* past. Changes in political regimes can lead to the opening of archives (as was the case after the collapse of the Soviet Union) and the rediscovery of a previously *negated* past.

In the following chapters, these four typologies are used to frame the analysis of the three History museums in Chapters 3–5 in order to understand how Latgale's history is remembered in Latvia today. Museums were chosen, rather than the other modes of narrating discussed in the previous section, for two reasons linked to the specific focus of this study on memory in and of

borderlands. Firstly, monuments and memorials tend to be about a particular event or person (Tamm, 2015), which does not allow us to analyse how the whole span of Latgale's past over the last millennia is narrated in the present. Secondly, museums were chosen over school textbooks, which also provide a *longue durée* narrative, as this allowed comparison of museums in different places in Latvia: in the state capital Riga and in the region of Latgale itself. In bigger countries, such as the USA, textbooks can differ considerably across different regions. In Latvia, greater differences can be observed instead in the teaching material and content of lessons in Latvian and Russian-language schools.[48] As this study is attempting, however, to study Latvian History and memory beyond the ethnic paradigm of 'Latvian' and 'Russian' narratives, museums were chosen to provide a more nuanced perspective.

The museum analysis was carried out using a critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach in order to investigate language, discourse, and communication by attempting to '*uncover, reveal* or *disclose*' the 'underlying *ideologies*' and 'strategies of *manipulation, legitimisation,* [and] the *manufacture of consent*' (van Dijk, 1995, pp. 17–18).[49] As CDA is specifically concerned with power relations, it is a useful tool through which to analyse the politicisation of the past. Even though CDA primarily deals with (verbal) language, other semiotic 'texts' such as visual images and sounds can also be incorporated (Fairclough, 1995; van Dijk, 1995, pp. 18). Sotiria Grek applies CDA specifically to the analysis of museums and proposes that three dimensions need to be considered:

> the *textual* level, where content and form are analysed; the level of *discursive practise*, ie. the socio-cognitive aspects of text production and interpretation; and finally, the level of *social practise*, related to the different level of institutional or social context. (2005, p. 220)

She proposes a method of text and discourse analysis for interpreting museum exhibitions, which is reproduced in Figure 4. Grek's schema links the three dimensions (*textual, discursive, and social)* like nested matryoshka dolls: the analysis moves from (1) *describing* the specific displays in the museum, to (2) *interpreting* how meanings are actively produced, and finally (3) stepping back to consider the socio-historical conditions that *explain* the production of meaning.

[48] For a study of the differences in interpretations of the past amongst schoolchildren in Latvian- and Russian-language schools in Latvia, see Golubeva (2010).

[49] Emphases in original.

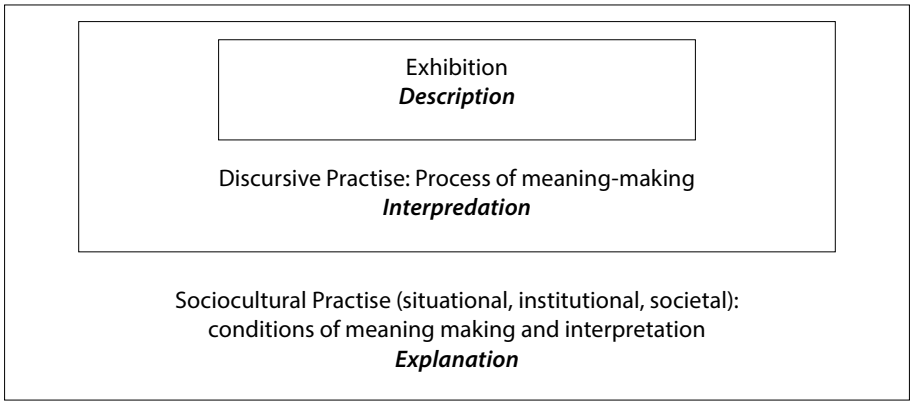

Figure 4: *CDA framework for analysing museum exhibitions. Adapted from Grek (2005, p. 222).*[50]

This three-step approach allows for an analysis of 'how narratives are built, what types of messages are put together and conveyed through the use of text panels [and] video, as well as specific choices of artefacts and artworks' (Grek, 2005, p. 220). CDA helps us to 'deconstruct the different layers of meaning by imposing a critical questioning of the visual communication' (*ibid.,* p. 221). In addition, when describing the exhibition, attention was paid to the relative space devoted to different topics and their positioning for, as Hooper-Greenhill suggests, we should approach our analysis of museums in the same way as cartography, as both fulfil similar functions of delineating territories and power relations (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000, p. 17).

The museum analysis is contextualised using material, gathered from a small survey of Latgalian experts and two interviews, to give an insight into some of the reasons why different aspects of Latgale's past are *used, referenced, negated,* or *relicised.* In doing so, emphasis is placed on how the actualisation of the past in the present is contingent on the political climate of the day as well as the activities and motivations of what Burke (1989, p. 110) calls 'remembrancers'. Burke develops his discussion of memory agents by using the example of the role of historians in shaping narratives of public History, noting that:

[50] Grek developed this schema to specifically study educational practices in museums. The author has adapted Grek's approach to make it suitable for the analysis of museums more generally.

> historians have considered different aspects of the past to be memorable (battles, polities, religion, the economy and so on) and […] they have presented the past in very different ways (concentrating on events or structures, on great men or ordinary people, according to their group's point of view) (*ibid.,* p. 99).

Onken goes a step further, arguing that we should see historians as playing an active and influential role in the processes of meaning-making. As members of an interpretative elite (*Deutungselite*), they stand, for the most part, outside the formal political structure, but nevertheless play a complicit role in reinforcing memory and meaning in the functional domain of memory. They tread a fine line between their professional training and commitment to show the contingency and plurality of the past, and the politicised tendency to build simplified grand narratives that attach fixed and coherent meanings to certain events, people, and places (Onken, 2010, p. 284). This is particularly apparent in the case of historical 'truth-seeking' commissions, such as the Polish and Ukrainian Institutes of National Remembrance or the presidential commissions in the three Baltic States, which employ professional historians to comb through archives and review primary source documents to resolve interpretative disputes about the crimes of the Nazi and Soviet totalitarian regimes (Mink, 2013; Pettai, 2015).

At the same time, historians can also play an all-important role in providing a corrective or counterbalance to the national canon through the communication of their research into those elements of the past that have been *relicised* or *negated*. Burke writes that:

> Writing and print are not powerful enough to stop the spread of myths of this kind. What they can do, however, is to preserve records of the past which are inconsistent with the myths, which undermine them – records of a past which has become awkward and embarrassing, a past which people for one reason or another do not wish to know about, though it might be better for them if they did (1989, p. 110).

In this way, historians can also become 'the guardians of awkward facts, the skeletons in the cupboard of the social memory' (*ibid*). However, the extent to which these alternative narratives are heard is often limited. As will be discussed in subsequent chapters, historians of Latgale are actively engaged in research, which greatly deepens our understanding of aspects and periods of the region's history that are *referenced* or *negated* in the national canon. However, the main ways whereby this new research is communicated – through

scientific monographs, academic articles and conferences – means that the audience is mostly other academics or local Latgalians with a personal interest in their local History, and it does not become part of collective cultural memory in Latvia.[51]

[51] The main journal of Latgalian studies, *Via Latgalia*, is open-access and available online. Available at: http://journals.ru.lv/index.php/LATG [Accessed 12 July 2016].

II. Latgale's Migrating Borders in History and Historiography

This chapter presents a brief overview of the main events and developments in Latgale's past. It has the dual purpose of building the backdrop for the analysis in subsequent chapters and providing a synthesis of the region's history by drawing on contributions from literature in different languages. An overview such as this is necessary in order to acquaint readers unfamiliar with the region with the basic contours of Latgale's history, as well as to lay out the main historiographical trends and controversies which have shaped interpretations of Latgale's past in the previous two centuries. This is especially important as very little has been written in English about Latgale.[52] As such, readers knowledgeable about the Latgalian case and already familiar with the literature might not find much new material in the chapter. Likewise, for those wishing to learn more about the History of present-day Latvia, as well as neighbouring Estonia and Lithuania, beyond the very brief and very general summary provided here, the author points readers to the works by Andrejs Plakans (1995; 1997; 2011b) and Andres Kasekamp (2010)[53] in addition to the standard Latvian-language reference works on Latvian History produced by the Latvian Commission of Historians (Bērziņš, 2000a; 2000b; Feldmanis, 2005).

[52] The classical work on Latgale is Miķelis Bukšs' *Latgaļu literaturas vēsture* (1957). Although nominally a literary History, it also provided many insights into the cultural, social, and political development of the region's history. More recently, Pēteris Zeile has published a cultural History of Latgale, *Latgales kultūras vēsture* (2006). Notable works in English are Andrejs Plakans's (2007) chapter on nineteenth- and twentieth-century Latgale and my own work on the region from a language politics perspective (Gibson, 2013; 2015). A more in-depth discussion of the historiography of Latgale occurs in the section part of this chapter.

[53] Older works that nonetheless still include many valuable insights are Bilmanis (1951) and Spekke (1957). Suzanne Pourchier-Plasseraud (2015) also provides overview from the perspective of Cultural History of the period up to 1940.

The first part of this chapter presents readers with an overview of the changing political borders and rulers of the territory of Latgale, and the demographic changes to the region's inhabitants. As a 'interimperial contact zone' (Platt, 2013, p. 125), these factors shaped the different political, cultural, religious, and linguistic influences on the region that accumulated over time. Comparisons are made between Latgale's history and developments in the other regions of present-day Latvia for reference purposes, but this is no way meant to endorse a teleological understanding of the region's past whereby the formation of a Latvian nation-state was inevitable or predetermined. The overview of Latgale's past is structured around a series of maps that can be found in the Appendix, but references to them will occur throughout the text. This presents a novel way of telling the History of Latgale, but one that the author feels is vital for conveying the multiple 'migrating borders' and geopolitics which have shaped the region. So far, no historical atlas has been produced for North Eastern Europe akin to Paul Robert Magocsi's (2002) seminal work on Central Eastern Europe, which visually presents the shifting borders and place names of the region from a transnational standpoint. The most up-to-date historical atlas covering Latgale is *Latvijas vēstures atlantes* (Latvian historical atlas) (Turlajs, 2012), but it covers the region only from the perspective of the borders of the present-day Latvian nation-state. The same is also true of the French atlas, *La Lettonie en Europe* (Orcier, 2005). The use of maps in this section illustrates the benefits of such an exercise in anticipation that a future more comprehensive historical atlas similar to Magocsi's might be produced.

In the second section of this chapter, the focus shifts to the historiography of Latgale and an overview of how Latgale's past has been written about over time. It begins by examining the main trends in Baltic German, Polish-Lithuanian, and Russian imperial historiographical approaches. Prior to the nineteenth century, Latgale's history was for the most part written from the outside; that is to say that, the authors of these works did not live in Latgale and they wrote about Latgale in conjunction with much broader historical narratives. The main exception is the Polish-Livonian historian, Gustaw Manteuffel, who wrote extensively about the Medieval and Early Modern History of Latgale and whom many Latvian scholars consider to be the founding father of a specifically Latgalian (or Polish Livonian, as Manteuffel termed the region) historiography. In this way, Manteuffel anticipated the developments in the twentieth century, in which the trend was towards an increasingly regional and local approach to the study of Latgale's past, both as a regional component of Latvian and Soviet Latvian historiography, as well as the later emergence of a 'school' of Latgalian historiography.

These dialogic historiographical trends are situated within the context of regime and borders changes discussed in the first section to shed light on the geopolitical factors shaping how Latgale's past has been framed and understood over time.

Overview of the History of Latgale

In the tenth century, several Baltic ethno-cultural groups inhabited the territory of present-day Latvia: Curonians (*kurši*), Livs (*līvi*), Lettgallians (*latgaļi*)[54], Selonians (*sēļi*), and Semigallians (*zemgaļi*). The Lettgallians, from whom the name Letts and Latvians was later derived, were the last tribe to arrive in today's Latvia, having been pushed out of the territory of present-day Belarus by Slavic migration. Map A in the Appendix presents the approximate distribution of these different groups.[55] The territory was divided into districts made up of political communities of several villages, ruled by elders, and often centered round a hillfort. By the twelfth century, some of these hillforts – notably Jersika (Gerzika) – were sites of permanent habitation and ruled by a military chieftan (Kasekamp, 2010). Slavs arrived in the region from the north-east, attracted by the region's resources and strategic location for trading. Vikings (also known as Vangarians) arrived from the west from the eighth century onwards, opening up trading routes via the Daugava and Dniepr rivers to the south.

By the end of the twelfth century, the peoples living on the eastern shore of the Baltic were the last remaining 'pagans' in Europe.[56] Various Catholic powers organized military expeditions and crusades to 'convert'[57] the local 'pagan' population to the Christian faith. Supported and armed by the papacy, Germanic knights began a conquest of Livonia under the leadership of a monk from Bremen, Albert von Buxhoeveden (Latv. Alberts fon Buksthēvdens)

[54] In Latvian, there is a difference between *latgaļi* (ancient Lettgallians) and *latgalieši* (modern-day Latgalians).

[55] While many historians dispute the accuracy of maps such as this one, it is intended here merely as a simple overview for readers who are unfamiliar with this topic. Moreover, this map is very similar to maps displayed in the museums discussed in Chapters 3–5, and thus can be said to be representative of how this period is remembered in cultural memory in Latvia.

[56] Anti Selart notes that the term 'pagan' was often used in contemporary sources to denote political rather than religious communities (2015, p. 14).

[57] Following William Urban (2003, p. 86), the term 'convert' is placed in quotation marks to highlight the often disingenuous nature of the official justifications for 'colonisation', as well as how, from the point of view of the indigenous inhabitants, Christianization was not something permanent. It was regarded as the outcome of political circumstances rather than any profound experience of conversion, and often limited to a few symbolic gestures.

(1165–1229), who became a bishop of Livonia and is remembered in Latvia today as the alleged founder of Riga in 1201. Throughout the thirteenth century, as a result of different conquests and alliances, the territory of Livonia (overlapping with present-day Estonia and Latvia) gradually came to be defined. In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Livonia consisted of a 'conglomerate of independent powers': the Rigan church and bishops, other Livonian bishoprics, the Order of the Sword Brothers (*Fratres Militiae Christi*) (until 1237), the Teutonic Order (known in this region as the Livonian Order), as well as indigenous rulers (Urban, 2003). Some Lettgalian chieftans converted to Orthodox Christianity and Jersika was ruled by a vassal of Polotsk, leading Selart to argue that 'the question must even be raised as to what extent Livonia and Rus' actually represented distinct societies and cultures during the early 13th century, confronting each other as internally cohesive entities' (Selart, 2015, p. 15). The Germanic knights attempted to push further eastwards towards Novgorod, but were defeated in the famous 'Battle on the Ice' on Lake Peipus (Ger. Peipussee; Rus. Pskovsko-Chudskoe Ozero) in 1242 at the hands of the young Prince of Novgorod, Alexander Nevskii (1221–1263). This battle established the frontier between Germanic and Slavic spheres of influence in the region and later came to define the eastern borders of the Estonian and Latvian states. Anti Selart (2015) characterizes Livonia during this period as a Medieval 'frontier society' as many Livonian powers continued remain in close contact with the different principalities of Rus' to the east.

At the end of the thirteenth century, a federal ecclesiastical state known as the State of the Order (Ger. *Ordenstaat*) was formed as part of the Holy Roman Empire, and known as the Livonian Confederation. In 1410, however, the Teutonic forces were defeated at Grunwald (Tannenberg) in Masuria at the hands of an alliance of the Kingdom of Poland and Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The battle marked the rise of the Polish-Lithuanian union (who were formally united in 1569 as the Commonwealth of the Two Nations) as the dominant political and military force in the region. During the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, the Northern Germanic trading organisation called the Hanseatic League spread to Livonia. While the cities of Riga, Kokenhusen (Koknese), Lemsal (Limbaži), Wolmar (Valmiera), and Wenden (Cēsis), were members, the Hanseatic League did not reach eastern Livonia. The Germanic influence was strengthened in urban settlements that were part of the Hanseatic political-economic structure (North, 2015).

While the influence of the Order had waned after its defeat at the hands of Polish and Lithuanian forces in 1410, the remaining knights still continued to exert influence. Swayed by the reforming ideas of Martin Luther, Gotthard

Kettler, the Order's final Grand Master converted the region to Lutheranism. The oldest known example of written Latvian is the 1530 translation of a hymn by German pastor Nikolaus Ramm in Riga. The first Latvian dictionary was printed in 1638, followed by a grammar in 1644. They were printed using Gothic Blackletter script associated with the Lutheran faith.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century, Muscovy began to exert influence in the region and captured Novgorod from the Hanseatic League in 1478. Seeking protection from Ivan the Terrible, Kettler entered into a defensive alliance with the Polish King Stephan Báthory at the start of the Livonian War (1558–1583). In return, the Duchy of Livonia was assigned as a vassal to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and a joint domain of the Commonwealth after the signing of the 1569 Union that joined the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Kingdom of Poland. The Duchy of Courland and Semigallia maintained a greater degree of autonomy and Kettler obtained the title of Duke of Courland with the province becoming his hereditary fiefdom. In 1585, the District of Pilten (Latv. Piltene; Ger. Pilten; Pol. Piltyń), a former episcopal domain, was also transferred to Polish-Lithuanian control from Denmark. These territorial changes are depicted on Map B in the Appendix. These developments marked the end of the Livonian Order and the beginning of a period of Polish-Lithuanian influence in the region. Based on a guarantee by the Commonwealth's first king, Sigismund II Augustus (1520–1572), the Low German language retained its official position in Livonia. Moreover, despite efforts by local clergy and the Jesuits to embrace the Counter-Reformation, assisted by the Polish-Lithuanian King Stephan Báthory, the population did not convert to Catholicism *en masse*.

In the early seventeenth century, during the war between the Commonwealth and Sweden (1621–1625) – an arena of the larger Thirty Years War (1618–1648) – Sweden annexed the majority of the Duchy of Livonia. Only a quarter of the previously controlled territory – the Dyneburg (Latv. Daugavpils; Latg. Daugpiļs; Ger. Dünaburg), Rzeżyca (Latv. Rēzekne; Latg. Rēzne; Ger. Rositten), Lucyn (Latv. Ludza; Ger. Ludsen), and Maryenhauz (Latv. Viļaka; German: Marienhausen) *starosty*[58] – remained in Polish-Lithuanian hands, along with the *de facto* independent Duchy of Courland and Semigallia. As a result, Livonia was divided during this period into 'Swedish' and 'Polish' spheres of influence and the lands became known as Swedish Livonia to the north, and the Livonian Voivodeship or Palatinate (also known as Inflanty [in Polish] or

[58] Lit. *eldership*, an administrative territory of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Polish[59] Livonia [Livonia Polonica]) to the south.[60] The political-administrative division of Livonia at the beginning of the seventeenth century contributed to the development of Latgale as a rather specific regional entity. As will be explored in subsequent chapters, it also provided much of the material that is *used* today to construct a particular Latgalian historical narrative.

Polish Livonia remained part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth until 1772, apart from an eleven-year hiatus during the Russo-Polish War (1654–1667) when the territory was partially captured by Russia under Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich and the city of Dyneburg (today's Daugavpils) was renamed Borisoglebsk for a short time. The two and a half centuries spent within the borders of Polish-Lithuanian political and cultural influence had a long-lasting impact on Latgale. Catholicism, perceived by many of the local inhabitants as the 'Polish faith', was consolidated in the region. The Polish language spread, facilitated by immigration from ethnically Polish, Lithuanian, and Ruthenian (today's Belarusians) lands. Nevertheless, Polish Livonia, situated at the north-eastern border of the Commonwealth, remained relatively remote from the heartlands of Polish culture in the Kingdom of Poland and its political and cultural influence was less strongly felt than in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (Zajas, 2013).

During the 1660s, Old Believers started settling in Polish Livonia from the neighbouring regions of Pskov and Velikie Luki, crossing the border from Muscovy in order to flee persecution for their refusal to accept the reform of the Russian Orthodox Church launched by Patriarch Nikon (1605–1681) in 1653. These Old Believers settled in the area surrounding Dyneburg (Daugavpils) and the first Old Believer church in Polish Livonia was built nearby in the village of Liginišķi in 1660. Subsequent settlers in the eighteenth century settled around Rzeżyca (Rēzekne). By the second half of the nineteenth century it is estimated that there were approximately 70,000 Old Believers in Latgale, the highest concentration in all the Baltic littoral (Zavarina, 1986, pp. 40–41; Baronovskii and Potashenko, 2005, pp. 359–364).[61]

[59] 'Poland', reflecting contemporary abbreviation, denotes the 'Commonwealth of the Two Nations, Polish and Lithuanian'.

[60] For a detailed explanation of all the different names, see Dybaś (2013).

[61] According to the 1897 Russian Census, there were 46,974 Old Believers in the territory of Polish Livonia. This figure is likely to be conservative and Zavarina claims that there were 67,000 Old Believers in Latgale in the 1870s (1986, p. 40). According to the 1935 census in the Republic of Latvia, there were 78,582 Old Believers in Latgale comprising 13.24 per cent of the population (compared to 5.49 per cent in the rest of Latvia), with the highest concentration in the district of Rēzekne (39,452 or 26.01 per cent) (Šuplinska, 2012, p. 679).

The arrival of large numbers of Slavic-speakers to Inflanty impacted on the development of the local Baltic speech amongst local inhabitants, known as Latgalian (Gibson, 2015, p. 61).[62] The influence of Slavic elements on Latgalian is visible in the earliest examples of printed Latgalian dating from the mid-eighteenth century. The first printed Latgalian book was produced by Jesuit monks in Wilno (Lith. Vilnius) and used Polish orthography. The work was also printed in the Latin script which distinguished it from the written Latvian developed by Baltic Germans in Swedish-Livonia (and later Russian-ruled Lifliand), as well as in the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia, which were both influenced by German(ic) orthography and printed in Gothic Fraktur type. The strong influence of Polish is especially evident in nineteenth century Latgalian prior to standardization, particularly with regard to Latgalian vocabulary connected to the Catholic faith (Rembiszewska, 2009; Stafecka, 2009; Leikuma, 2008, 230–232). Today, Latgalian is one of the most important markers of Latgalian regional identity, yet linguists are divided as to whether Latgalian is a dialect of Latvian (which is also the official stance of the Latvian government) or a separate language.[63]

Meanwhile, in Swedish Livonia, Riga at this time was the second largest city in the Swedish Empire and grew in importance. During the Great Northern War, in 1710 Swedish-ruled Baltic territories were incorporated into the Russian Empire as the Estliand and Lifliand *gubernii.* The Duchy of Courland and Semigallia was ceded in 1795 and administered as the Kurliand *gubernia.* In 1772, Inflanty was incorporated into the Russian Empire at the First Partition of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (see Map C in the Appendix). Between 1772–1802 the territory was apportioned to the Pskov *gubernia* and from 1802–1918 it formed the western part of Vitebsk *gubernia* (see Map D in the Appendix). Although the Commonwealth had disappeared from the map (along with the political-administrative borders formally linking Polish Livonia to the Commonwealth's sphere of cultural and political influence), in the first half of the nineteenth century the territories recently incorporated into the Russian Empire continued to be run by the Polish-Lithuanian nobility. This measure was designed to placate the Polish-Lithuanian nobles as well as make up for the lack of skilled Russian-speaking administrators and teachers in the region (Pavlenko, 2011).

Congress Poland (created in 1815 at the Vienna Congress) nonetheless remained a destabilizing factor within the Russian Empire. The memory of

[62] Historically known in Polish as *język łotewski inflant* polskich or *język inflantsko-łotewski* (the Latvian language of Polish Inflanty/Inflanty-Latvian language), and more recently, as *język łatgalski* (Latgalian).

[63] For an overview of the contemporary language debates surrounding Latgalian, see Lazdiņa and Marten (2012).

the Polish-Lithuanian noble *natio* meant that many Polish-speaking nobles, despite their participation in Russian imperial life, continued to harbour aspirations to restore the Polish-Lithuanian state. Uprisings of Polish-Lithuanian nobles against imperial rule occurred in 1830–1 and 1863–4, which resulted in two crackdowns. After the 1830–1831 uprising of Polish-Lithuanian nobles which spread to Lithuania and Latgale (in which Emilia Plater [Lith. Emilija Pliaterytė; Latv. Emīlija Plātere] [1806–1831] famously participated), Russian was introduced to replace Polish as the language of administration, judiciary, and instruction in state-funded schools (Thaden, 1981).

Following the 1863–4 uprising, there was a ban from 1864–1904 on publishing in Polish outside Congress Poland, as well as on all printing in the Latin alphabet, perceived in the North-West Russian Empire as a 'Polish script'. This ban was not extended to the Baltic provinces of Estliand, Kurliand, and Lifliand. In Latgale, the ban impacted on writing in Polish, Ruthenian/Belarusian, and Latgalian which were regarded as 'Polish literature' and had to be written in Cyrillic. Polish language was forbidden and Catholic mass was banned in churches outside of Congress Poland. To the south, many Lithuanians, dissatisfied with having to use Cyrillic, which they associated with the Orthodox faith, not only relied on Lithuanian books published in East Prussia and smuggled in by a network of 'book-bearers' (*knygnešys*), but also organized clandestine schools. Although Latgalian-language handwritten manuscripts circulated illegally and extensively during the period of prohibition, for example those by Latgalian poet Pīters Miglinīks (1850–83), there was no substantial Latgalian-speaking community outside the borders of the Russian Empire at this time to organize a smuggling effort and the demand for Latgalian-language texts was also much smaller (Gibson, 2013, pp. 43–5). These repressive measures have generally been discussed in the literature under the umbrella of 'Russification' policies, however, as many historians have noted, these policies were neither systematic nor consistent (Thaden, 1981; Staliūnas, 2007). Moreover, the so-called 'Russification' of Latgale also occurred during this period through the voluntary adoption of Russian as a second language, for social advancement or business, or conversion to Orthodoxy. For example, with the introduction of Russian-language primary schooling (*narodnye shkoly*) in 1862, knowledge of Russian spread. However, these schools were not compulsory and few could afford to pay for tuition. Consequently, Russian was still primarily regarded as a learned language with a narrow (official) sphere of use and was not adopted within the family.

While during the second half of the nineteenth century, the tsarist authorities initiated large-scale resettlements of rural Orthodox populations from Russia

to the Baltic *gubernii*, the Old Believer population still made up the majority of the region's Russian-speakers during this period. The connections between Latgale and the territory of present-day Belarus were also strengthened during this period as Latgale was administered as part of the Vitebsk *gubernia* (from 1802–1920), something that has often been overlooked in the historiography. These connections were strengthened when Vitebsk (Bel. Vitsebsk) became a strategic railroad centre from the 1880s with the building of the Vitebsk-Dvinsk (Vitsebsk-Daugavpils) and Warsaw-St Petersburg railway lines. As Latgale fell within the Pale of Settlement to which Jews were confined in the Russian Empire, the towns of Dvinsk, Rēzekne, and Ludza had large Jewish populations and developed as important centers of Ashkenazic Jewish cultural life.

The second half of the nineteenth century witnessed significant changes to the population of Latgale. Alexander II's 'Peasant Reform' of 1861 emancipated the serfs in Latgale. However, the serfs in Courland and Livland had already been emancipated forty years earlier in 1817–1819, which contributed to the different levels of socio-economic development between the regions. The tsarist authorities initiated large-scale resettlements of rural Orthodox populations from Russia to the Baltic *gubernii*. Latgale was also home to a large Jewish population, falling as it did within the Pale of Settlement, the area in the Russian Empire where permanent residency for Jews was allowed, unlike the other Latvian-speaking Baltic *gubernii* that were outside this area. Finally, between 1861 and World War I it is estimated that 50,000 people from Latgale, around 10 per cent of the population, emigrated to Siberia for economic reasons. Consequently, there are Latgalian-speaking communities in Siberia to this day (Andronov and Leikuma, 2006; Reinsone, 2014).

Between the 1850s and 1880s in the Baltic *gubernii* of Lifliand and Kurliand, the Latvian intelligentsia of the 'Young Latvian' cultural and literary movement led the first 'national awakening'. However, they were faced with the reality that the Latvian-speakers of the Baltic provinces had never thought of themselves as a collective, let alone a *Volk* (Latv. *tauta*).[64] However, based on the imperative of ethno-linguistic nationalism, the Latvian 'dialect' spoken by

[64] The Latvian word *tauta* has no direct English translation. It derives from the Germanic thought of J. G. Fichte and J. G. Herder that was centred round the idea of *Volk* (a people, an ethnic nation) as distinct from the political-nation (Latv. *nācija*, a translation of the Ger. *Nation*) (Plakans, 2011b, p. 53). Suzanne Pourchier-Plasseraud notes however that 'the German word *Volk* does not have precisely the same meaning, as it is more ethnically focused, while the term *tauta* – beyond this concept of an ethnic people – also has social and political dimensions. […] For Latvians, *tauta* has a spiritual, quasi-religious focus that was broadly taken up during the interwar period.' (2015, p. 100).

the Latgalians was rationale for their inclusion in the 'imagined' Latvian *tauta* and, by extension, in a future Latvian nation-state. The main task was to dilute the cultural importance of provincial boundaries (Plakans, 2011a, p. 51). One way in which this was initiated was through the name Latgale (in Latvian) or Latgola (in Latgalian) (referring to the ancient Lettgallians [*latgaļi*] from which all Latvians are allegedly descended) which only gained currency after 1900; prior to that, the region was referred to as Polish Livland or Inflanty in Latvian and Baltic German texts (*ibid.,* pp. 51–2).

Later, the Latgalian-speakers also underwent their own 'national awakening', which was begun by members of the Polish-Lithuanian nobility such as Gustaw Manteuffel (Ger. Gustav von Manteuffel) and Celina Plater, as well as by the Polish ethnographer Stefania Ulanowsk, who compiled extensive collections of Latgalian folklore and songs. After the 1905 revolution which began in St Petersburg and spread to the Baltic and western provinces, the ban on Latin script printing was lifted and language restrictions were repealed, leading to an upsurge in periodicals in Latgalian and the emergence of a local intelligentsia. The two most important champions of the Latgalian cause were Francis Kemps (Latg. Fraņcs Kemps) (1876–1952) who wanted to maintain distance between Latvians and Latgalians and even argued for Latgalian independence (Kemps, 1910), and Francis Trasuns (Latg. Fraņcs Trasuns) (1864–1926) who was in favour of a union of eastern and western Latvian-speakers (Plakans, 2011a, pp. 55–56).

In the last years of World War I, the establishment of an autonomous and independent Latvia came to the forefront of discussions among Latvian and Latgalian public intellectuals and politicians. In March 1917 at the First Latgale Congress in Rēzekne, a general meeting of 238 delegates from diverse Latgalian organisations voted in favour of joining the Latvian nation-state, with the proviso that they were given a considerable degree of autonomy in whatever new language-based polity emerged. A significant minority of attendees, led by Francis Kemps, walked out of the meeting, desiring a stronger statement of separateness and warning that joining a Latvian nation-state would jeopardise the Latgalian traditional way of speaking and writing (Plakans, 2011a, p. 57).

For most of World War I, Kurliand was occupied by the German army and incorporated into the polity of Ober-Ost. Lifliand and Vitebsk remained within the Russian Empire for most of the war. Following the Bolshevik Revolution in autumn 1917 and the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk (1918) between the German Empire and the Bolsheviks, the Bolsheviks renounced the former Russian Empire's claims to its western territories. With the defeat of the German Empire in November 1918, Latvian politicians declared independence. However, despite

the desire by most Latvian and Latgalian intellectuals for Latgale to be included within the new state, it still formally remained in Vitebsk *gubernia*. Fighting continued in the region for several years after the end of World War I[65] and the Polish army played an important role in the liberation of Latgale from the Red Army at the Battle of Dyneburg/Daugavpils/ Dvinsk in the winter of 1919. After the war, there was a dispute between the Latvian, Polish, and Lithuanian governments regarding several rural municipalities around the city of Grīva on the southern bank of the river Daugava and in parts of Ilūkste municipality, which had large proportions of Polish inhabitants (Zielińska, 2002, p. 361; Gierowska-Kałłaur, 2011) (see Map E in Appendix for the interwar borders).

Latgale was the least 'Latvian' region of the new state: in 1920, its population was ethno-linguistically 53.3 per cent Latvian[66], compared to Kurzeme 83.0 per cent, Vidzeme 82.0 per cent, and Zemgale 78.3 per cent. Latgale had a large number of minorities: Russians (19.7 per cent), Belarusians (13.4 per cent), Jews (6.1 per cent), and Poles (6.1 per cent) (Plakans, 2011a, pp. 57–58), the proportion of which was much higher in big cities such as Daugavpils, Rēzekne, Ludza, and Krāslava. This large proportion of minorities, combined with Latgale's eastern 'peripheral' geographical location (from the perspective of Riga), 'perpetuated its image as a borderland (Latv. *nomale*) in constant need of further "integration"' (*ibid*., p. 58). While socio-economic changes, such as the Agrarian Reform that redistributed hamlets into individual farmsteads, helped to integrate Latgale, these were not accompanied by significant changes in the cultural make-up of the region. Catholicism remained strongly institutionalized all over Latgale and there were large clusters of Orthodox inhabitants, Old Believers, and Jews, especially around the urban centres of Daugavpils and Rēzekne.

The relatively liberal policies towards minorities came to an end after 1934, when the former independence fighter and first prime minister of the Republic of Latvian Kārlis Ulmanis overthrew the democratically elected government in Riga with the help of the military, riding on the slogan of 'national unity'. The promotion of 'Latvianisation' policies during the following years of his authoritarian rule led to a decline in the use of Latgalian in education and print media as well as in the number of minority schools across the country (Purs, 2002). Nonetheless, in the 1990s Ulmanis continued to be celebrated by

[65] This period is called the Latvian War of Independence in Latvian historiography and the Polish-Soviet War in Polish, Soviet, and Russian historiography.

[66] Many of them probably identified as Latgalian, but 'Latgalian' was not an available option in the census.

some in Latvia as one of the great unifiers of modern Latvia (Dunsdorfs, 1978; Onken, 2003, pp. 167–179).

As a result of the secret protocol of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact between Stalin and Hitler in 1939 that demarcated 'spheres of influence' for both totalitarian regimes, Latgale once again experienced a shift in political and cultural borders. Latvia was first occupied and then incorporated into the Soviet Union in 1940–1941 and again after World War II from 1944/5–1991. The most significant territorial change took place in 1945 when the Abrene district (renamed Rus. P'talovo, until 1938 known as Latv. Jaunlatgale [New Latgale]) was transferred to the Russian SFSR (Anderson, 1988). This period from 1940–1991 also saw substantial changes to the population of Latgale. The large Jewish population was almost completely extinguished during the Nazi occupation (1941–1944), especially during the mass murders in the summer of 1941. In June 1941 and in 1949 the Soviet regime carried out large-scale deportations of the local population to Siberia.

Between 1944–1991, Latvia was occupied by the Soviet Union and administered as the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic. Latvia was incorporated into the political and economic system of the USSR: forced collectivisation, a centralised economy, and a heavy industrialisation programme were introduced. In the first years after the war, Moscow's control was enforced by placing Russians in top positions of leadership in the party and government. Starting from the late 1940s, thousands of Russian-speaking Soviet citizens began emigrating to the Latvian SSR for work, not least to the eastern region of Latgale, where there was already a large Russian-speaking community present from before the war. This led to the growing dominance of the Russian language in most spheres of local everyday life (Purs, 2012; Smith and Galbreath, 2010).

In the second half of the 1980s, Gorbachev's introduction of reforms in the Soviet Union called *glasnost* prompted a more open political and economic climate, and Latvians took to the streets in large demonstrations in Riga and formed a Popular Front movement. This period, popularly understood as a 'Latvian national reawakening', culminated in Latvia regaining its independence in 1991. Since 2004, Latvia has also been a member of the European Union. Administratively speaking, Latgale only formally exists today as one of five planning regions after the municipality reform of 1 July 2009. In Latvian national symbolism, however, Latgale continues to be of importance: it constitutes the third star on the Freedom Monument in Riga and the coat of arms, and is one of the four historical regions of Latvia mentioned in the Constitution (Latvijas Republikas Saeima, 2009).

<table>
<tr><th>Kurzeme-Zemgale</th><th>Vidzeme</th><th>Latgale</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">13th–16th centuries Territories under the influence of the Livonian Order</td></tr>
<tr><td>1561–1569 Duchy of Courland and Semigallia, Grand Duchy of Lithuania
1569–1621 Joint domain of the Kingdom of Poland and Grand Duchy of Lithuania</td><td colspan="2">1561–1569 Duchy of Livonia, Grand Duchy of Lithuania

1569–1621 Duchy of Livonia, Joint domain of the Kingdom of Poland and Grand Duchy of Lithuania</td></tr>
<tr><td>1621–1795 Duchy of Courland and Semigallia, Joint domain of the Kingdom of Poland and Grand Duchy of Lithuania</td><td>1621–1710 Swedish Livonia</td><td>1621–1772 Inflanty Palatinate (Polish Livonia), Joint domain of the Kingdom of Poland and Grand Duchy of Lithuania [1656–1667 Partially occupied by the Tsardom of Russia during the Russo-Polish War]</td></tr>
<tr><td>1795–1918 Kurliand gubernia, Russian Empire</td><td>1710–1918 Lifliand gubernia, Russian Empire</td><td>1772–1802 Pskovskaia gubernia, Russian Empire
1802–1918 Vitebsk gubernia, Russian Empire</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">1914–1918 Parts of the territories occupied by the German army during World War I</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">1918–1920 Latvian War of Independence / Russian Civil War / Polish-Soviet War</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">1918–1940 Republic of Latvia</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">1940–1941 Latvian SSR within the Soviet Union</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">1941–1944/5 Nazi Germany</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">1944/5–1991 Latvian SSR within the Soviet Union</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">1991-present Restored Republic of Latvia</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="3">2004-present Member of the European Union</td></tr>
</table>

Figure 5: *Timeline of the major geopolitical border changes in the history of the three historical territories which make up present-day Latvia. This periodization forms the basis of the comparative analysis in the following chapters.*

Key Trends in Latgale's Historiography

Latgale is a region that has been disputed by various political powers across the centuries and these tensions are also reflected in the historiography. The ideas and approaches influencing how the History of Latgale has been written have undergone dramatic changes. These historiographical developments have accompanied the various shifts in geopolitical borders and rulers, and the emergence, development, and consolidation of various political, imperial, and national projects in the region outlined in the previous section. Most of the authors prior to the second half of the nineteenth century were Polish-Lithuanian (and Polish Livonian), Russian, or Baltic German, and the way that they wrote about Latgale was framed around the different states to which the region had historically been associated with – the 'German period', Poland-Lithuania, and the Russian Empire. The aim of this section is to provide a historical overview of the development of Latgalian historiography in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (up to 1991), which functions as the backdrop to the present-day historiographical and mnemonic trends engaging with Latgale's past. The summary of Latgalian historiography presented here is by no means exhaustive, but it acquaints readers unfamiliar with Latgale with the main characteristics of how Latgale's past has been conceptualised at various points in time and by different actors, and the different political circumstances shaping their approach to writing about the History of Latgale. Krzysztof Zajas describes Latgalian historiography as 'a theatre of competing national historiographical perspectives' (2013, p. 15). However, the actual extent to which these approaches can be described as 'national' and whether we can actually speak of such sharp lines between the different historiographical schools will be explored below.

The so-called **Baltic German** historiographical approach constitutes the earliest recordings and interpretations of the history of the territory of Latgale. During the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Baltic German intellectuals, such as Garlieb Merkel, Johann Christoph, Reinhold Berens, Johann Christoph Schwartz, Johann Friedrich Hartnoch, Carl Schirren, Theodor Schiemann, Friedrich Georg von Bunge, Leonid Arbusow, and Reinhard Wittram, played an important role in writing about the history of the Baltic region. Garlieb Merkel wrote sympathetically about the 'Latvian' (*Letten*) peasants under the thumb of their German overlords in *Die Letten, vorzüglich in Liefland am Ende des philosophischen Jahrhunderts, Ein Beytrag zur Völker- und Menschenkunde* (1796) (Skudra 1997). Another important figure is Carl Schirren, professor of Russian History at Dorpat University (1860–69), who became a spokesperson for

the maintenance of Baltic German autonomy against encroaching Russification policies in the second half of the nineteenth century. He argued that Livonia had a long historical tradition of linguistic and religious privileges in his polemical essay *Livländische Antwort an Herrn Juri Samarin* (1869).

While the above-mentioned authors presented different and contrasting views on the history of the Baltic region, their writings often dealt with similar topics. Popular themes in the Baltic-German historiographical tradition were the so-called '*Aufsegelung Livlands*' (the discovery[67] of Livland) when merchants from Lübeck arrived at the mouth of the Daugava river in 1158–9 (discovered in the second half of the nineteenth century to be merely a legend) and the activities of bishop Albert von Buxhövden who founded the city of Riga. Other common topics were the Sword Brethren, the efforts of the Brotherhood to Christianise the local population, the rule of the Teutonic-Livonian Order, the prosperous times of the Hanseatic League, the Reformation, and the secularisation of the Teutonic Knights and the rule of Livonia as a vassal of the Commonwealth. All of these themes sought to legitimise the 'colonisation' of the Baltic littoral during the Medieval period and emphasize the benefits of 'German' influence in the region. By contrast, the appearance of Polish King Stephen Bathory and the re-introduction of Catholicism were often portrayed as a restriction of the political and confessional freedoms enjoyed in the region for centuries. During this period, '[e]rstwhile colonizers [Baltic Germans] took on the role of the "locals" whom the external aggressor [Poland-Lithuania] tries to deprive of civil liberties' (Zajas, 2013, p. 61). This strong nostalgia in Baltic German historiography for the times of Teutonic Order persisted well into the twentieth century (Wittram, 1972, p. 625). Derivatives of the German-language names for Livland, Estland, and Kurland (Lifliand, Estliand, and Kurliand) were used in the Russian Empire for the Baltic *gubernii* consisting of the former territories ruled by the Teutonic Order, where the Germanic influence and culture still dominated, and which retained certain privileges and a degree of autonomy (although less than the Duchy of Finland) under Russian imperial rule.

Latgale, on the other hand, with its much smaller Baltic German population, was considered to have played a less prominent role in the historical narratives of contacts with Western Europe and Enlightenment.[68] After 1621, when most

[67] *Aufsegelung* comes from the Low German *upsegeln* meaning 'reaching the shore' or 'sailing' to a new place (Zajas, 2013, p. 37).

[68] By contrast, the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia had been part of the Commonwealth until 1795, yet Kurland was reintegrated into Germanic historiography in the nineteenth century.

of Livonia came under Swedish control, the territory of present-day Latgale, which remained within the borders of the Commonwealth, was 'in a sense, pushed aside by German historiography and footnoted as the Polish-Russian district' (Zajas, 2013, p. 62). Beginning with World War I, the Baltic German historiographical tradition in Latvia was gradually displaced, both because it was seen as treasonous during the war by the imperial administration and then it slowly lost ground during the interwar period to the official Latvian national historiography (*ibid*., pp. 33–92).[69]

Polish-Lithuanian historiography gave more prominence to Latgale than the Baltic German tradition. Yet due to the geographical remoteness of Polish Livonia from the Polish-heartland, Latgale was still presented as a 'non-existent land' in Polish-Lithuanian historiography (Zajas, 2013). The earliest contributions to the Polish-Lithuanian historiography of Latgale were Marcin Kwiatowski's small book published in 1567, describing the territory newly acquired by the Commonwealth, and Jan August Hylzen's (1720–1767) more substantial work published in 1750, which documents the legal basis by which Livonia entered into union with the Commonwealth and the aristocracy's long presence in the region (*ibid*., pp. 214–231). The works of both authors can be seen as attempts to address the general lack of knowledge of the region among the Polish-Lithuanian elites.

Gustaw Manteuffel (Ger. Gustav von Manteuffel; Latv. Gustavs Manteifelis), by far the most prolific and influential contributor to the Polish-Lithuanian historiographical tradition, continued in the same vein. Writing in the second half of the nineteenth century when Polish Livonia (and indeed the whole of

[69] However, the German historiographical trend of writing the History of the Baltic region remains strong in German universities to this day. In Göttingen in 1951, the Baltische Historische Kommission (BHK) was founded to foster historical research about the region throughout the centuries (Available at: http://www.balt-hiko.de/ [Accessed 11 August 2016]). Leibniz, Greifswald, the Herder-Institut in Marburg, and the Nord-Ost Institute in Lüneburg are also important research centres. The majority of research, however, still focuses on the territories of Livland, Estland, and Kurland. Michael North's monograph, *The Baltic: A History* (2015), which attempts to conceptualise a transnational History of the Baltic Sea Region, is the most recent example of this trend; Latgale does not form part of his Braudelian narrative of a shared Baltic (defined in the maritime sense) History. North's approach is not unique in this sense. In my interview with Aleksandrs Ivanovs, the leading expert on the historiography of Latgale, he gave an example of how when he submitted a grant application for a research project to German research institutes, 'I was advised not to mention the eastern part of Latvia, only the Baltic provinces should be mentioned' (Interview, 2015). For the same reason, Swedish historiography of the Baltic region does not incorporate the territory of Latgale (which it never ruled) and thus was not discussed as part of this summary.

the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth) no longer existed on the map, he was motivated by a strong sense of injustice at the neglect of Polish Livonia in Polish(-Lithuanian) historiography and cultural memory. Manteuffel's writings can be situated within the wider Polish Romantic tradition of the nineteenth century, which was highly conscious of the political, military, and moral defeat of the Polish-Lithuanian state. He authored many works on aspects of History, ethnography, travel, and culture. His first book, *Polnisch-Livland* (1869), included a historical overview of the region since German 'colonisation' in the twelfth century. An expanded Polish-language version was printed ten years later where Manteuffel devoted much more space to History. He divided the book into two parts dealing with Livonia until 1561 and with Polish Livonia up until the present, to demonstrate that a separate History of Polish Livonia could be written (Zajas, 2013, pp. 234–235). In the early 1890s, Manteuffel published his most extensive work on Polish Livonia, *Zarysy z dziejów krain dawnych inflanckich* (Sketches from the History of Old Livonian Lands), where he develops his notion of Polish Livonia as a cohesive entity. It begins with the Duchy of Livonia (1561–1621) then presents the History of Polish Livonia, Courland and Semigallia, and Pitlene (only those territories which remained associated with the Commonwealth). Manteuffel's writings are characterised by a strong sense of Polish patriotism as is clear in this excerpt from *Zarysy*:

> This work is the first attempt to provide a full description of the history of Livonia. And since in German works written about this subject to date no attention at all was paid to the so-called Pitlene Lands, which were once of great interest to Polish society, nor was attention given to Polish Livonia, or the old Livonian Duchy – we have decided that it is essential to devote much more space to it in our book that a proper architecture of the whole would require. This is because it is the last link which connects Poland's past with the past of old Livonia countries, which today are rather foreign to Poland, and often even unfriendly, since today's Baltic provinces, suffused by the current aversion against everything Slavic, evoked there in recent decades, are not always able to differentiate between the civilisation of the Western Slavs and the altogether different culture of the Eastern Slavs. (Manteuffel, 2007, pp. 240, cited in Zajas, 2013, p. 240.)

Although Zajas places Manteuffel within the Polish-Lithuanian historiographical tradition, Manteuffel's published works related to Latgale's History in German, Polish, and Latgalian, problematizing any neat classification of his work into any fixed historiographical school. Moreover, Zajas himself notes that from a thematic perspective, Manteuffel revisited many of the same themes

as the so-called Baltic German historians (Zajas, 2013, p. 239). Nonetheless, Manteuffel's main audience was his Polish contemporaries and, until the end of his life, he lamented their lack of knowledge about Inflanty. By and large, this trend towards forgetting about Inflanty in Polish scholarship continues to this day, despite the efforts of certain individuals to change this (Zajas, 2013; Dybaś, 2001; 2013). The majority of research into Latgale by Polish scholars, however, has focused on socio-linguistic aspects of the region (Nau, 2011; Ostrówka, 2005; Rembiszewska, 2009; Stafecka, 2009; Zielińska, 2002). To date, very little research on Latgale has been carried out by scholars from the other successor states of the Commonwealth, for example by Lithuanian or Belarusian historians within the framework of the History of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and its vassals.

Russian imperial historiography of Latgale for the most part sought to justify and legitimise the incorporation of the region into the Russian Empire after 1772 and emphasize the benefits that imperial rule brought to the region. Historical works published within the Russian Empire by Nikolai Karamzin, Petr Keppen, Sergei Solov'ov, Vitol'd Novodvorskii, Georgii Forsten, and Pavel Briantsev, generally paid little attention to Latgale and only mentioned the region in the context of Ancient Latgale, the Livonian War, the arrival of Russians in the region, the spread and consolidation of Orthodoxy, and Russian policies towards territory in the nineteenth century (Ivanovs, 2009, p. 76). Yuri Samarin (1819–1876), one of the leading Slavophile thinkers, perceived the Baltic provinces as a geopolitical threat and in need of further integration into the Empire. During his time in government service in Riga, Samarin was shocked by the Empire's abdication of authority to the Baltic German minority and wrote several strongly-worded critiques on this subject, including his six-volume work *Okrainy Rossii* (Outskirts of Russia, 1868–1876), which was strongly attacked by the Baltic German professor at the University of Dorpat (Tartu), Carl Schirren.[70] This incident makes us question Zajas' sharp distinction between Baltic German and Russian Imperial historiography, which seems to be based mostly on the language in which the texts were written. Instead, the famous debates between Samarin and Schirren on Baltic history might also be seen as merely different standpoints within a single historiographical field.

[70] Earlier, Samarin had outlined his views on the dangerous autonomy of the Baltic provinces in seven letters between 1846–9. Samarin's views were largely ignored both by Nicholas I and Alexander II, who regarded the Baltic Germans as loyal subjects; many Baltic Germans were absorbed into the imperial bureaucracy, rose to prominent positions within the military, and played important roles within the intellectual and scientific sphere. See Pipes (2011) and Thaden (1974; 1986).

Amateur historians and researchers of local History, culture, and folklore produced more substantial work on Latgale. The 33 *Pamiatnaia knizhka Vitebskoi gubernii* (Reference Books of the Vitebsk Province) (1861–1914) published by the Vitebsk Statistical Committee laid down substantial foundations for the modern historiography of Latgale. The volumes by Aleksandr Sementovskii and Aleksei Sapunov in particular provide a rich account of the History of Polish Livonia and detailed ethnographic descriptions of its inhabitants. At around the same time, Evgraf Cheshikhin (1824–1888), a clerk at the Riga district engineering administration, wrote about the settlement of Russians in the Baltic lands and the arrival of the Old Believers (Feigmane, 2010).

During the interwar period, the emphasis shifted from imperial Russian to ethnic Russian historiography of Latgale. This was developed in popular literature and publications. A notable figure in this respect was Sergey Sakharov (1880–1954) a teacher, public figure, and director of the Belarusian secondary school in Daugavpils, who printed a collection *Russkie v Latvii* (Russians in Latvia, 1933; 1934), three issues entitled *Russkii ezhegodnik* (Russian Annual, 1937–1939), and books on the Riga archiepiscopate (1937) and Orthodox churches in Latgale (1939) (Feigmane, 2010). During the Soviet period, the Russian historiographical tradition in Latvia merged with the Soviet Latvian historiographical tradition. This is discussed in greater detail below. However, it is worth mentioning that since the 1990s there has been a revival of the ethnic Russian historiographical approach (as opposed to Russian imperial and Soviet-Russian) as a continuation of trends from the interwar period, and which investigates the history of ethnic Russians as one of the many cultural-ethno-linguistic groups inhabiting the territory of Latvia (Feigmane, 2010). This theme will be revisited in the following chapters.

Before moving onto the Latvian, Latgalian, and Soviet historiographical phases which developed in the twentieth century, it is worth reflecting on several patterns that emerge from this overview of the three historiographies which appeared prior to the second half of the nineteenth century and, in some cases, continued to be developed into the twentieth century. The first is that the principal aims of these three historiographies were usually to reflect, describe, and to justify influence and control over the territory (Ivanovs, 2009). Secondly, in the majority of cases, this research was conducted by amateur rather than professional historians. The same trend of blurring the line between professional and amateur historian continues to this day (*ibid.,* p. 76). Finally, whether the writers were based in the region itself, were writing from Riga or from further afield, they framed the investigation of Latgale's past as a periphery, either

as the eastern extent of Medieval Livonia which was partitioned and quickly forgotten as a Polish-Russian district, a remote vassal state at the north-eastern reach of the Commonwealth, or as the western part of Vitebsk *gubernia* largely inhabited by Catholic Latvian-speakers. Latgale's History thus became a kind of historiographical no-man's-land situated at the locus of the largely Lutheran Baltic *gubernii* to the north and west, the Slavic Orthodox territories to the east, and the predominantly Catholic regions to the south. In all three historiographies, Latgale was frequently regarded, when mentioned at all, as a regional curiosity or peculiarity rather than the object of investigation in its own right.

Latvian national historiography of Latvia, which brought Latgale under its umbrella, emerged in earnest only at the beginning of the twentieth century. This was linked to a wider burgeoning interest in Latvian folklore, traditions, and especially folksongs (*Dainas*) and the activities of the members of the Young Latvian group, Atis Kronvalds, Juris Alunāns, Krišjānis Valdemārs, and Krišjānis Barons. Amongst them, Jānis Krodsnieks (1851–1924), often regarded as the first 'Latvian' historian, argued that:

> Our *tauta* (*Volk*) has not had a phase during which it has been a notable leader, a bearer of culture, and a purveyor of enlightenment; it has had to act as other have wanted and others have commanded […] Nonetheless Latvian have carried a certain weight in the Baltic past, which, though passive, has turned the course of this land in certain directions. To research and to understand the passive role of Latvians in Baltic history is our assignment and obligation (cited in Plakans, 1999, pp. 294–295).

This exemplified the call among Latvian nationalists for an ethnic Latvian record and interpretation of the region's past. The framing of Latvians as 'passive' victims of various oppressors, who have nonetheless carried a 'certain weight', went on to becoming one of the dominant themes in the Latvian historiographical tradition (Onken, 2003, pp. 125–151).

As Ēriks Jēkabsons has argued, however, the concept of 'Latvian history' developed in this period primarily focused on the two former Baltic *gubernii*:

> Ever since the beginning of the existence of historians of the Republic of Latvia, the focus has traditionally been on Riga, the history of so-called Swedish Vidzeme and the Duchy of Kurzeme-Zemgale. Only in 1918 was Latgale administratively combined with other Latvian parts, so in the minds of historians, "Latvian History" was limited at first to the territories of Kurzeme, Zemgale and Vidzeme. Consequently, significantly less attention was devoted to the general nature of Latgale (including the "Polish times") (Jēkabsons, 2012, p. 35).

The desire among the emerging ethnic Latvian intellectual elite to formulate a specifically 'Latvian' History was also taken up in western Vitebsk *gubernia,* but had a decidedly regional slant. During the so-called First Latgalian Awakening (1904–1907), public intellectuals such as Francis Trasuns (1864–1926), Francis Kemps (1876–1952), and Margers Skujenieks (1886–1941) called for a specifically Latgalian interpretation of their past. Kemps' monograph, *Latgaleši: kultur-vesturiska skice* (*Latgalians: A culture-historical sketch*, 1910), written in St Petersburg, was a landmark publication in this respect. Among Latgalian intellectuals Gustaw Manteuffel was re-appropriated as one of the fathers of the Latgalian language and literature due to his activities collecting Latgalian folksongs and authoring calendars in Latgalian (Zajas, 2013, p. 15).

World War I and the subsequent creation of the Latvian State gave the Latvian historiographical approach renewed legitimacy and institutional support. It was during this time that Latvian History as a professional discipline emerged. With Latgale's formal inclusion[71] into the independent Republic of Latvia in 1918, the Latvian national historiography of Latgale became the leading trend in researching the region. The University of Latvia and the Latvian National Archive were both established in 1919, and the historians working in these institutions saw themselves as replacing the earlier Baltic German historiographical trend. Efforts were made to pursue topics or subjects that Baltic Germans had neglected such as the Latvian peasantry, archaeology of the period prior to the arrival of the German crusaders, and the 'Polish times' of 1561–1621/9 (Plakans, 1999, p. 293; Jēkabsons, 2012). In addition to an upsurge in popular writings about the Latvian past, historical research enjoyed official status and historiography was seen as a tool for inspiring and mobilising the Latvian nation as well as the 'Latvianisation' or '(re-)unification' of the multi-ethnic society (Ivanovs, 2009, p. 78). For, as Suzanne Pourchier-Plasseraud reminds us,

> The 'Latvian idea' [...] was applied in a country where a signficant proportion of the population of non-ethnic Latvian inhabitants had to be taken into account. While the boundaries of the new State to a great extent matched the centuries-old limits of the areas in which the Latvian dialects were current, the complex history of this new Latvia meant that it included very contrasting territories and heterogenous peoples (2015, p. 246–7).

[71] The territory remained largely under the control of the Bolshevik Red Army until 1920.

The establishment of the Open Air Ethnographic museum outside Riga in 1924 is a prime example of how, on the one hand, the state sought to showcase the diverse architectural and folk heritage of the four historical regions of Latvia while, on the other hand, presenting them as a timeless ethno-cultural unit.

The Latvianisation of Latgalian History further intensified after 1934 during the period of personal authoritarian rule by Prime Minister Karlis Ulmanis. In 1936, Ulmanis proposed and supported the creation of the Latvian Institute of History. In the first issue of the Institute's journal published in 1937, Ulmanis declared that the mission of historiography was to raise the national (in the ethnic sense) self-awareness of the Latvians and their sense of pride and unity:

> We grew up and studied in different times and different circumstances. And we learned a different history, which did not urge us to raise our heads nor to have faith or an interest in our pasts. We have to forget this older history and shake off its influences. Look rather to what is said by our own national history, written in the spirit of love of the *tauta* and without prejudiced eyes (Ulmanis cited in Plakans, 1999, p. 298).

However, in the same issue, the journal editor Augusts Tentelis, charged his colleagues that 'the biggest task still lies ahead […] to build a history of Latvians' (Plakans, 1999, p. 299). This suggests that in 1937, despite fifteen years of official Latvian historical writing, the task of writing a *Latvian* history of Latvia was a project that was still far from complete.

The dominant historiographical trend under Ulmanis was thus towards the 'Latvianisation' of the History of Latvia. This applied to the ethno-linguistic minorities in Latgale as well as the Latgalians, many of whom identified themselves as different to the Latvians living in the other historical regions of Latvia. The poster commemorating the Latgale Congress produced for schools in 1935, discussed in the Introduction to this book, is a product of this political drive to use historiography to construct and propagate a narrative of Latvian nationhood with Latgale as an integral part. Likewise, between 1937–1940 the journal of the Latvian Institute of History included three articles dealing extensively with the peasantry of Latgale. These articles include statistical data about Vitebsk *gubernia* from the previous century which was recalculated to obtain specific data for the parts that were incorporated into the borders of the 1918 Latvian nation-state (Plakans, 1999, pp. 300–3). At the same time, the historiography of Latgale tended to focus on regional 'peculiarities'. This contributed to both its detachment and marginalisation from the main narrative of Latvian history, and the crystallization of a distinct Latgalian regional identity

connected to the Latvians of Latgale – the Latgalians. This identity centred on the Latgalian language, writing, and literature (Zeile, 2006), Catholicism, Latgalian folk traditions, and the relative sense of deprivation and detachment from the rest of Latvia (Ivanovs, 2009, pp. 8–9). The development of Latvian national historiography as well as its regional Latgalian branch was interrupted in 1940 by the Soviet occupation and the subsequent Sovietisation of historical research.

Soviet Latvian historiography followed the party line laid down by the Communist Party of the USSR. The roots of this historiographical trend, however, can be found in Latvian Marxist historiography of the 1920s and 1930s, which developed in the USSR during the interwar period. These Latvian Marxists wrote mainly about the condition of the working class, the history of the Social Democratic Workers' Party and the Communist Party of Latvia, the 1905–1907 and 1917 revolutions, the 'struggle of the working class of Latvia for Soviet rule' in 1918–1820, the activities of the Latvian Riflemen[72], and agrarian topics (Ivanovs, 2005, pp. 256–7). This historiographical approach gained momentum when it was introduced into the territory of Latvia itself during the first period of Soviet occupation in 1940–41, however an extensive Soviet historiography of Latvia was not fully conceptualised before the Nazi occupation of 1941–44/45. As a result of the war and both occupations, many historians emigrated and the total number of historians in Latvia dramatically shrunk (*ibid.,* p. 258).

With the re-establishment of the Soviet occupation in 1944/45, the main trend in writing the History of Latvia and Latgale, according to Ivanovs, became 'the politicisation and ideologization of History, as well as the partial Russification and integration of Latvian historiography into USSR historiography' (Ivanovs, 2005, p. 259). Firstly, the structural organisation of historical research was changed with the establishment of two research institutes, the Institute of History of the Latvian SSR and the Institute of Party History of the Communist Party of Latvia, and the closing of the chair in the History of Latvia in 1951 at the University of Latvia and its replacement with chairs in Marxist-Leninism and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Access to archival material was regulated and a strict political censorship on historical production was introduced. Secondly, the methodological and ideological dimension to the historiography of Latvia was modified to incorporate a Marxist historiography

[72] Territorial units composed of the Russian imperial army who were active on the northern front between 1915–1918. After the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, many riflemen fought on the side of the Red Army in the Russian Civil War (Jēkabsons, 2014).

of the USSR, the Russian national (pre-Soviet) historiography about the inevitable and progressive integration into Russia, as well as certain politically appropriate elements of the Latvian national historiography (*ibid.,* pp. 262–3). A new vocabulary was introduced for conceptualising History which included keywords such as 'struggle', 'Marxism', 'formation', 'process', 'class', 'proletariat', and 'revolution' (*ibid.,* 261). These changes unfolded gradually but were largely completed by the end of the 1950s with the publication of the third and final volume of *The History of the Latvian SSR* (1959). At the same time, as Daina Bleiere (2013a; 2013b) has shown in her work on the 'Sovietisation' of education in Latvia in the 1940s–60s, it must be remembered that there was often a contradiction between the official school curriculum and the historical narratives the schoolchildren were exposed to through family members who had completed their schooling in independent Latvia.

There were several comprehensive monographs published during the Soviet period about different aspects of Latgalian History. In particular, Boleslavs Brežgo (1887–1957) published numerous volumes on the social and agrarian History of Latgale (Ivanovs, 2009, p. 80; Brežgo, 1954). Antonia Zavarina published several monographs on history of the Russian-speaking population in Latvia and Latgale (1969; 1977; 1986). The Polish-Lithuanian period did not feature much in the Soviet historiography and, when it did, it was conceptualised in terms of the time when Latvia was a 'Polish and Swedish colony in the seventeenth century' (Jēkabsons, 2012, pp. 38–40). From 1940s–1980s, the historiography of Latgale was also developed in exile by Bonifācijs Briška, Miķelis Bukšs, Edgars Dunsdorfs, and Tadeušs Puisāns, and centred around the *Acta Latgalica* academic journal published by the Latgale Research Institute between 1965–1981 in Munich (Bukšs, 1957; 1964; Zeps, 1995; Jēkabsons, 2012, pp. 37–38). Leonard Latkovski, whose family emigrated from Latgale to the USA after World War II, wrote his PhD thesis at Georgetown University on early twentieth-century Latgale and founded a Latgale Research Centre at Hood College (1973; 2009). The work of these émigré historians in continuing the historiography of Latgale laid the groundwork for the revival of Latgalian studies after the restoration of independence in 1991 (Ivanovs, 2009, p. 81).

After Latvia regained independence in 1991, the **Latvian national** historiography once again became paramount in shaping understandings of the past. In addition, there was also a revival of Latgalian studies, rooted in the ideas and approaches of the early twentieth-century Latgalian activists, as well as the interwar Latvian national historiographical tradition and the work of Latvian émigrés in the 1950s–1980s (Ivanovs, 2015). This new approach to

investigating the past is characterised both by a focus on regional identity that is bolsterd by the activities of amateur historians. Currently, there are no historians in Latvia at least partially specialising in the period of rule of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth on the territory of present-day Latvia outside of the Duchy of Courland (Jēkabsons, 2012). These historiographical trends and their impact on the memory of Latgale's past will be discussed in greater depth in the subsequent chapters.

Andrejs Plakans (1999) argues that the historiography of Latvia can be categorised by the replacement of various modes of thinking about the past rather than gradual transition. As a result, he characterises Latgale's History as containing far more discontinuity than continuity. Zajas largely concurs:

> Discontinuity is one of the most interesting qualities of the borderlands. In addition to the fact that there is no succession of eras and diachrony is deficient, and the fact that boundaries between individual elements of borderland culture are vague – one can also speak about a discontinuous unfolding of phenomena. A topic, a problem, or a discourse which has been initiated by one representative of a given community does not find its successors and remains, as it were, suspended in the air. One can therefore not talk about either the continuation of ideas, thoughts, and projects which seek to organise the borderlands, or about the continuity of style or method. It is true that there are references and returns, and that similar points of departure appear among distant heirs, but they have an accidental and non-binding character (2013, p. 282).

While the above outline substantiates Plakans' claim about the discontinuity in Latvian historiography and the way in which the official or dominant historiographical approach was consecutively overwritten with each change in geopolitical orientation and the emergence of new political agendas shaping interpretations of the past, it also demonstrates how there was considerable overlap between the approaches and dialogue between both professional historians and amateur History enthusiasts of different historiographical schools.

Eva-Clarita Onken (2003, p. 124) has argued that Latvian historiography can be conceptualised as an explosive construction of opposites, between the 'social opposition' of landlords and peasants at the end of the nineteenth century by Marxist authors, and its later revival in the form of the 'History of class struggle' in Soviet historiography, and the 'ethnic opposition' between Germans and Latvians, and Russians and Latvians, respectively. This contrast became a recurring reference point for Latvian nationalists in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, an instrument of national-authoritarian policies in

the 1930s, and a major theme in the work of Latvian historians in exile. Thus, in almost every period, it was quite common for several historiographical interpretations to exist concurrently, and the past became a battleground for justifying and legitimising the current political regime. Even during the Soviet period, often seen as a period where there was a strictly controlled hegemonic narrative about Latvia's past, the existence of émigré historians writing about Latvian and Latgalian History provided an alternative perspective even if they did not interact much. Moreover, this process was by no means strictly linear. The Latvian national and Latgalian historiographical approaches developed with the establishment of the Republic of Latvia in 1918 and then re-emerged with the regaining of independence in 1991. Historiography can thus be seen as one of the many ways in which the post-1991 Republic of Latvia sought to conceptualise itself as a continuation of its interwar counterpart.

III. Borderlands in National History: Latgale in the Latvian National Museum

The **Latvian National History Museum** (LNVM) is the oldest History museum in Latvia. The idea to establish the museum was developed by the Science Committee of the Riga Latvian Society in 1869 in order to portray the history of the Latvian nation and was closely tied to the so-called Latvian 'national awakening' movement. Following Latvia's declaration of independence in 1918, the collection was declared the property of the state. The Latvian Ethnographic Museum, as it was renamed, occupied several rooms in Riga Castle. In 1924, it was renamed the State History Museum and during the period of Latvian independence between 1920–1940, the museum collections flourished. During the Soviet period, despite ideological restrictions, the museum continued to collect and popularise Latvian historical artefacts. In the late 1980s it played an active role in hosting meetings and exhibitions as part of the events leading up to the regaining of independence (Ķencis and Kuutma, 2011, pp. 508–12). In 2005, the museum was renamed the National History Museum of Latvia and in May 2014, the permanent exhibition moved to new premises on the capital's main avenue Brīvības Boulevard 32, the former building of the Faculty of History and Philosophy of the University of Latvia. Initially only four permanent exhibitions on the history of Latvia were open: (1) 'The Ancient History of Latvia'[73] and the third floor housed exhibitions on (2) 'The Republic of Latvia 1918–1940',

[73] The first two rooms of 'The Ancient History of Latvia' exhibition are not included in this analysis as they are devoted to archaeology. While archeological sites and objects are also closely connected to constructions of nationhood and national spaces, an analysis of this material was beyond the scope of this study. Moreover, as the other two museums in the comparative analysis did not include detailed sections on the pre-history of Latgale, the decision was made to limit the chronological span to the last 1000 years of Latgale's history.

(3) 'The Occupation of the Republic of Latvia and Annexation to the USSR, 1940–1941', and (4) 'The Totalitarian Occupation Regime's Repression of the Latvian Population 1940–1953'. In autumn 2015, further exhibitions covering the periods from the thirteenth to nineteenth centuries and the 1960s–1991 opened to the public.

Using the Latgaļi as Proto-Latvians

The museum begins with several rooms devoted to the 'The Ancient History of Latvia' spanning the period from the first to twelfth centuries. This period is characterised by the museum as being a time when different 'cultural-ethnic regions' (*kultūretniski reģioni)* – Latgaļi, Kurši, Zemgaļi, Sēli, and Livs – inhabited the territory of present-day Latvia. Visitors are presented with a map that superimposes these ethno-cultural regions onto the recognisable outline of the borders of the contemporary Latvian state. The map is employed here as a visual tool to imply a continuinity between the ancient ethno-cultural groups and the contemporary inhabitants of Latvia. Kalemaj, in his study of different visions of the Albanian national space, calls this kind of map a 'perennial map' that is

> used to support a certain claim that [a particular ethno-linguistic group is] autochthonous in the region, that they were here before the others came and occupied their land, implying that they have the right to claim neighbouring territories which were unjustly taken from them [...] (2014, p. 71).

In this way, contemporary political borders are decontextualized and teleologically transposed onto the past. While maps are often regarded as authoritative sources of information representing a 'tangible reality', this example highlights how maps are cultural artefacts that are produced by actors in specific contexts, and function as systems for exercising interpretative power.[74]

After having used the map at the outset to frame these early ethno-cultural groups as the ancestors of modern-day Latvians, the exhibition then draws the visitor's attention to the cultural commonalities between the groups. The different objects are displayed – such as metal tools, fragments of clothing, and headdresses from each of the regions – alongside archaeological evidence of

[74] For a selection of the literature on 'critical cartography', see Jacob (1992), Black (1997), Harley and Laxton (2001), Pickles (2004), and Koller and Jucker-Kupper (2009).

comparable burial practises, in order to present these ethno-cultural groups as having many similarities and constituting the collective precursors of the Latvian nation. The artefacts lend an air of authenticity to the narrative as visitors can 'see for themselves' the similarities between the objects made by the different groups, for example, in the varying styles of dresses and patterns of embroidery.[75] The mode of presenting these early ethno-cultural groups corresponds closely with Anthony Smith's argument about *ethnies* as the pre-modern roots of modern-day nations, whereby 'there is a felt filiation, as well as a cultural affinity, with a remote past in which a community was formed, a community that despite all the changes it has undergone, is still in some sense recognised as the "same" community' (1991, p. 33).

Regarding the present-day territory of Latgale during this period, the region is shown to be inhabited almost entirely by the Latgaļi ethno-cultural group. Information and artefacts produced by members of different Latgaļi tribes occupy a considerable proportion of the exhibition: a quarter of the display cases in the room are devoted to the Latgaļi (six out of the twenty-four cases to be precise), second only to the Kurši (seven cases). In addition, separate display cases are devoted to the Kivtu cemetery located in the Zvirgzdenes pagasts (north of present-day Ludza) and to the hillforts and open settlements found in the area which today lies in the Salienas *pagasts* (southeast of Daugavpils) which used to be the centre of an important pottery culture. Overall, the territory of today's Latgale is portrayed as playing an important part in the narrative of Latvia's early History. The Latgaļi are presented as one of the most culturally and socioeconomically developed ethno-cultural regions and thus an important source of materials and artefacts about the inhabitants of 'early Latvia'. This corresponds with Suzanne Pourchier-Plasseraud's conclusion that:

> The background of the inhabitants of this region was a crucial factor for the Latvians, tied in with their wish to distinguish themselves from the dominant Slavonic and German powers. Indeed, from the end of the 19th century, Latvians in search of identity mythologized these immemorial periods preceding foreign domination, which thus became a reference in cultural and identity terms (2015, p. 15).

[75] A more detailed discussion of the reappropriation of Latvian folk costumes as a resource for the construction of Latvian national identity can be found in Pourchier-Plasseraud (2015, pp. 95–100).

The next room features the period from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries and continues in much the same 'mythologizing' vein. The exhibition informs visitors about the construction of hillforts and the flourishing of four proto-states on the territory of Latgale (Koknese, Jersika, Tālava, Atzele). These societies are portrayed as having lived a coherent entity, but in relative isolation from the outside world. For example, there is no information about connections with Rus' or the fact that Jersika was ruled for a time as a vassal of Polotsk. The room ends with the arrival of German traders and the joining of the Livonian Sword Bretheran to the Teutonic Order. The emphasis placed on hillforts establishes the narrative trope of 'early Latvians' defending themselves against hostile foreigners. Not much is said about the Germanic traders and knights other than that they arrived and settled in a land previously inhabited by Baltic ethno-cultural groups. This theme of autochthonous proto-Latvians being colonised or occupied by external powers is elaborated on in subsequent sections of the museum.

In the next room the exhibition moves on to the period spanning the thirteenth to sixteenth centuries. In contrast to the rooms covering the earlier periods, where the exhibition is divided according to the different ethno-cultural regions, from this room onwards the inhabitants of 'early Latvia' are presented as a (proto-)national collective. The display text for this room explains that the differences between the various autochthonous tribes gradually disappeared during this period. Western Christianity was introduced and consolidated in the region by 'German' bishops and crusaders, and the feudal system of estates was established. The powerful and privileged German-speaking landowners are juxtaposed with the 'indigenous people', consolidating a sense of 'us' and 'them'. However, the display stresses that the Latvians managed to hold onto their pre-Christian or 'pagan' traditions in the face of this 'colonisation'.

The growing importance of Riga during the late Medieval and Early Modern periods is particularly emphasized. Riga was admitted as a member of the Hanseatic League, a commercial network of merchant guilds and market towns, which ushered in a period of intensive trading and economic propersity for the region. While other cities in present-day Latvia were also *Hansestädte* – such as Windau (Venstpils), Wenden (Cēsis), Wolmar (Valmiera), Goldingen (Kuldiga), (Lemsal) Limbaži, and Straupe – the museum focuses mostly on Riga, the capital of present-day Latvia. Like the map depicted in the earlier room, this is another example of the teleological way in which the museum frames its representation of History through the lens of the modern Latvian

state. Riga, and by extension 'early Latvia', is shown as having a significant part in this trading network which stretched from the Baltic to the North Sea, and thus as having played an important part in the History of Northern Europe during this period.

A model of the city stands in the centre of the room, accompanied by a caption describing it as 'an important trade town of the Baltic Sea Region'. The use of the term 'Baltic Sea Region' is clearly a reference to the European Union's region-building programme, which ran from 2007–2013 and was extended from 2014–2020, and aims to promote regional development and cooperation between the countries surrounding the Baltic Sea (Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Sweden and Germany), as well as with their neighbours (Norway, Russia, and Belarus). This largely economic project has also had knock-on effects on the way that the History of this region has been conceptualised; there has been a series of research projects in recent years which attempt to trace a long legacy of commercial and cultural contacts between these countries (Gerner, 2002; Grzechnik, 2012; Pääbo, 2014; North, 2015).[76] In the Latvian context, this serves to 'put Latvia's history on the map', so-to-speak, and frame it in a broader European context. While the activities of the Sword Brothers and Teutonic Knights could arguably also have been used by the museum to show Latvia's role in the larger European process of Christianisation, the Hanseatic 'story' of commercial and cultural links provides a more attractive, if a somewhat artificially harmonious view, of the region's history, as opposed to one often characterised by conflict, strife, and competition.[77] The representation of the Hanseatic League in the museum is thus a clear demonstration of the way the past can be *used* to pursue contemporary political goals.

Latgale's Contribution to the Consolidation of the Latvian Nation in the Modern Age

The next room in the museum is devoted to the 'Territory of Latvia and its Inhabitants from the 16th–18th century'. Whereas the previous rooms

[76] Possible impacts of the Baltic Sea Region programme on contemporary trends in how Latgale's history is being narrated will be discussed in Chapter 6.

[77] In 1980, a New Hanseatic League was formed between the towns and cities, which historically belonged to or had active trading exchanges with the Hanseatic League. Amongst other activities, it organises popular annual Hansa Days (*Hansetage)* festivals, which are also an important source of regional tourism. Available at: http://www.hanse.org [Accessed 14 July 2016].

concentrated on establishing the foundations of a Latvian state, this period is characterised by the 'fragmentation of the Latvian territory'. Most of the exhibition is devoted to chronicling the changes of rulers and complex border realignments during this period: the rule by the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia, the partitioning of the Duchy of Livonia into Swedish Livonia and Polish Livonia (Inflanty), the incorporation of Swedish Livonia into the Russian Empire in the eighteenth century following the Great Northern War and, finally, the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the end of the eighteenth century. The museum does attempt to convey some of the historiographical complexities of these centuries, by referring to the 'Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth or *Rzeczpospolita*' rather than simply 'Poland'. Nonetheless, the museum portrays the present-day territory of Latvia as a small pawn in the power politics of large-scale governing powers. The display cases contain military uniforms and examples of coins from these different polities, which reinforce the narrative of different military conquests and regime changes.

In order to find out more about the social and cultural aspects of this period, there is an interactive display screen mounted on the far wall that contains a map of the different portioned regions of the Duchy of Livonia. By touching on the section of the map labelled Inflanty, visitors can access maps of the Voivoideship, a photo of the Roman Catholic Church in Krāslava built between 1755–67, and a town plan of 'Dyneburg/Daugavpils' in 'Inflantija/Polish Livonia'[78]. The museum thus does make some information available to visitors about elements of the social and cultural life of Latgale during this period, but the medium of representation – through an interactive screen – means that it requires extra time and effort to discover it. It is not immediately obvious and is presented instead as an addition, rather like a footnote in a book, to the main exhibition for those who wish to find out more. This is an example of an instance where Latgale's past is *referenced* in the museum; it is remembered as part of the Latvian national master narrative, but in the context of a storage memory (a curiosity) rather than an aspect of the past which plays a functional and core part of the narrative of Latvian state and nationhood.

The museum's narrative then shifts from a chronological presentation of Latvian History to a series of rooms structured thematically. The first two cover 'Towns and Townspeople of the Territory of Latvia' and 'Peasants and

[78] The use of the Polish name of the city, with the contemporary Latvian name for clarification, is another example of how the museum attempts to convey the complexity of the region's History, albeit in a somewhat implicit way.

Serfdom'. It is important to note the use of language in the first title. In contrast to the exhibition covering the Ancient period which was entitled 'Ancient History of Latvia', this section emphasizes that the exhibits relate to the territory which today comprises the state of Latvia. The difference is a subtle but crucial one, and represents a nuancing of the overtly nationalistic tone of some of the earlier rooms. However, the exhibition does not go into any further explanation of this historiographical issue, and will only be noticed by astute visitors. Moreover, the description of the content of these rooms continues the teleological narrative of the consolidation of the Latvian nation. The information panel describes the material in the rooms as pertaining to 'the formation process of Latvians' and the period when 'the actual differences of material culture no longer formed the boundaries of the ancient pre-Christian people's cultures. Differences in language, folklore, clothing, and other spheres became local peculiarities.' The allusions to the former 'differences' in local customs clearly relates back to the first room and the descriptions of the various ethno-cultural groups; however, according to the museum, by the sixteenth century they have all become 'Latvians'. The differences, which once distinguished the ethno-cultural groups, have been reframed as 'local particularities' within the broader spectrum of Latvian cultural heritage. This discourse of national regional diversity and concept of regional 'peculiarism' establishes an important theme in the way that Latgale's past as a borderland region is *used* in Latvian History, which also resurfaced in the survey responses and interviews discussed later.

The development of the written Latvian language is presented in the museum as one of the defining aspects of this period, and there are several display cases of printed texts and books as examples of some of the earliest secular printed material in Latvian. Language is generally regarded by scholars to be one of the most important foundations for the so-called Latvian 'national awakening' movement which occurred in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and which developed the idea of the Latvian 'nation' as being defined on an ethno-linguistic basis (Plakans, 1993; Kamusella, 2009). By contrast, the museum makes no acknowledgement of any other parallel literary traditions which developed for writing the Baltic speech of inhabitants of the territory of present-day Latvia at different times, such as the written fragment of Curonian which has survived from the sixteenth century (Vaba, 2014), or Latgalian, which developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and continues to be an important marker of Latgalian regional identity (Leikuma, 2008; Gibson, 2013). Nor, for that matter, does it acknowledge any secular texts

produced on the territory of present-day Latvia in other languages. This is a clear instance in the museum where an important part of Latgale's cultural History has been *negated*. As Latgalian is widely known in Latvia today as a regional dialect, and there are some Latgalian language activists actively campaigning for its recognition by the Latvian state as a regional language rather than just a 'historical variant' (as it is classified in the 1999 Latvian Language Law[79]), this element of Latgale's cultural History cannot be said to be simply *relicised*, that is unconsiously forgotten. Rather the decision not to include a mention of Latgalian in this exhibition on language can be seen as an extension of the official state position regarding Latgalian, which treats it as a 'dialect' (and thus less important) than a 'language' (Lazdiņa and Marten, 2012; Gibson, forthcoming).

The religious diversity of the territory of Latvia is likewise represented in a rather limited way. There is a display case devoted to the Lutheran faith, which contains, among other items, the first Latvian translation of the Bible from the seventeenth century. Next to it is a case of equal size devoted to Catholics and 'other faiths', in this case, Old Believers. The display case contains a Polish-language prayer book, rosary beads, sculpture of Christ, and an Old Believer icon and cross. However, two other significant religious confessions – Orthodoxy and Judaism – are notably absent. There is a separate privately sponsored museum in Riga, known as the The Museum of the Jews in Latvia, which might explain – if not justify – the lack of information about them in the state National History Museum. At the same time, there is no comparable museum in Latvia devoted to the History of Orthodox faith in Latvia. This reaffirms that the LNVM is a national museum in the ethno-linguistic sense; it narrates the History of the Latvians (and Latgalians), rather than the civic sense of the peoples who have inhabited the territory that comprises present-day Latvia. Nonetheless, the inclusion of Catholics and Old Believers is an important step towards a partial acknowledgement of the confessional diversity of Latvia and the presence of information about these faiths – albeit in a small way – draws attention to Latgale's contribution to the religious History of the territory of present-day Latvia.

Visitors then encounter a small room devoted to the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia from 1561–1795. The Duchy is proudly described on the information panel as 'the longest surviving state of the territory of Latvia during the Early

[79] Article 3.4 of the Latvian Language Law reads that 'The State shall ensure the maintenance, protection and development of the Latgalian written language as a historic variant of the Latvian language' (Valsts valodas likums, 1999).

Modern period'. The walls are mounted with portraits of the various Dukes and Duchesses, along with their family crests. A large model ship accompanies the displays about the Couronian colonial ventures to Tobago and St. Andrews Island on the Gambian river in the mid-seventeenth century – remembered as Latvia's brief spell as a colonial power.[80] Information, plans, and pictures are also provided about the designing and building of the luxurious rococo-style palaces of Rundāle (*Rundāles pils*; *Schloss Ruhental*), known in Latvia as a mini-Versailles, and Jelgava/Mitava (*Jelgavas pils; Schloss Mitau*), both of which are famous tourist attractions. The Duchy is thus presented in the museum as a centre of the Enlightenment and as playing an important role in European high culture (Sommerlat, 2010). By comparison, there is no room devoted to the History of Voivodeship of Inflanty/Polish Livonia, perhaps because this eastern borderland is not perceived – at least from the perspective of those in Riga – as having any internationally noteworthy accomplishments to contribute to this grand narrative of Latvian History.

The next part of the exhibition consists of another themed room on 'Manors and Nobility', which provides visitors with information about the private estate owners and manor houses which functioned as social, economic, and administrative centres between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. While the objects displayed – photos of the manor houses and examples of fine furnishings – could come from any part of the territory of present-day Latvia, and are more closely associated with a particular class than any ethno-linguistic group, the captions and descriptions link these objects specifically to German landowners. As a result, the predominantly Polish-speaking *szlachta* (nobles from the territory of Polish-Commonwealth), who were the main landowning families in Latgale, completely disappear from this account of History. It is likely that this is a historical nuance that has been *relicised* in collective memory, and deemed by the curators as simply too regionally specific or unimportant to the overall narrative of Latvia's history to be represented in the national museum.

Following this presentation of the everyday life of the social elite, the next room is devoted to 'Agriculture and Rural Crafts'. The exhibit presents an assorted collection of objects from the different regions of present-day Latvia in an ethnographic manner: ploughs, baskets, potteryware, and tools related to beekeeping, fishing, flax growing, and grain sowing. Mounted on the wall behind these objects are videos of local women making rye bread and pottery,

[80] In Polish historiography, this venture is regarded as a Polish(-Lithuanian) colonial venture (Sooman et al., 2013). For a more detailed discussion of how these colonial ventures are appropriated in Latvia as a source of national legitimacy, see Merritt (2010).

continuing these 'ancient' traditions to this day. In another room, examples of different regional folk costumes are displayed. In the case of Latgalian costumes, traditional womens' garments both from northern and southern Latgale are shown.[81] On the one hand, this acknowledges the internal complexity and diversity of Latgale. On the other hand, the overall manner in which all these ethnographic objects are presented, portrays the peasant farmstead (*viensēta*) from the nineteenth century as the preserver of an indigenous and 'authentically' Latvian way of life.

This section of the museum echoes many of the ethnographic arguments made in the late nineteenth century by Latvian intellectuals (as discussed in Chapter 2), which *used* peasants, and their traditional practices, folklore, and language, as a means to legitimise the existence of a Latvian nation. As Plakans has shown, there continues to be a major trend in Latvian historiography which maintains:

> (a) That Latvians are fundamentally a rural people, a nation (*tauta*) whose values originate in and continue to be tied closely to rural life and (b) that the basic feature of Latvian self-characterisation often manifests itself as a hunger for landownership […] Despite the heavy-handed modernization discourse of the Soviet government over half a century, however, the notion that 'the land', 'the countryside', and 'individualistic farming' promised a way of life close to the 'soul' of the Latvian *tauta* returned with force after the renewal of independence and the dismantling of the Soviet-imposed system of collective argriculture (Plakans, 2016, pp. 136–137).

The idealisation of peasants has clear overtones of Herderian nostalgia running through it: the simple peasants, uncorrupted throughout the centuries by the influences of different 'colonial' and foreign powers who ruled the region, are presented as the true carriers and preservers of the Latvian *Volksgeist*, or 'national spirit', through the ages.[82] Moreover, this reappropriation of folk culture 'provided a link between past and present as, in rural Latvian society in the early part of the century, ethnographic cultural aspects were ubiquitous and alive, whether in costumes, in day-to-day items or in rural buildings' (Pourchier-Plasseraud 2015, pp. 94–95). The museum conveys the impression that all the peasants were ethnic Latvians, ruled by foreign landowners, which

[81] For a more detailed discussion of the Latvian reappropriation of folk culture as a foundation for national identity, see Pourchier-Plasseraud (2015, pp. 94–101).

[82] Similarities in this respect can be made with the Open Air Ethnographic Museum, a forest. park, located outside of Riga full examples of different wooden buildings from different regions of Latvia.

is especially misleading in the case of Latgale, where a significant proportion of the peasants during this period were Slavic-speaking (Russian Old Believers or Belarusians).

The overriding emphasis on ethnographic approaches for the representation of Latvian History of the nineteenth century becomes all the more apparent in the other rooms dealing with the nineteenth century, which are remarkably vague about details of social, political, and economic developments. The most striking of these is the representation (or lack thereof) of the emancipation of the serfs. The information panel informs visitors that the abolition of serfdom occurred 'between 1817–1861'. This date range encompasses the two main waves in which the serfs were emanicipated – the Baltic *gubernii* in 1817 (Kurliand) and 1819 (Lifliand) and the emancipation of the serfs throughout the whole Russian Empire in 1861 (including western Vitebsk *gubernia*). However, the specific details and the historical explanations for the forty-year date range mentioned are not elaborated on, nor are any of the political, social, or economic developments which followed as a result.

The History of the Latvian territories as provinces within the Russian Empire is only represented in one small adjoining room. Entitled 'Technical Modernisation', the exhibition provides visitors with information about the building of transport infrastructures, such as roads and railways, the urbanisation of the population, industrialisation, and the building of factories. Contrary to the often positive connotations of the word 'modernisation' in the nineteenth century context, the museum frames these developments very negatively, by displaying photos depicting the destruction of nature, such as deforestation to build roads and railways, and the pollution from factories, as well as the poor quality of life in urban centres, frequent workplace accidents, and the factory managers' poor regard for the welfare of their workers. Juxtaposed with the idealisation of rural peasant life in the previous room, a dark cloud hangs over the representation of the Russian imperial administration on the territories of present-day Latvia.

With regard to the specific representation of Latgale's past in the nineteenth century, information can be found by accessing another interactive touch screen. Opening the section on 'Latgale as part of the Vitebsk *gubernia*' brings up material on the Latvian territory between 1795–1917 when it was part of the Russian Empire. It includes a short summary of the main developments covering the 1830–1 and 1863 Polish-Lithuanian uprisings in the western borderlands against the Russian Empire. It also covers the connections between the territories of the present-day Daugavpils, Rēzekne, and Ludza districts

with the neighbouring Pskov, Polotsk, and 'Belarusian *gubernii'* from 1802–1917. In terms of content, this material is quite comprehensive. Visitors can browse through several Polish-language sources from the period and a picture of the Roman Catholic Church in Krāslava. There is also an image from one of Gustaw Manteuffel's calendars, *Inflantu zemes laika grōmota aba kalenders*, which were the only regularly published works in Latgalian during the nineteenth century. However, there is no explanation about the significance of this publication, or the fact that it is in Latgalian. Nineteenth-century Latgale is thus present in this section of the museum, but it is not integrated into the main narrative of Latvian History. Instead, as was the case with Polish Livonia/Inflanty, this information is hidden away and only available to visitors who spend considerable time exploring this resource. Moreover, as the screen is small, there is only enough space for two or three people to interact with it at any one time. The negative aspects of Russian imperial rule are far more prominently displayed, highlighting how the apportioning of space and medium of representation in the museum can propel certain aspects of the past into *used* memory, while relegating other elements to a more secondary *referenced* role.

However, while the negative connotations of the nineteenth century period of Russian imperial rule plays an important role in the narrative, the actual Russian Empire itself as a ruling power is only mentioned once in the main displays and, even then, only in an artefact label. The only clearly visible evidence that the territories of present-day Latvia were part of the Russian Empire during this period is the fact that source materials displayed are in Russian and written in the Cyrillic alphabet. Considering that the Russian Empire governed these territories for parts of the eighteenth century and all of the nineteenth century, and that this occured in the not so remote past, this absence from the museum cannot be attributed simply to the fact that it might have become *relicised* in collective memory, but is instead evidence of a concerted effort on the part of the Latvian state to *negate*, or at least minimise as much as possible, the role of the Russian Empire in Latvian History. As the present-day Russian Federation along with the Soviet Union are popularly regarded as successor states of the Russian Empire, it is understandable in light of contemporary political relations between the two states that Latvia would want to historically disassociate itself from its eastern neighbour. The result is a curious admixture between, on the one hand, the representation of the nineteenth century as a negative period of industrialisation and exploitation at the hands of the Russian 'colonising' power and, on the other hand, a strong impulse to weaken the historical links between the present-day territories of Latvia and the Russian Empire. It

stands as a striking example of the power of politics in shaping how the past is represented in the public sphere that the National History Museum could have almost no immediately visible mention of the empire which governed the territory from the eighteenth century until the end of World War I. Instead, a large room is devoted to Riga at the turn of the century and the influence of Biedermeier Style and Art Nouveau on architecture and interior design. In this way, the History of the territory of Latvia as different provinces of the Russian Empire is only briefly *referenced*, while the room on Riga attempts to draw the visitor's attention instead to Latvia's contributions to Western European high culture (Pourchier-Plasseraud, 2015, pp. 121–149).

Constructing a Latvian History of the Twentieth Century

Visitors then proceed to the third floor to continue with the exhibition on the twentieth century. The colour palette of the first exhibition, entitled 'The Republic of Latvia 1914–1940', immediately sets the tone for what is to come. In contrast to the muted grey and beige palettes of the previous sections of the museum, conveying an impression of neutral objectivity, the twentieth-century displays are mounted on a dark red and white background, the colours of the Latvian flag. This use of colour makes it clear that the museum's narrative will be directed towards the story of how Latvia became independent and the 'golden years' of the 1920s and 1930s.

The first room presents visitors with information about Latvia during World War I. There is one significant mention of the history of Latgale, namely, the joint operation between the Latvian and Polish army to liberate Latgale from the Red Army in January 1920. The victory is presented as paving the way for peace talks which culminated 'on 11 August 1920 [when] Latvia and Soviet Russia signed a peace treaty, in which Russia forever waived the Latvian Land and the Republic of Latvia declared full independence and sovereignty.' Thus, the battle for Latgale in the winter of 1919–1920 is portrayed as one of the final events of the Latvian 'War of Independence' and a pivotal step on the way towards the formation of an independent Latvia. This is reaffirmed by the next point in the chronology of Latvian independence that visitors are directed to: a display case containing a copy of the 1922 Constitution of the Republic of Latvia, where Article 3 states that 'The territory of the State of Latvia, within the borders established by international agreements, consists of Vidzeme, Latgale, Kurzeme and Zemgale'. However, there is also a subtext to

how the battle is presented which portrays Latgale as somehow different from the other regions of Latvia. Latgale is the only region which is singled out in name and has a separate information panel dedicated to the process of how it was incorporated into the Republic of Latvia: 'Latgale and the conclusion of warfare in Latvia'.[83] Shaded red on the map and stamped with the Soviet hammer and sickle, Latgale is portrayed as the last remaining outpost of the Red Army which had to be won in order for Latvia to become independent. Thus, on the one hand, the history of Latgale is represented as an integral part of the *used* narrative of Latvian independence. Yet, on the other hand, this narrative reinforces the sense that Latgale is somehow different from the rest of Latvia. This dynamic, between representing Latgale as an integral part of Latvian history and the tendency to 'other' the region as an eastern borderland and as somehow the least 'Latvian' part of the territory, is a theme which will continue to re-emerge through the museum's presentation of the twentieth century.

The second room contains exhibits dealing with the interwar period and presents visitors with a glorified narrative of economic reform and prosperity. Latgale does not feature prominently in this section, although it is *referenced* rather obliquely in the introductory display where there is a photo of the Freedom Monument in Riga. The monument features the female figure of Milda holding aloft three gilded stars, symbolising the constitutional districts of Vidzeme, Kurzeme, and Latgale.[84] It was unveiled in 1935 – the same year as the poster of the Congress of Latgale in Rēzekne already discussed in the Introduction – and was a product of Karlis Ulmanis' nationalising drive to create a 'Latvia for Latvians', of which Latgale was deemed to be an integral part despite being the one most in need of Latvianising. The rest of this room is devoted to the economic successes of the interwar period: the introduction of a national currency (the *lats*), manufacturing, and exports. In stark contrast to the photos of downtrodden workers and environmental pollution which were *used* to characterise industrial development during the Russian imperial period, the museum focuses on displaying examples of different objects – radios, telephones, and cameras – to showcase Latvian engineering expertise and high-quality workmanship. The period of Latvian independence is thus

[83] The fighting in western Latvia between the joint forces of the anti-Communist White movement (*Beloe dvizhenie*) and German Free Corps against the Red Army are also mentioned, but far more attention and space is devoted to Latgale as the defeat of the Red Army paved the way for Latvian *de facto* independence.

[84] It is widely, yet mistakenly, believed in Latvia that the three stars symbolize Vidzeme, Kurzeme, and Zemgale.

characterised as a time of Latvian innovation and prosperity, and special attention is given to factories producing goods for export to western Europe, thus stressing the westward orientation and economic ties of interwar Latvia. The particular focus on the Latvian economy contributes to the idealisation of the first period of independence as a Latvian 'success story'. This impression is consolidated by the small room opposite which contains a model of an Art Deco living room from the 1920s-30s, with photos of smiling people engaged in music, sport, and various other social and leisure activities. Mention of Latgale is noticeably absent from this section of the exhibition, which focuses primarily on Riga, Kurzeme, and Vidzeme. One explanation for this might be that, as the easternmost region with a primarily agricultural economy, Latgale is not perceived as having much to contribute to this narrative of industrial economic development. This goes against our expectations of many nationalising and Romantic-influenced narratives of history where agriculture and the peasantry usually play a prominent role, as demonstrated by the ethnographic exhibition of everyday peasant life seen earlier in the museum. Yet, whereas the rural peasantry is idealised for their way of life in relation to the nineteenth century, by the twentieth century they implicitly become 'backward', with little to contribute to this narrative of industrialisation, europeanisation, and the economic flourishing during the period of Latvian independence.

The exhibition next moves to the occupation and annexation of Latvia to the Soviet Union during 1940–1941, a period that is often referred to in both academic and popular historical writing in Latvia as 'the year of horror' (*baigais gads*). Here the narrative shifts to one of the loss of independence and victimhood. This section contains one mention of an event in modern Latgalian History, the Song Festival that took place in Daugavpils on 15–16 June 1940, during which Latvia was presented with an ultimatum from the Soviet Union demanding the resignation of the government and the acceptance of Soviet military forces on its territory. The explanation describes how Ulmanis cancelled his trip to Daugavpils, the Latvian government conceded to the ultimatum, and the assembled choirs and audience sang the Latvian national anthem for the last time. The Song Festival thus becomes a *used* part of Latgalian's past, an example of the 'afterlife of events' (Tamm, 2015) and the way they can be mythologised and incorporated into the national canon. Whereas the 1920 military strategic conquest for Latgale was an important moment also in its contemporary context, the 1940 Song Festival has more similarities with the case of the Latgale Congress poster described in the Introduction. The Song Festival is an example of an event whose significance has only been attributed

afterwards as it subsequently came to be considered a pivotal moment in the Latvian national historical canon.

The exhibition continues with information about the repression of the Latvian population during the triple occupation between 1940–1953 by the Soviets, Nazis, and Soviets again. The contents of this exhibition – a powerful exposition of the injustices done to the Latvian people by their external occupiers – are very similar to those presented in the Museum of the Occupation of Latvia (Fritz and Wezel 2009).[85] The display panels contain information about the deportations of 1941 and 1949, the Holocaust, political repressions, the role of the Latvian Waffen-SS[86], and the material destruction caused during World War II. There is an interactive screen, which invites visitors to explore various life stories of individuals who experienced some of these events through letters, photographs, diary entries, and Oral History recordings. This is also the first time in the whole museum where the displays include information about some of Latvia's minorities, Jews and Russian-speakers, in what is otherwise an almost exclusively ethno-linguistically Latvian (understood by the museum to mean both Latvians and Latgalians) narrative.

The next room is devoted to 'The Soviet Regime in Latvia: Ideology, Governance and Economies, 1944–1985'. The wording of the title, 'The Soviet Regime *in* Latvia', frames this as an external occupation and eschews any suggestion that it was a *Latvian* regime in any way. The room presents visitors with information about Stalinist repressions, the KGB, the lack of freedoms, propaganda and censorship, and the control of media and education. These phenomena are presented as affecting the whole state of Latvia. There are several mentions of Latgale in the exhibits – there is a banner from the Rēzekne Komsomol youth organisation from 1976 and a copy of the Daugavpils Economic and Social Development Plan for 1976–80 – but their connection to Latgale appears incidental, and there is no discussion of any regional differences in oppression under the Soviet regime. The displays about the Soviet regime are undercut by a strong narrative of local Latvian resistance about the preserving and maintenance of Latvian traditions – such as the Song Festival, literature, theatre and music – from the interwar period despite the Soviet occupation, reinforcing the 'us' and 'them' narrative. The exhibit about everyday Soviet life is supplemented in an adjacent room by a model of a 'typical' Soviet apartment

[85] For a discussion of the 'occupation' narratives in all three Baltic Museums of Occupations, see Velmet (2011).

[86] A Latvian Legion that fought in the ranks of the Nazi German army and remain a controversial topic in Latvian History (Ezergailis, 1997).

from the 1960s. In contrast to the focus on repression in the previous room, this room is colourful, filled with books, small ornaments, and gadgets such as a telephone, radio, record player, and television. This room is suggestive of another dimension to the memory of the Soviet era, aside from that of repression and hardship, namely a nostalgia at the level of individual memory for Soviet-made objects and brands that people grew up with as part of their everyday life. This section of the museum, by juxtaposing the two rooms, hints at some of the complex layerings and coexistence of different memories of the same period. However, this is done in an implicit way and there are no explanations given.

The final room in the museum is about the 'Restoration of Independence, 1987–1991' and the climate of *glasnost'* which allowed for an re-evaluation of previously concealed and undesirable topics, such as the Molotov-Rippentrop pact of 1939, in which Hitler and Stalin carved up Europe, and Latvia's 'voluntary joining with the USSR' in 1940. Latgale plays no particular part in this narrative, which largely centres on events in Riga, other than being the subject of the debates and protests in the late 1980s over the building of a hydroelectric power plant near Daugavpils, which contributed to the eco-nationalism character of the early protest movement (Dawson, 1996; Schwartz, 2006).

The National Museum and Latvian Public History

The development of History as an academic discipline in Latvia (as well as the humanities more generally) has been closely linked to concepts of the 'nation' (Bolin, 2012). As Plakans argues:

> The argument that humanities disciplines were 'national' because they dealt with material closely associated with 'nation' and did so in the 'national' language, whereas the physical sciences, natural sciences and mathematics were 'transnational' or 'international' and dealt with material of universal significance was heard frequently in Latvia during the 1990s and continues to be used in budget discussions by researchers in the humanities […] The recent 'national discipline' concept echoes similar arguments in the interwar period when Latvia was making the Riga Polytechnical Institute into the national University of Latvia (Plakans, 2016, p. 145).

This narrow 'national' understanding of the content and role of History in Latvia can be clearly observed in the LNVM. As is to be expected from a national museum, Latgale's past is included only where it can be *used* as part of

the common History of the Republic of Latvia. Local specificities of Latgalian regional History are sometimes *referenced,* but only as 'peculiarities' or embellishing details within a broader narrative about the historical unity of the Latvian nation and state. While some regional differences are represented in the period from the thirteenth to the nineteenth century – such as the different rulers and names for the territory, the Catholic and Old Believer inhabitants, the varieties of Latgalian regional dress – Latgale's regional distinctiveness is far less represented in the twentieth century where the nationalist framing of Latvian History becomes even stronger.[87] The two events mentioned as specifically happening in Latgale – the battle for Latgale in 1920 and the 1940 Daugavpils Song Festival – are included because they are regarded as important benchmark events in the national narrative in the twentieth century of freedom won and then lost. In this respect, the fact that they took place in Latgale is incidental.

The LNVM presents a narrative of Latvian History, which is limited in the narrow ethno-linguistic sense to ethnic Latvians, rather than in the civic sense of the 'people of Latvia' as defined in the Latvian Constitution (Latvijas Republikas Saeima, 2009).[88] Latgalians are included under the umbrella definition of 'Latvians', and there is no explicit mention of a Latgalian regional or linguistic identification in the museum. The exhibits relating to Catholicism and Manteuffel's Latgalian publications are *referenced* to showcase the diversity of the Latvian historical territory, but without any further explanations linking them to any kind of specifically Latgalian regional developments. Moreover, the role played by other ethno-linguistic groups in the History of the territory of present-day Latvia is *negated* in favour of depicting Latvia's History as a History of the Latvians. As Peggy Levitt argues, specifically in relation to museums:

> What got included in the collection and who created it sent clear messages about which groups belonged and what the country stood for. But connection

[87] The efforts by the museum to present a more diversified understanding of the History of the territory of present-day Latvia in the recently opened permanent exhibitions are clear. The contrast is stark when compared to the previous exhibits located at the former site in the Riga Castle, where the majority of the museum was devoted to the ancient history and twentieth century periods. The period from the thirteenth to nineteenth century was covered only from an ethnographic and cultural perspective, but even then Latgale played a minor role in this ethno-cultural narrative. The only significant mention of Latgale in the museum guide to these exhibits is a section about carved wooden crucifixes, a reference to the Catholic culture of Latgale (LNVM, 2006, p. 27).

[88] In Russian, for example, these two meanings are clearly distinguished: *russkii* referring to ethno-linguistic Russian and *rossianin* meaning a citizen of the state of Russia.

> and belonging generally stopped at the border. Because the nation was defined in opposition to other nations and ethnic groups, people who were out of place – such as immigrants and people of minority faiths – were not likely to see themselves represented, or, if they were, not without serious biases (2015, p. 6).

This is evidence to support Paul Robert Magocsi's claim that national Histories generally do not tell the History of a particular state, but rather of the dominant group, in this case the 'Latvians' of Kurzeme-Zemgale and Vidzeme (2004, p. 121). The ethnocentricity of national History is perhaps particularly pertinent to Central and Eastern Europe, where the dramatic succession of regime and border changes means that the state as a framework for conceptualising national History is rather weak. As a result, the borders of national History are mapped onto the imagined 'geo-body' (Winichakul, 1994) of the ethno-linguistically defined nation. This explains the prominence given to the *Latgaļi* tribes in the museum's narrative which *uses* them to bolster the Latvian claim to a long historical lineage and, by extension, a legitimate claim to statehood as they provide evidence of a thriving 'Latvian' society prior to the 'colonisation' of the region by Germans, Poles, Swedes, and Russians.

This desire to legitimate the Latvian state through representations of the past also plays an important role in the sections on the twentieth century. The museum traces the formation and flourishing of independent Latvia after 1918, then its occupation and 'disappearance' between 1940–1991, and finally its re-emergence with the 'recovery' of independence in 1991. The narrative tropes of independence and glory versus 'colonisation' and victimhood run as leitmotifs through the museum exhibits. The desire to establish a sense of continuity between the interwar Republic of Latvia and post-Soviet Latvia (which can also be linked back to the pre-Teutonic Order period) was one of the key driving forces of public History in Latvia in the 1990s (Onken, 2003). While it was important for Latvian politicians to establish this state continuity in legal terms in the 1990s – influencing, for example, the controversial citizenship policy whereby only residents of Latvia, whose ancestors lived in the Republic of Latvia, were eligible for automatic citizenship in the 1990s – this legacy of the 1990s evidently continues to have a strong impact on the ways in which Latvia's History continues to be narrated today in the public domain (Mole, 2012).

Throughout the course of the museum's exhibits, Riga and western Latvia gradually play an increasingly important role to the detriment of Latgale to the east. This can be partly understood within the broader concept of the 'shifting

of the geo-symbolic centre of the nation' (Kalemaj, 2014, p. 84). Whereas the territory of Latgale played an important role during the ancient History of Latvia, its geopolitical and administrative separation between 1621/9–1918 from the other territories that later came to constitute the Latvian state, led to it being (re)imagined as a geo-symbolic periphery and borderland. This process was aided by the ever-increasing importance and growth of Riga as an important centre not only for the Latvian territories but also in the whole Baltic region.

Today, Latvia is a very centralised state with the majority of institutions of power based in Riga. Half of the population of Latvia is also concentrated in Riga and its environs. One only has to look at the transport network in Latvia whereby buses and trains travel along wheel spokes from Riga to see how this functions in practice. However, this was not in any way predetermined. Estonia, for example, has two geo-symbolic centres: Tallinn, the capital, is situated in the north (former Estliand *gubernia*) and Tartu, the second regional centre, is in the south (former Lifliand *gubernia*). In part, this is due to the university and the important role of Dorpat (Tartu as a cultural and intellectual centre, as well as being the site of the Estonian national awakening in the nineteenth century. Dvinsk (Daugavpils), despite its importance as a railway junction, industrial centre, and its thriving Jewish commercial life and culture in the nineteenth century, never developed as a serious contender for a second geo-symbolic cultural and political centre in independent Latvia. During the Soviet period, Daugavpils only grew in importance as an economic and industrial centre, not as a cultural centre of the Latvian SSR. By contrast, today Riga is the largest city in all three Baltic States. An in-depth exploration of the reasons for the Riga-centricity of Latvian intellectual life and why Daugavpils, despite being the second largest city, always remained in its shadow would be interesting topics for future research.

In order to get an alternative perspective on the memory of Latgale's past, the next two chapters geographically relocate to Latgale itself in order to compare and contrast the representation of Latgale's History in two local museums. Before turning to the other museums, however, the analysis of how Latgale's History is represented in the Latvian national canon is deepened by taking a closer look at the role of historians involved in shaping narratives of Latvian History.

Complicating the Picture: Historians and the Making of a Borderland

Among the experts of Latgalian History surveyed, there was a general consensus that memories of Latgale's past are framed within the national History of Latvia. The borderland of Latgale is *used* in the public sphere to shore up the Latvian national idea and support the notion of a national History of Latvia.[89] The majority of research into the History of Latgale is conducted in Latvia, by Latvian researchers, and with the overarching framework of 'the History of Latvia'. My respondents felt that most of the main periods of Latgalian History are generally *referenced* in Latvian national memory although, as demonstrated by the LNVM, this is often only very briefly.

In the research projects of historians, particular attention has been paid to the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, especially the events and process leading to 'the development of a unified Latvian state', such as the Latgale Congress in 1917 in Rēzekne, as well as the history of Dvinsk/Daugavpils, the largest city in Latgale. The history of the ancient *Latgaļi* has also been researched and several respondents commented on the fact that there were lots of archeological excavations of mounds and cemeteries in Latgale in the early twentieth century. Famous figures from Latgale, the activities and works of Latgalian writers, artists and Catholic priests are generally included in the national storage memory, but their specific connection with Latgale is not always accentuated. When asked about the current trends in the historiography of Latgale, Aleksandrs Ivanovs described how:

> In the structure of the historical community in Latvia, I think that about 70 per cent of historians do their research within the 20th century of the history of Latvia. From time to time, ancient Latgalians are studied since they established some proto-states of their own on the eve of the Crusades in the late 12th century / beginning of the 13th centuries. It is a rather important period in the history of the Latvian nation […] Other research topics appear spontaneously, there is not any system that can be traced there (Interview, 2015).

[89] A parallel could be drawn here with the Polish *kresy* myth which is used to build an image of a lost multi-ethnic Poland of blurred identities on the one hand, yet on the other represents a part of nationalistic discourse based on resentment towards the loss of territory and nostalgia for a larger and more powerful Poland.

The lack of a 'system' connecting these different pieces of research is characteristic of storage memory, which A. Assmann describes as the 'amorphous mass' of 'unused and unincorporated memories that surround the functional memory like a halo' (2011, pp. 123–5). This is one of the main differences between the *referenced* past, which amasses various curiosities and focuses on empirical details, and its functional counterpart which generally seeks to integrate the aggregated mass of accumulated History into a coherent narrative to be *used* in the present.

This trend towards the nationalisation of the History of Latgale suggests that along with the implied continuity of sovereignty of the reinstated Republic of Latvia in 1991 with its interwar counterpart, there was also 'continuity' in historiographical traditions with the 1930s (Ivanovs, Interview, 2015). For with Latgale's incorporation into the independent Republic of Latvia in 1918, the Latvian national historiography of Latgale became the leading trend in researching the region, replacing the earlier German, Polish-Lithuanian, and Russian historiographical schools (Ivanovs, 2009). With the institutional support of the Latvian state, historical research enjoyed an official status and historiography was deployed as a tool for inspiring and mobilising the Latvian nation.[90] The trend towards the Latvianisation of Latgalian History further intensified during the 1930s during the period of authoritarian rule by Prime Minister Kārlis Ulmanis (1877–1942), who declared in 1937 that the mission of historiography was to raise the sense of national self-awareness of the Latvians (Ivanovs, 2009, p. 79). This applied to the ethno-linguistic minorities in Latgale as well as the Latgalians, many of whom identified as different from the Latvians living in other historical regions in Latvia. The poster commemorating the Congress of Latgale produced for schools in 1935, discussed in the Introduction (Figure 1), is a product of this political drive to use historiography to construct and propagate a narrative of Latvian nationhood with Latgale as an integral part.

However, probing further into this question reveals that the storage memory of Latgalian History is in fact more complex. For while acknowledging that the istory of Latgale is incorporated into the storage memory of the Latvian national History, eight out of ten of my respondents felt strongly that Latgale was 'under-represented' within Latvian national storage memory.[91] When

[90] The establishment of the Open Air Ethnographic museum outside Riga in 1924 is a prime example of this trend.

[91] The question here was 'In your opinion, in the historical memory of the inhabitants of Latvia, Latgale is… 'under-represented', 'well-represented', 'over-represented' (please tick one)'. The remaining two respondents felt that Latgale was 'well-represented'. No respondents felt that Latgale was 'over-represented'.

asked to justify this, two different patterns of responses emerged. On the one hand, a common response was that 'Latgale is merely mentioned within the context of national History' and is often forgotten about. For example, one respondent elaborated on how:

> When I was studying at university there were courses which had the name Latvia/Latvian, and these courses were devoted to events on the territory of Latvia until 1918, but *these courses did not remember Latgale*.[92] For example, in a course dedicated to the development of archeology as a science in Latvia, the teacher talked a lot about events in Kurzeme and Vidzeme in the 19th and early 20th centuries as local landlords interpreted the findings of Livs or Semigallians. But they did not mention what happened in Latgale, even though there were also local landowners digging archeological sites of the ancient Latgalians and making hypotheses about their findings. Or in the course of the development of Latvian national consciousness in the 19th century until the First World War, the Latgalian national awakening is not mentioned.

This is an example of how borderlands are often the sites of intense (re)nationalising efforts in order to lay claim to the territory which has often been part of another polity at an earlier point in time. This suggests that the process of incorporating Latgale into the Latvian historical storage memory has led to a homogenisation of the past of the constituent historical regions into a coherent national narrative. A recurring theme in the survey responses was that the specific characteristics of Latgale are not fully represented: 'this is a unique region, which unlike others has retained its identity and has a unique cultural-historical environment'. Several respondents noted how 'it diversifies the otherwise unified vision of Latvian history', 'it shows how rich the history of Latvia is', and how the creation of a nation-state 'may be an ambiguous process'. Moreover, 'regional studies allow us to compare (for example, the abolishment of serfdom) and understand why the region evolved the way it did and how regional differences developed'.

Furthermore, other experts felt that the history of Latgale was 'underrepresented' for this very reason: 'the history of Latgale is presented in the national historiography as something separate, in many cases as an 'appendix' to the Latvian history', and is presented as 'something additional' and on the fringes of the main historical narrative. For where the history of Latgale has featured in the Latvian storage memory, there has been a tendency to focus on

[92] My emphasis.

regional 'peculiarities' such as Catholicism and the relative sense of deprivation and detachment from the rest of Latvia (Ivanovs, 2009, pp. 8–9). As one respondent noted, '[Latgale] has always been marginalized as a regional case that is optional for deeper investigation. Having a different religious and ethnic background, people of Latgale are often perceived as "others", stereotyped.'

Latgale's past is thus undergoing the parallel process of being a *referenced* part of the national canon and being *relicised* as a regional curiosity. In many ways, statements such as the above suggest an internal orientalising discourse in Latvia about the way that Latgale is constructed in cultural memory as an eastern 'Other'. This raises the question of the persistence of imagined or mnemonic borders long after the formal disappearance of geopolitical borders between Latgale (as western Vitebsk *gubernia*), Vidzeme (Lifliand), and Kurzeme-Zemgale (Kurliand) for almost one hundred years. It is precisely the persistence or haunting of these imagined borders – which the case of the LVNM demonstrates continue to be very prominent in collective memory – that contribute to the perception of Latgale as a borderland within Latvia.

One respondent suggested that the reason for the marginalisation of Latgale within Latvian History is in part 'historically determined by the print prohibition in the 19th century, Karlis Ulmanis' coup in 1934 and the Soviet period after the Second World War; Latgalian studies has only been '"alive" and "free" in the last 20–30 years'. Collective memory has responded slowly to these changes. These historical factors have contributed to the marginalisation of Latgale from the main narrative of Latvian history. As Ivanovs explained, often 'they ["Riga" historians] do not see Latgale and the Latgalian population as an integral part of the Latvian nation […] it is very symptomatic' (Interview, 2015). The exclusion of elements of Latgale's past from the national canon, however, is regarded mostly as a passive process: these memories are *relicised* rather than being deliberately or forcefully *negated*.

Magocsi argues that such a phenomenon is characteristic of many borderlands: they often play a somewhat marginal role in the national historical narrative as they are viewed as being geographically 'remote' from the national heartland and power centres, socio-economically 'backward', and 'peripheral' to the national narrative due to the presence of minorities. The focus on writing History within the framework of the nation-state means that many national Histories are misnamed, they are not the histories of a particular state but of the dominant or titular nationality (Magocsi, 2004, p. 121). For while Europe is a continent of regions as well as states, both transnational (e.g. Galicia, Silesia, Polesia, or Carpathian Ruthenia) and subnational (e.g. Latgale, Samogitia,

Kashubia, or Bavaria), that often reflect the poly-ethnolinguistic and multi-confessional reality of the peoples who inhabit these lands, this diversity has often been overshadowed due to the nationalising of functional memory and the *uses* of History in the public sphere as a instrument of nation- and state-building. In this respect, historians can, in certain circumstances, act as a corrective to the more highly politicised functional memory of the national canon.[93] Indeed, all the experts surveyed for this study felt strongly that the borderland region of Latgale has an important part to play in the national History of Latvia: 'the history of Latgale is an integral part of the History of Latvia' and only with the inclusion of Latgale can 'a collective History be created'.

Thus, two contradictory dynamics are at work when considering how the borderland region of Latgale features in Latvian storage memory as represented by professional historical research: on the one hand, the nationalisation and selective amnesia towards the unique characteristics of the region, and on the other, the focus on regional peculiarities and the 'othering' of the region. Andrejs Plakans comes to a similar conclusion in his reflections on Latgale in his contribution to the aptly-titled edited volume *Forgotten Pages in Baltic History* (Plakans, 2011a). However, as explored in the next chapter, this is far from the whole picture of contemporary Latgalian *Geschichtspolitik*. In response to the centralizing historiographical tendencies at the level of the state, local historians and activists in the last two decades have also actively framed Latgale's History as a component of regional identity.

[93] This is not to suggest that storage memory is completely depoliticized. As discussed in Chapter 1, the allocation of funding to certain topics and the decision over what should be included in a university curriculum are examples of the politicization of storage memory. Nonetheless, potential for the past to be channelled into a narrow interpretation is far greater in the realm of functional memory than in storage memory.

IV. Re-shaping Latgale's Past as a Tool for Region-Building in Rēzekne

Whereas the History museum in Riga claims to represent the whole History of the present-day territory of Latvia, the **Latgale Culture and History Museum [LKM]** in Rēzekne devotes itself to the regional History of Latgale. Thus, rather than analysing how regional history features in the broader national narrative, this chapter examines the ways in which collective memories of regional History are being constructed in the region itself and the relationship between regional and national scales of narratives.

The LKM was founded in 1959 as a branch of the Ludza Local History Museum, but started working independently as Rēzekne Local History Museum in 1961. In 1990 the museum was renamed Latgale Culture and History Museum as the collection was thought by the local municipality to be representative of the whole region of Latgale. Nevertheless, the main focus of the history exhibition remains on Rēzekne and its surroundings (LKM, 2015). The museum currently has one permanent exhibition about regional history situated on the ground floor, which is spread over two rooms and entitled 'Rēzekne at the turn of ages'. The rooms upstairs house pottery and local art exhibitions. The historical exhibition begins with a timeline that lists the main periods and events in the History of Latgale. This timeline provides the framework within which the displays can be contextualised and understood as, in contrast to the LNVM, this museum has very few narrative descriptions or explanations except for captions to the artefacts.

Polish Livonia and the Origins of a Latgalian Regional Identity

Unlike in the LNVM, the period prior to the nineteenth century is dealt with rather briefly in the LKM. The exhibits dealing with the pre-nineteenth century occupy just a third of the first room and are centred round a small display case of archaeological items dating from the time when Rositten was founded in the thirteenth century and became 'a castle district [*pilsnovada*] centre of the Livonian Order'. Accompanying the items are photos of the archaeological site of the *Rositten Schloss*, whose ruins are a local landmark. There is no other information provided about this period.

The museum's narrative then moves to 1559, when the museum explains that the town became known as Rzežyca[94] and was 'part of Poland'. While the town actually became a domain of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and then a joint vassal of the Commonwealth after the Union of Lublin in 1569, the museum simply presents this period as one of Polish rule and portrays the Commonwealth as an early modern Poland.[95] This 'Polish period' is presented as being crucial for the development of several key aspects of Latgale's regional distinctiveness. The first, explains the museum, is that 'Jesuit missionaries had a major role in the implementation and strengthening of Catholicism'. This distinguished the region from other areas of present-day Latvia where the counter-reformation was not as strong and, as a result, these areas remained largely Lutheran. The second element of Polish Catholic influence impacted on the development of written Latgalian. The museum exhibits several examples of publications by 'Gustavs Manteifeļs'. This Polish-Livonian amateur historian was discussed in previous chapters in the context of his contributions to the Polish-Livonian historiography of Latgale. Yet in Latvia, and even more so in Latgale, he is most known for his publications in the Latgalian language. He grew up on the family estate in Drycany (Dritzen/Dricāni/Drycāni), not far from present-day Rēzekne, and collected and published many collections of Latgalian folksongs, prayers, and religious songs. In doing so, he played an active role in codifying the spoken dialects of his home region, which he elaborated on in his series of calendars (Bukšs, 1957, pp. 176–188). However,

[94] This is an unusual semi-phonetic latvianization of the Polish-language Rzeżyca.

[95] In this respect the museum follows Polish historiography and collective memory in viewing the Commonwealth as an early-modern Poland. See Chapter 2 for a discussion of the historiographical controversies surrounding historical claims to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

the museum curators' decision to spell his name as the Latgalianised Gustavs Manteifeļ, rather than the Polish (Gustaw Manteuffel), Germanic (Gustav von Manteuffel) or Latvian (Gustavs Manteifelis) varieties that the author himself used in his publications, is an example of the subtle moulding of Manteuffel into a important *used* Latgalian historical figure.[96]

Provincial Russia and Multi-cultural Latgale

The museum's narrative then moves to 1772, the year the town was incorporated into the Russian Empire and became known as Rēžhitsa.[97] There is almost no material on the eighteenth and early nineteenth century and instead the exhibition jumps straight to the second half of the nineteenth century, which is depicted as a key moment in the History of the region. The exhibition focuses on three aspects in the development of Rēžhitsa as a Russian provincial town. The first is the building of the St Petersburg-Warsaw road and the St Petersburg-Warsaw and Ventspils-Moscow-Rybinsk railway lines, which all passed through Rēžhitsa and increased the importance of the town. In contrast to the Riga-centred narrative of the LNVM which represents Latgale as a periphery from the main narrative of Latvia's History in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the LKM portrays Rēžhitsa as being linked to economic, political, and cultural centres in today's eastern Latvia, Poland, Belarus, and Russia. This suggests that the LKM is looking to build an alternative narrative which 'put Rēžhitsa on the map', so to speak, as having a significant part to play in the History of the Russian Empire's North-western borderlands. While the LNVM portrays industrialisation in the nineteenth century in negative terms, the LKM *uses* the building of these roads and railway lines as a way to integrate Rēžhitsa into an alternative economic and communicative network as a provicinal town within the wider Russian imperial space.

The second characteristic of Latgale's history during this period, which the museum presents, is the ethno-linguistic and confessional diversity of the town's inhabitants, typical of many other provincial towns in this area of the

[96] As one reviewer pointed out, the practise of Latvianising names is a common custom in Latvia. However, the museum, for the sake of historical fidelity, could also have indicated to visitors that the author himself did not go by the Latgalian or Latvian versions of his name, which only appeared in in Latvian and Latgalian historiography in the twentieth century.

[97] This is a Latvian-based transliteration of the old Russian-language Рѣжица. The alternative transliteration, Rēzhica, is also used in the museum.

Russian Empire. There is a photo display of people connected to 'Rēzekne at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries' that showcases the diversity of the town's population: a Jewish merchant and the Jewish gymnasium, Russians, Poles, a group photo of Old Believers, and members of the Polish Vitovsky noble family. The desire to draw attention to the ethno-cultural diversity of the region's inhabitants is included in the museum's promotional flyer as one of the museum's key aims:

> The exposition of Rēzekne city history tells about the city that is the heart of Latgale and its history during seven centuries since the 9th century, when Latgalian wooden castles were built, [and] until contemporary Rēzekne. Rositten, Rzežyca, Režica, Rēzekne – these are historical names of the city. All the time, Rēzekne was a crossroad for different peoples – the Germans, the Swedes, the Russians, the Poles, the Jews and the Gypsies who were conquerors, merchants, pilgrims, and tourists (LKM, n.d.).

This regional diversity, while typical of the whole of the North-Western Territory of the Russian Empire in today's Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, and eastern Poland, is presented as one of the unique features of this part of present-day Latvia.

Finally, the emergence during this period of a specifically Latgalian self-awareness among certain intellectuals in Latgale is also highlighted. The museum displays photos of luminary Latgalian cultural figures and activists such as Konstance Daugule-Kempa (1891–1947) (a writer and the wife of the famous Latgalian 'national awakener' Francis Kemps), a group photo of members of the Young Latgalian movement in St Petersburg, and the high school diploma of Boleslavs Brežgo (1887–1957), who went on to become one of the leading professional historians of Latgale in the twentieth century and who helped found the Museum in Daugavpils examined in Chapter 5.

The exhibition then moves to the formation of the Republic of Latvia at the end of World War I. Relatively little space is devoted to the war itself – some artefacts are displayed from the time of the Nazi occupation – but emphasis is placed instead on two events linked to the independence process. The first is the Latgale Congress in April 1917 during which, the museum tells us, the decision 'on the self-determination of Latgale, separation from Vitebsk province and joining the other Latvian regions' was taken. There are five photos showing the conference proceedings as well as a big wall-mounted photo of all the delegates. The second event that is emphasised by the museum is the battle for Latgale in the winter of 1919–1920. This is an event which forms a key

part of the *used* past in both the Latvian national canon – as represented in the LNVM – and in the narrative of Latgalian regional history. However, the ways in which they are *used* in the two museums are subtley different. The LNVM represents this event as the last part of the territory of Latvia that had to be won from the Red Army in the 'Latvian War of Independence' (*Latvijas brīvības cīņas*, literally 'Struggles for Latvia's freedom') and focuses on the capture of Daugavpils, which marked the conclusion of the war. In the LKM, the focus is solely on events in Rēzekne and the national War of Independence takes on a specific local significance as it is framed as the 'Liberation of Rēzekne'. The LKM does not portray the Latvian army as the main actors in this event, as in the LNVM, but rather focuses on the activities of specific local actors. There is a display of 'local heroes' who were awarded the Order of Lāčplēsis, the first and highest Latvian military award, for their actions. Special mention is also given to Staņislavs Kambala (1893–1941) who was the only representative of Latgale that took part in the declaration of the Latvian Independence Act on 18 November 1918. He was also an important political figure in the early 1920s as a member of the Latgale Peasant Party (1920–22) who was elected to the Constitutional Assembly, where he also served as vice chairman. The different ways in which the two museums shape their narration of the same period highlights how the past can be instrumentalised in different ways, and be *used* to support a narrative either of national independence or of regional activism and agency.

The second room of the exhibition is devoted to the twentieth century. Similar to the LNVM, it begins with the First Republic of Latvia and mainly focuses on the economic developments of the period: the display panel claims that this period is 'characterised by a wide range of construction and cultural growth'. Whereas Latgale was *negated* from representations of this period in the LNVM, the LKM showcases evidence that Rēzekne prospered too as a regional centre during this period. Photos are displayed of the many public buildings, educational institutions, and 'luxurious buildings of the period of Latvian independence', including the Catholic and Lutheran churches, banks, and local administrative buildings. The particular focus on economic developments – invoked by the photos of the main street in Rēzekne lined with shops, traders, markets, workers, factories, bridge- and railway-building, and a display with a dressing table and various luxury items from the 1920s and 1930s – consolidates the narrative in the LNVM of the glorious days of interwar independent Latvia. Another prominent theme in the displays is education. There are school class photos, copies of educational diplomas, and photos of

the Rēzekne Higher Education Institute and Russian and Polish gymnasiums. Education, along with the economy, is portrayed as one of the great achievements of independent Latvia.

The museum narrative then moves to World War II and immediately the tone changes. Compared to the late nineteenth century and interwar sections, this period is dealt with rather superficially. There are a series of photos showing Rēzekne before and after the war to convey the level of destruction as result of bombing by the Soviets and Germans. The photos of destroyed buildings are lit with a crude red flashing light evoking an association with Soviet terror and framed by barbed wire, often used to symbolise deportations or the gulag (Onken, 2005, p. 274). In this way, World War II is established as a prelude to the whole of the Soviet occupation. The only specific information about this period is one display containing letters and photos of the Lozda family who were deported to Siberia in 1941. No information is given about the 1949 deportations. Even more strikingly, there is absolutely no mention of the Holocaust. Whereas Rēzekne's Jewish population received several mentions in the section of the museum devoted to the diversity of the city's inhabitants in the nineteenth century, they simply disappear from the second half of the museum without explanation. This *negation* of the Holocaust establishes a shift in the way that the museum presents Rēzekne's History after the interwar period. From the 1940s onwards, the narrative limits its focus just to the town's Latgalian (in the ethno-linguistic sense) inhabitants and *negates* the presence of all the other inhabitants of Rēzekne.

There is even less about the Soviet period, just the mention that Rēzekne became industrialised and was the fifth largest industrial city in Latvia, accompanied by several photos of factories. Overall, only a token gesture is paid to the political History of the second half of the twentieth century in the LKM. This is in stark contrast to the LNVM, which follows the Museum of the Occupation of Latvia in presenting the events of the triple occupation in graphic detail, *lest we forget*. Instead, the LKM primarily focuses on social and cultural aspects of Latgale's History, which are *used* to explain its unique regional character today. World War II and the Soviet period are *referenced* as part of Latgale's twentieth-century History, but they are not *used* in the museum in the same way as they were in the LNVM; they are represented in the LKM as events which affected the whole of Latvia indiscriminately and do not play a big part in its narrative of regional specificity.

Latgale as a Latgalian Region

The final exhibits shift the focus onto the contemporary History of Latgale. In this section, the museum highlights the role of Rēzekne as a centre of Latgalian cultural activities, revolving around the Higher Education Institute, the Latgale Culture Centre, and the Latgalian Publishing House. The city is also described as the 'cultural centre of the Catholic clergy' in Latvia, supported by photos of important priests in Latgale and information about the consecration of the Heart of Jesus cathedral. There is a separate display panel devoted to the 'United for Latvia' monument, referred to in the museum as the Latgale Freedom Monument or 'Latgales Mara', which stands in the middle of Rēzekne. There is also information about how it was restored in 1992 to replace the Lenin monument, which had stood there during the Soviet period. The museum's focus on the specifically Latgalian (in the ethno-lingusitic and religious sense) character of Rēzekne today represents a shift from portrayals of the city during the late nineteenth century and interwar period, which emphasized the diversity of the inhabitants. In doing so, it *negates* a large part of its Russian-speaking population from its story of contemporary Rēzekne.[98]

The exhibition ends with a panel on 'Rēzekne at the turn of the 21st century', which includes photos of local cultural festivals such at the musical festival organized by Latgalian TV, the city festival with photos of young residents dressed in medieval costumes, and an international dance festival. Particular emphasis is placed on famous people from the region: the winner of the Miss Latvia competition, the photographer Jānis Gleizds, a photo of the musician Iveta Apkalna winning a competition in Vilnius, and a panel about the discovery of a Finnish director and actor with roots in Latgale, Teuvo Tulio (Theodors Tugajs). These exhibits attempt to speak of the wider significance of Latgale in the world and of the artistic contributions of its inhabitants, even if the links come across as rather tenuous.

Latgale's past is *used* by the LKM to promote awareness of the specificities of Latgale and its rich cultural heritage. This narrative of Latgale's past is structured in such a way that it is embedded in the Latvian national canon; it is presented as the History of a distinctive region that is nonetheless part of a wider Latvian national History. At the same time, we can question how representative it actually is of the whole of Latgale. While the change of the

[98] In 2011, ethnic Russians comprised 46.59% of the population of Rēzekne and ethnic Latvians 46.96%. [TSG-062] (CSB, 2011).

museum's name in 1990 from Rēzekne Local History Museum to Latgale Culture and History Museum now implies that the museum is dedicated to regional History, the focus is almost exclusively on Rēzekne. Daugavpils' past, for example, is *negated* in the museum, which is striking since it is the largest city in Latgale in terms of population. The explanation for this absence lies in the fact that Daugavpils and its largely Russian-speaking population, arguably, do not provide much useable 'material' for the construction as well as the cultural and linguistic revival of the rather specific Latgalian regional identity, which the museum is trying to achieve. The LKM's name thus should be understood as referring to Latgalian culture and History, rather than the culture and History of the inhabitants of Latgale. This nuance draws attention to the different definitions of Latgalian History at play within the region. On the one hand, there is 'Latgalian History', which primarily concerns itself with the specifics of the so-called Latgalian cultural-linguistic group. On the other hand, there is the 'History of Latgale', which conceptualises Latgale's past within the framework of a geographically defined region.

Deepening the Scope: Historians and Regional History

The trend towards presenting Latgale as a specific regional phenomenon can be seen as part of a more widespread trend in historiography which seeks to find alternative scales for approaching the study of the past. Global and transnational History studies have become popular in recent years as ways of conceptualising History beyond the container of the nation-state. In a similar vein, local and borderland History have also emerged as fashionable objects of study as a means to highlight the heterogeneous nature of how historical developments played out within a single state (Readman et al., 2014).

The Latgalian experts consulted during the research for this book confirmed the observations made in the LKM about the tendency in Latgale today to promote a specifically regional outlook on Latgale's History. Since Latvia regained independence in 1991, there has been increasing interest among scholars in Latgale in researching and conceptualising the History of Latgale from the 'inside', rather than just studying its past as a peripheral component of other larger polities. Research into the specificities of Latgalian History, language, and culture is currently being conducted by the Regional Studies Centre (the Research Institute of Latgale) of the Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences at Daugavpils University, the Centre of Oral History at Daugavpils University,

the Research Institute for Regional Studies at Rēzekne Higher Education Institution, the researchers' society 'Latgola', and the Publishing House of the Latgalian Culture Centre. There is a biennial Latgalian studies conference, 'The Past, Present, and Future of Latgale', which has been organized since 1991 by the Research Institute of Latgale and the working group 'History: Sources and People' at Daugavpils University. There are currently three major publications devoted to the History of Latgale: *Reģionālais Ziņojums* and *Acta Latgalica* published by the Research Institute of Latgale at Daugavpils University, and *Via Latgalica* published by the Research Institute for Regional Studies in Rēzekne. Taken together, Ivanovs argues that these activities can be interpreted as evidence that 'an independent school – Latgalian studies – has come into existence' (Ivanovs, 2009, p. 19). Moreover, these efforts currently underway to research Latgale within a regional framework are in many ways a revival and continuation of the work begun in the early twentieth century during the so-called First Latgalian Awakening (1904–1907) by Latgalian politicians and public figures discussed in Chapter 2, such as Francis Trasuns (1864–1926), Francis Kemps (1876–1952)[99], and Margers Skujenieks (1886–1941), continued by Boleslavs Brežgo during the 1930s–1950s, and by the émigrés historians Miķelis Bukšs, and Tadeušs Puisāns in the 1950s–70s.

The extent and diversity of this contemporary Latgalian studies 'school' became clear from the research projects being conducted by my survey respondents, which included topics such as historical linguistics, Medieval History, Latgalian historiography, the agrarian reforms during the 1920s and 1930s, gender during the Soviet period, and the Roman Catholic church in the nineteenth century. Many of these are areas that are not presented, or merely are mentioned in passing, in the museums. This suggests that there exists a much more detailed and comprehensive *referenced* memory of Latgale's past outside of the museums, but one that remains within the confines of the inhabitants of Latgale or those with Latgale's roots living elsewhere, and it is not part of the general Latvian collective historical consciousness. Moreover, when compared to the other historical regions of present-day Latvia, Latgale is quite unique in having a group of scholars who are actively engaged in researching it as a regional phenomenon. As Ivanovs notes:

> Some think that the history of Latgale region is not studied enough within the context of Latvian historiography as such. But you see, it is very interesting

[99] Kemps published the first cultural history of Latgale, *Latgalieši: kultur-vēsuriska skice* (1910).

> that no other regions have regional historiography of their own, for example in Vidzeme and Kurzeme there are no research institutions. We cannot speak about any trends in the investigation of Kurzeme history or Vidzeme history. Certainly, some aspects of the history of such regions are studied rather intensively in the context of Latvian history at large, since the main historical centres which influenced that history of Latvia are located either in Kurzeme or Vidzeme. So, Kurzeme and Vidzeme as regions are not studied as entities. On the contrary, the history of Latgale, the centres that are in this region, have never played an important role in the history of Latvia, so within the history of Latvia as a whole, these centres only appear from to time to time, and they do not play any important role. But the problems of these regions on the whole are being studied, rather intensively. You see, I suppose it is a phenomenon. On the one hand, the history of Latgale has not assumed an important place in the history of Latvia, but it is being studied intensively as a specific region (Interview, 2015).

Thus, while there are several individual works published on the History of the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia as a separate entity, in the context of being a vassal state for the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (Jēkabsons, 2012, pp. 41–42) and its importance during the Enlightenment (Sommerlat, 2010), there are no collective bodies of scholarship (such as a journal or monograph series), group of scholars, or research institutes specifically devoted to the study of Kurzeme and Vidzeme as regional entities. Runce (2015) agreed with the assessment of the current state of Latvian historiography, pointing out that 'there is no marked regional identity of Courland, as in the case of Latgale.' Nonetheless, despite these rather intensive efforts by Latgalian experts to broaden the scope of the storage memory of Latgale's History, this field still remains very narrow. These activities are concentrated for the most part in Latgale itself, and Latgale's History still remains a regional curiosity or mostly *referenced* memory for the inhabitants of the other regions of Latvia. Ivanovs attributed this gap between the functional and storage memory to the failure of scholars to communicate and disseminate their research:

> The problem of the historiography of Latvia on the whole is that professional academic research has lost ties with the society. It seems that Latvian historians produce their research papers for themselves. Most of these papers are read only by other specialists. Possibly, many research papers can be read only by 10–20 people, not more (Interview, 2015).

At the same time, Ivanovs argues that local History initiatives outside the realm of academia have 'become rather popular' (Interview, 2015). However, Ivanovs was rather dismissive of this kind of popular History: 'most of the research work on the history of Latgale is conducted not by professional historians but by amateurs, local people who are rather aged and who have plenty of time to make such work, but the level and quality of their work is not sufficient' (*ibid*). In doing so, Ivanovs makes a strong judgemenet about the scholarly value and quality of 'local History' (Latv. *novadpētniecība*; Rus. *kraevedenie*), as practised by amateurs, as compared to the research conducted by professional historians.[100]

However, the results from my expert survey suggest that many of the same individuals are involved in both functional and popular aspects of using the past to promote a sense of Latglian regional identity as well as contributing to Latgalian regional historiography through their academic research. While the experts for the survey were selected based on their participation at the 2014 Latgalistics conference, it became clear from their responses that many of them also have a personal connection to Latgale. For many of the researchers, their interest in studying the region is linked to a sense of their regional Latgalian ethno-linguistic self-consciousness. In this respect, Alexanders Ivanovs, who self-identifies as an ethnic Russian during our interview, emerged as having a rather atypical profile as a researcher of Latgalian History. This might be accounted for by the fact that his own research focuses more on Medieval History and on theoretical aspects such as historiography, rather than on more typically 'Latgalian' (in the ethno-lingusitic sense) themes.

Among the experts surveyed, many expressed a rather strong emotional and moral conviction that the main elements of Latgale's history missing from the Latvian national storage memory are linked to the 'regional "identity" of Latgale and constructions of this identity'. This includes the history of 'Latgalians in the course of the development of the Latvian ethnos and nation' especially during the Russian imperial period in the nineteenth century, and the 'Latgalian language' and 'cultural heritage'. In particular, the historical development of Latgalian language was a recurring theme in the responses to my survey. For example, when asked about what elements of the history of Latgale should be given more attention, one respondent listed:

[100] Elsewhere, Ivanovs explains why local History has a negative connotation among many professional historians in Latvia. The term *novadpētniecība*, introduced at the beginning of the Soviet occupation, was strongly linked to the dissemination of Soviet ideology and the indoctrination of local communities (Ivanovs, 2015).

> Print ban (1865–1904) and consequences of it; Latgalian folklore; first printed books; first institutions for higher education; joining of Latgale to Latvia, historical congress in Rēzekne in 1917; Latgalian activists; Russification of Latgale during Soviet times etc.; knowledge of Latgalian ABC.

This is a reflection of the connection between regional identity and language and current language politics in Latvia. Most Latgalian experts are also Latgalian language activists, or the Latgalian language and cultural History feature in their research. As another respondent wrote:

> I wish that there would be better knowledge of the different history and culture of Latgale, how these differences appear, and how they influence the development of cultural, economic and social processes in the region. Another very important issue which must be raised is the status of Latgalian language after 1934. During the regime of Kārlis Ulmanis education took place in Latvian language, but before that children in schools in Latgale could study in Latgalian language. There should be a greater knowledge of the policies of the authoritarian regime towards Latgale and the Latgalian language, and what methods were used to reach its goal.

It became apparent that many of my respondents occupied dual roles, both promoting Latgale in the public sphere and working on research projects for smaller and more specialised audiences. Examples of public engagement given by my respondents included various ways of promoting and raising awareness of the History of Latgale outside of academia: such as presenting at public conferences and events, teaching Latgalian History and language in local schools, promoting Latgale in the Latvian Society in Riga, working with museums, participating in the activities of the Latgalian Student Centre (Latgolys Students Centrs), and writing articles for popular local publications such as Latgalian Cultural Gazette *LaKuGa* and the bimonthly magazine *A12*.[101] One researcher is also involved in organising the annual 'Atzolys' summer school for students about Latgale and lectures at the 'Vosoruošona' summer course for teachers in Latgale, which promotes the teaching of Latgalian language, literature, and History. Another researcher organizes winter schools on Latgalian language and cultural History in Siberia in the Krasnoiarsk region for the Latgalian-speaking community there. However, we must be careful not to overstate the impact of these activities. When asked to rate the effect of these activities on

[101] Latgalīšu Kulturys Gazeta (LaKuGa). Available at: http://www.lakuga.lv; A12, Žurnāls. Available at: http://www.a12.lv [Accessed 27 March 2015].

'influencing the knowledge about the Latgale region among the inhabitants of Latvia' on a scale of 1–5, most researchers felt that their impact was rather low.[102] Explanations given for this included that the impact was largely on other academics and that 'people connected to Latgalian activities know each other by face, it is a very narrow circle, which doesn't expand'. As one of my respondents noted, there are still only a small number of scholars working on Latgale and, while 'information about Latgale is available in both national and local publications, there is room for improvement – the information could be more extensive'. These are examples of bottom-up initiatives that are dependent on the motivation of local individuals and that often struggle to get funding from the state.

Thus, the insights into the professional and non-professional activities of Latgalian History experts expose some of the clear political motivations in the way History is used to transform the memory of Latgale from a peripheral *referenced* or *relicised* part of the nation canon into a *used* part of a Latgalian regional identity.[103] On the one hand, the alternative narratives about Latgale's past currently constructed in Latgale, both in the museums and through the research work and activities of historians, can be seen as a form of 'counter-memory' which emerges from what Adriana Bergero calls the 'otherlands' of rememberance, often starting on the local level and unsettling or presenting an alternative to state historical memories (2014). The research being done on Latgale's History can thus be used as a corrective to shore up the Riga-centric narratives of Latvian History and act as a reaffirmation of the regional distinctiveness of Latgale. On the other hand, the form that this regional activisim takes is of a specifically Latgalian (in the ethno-linguistic sense) nature. As Ivanovs noted:

> The Latgalians, the people of Latvian origin who live there (they can possibly be called Latgalians), believe that they are relatively deprived from the processes within the nation-state. I suppose that it is a psychological complex that they have. They are certainly detached from other regions of Latvia and

[102] The breakdown of the responses was thus: 5 = no respondents, 4 = 1, 3 = 3, 2 = 5, 1 = 1.

[103] This reminds us that *used* memories do not always 'nationalize'. Indeed, the attempt by Latgalian activists to create a *used* memory of Latgale's past demonstrates how borderland narratives can actually challenge national narratives. The Pogranicze (Borderland) foundation based in Sejny, Poland, is a good example of this. Available at: http://pogranicze.sejny.pl/ [Accessed 6 December 2015]. Likewise, that which is forgotten as a *referenced* or *relicised* memory is not always a challenge to nationalizing discourse but can, of course, be at its very foundation.

> they are convinced that other Latvians from other parts of Latvia see them as people who are underdeveloped, who differ from their natives who are living in Kurzeme and Vidzeme, so I suppose that it is a psychological reaction. A psychological reaction which is shaped by their own attitude to other Latvians. You see that it is rather specific (Interview, 2015).

As a result, Latgale's History is often presented by researchers in Latgale as a specific and unique phenomenon, which cannot be fully understood by anyone from the outside.

Runce took a slightly different approach when asked about the politicisation of the regional narrative of Latgale's History and suggested that the fragmentation of memories comes out of different definitions of what it means to be 'Latgalian', which are articulated in the public sphere. Regarding those who identify themselves as Latgalian activists and linguists in the sense of advocating for a specific Latgalian language and cultural-regional identity, Runce cautions that:

> I would say that they are not always inclusive in their rhetoric [...] [and] their agenda. They are much more concerned with very particular Latgalian issues, only Latvian culture, and they are losing the opportunity to create bridges and dialogue on the public level with other communities […] I also cannot blame Latvian-Latgalians or Latgalian-Latvians for this. For example, the Old Believer communities are very isolated and are not interested in participating in this effort to be more orientated towards the region. The Old Believers are not traditionally very open-minded towards anything outside of their community. Thus, it is not simply a question of changing the attitude of the centre towards this periphery. I am not blaming Riga or the national government too much because sometimes it is also quite complicated to find a unified ambition and to collect it. There are so many groups and they are divided about what it means to be "Latgalian" – it is very complicated to get them together […] You cannot come up with one narrative or memory. In the case of Latgale there will never be a single narrative, you will get five or six – this is an illustration of the reality. We speak about a centric and unified understanding of history, and this is very hard to relate to Latgale (Interview, 2015).

Runce raises several interesting points. On the one hand, she confirms the dominant trend in Latgale today towards the conceptualising of Latgale's History in the rather narrow sense pertaining to ethno-cultural and linguistic 'Latgalians'. This leads to the under-representation of large parts of Latgale's population in sites of public History, such as in state museums. On the other hand, Runce's example of the reluctance by the Old Believer to community to

participate in the integration of their History into a broader regional Latgalian narrative, suggests that this lack of cooperation does not only come from the level of the state but also from the local inhabitants themselves.

Runce went on to elaborate on how many minorities in Latgale take their historical representation into their own hands and have created private museums. Information about the religious communities of Old Believers and Jews, for example, can be found in the 'Jews in Latvia' museum and the small Grebenshchikov Old Believers Community Museum, both in Riga. There is also a small museum attached to the synagogne in Daugavpils on the 'Jews of Daugavpils and Latgale'. Some elements of the history of the Old Believers in Latgale from an ethnographic perspective are briefly mentioned in the Naujene Local History Museum, on the outskirts of Daugavpils, as well as in its open-air branch in Slutišķi, where there is a reconstructed Old Believers' Village. There is a small one-room museum about the Poles of Latgale in the Polish school in Daugavpils. Runce thus questions the possibility – and even desireability – of creating a coherent and comphrensive narrative about Latgale's past. Instead, these different specialized private museums serve as a further indicator of the ways in which local museums are a venue for marginalized groups to voice a version of 'their' History. While a detailed examination of these museums is outside the scope of this book, they would be a worthwhile topic for further research.

V. Memory in the Margins: Daugavpils and the Traces of Former Histories

Moving to another important regional museum, this chapter examines the **Daugavpils Local History and Art Museum (DNMM),** which covers the History of the city and region of Daugavpils. The idea to establish the museum was developed in 1925 and popularised by the Latgalian historian Boleslavs Brežgo. The first exhibition was opened in 1933 in the Daugavpils Teachers' Institute. In 1938, the Daugavpils Department of the National History Museum was opened on Saules Street 5/7 with financial support from the Latvian Culture Fund. After the re-occupation of the country by the Soviets in 1944, the museum was renamed the Daugavpils National Historical Museum, but it functioned as a regional museum. In 1959 the museum moved to its current premises at 8 Rīgas iela. Since 1991, the Museum has gone by the name of the Daugavpils Local History and Art Museum to reflect the regional nature of its collection (DNMM, 2015). Today, there are four permanent exhibitions about 'The History and Culture of the Daugavpils Region' from ancient times to 1991: 1) 'The region in ancient times' and 'The region within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (1561–1569) and Polish-Lithuanian State (*Rzeczpospolita*) (1569–1772)'; 2) 'The region within the Russian Empire (1772–1917)'; 3) 'The region within the Republic of Latvia (1918–1940)'; and 4) 'Daugavpils region within the USSR (1940–1991)'.

The contents of the museum have not changed much since the Soviet period and many of the information panels date from the late 1980s or early 1990s. This stagnation explains many of the differences, which become apparent in the analysis below. The DNMM is also the only one of the three museums where the text was displayed equally in Latvian and Russian language throughout, suggesting that it is directed at a rather different audience to the Latvian and English-language displays of the LNVM and LKM. The languages used in the

displays correspond more closely to the city's demographics than in the LKM.[104] The DNMM presents yet another interpretation of the History of Latgale that is shaped by the discourses of Russian imperial and Soviet historiography.

It would be tempting and rather easy to attribute these differences in the ways in which Latgale's History is represented in Daugavpils to ethnic factors and to the city's large Russian-speaking population. However, as this book has repeatedly cautioned, we must be wary of jumping too quickly to generalising suppositions about ethno-linguistic groups, political regimes, and contemporary memory politics in Latvia. Instead, this chapter attempts to unpick some of the complexities and nuances behind the memory of Latgale's past and argues that the DNMM represents a case of the lingering traces of the former official *used* past of the Soviet era. This memory has been *negated* in the other two museums, which have undergone several waves of renovation since Latvia regained independence in 1991 to reflect the new political regime's official interpretation of History. The DNMM, however, has suffered from financial neglect, with the result that the exhibits in the DNMM have not yet been fully renovated to conform to the Latvian state's official narrative of Latgale's history. This results in a clearly visible overlapping of different layers of memory associated with different political regimes, and one that has a wider resonance in the collective memories of many of Daugavpils' older inhabitants who received their education and grew up in Soviet Latvia.

Latgale's Slavic Heritage and the Legitimisation of Russian Rule

As with the other two museums, the first room of the DNMM begins with the ancient History of Latvia. The museum presents information about *Latgaļi* and focuses on Jersika as an economic, political, and cultural centre. The attention

[104] In the most recent Latvian census in 2011, in Daugavpils there were 50,013 Russians, as well as Russian-speaking Belarusians (6,774) and Ukrainians (1,795). By contrast, the Latvian population numbered only 18,447. It is only slightly bigger than the Polish population (13,278) [TSG-062] (CSB, 2011). It must be noted that not all of Latgale's Russian population are Soviet-era settlers. A sizeable 'local' Russian-speaking population, including many Old Believers, was living in the region before World War II but this is not reflected in the present census data (Pazukhina, 2010). By contrast, despite Russians making up almost half the population of Rēzekne, the information in the LKM is presented in Latvian with summaries in English and Russian. Again, this is testament to the Latvianisation (and Latgalianisation) of Latgale's History as presented in the LKM.

paid to Jersika as a vassal of the principality of Polotsk in the tenth century is *used* to establish a narrative of early contacts between the territory of present-day Latgale and the principalities of Rus' to the east (Selart, 2015). Whereas the LNVM presented information about all the ethno-cultural groups during this period who inhabited the present-day territory of Latvia to present them as a proto-Latvian collective, the DNMM focuses solely on the *Latgaļi* and their relations with Rus'. In contrast to the other museums, the DNMM provides almost no information about the period between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries, apart from stating that Jersika was destroyed by German knights, and that German 'invaders' built the Dünaburg castle in 1275 which marked the founding of today's city of Daugavpils.

The narrative then jumps to the sixteenth century, when the German invaders were replaced by other 'occupiers' in the form of Polish magnates and Dinaburg became the centre of the Inflanty province of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Similar to the case of the German knights, the Poles are presented as another 'occupier'. Unlike the LKM which portrays this simply as a 'Polish' period, the DNMM makes one reference to this period using the correct Polish-language term for the polity, *Rzeczpospolita*. At other times, it is simply characterised as 'Poland'. As in the LKM, the main information given about this period concerns the spread of Catholicism. While there is very little detail given about the palatinate of Polish Livonia/Inflanty, there is a notable mention of the brief period during the Livonian War when parts of the territory of Latgale were conquered by the Tsardom of Russia: 'in 1656 Dinaburg was conquered by Russia and renamed Borisoglebsk, but after 11 years it was returned to Poland and was part of it until 1772'. This description, presided over by a picture of tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich, establishes a 'history of contacts ("friendship")' (Ivanovs, 2005, p. 268) between the territory of Latgale and Russia prior to the eighteenth century and a continuity going back to the times of Jersika and Medieval Rus'. This eastward orientation provides a rather startling contrast to the LNVM, which told a narrative of Latvia's History that almost exclusively concentrated on contacts with Western Europe. In the LNVM, there is no mention of any contact with any eastern polities before the end of the nineteenth century.

The next room describes the incorporation of Dinaburg into the Russian Empire after 1772 and its growing importance as a provincial city. The building of the Dinaburg fortress in 1810 against the growing threat of Napoleon's invasion is presented as a key moment in the history of the city as part of the patriotic defence of the Russian Empire. Despite not being finished when the

war of 1812 began, the museum proudly informs visitors that 'the fortress had a great role in the defence of Russia's western borders'. The fortress is thus presented as an important landmark, both physically and symbolically, in the History of Daugavpils and a site of many important events. The museum describes how the establishment of the fortress 'brought about great changes both in the planning of the town and in its everyday life'. The prominent place given to this event in the museum and the installation of a new information panel about the fortress are both likely to be linked to the large-scale renovation work on the fortress over the past few years that has raised its public profile.

The second room dedicated to this period covers the second half of the nineteenth century when 'Dinaburg became a significant centre of Vitebsk province from 1802 as well as the second largest industrial centre of Latvia'. These two themes, the city as a Russian imperial city (officially renamed Dvinsk in 1893) and economic development, together constitute the narrative about this period. The museum contains a lot of material about the economic development of the city, showcasing photos of the button and match factories. In particular, the building of railways and highways, especially the St Petersburg-Warsaw line, made the city a strategic junction. The population increased and the city experienced an economic boom, which also spilled over into the cultural sphere. The museum describes how by 1913 there were 39 educational establishments in the city, several theatres, seven libraries, and many churches were built. The emphasis on economic and cultural prosperity tells a similar narrative of Rēzekne during this period in the LKM. The DNMM, however, goes into more detail and also presents information about cultural 'Russification' measures such as the imposition of Russian language in schools and the 'printing ban in the Latvian language from 1871–1904'.

The narrative about the nineteenth century period also has a remarkably strong Marxist overtone: this period is described as the era of 'capitalism' and special attention is paid to the abolition of serfdom in 1861. Considering the socio-economic importance of the emancipation of the serfs for the development of all the territories of present-day Latvia, it is significant that this is the only museum that deals with the subject in any substantial way. Finally, the mass demonstrations by 'workers welcoming the overthrow of tsardom' in 1905 are presented. Neither of these aspects is portrayed in the other museums. This probably results from the fact that many of the DNMM's exhibits have not been changed since the Soviet period and continue to reflect Soviet historiographical and mnemohistorical trends in which the 1905 'revolution' played an important role (Reichman, 1983).

The next section is about the period of Latvian independence. It begins with Dvinsk as a front line city in World War I and the 1917 Latgale Congress in which 'the decision was adopted about separation of Latgale from Vitebsk province [and] uniting with other provinces of Latvia'. A copy of the declaration of the Congress and the group photo of the participants, including Francis Trasuns, are displayed. There is a brief mention of the joint Latvian and Polish efforts to liberate Daugavpils under the leadership of General Ridizis-Smiglijs (Pol. Rydz-Śmigły) accompanied by a photo of the Latvian-Polish border but, compared to the LNVM and LKM, less attention is paid to this event. Instead, in keeping with the Marxist overtones of the previous room, there is a display case with pictures and newspaper clippings devoted to the impact of the Russian Revolution on Latgale, depicting mass meetings and demonstrations of workers and soldiers as they greeted the news.

The subject of the next room in the exhibition is the interwar Republic of Latvia. As in the LNVM and LKM, the interwar period of Latvian independence is first and foremost characterised by economic prosperity: the huge impact of the 1920 agrarian reform and the *lat* currency. There is also information about the economic achievements of the Ulmanis period, such as the drive for electrification and the building of the Unity Bridge over the river Daugava. Education, like in the LKM, plays an important role in the narration of this period as one of intellectual flourishing in Latvia: there is mention of 41 educational institutions by 1934, including Polish, Russian, and Belarusian gymnasiums. Yet, in contrast to the other museums, the DNMM also displays information about social problems during this period suggesting that it was not all as glorious as it might seem at first sight. To underline this, the example is given about the poor medical care at the time because many qualified specialists had fled to Russia during World War I. As in the LNVM, the narrative about the interwar period ends with the 1940 Song Festival in Daugavpils, displaying pictures from the event accompanied by a caption stating that this event marked the last time the Latvian national anthem, "*Dievs, svētī Latviju*!" [God, Bless Latvia!], was sung in a free Latvia.

Museum or Mausoleum? The Persistence of the Soviet Used Past

Visitors then move upstairs to the final rooms of the museum which are devoted to Daugavpils within the USSR. The first section deals rather briefly

with the loss of independence in 1940: one display provides information about the destruction in World War II, the Daugavpils Jewish ghetto, the prisoner of war camp Stalag 340, and about the Latvian Legion and anti-Soviet partisans (forest brothers).[105] There is an adjoining room with a collection of objects from World War II but without any accompanying explanatory information. This leads onto another adjacent room decorated with furnishings in the style of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The juxtaposition of different periods and moods disrupts any sense of chronology, and serves to undermine the severity of the attrocities of war. Indeed, the absence of any mention of the Holocaust and the extermination of the Jews aligns with the general trend in Soviet historiography where little attention is paid to these topics.[106] Jewish culture is represented only by a shred of the burnt Torah. In contrast to the LNVM where the term 'occupation' is repeatedly stressed, in the DNMM the events of 1940 are described using the more neutral language of a 'loss of independence'.[107] This stands in stark contrast to contemporary Latvian historiography that continues to draw heavily on the persecution and hardships the people of Latvia endured during World War II.[108]

Instead, DNMM's narrative moves quickly to the end of the war and emphasizes the benefits of this period for the city; this section could not differ more from the narrative of the Soviet period created in the LNVM. While the LKM also mentioned that Rēzekne became industrialized during the Soviet era, the DNMM goes much further. Half of the room is devoted to the achievements of industrialization, modernization, factories, the building of the tramway system in the city, electrification, plumbing and sewage systems, railways and bridges. Agriculture and farming achievements are also showcased along with photos of medical facilities and the nursing school (in direct contrast to the poor medical facilities described from the interwar period that the visitor will have just seen), the sporting achievements of youth groups, and local music events. By the end

[105] For a biographical account of the Holocaust in Latgale from the perspective of a Lithuanian Jew who was interred in Daugavpils, see Iwens (1990).

[106] For a discussion of the cultural memory in Latvia today of Latgale's Jewish population, see Senkāne & Laganovska (2012).

[107] The term 'occupation' (*okupants*) in Latvia has powerful connotations. In 2009 Latvian President Valdis Zatlers made an appeal to ethnic Latvians not to use this term in the interests of promoting integration between ethnic Latvians and Russians, which led to widespread discussion of the term. (Diena.lv, 2009).

[108] Andrejs Plakans (2014) in his historiographical survey of the 27 volumes published by the Latvian Commission of Historians between 2000–2013 reveals how the Soviet and Nazi occupations have remained the dominant themes in Latvian historiography.

of the Soviet period, Daugavpils is portrayed as a thriving industrial centre, the second city of Latvia, and home to several famous people: the birthplace of the artist Mark Rothko, Solomon Mihoels, and Oskar Strok. This elides with Kevin Platt's observation that:

> a common explanation and legitimization of the Russian presence in the area revolves around the work of cultural and social construction that Russians are thought to have carried out in building Latvian society, industry, and such others […] Such explanations reproduce the discourse of "Russian civilization" that justified Russian imperial domination and (in masked form) Soviet domination not only of East European territories, but also (with regional specificities, to be sure) of those in Central and East Asia (2013, pp. 137–8).

At the end of the exhibition about the Soviet period there is a small display case showing the 1990 Latgalian song festival as symbol of national unity, the Baltic Way, and the regaining of independence. The photo prints and text captions are much newer than the rest of the exhibits in the room, suggesting that this case has been added to the room more recently. Thus, in one room, the palimpsestuous layerings of different memories are clearly visible. Importantly, these layers do not replace one another, but overwrite and coexist.

The DNMM's positive assessment of the Soviet period is indicative of two dynamics at play in the representation of Latgale's Soviet past in the present. On the one hand, the persistence of the Soviet historiographical influence in the museum's exhibits can be interpreted as evidence of the *relicisation* of Latgale's past in the museum. The longevity of the Soviet-influenced narrative of Daugavpils' History – 'left over' from the previous political regime – is symptomatic of the lack of funding given to the museum by the Latvian state to update the exhibits and is in marked contrast to the new building and permanent exhibits of the LNVM. On the other hand, the palimpsest of different narratives about the city's past contained within the museum is perhaps also a more accurate reflection of different narratives and interpretations of the region's History held by Daugavpils' inhabitants. Although the present analysis is more concerned with institutionalised sites which seek to shape historical narratives, rather than collective memories *per se*, the continued presence of Soviet-era exhibits in the DNMM resonates with Nergina Klumbytė's (2010) findings of her study of 'Soviet nostalgia' ('*Ostalgie*') in Lithuania, whose interviewees articulate positive memories of the late Soviet period. These memories stand against the current of both national and international discourses that define the Soviet regime as immoral, imposed, and oppressively totalitarian.

Klumbytė shows that many people with positive memories of socialism do not deny the Soviet attrocities, but rather reminisce about their relative socioeconomic well-being in the late Soviet era, especially in contrast to the 1990s. These memories are a reflection of personal and lived experiences of socialism rather than a comment of the political regime. Although the representation of this alternative narrative in the museum is likely to result from the lack of funding to update the museum, rather than a deliberate attempt by the curators to address the issue of these multiple layers of meaning, the museum nonetheless provides a site for the articulation of a narrative of Latgale's past which has been *negated* in the other two museums. It also draws attention to the often slow and uneven pace at which collective memories change; the official narrative in Latvia may have changed, yet for many people over the age of 35, life in Soviet Latvia is part of their lived memory'. The DNMM is thus an example of how a borderland – as a result of being financially neglected by the state – might function as a pluralistic site where multiple memories and interpretations of the past are able to persist. Such sites present an important challenge homogenizing, state-centric national master narratives.

Mark Rothko and the Re-discovery of Latgale's Relicised Multi-Culturalism

The museum visit ends with a member of staff leading visitors along a corridor to visit the Mark Rothko room containing a permanent display of several Rothko reproductions, an area of the museum that was added in the late 2000s. This *coda* to the main exhibition also provides a revealing insight into the uses of Latgale's past in contemporary Latvia.

Mark Rothko was born Marcus Rothkowitz in 1903 into a middle-class Jewish family in Dvinsk. He attended Jewish school and spoke Yiddish and Russian, and had very little connection to the burgeoning Latvian nationalist movement. Following the bankruptcy of his father's pharmacy and rising ethnic tensions, in 1910 the Rothkowitz family emigrated to the USA. Rothko, as he later became known, went on to establish himself as one of the most esteemed American artists of the twentieth century. Yet, as his biographer argues, he 'seldom reminisced in paint or words, about his boyhood, his native town, its Jewish community' and connected his birthplace to the broader Russian Empire rather than Latvia which came into being after he had already emigrated (Breslin, 1993, p. 17). Nonetheless, over the last ten years, there have

been efforts by various actors in Latvia and abroad to re-appropriate Rothko as an important cultural figure in Latvian History, and by extension, also in the History of Latgale (in the geographical sense of a region). In 2003, to celebrate the centenary of Rothko's birth, a conference on Rothko was organized in Daugavpils. In 2013, a Mark Rothko Art Centre was opened in Daugavpils, which also includes an exhibition about Dvinsk at the beginning of the twentieth century and the Jewish life of the city. There have even been suggestions that Rothko's famous paintings, often consisting of rectangular coloured blocks, were inspired by the windows of Dvinsk's wooden houses (Deep Baltic, 2016). The Mark Rothko centre also links Rothko with other Jewish cultural figures who were born in the city, including Soviet actor and artistic director of the Moscow State Jewish Theater, Solomon Mikhoels (1890–1948), composer Oskar Strok (1893–1975), and Nikolai Poliakov (1900–1974), famous in the United Kingdom for playing 'Coco the Clown'.

This process of 'capturing' or posthumously 'claiming' Rothko, as well as to a lesser extent Mikhoels, Strok, and Poliakov, can be linked to the wider trend in Latvia to appropriate cultural figures into the national History, most notably Isaiah Berlin and Sergei Eisenstein (both born in Riga) (Auer, 2013). While these efforts can be seen as the result of a genuine desire by certain Latvian intellectuals to recognize and broaden the diversity of Latvia's cultural heritage, they have also been used by the Latvian state and Daugavpils' municipal authorities (particularly in the case of Rothko) to project a certain external image of Latvia for political and economic gains. The former Latvian President Vaira Vīķe-Freiberga, for example, emphasized Latvia's multi-cultural past and long-standing Jewish community as a foreign policy tool, mentioning Rothko's Latvian origins when speaking to the American Jewish Committee in Washington DC in May 2007 and in speeches at state dinners with the Israeli president in Riga in 2005 and Jerusalem in 2006 (Auer, 2013, p. 132). The Daugavpils municipal authority has used the 'return' of Rothko as part of a project to promote economic development through both tourism and investment: Rothko has been developed as a brand name for the city to promote it as a regional cultural centre (Griškeviča, 2013), particularly with the building of the Mark Rothko centre as the city's main tourist attraction. Finally, the "rediscovery" of Rothko can also be seen as an attempt to construct Latvia, both domestically and internationally, as a generator of international high culture that builds an image of it as a legitimate, contemporary, cosmopolitan, and Western nation-state (Auer, 2013).

It is important to note that this cultural appropriation of historical figures into the Latvian national canon was not without opposition. As Aldis Purs explains,

> These artists and many others do not fit easily into the standard Latvian cultural world, and their works seem far removed from Latvian influences […] Latvians still struggle with whether to accept and incorporate these artists into their long cultural tradition, or whether to ignore them altogether (2005, p. 148).

In the case of Rothko in Daugavpils, this was particularly pertinent. Abstract art was discredited in the Soviet Union as American, capitalist, 'bourgeois', and in opposition to the Socialist Realist style. As a result, Farida Zaletilo, the curator at the Mark Rothko Art Centre, was confronted with opposition in the 2000s from many of Daugavpils' inhabitants, who had never heard about Rothko prior to the building of the art centre and were initially sceptical about the idea of allocating municipal funds to honour an artist who seemed to have very little connection with the city apart from having being born there. These criticisms were compounded by latent anti-Semitism, whose proponents claimed that the municipality was attempting to 'Jew-ify' the city (Auer, 2013, p. 131). At the same time, the choice to publicly celebrate Rothko, as a symbol of the city's cultural History, rather than Mikoels, who is undoubtedly more famous in the region, may be due to the fact that Rothko is more well-known internationally and because Mikhoels' fame as a prominent Soviet cultural figure is problematic for the current Latvian political regime. Auer argues that for the same reason, the film director Sergei Eisenstein has a complicated

> relationship with the Latvian state […] he was a keen supporter of the communist state that occupied Latvia for almost a half-century. Moreover, as someone who identified with the "East", he does not quite fit in with the Western orientation that Latvia has adopted since 1991 […] This is certainly reflected in the more cautious use that has been made of his connection to Riga and Latvia (Auer, 2013, p. 130).

Thus, the celebration of historical figures in Latgale's past is also inherently politicised and reflects some of the tensions between the creation of a *used* Latvian past on the international or diplomatic stage and domestically within Latvia.

Lingering Layers: The Coexistence of Different Interpretations of the Past

Overall, the DNMM presents yet another narrative of Latgale's History that stands out from the representations in both the LNVM and LKM in crucial ways. The DNMM constitutes a complex mix of concessions to new narratives propagated by the Latvian state and the lingering *relicised* elements of old narratives from the previous Soviet political regime. This is most evident in the strong influences of Marxist-Soviet historiography present in certain places in the museum and the positive rendition of the Soviet period from 1944/5–1991. The Marxist-Soviet influences are also apparent in the use of keywords such as 'struggle', 'Marxism', 'formation', 'process', 'class', 'proletariat', and 'revolution' – and in the chronology which has much in common with Soviet historiography, which tended to focus on topics such as the development of feudalism, the rise of capitalism in the second half of the nineteenth century, the 1905 and 1917 revolutions, the period of the dominion of 'nationalist bourgeoisie' during the interwar period, and the period of the 'struggle for socialism' between 1940 and 1950 (Ivanovs, 2005, p. 265). It is also important to note that in addition to the framing of the past according to Marxist-Soviet historiography, there is also a strong Russian imperial historiographical influence.[109] As Ivanovs reminds us,

> [T]he imposition of the Soviet concept of history on Latvian historiography meant not only its sovietisation, but also Russification. [...] This idea, no doubt, had a clearly political slant, since it justified the incorporation of the territory of present-day Latvia into the Russian Empire in the eighteenth century and the occupation of independent Latvia in the twentieth century (2005, p. 263).

The DNMM is thus a composite of different historiographical influences that also finds its reflection in the broader memory politics of the contemporary Latvian state (Cheskin, 2012; Golubeva, 2010). That said, we must be careful not to fall into the trap of imposing taxonomies onto historical memory in Latvia that replicate and reinforce all-too-simplistic and populist ethno-cultural binaries. These

[109] It is important to stress that 'Russian' here is used in the sense of *rossiiskii* (the Russian state) rather than *russkii* (Russian in the ethno-cultural sense). This separation between state and ethno-linguistic group is clearly distinguished in the Russian language, but in English this distinction is often blurred, and has important ramifications. For example, Latgale's Old Believers identify themselves as Russian in a loose ethno-linguistic sense, for example in the census, but have no identification with the Russian state.

narratives are the result of specific historical circumstances and politicised historiographical interpretations of the past at various points in time. For example, Ivanovs brought up the topic of Latgale's Old Believers in order to demonstrate how the concept of a unified 'Russian' memory of Latgale's past is very problematic and how the existence of different memories of Latgale's past is a phenomenon that goes back much further that the Soviet period. Ivanovs argues that:

> The history of Latgale has been fragmented within the region of Latgale as well. The notion of the history of this region is quite different for the local Russians, who it is important to emphasise are also divided into different groups, for example those who have lived there since the 19th, and 16th, 17th, 18th centuries, Old Believers mostly, and Soviet Russians on the other hand. They have different images of the history of Latgale. These different images probably emerged in the 19th century, possibly earlier. […] I don't think that we can speak about any common collective memory among Russian-speakers. (Interview, 2015)

Most striking about the DNMM is the continued institutional presence of the former Russian imperial and Soviet useable pasts within a state museum in Latvia. This is likely to be less the result of particular ideological motivations and rather due to the lack of funding by the state to update the museum, symptomatic of the neglect towards Latgale. The DNMM aptly highlights the interactions between functional and storage forms of memory; one might expect the memories to be functional because they are displayed in the local museum, yet can displays that have remained unchanged because of inertia or lack of funding be said to be functional? Theodor W. Adorno's understanding of museums as mausoleums is pertinent here. He reflects on how 'the German word, "museal" (museumlike), has unpleasant overtones. It describes objects with which the observer no longer has a vital relationship and which are in the process of dying. They owe their preservation more to historical respect than to the needs of the present' (1967, p. 175). The persistence of the DNMM's narrative nonetheless plays an important part in understanding the palimpsestuous nature of the memory and history of Latgale's past: the traces of different memories which continue to brush shoulders with one another. As new narratives are constructed, they do not completely displace the previous ones. Moreover, the case of DNMM reminds us that the emergence and afterlife of different narratives about the past occur in specific social, economic, and political contexts. It highlights the entangled relationship between the mnemonic and financial 'forgetting' of the Latgalian borderland.

VI. Transnationalising Borderland Histories

In recent years, the idea of creating transnational cultural memories through History museums, both on a Europe-wide scale and by region, has been gaining currency. Topics such as migration, which have often traditionally been marginalised in nation-state orientated History museums, have become popular topics for thinking about those aspects of History that transcend the borders of states (Macdonald, 2008, pp. 54–55). The House of European History scheduled at the time of writing to open in Brussels in late 2016 is probably the most famous example of an attempt to create such a museum.[110] By establishing a museum devoted to European History and integration, the European Parliament aspires to provide an alternative historical narrative in order to 'more accurately reflect European political and social reality today than the national paradigms [which] originated [in] the 19th century' (Settele, 2015, pp. 405). However, since its conception, the House of European History has been controversial, prompting many debates among member states over the museum's content and conflicting national interpretations of different events in History.

From a theoretical standpoint, theorists have attempted to categorize the different ways in which memories of the past might cross borders. Claus Leggewie (2011) has suggested a model for shared Europe memory, based on seven concentric circles: the Holocaust as a negative founding myth, Soviet communism, expulsions as a pan-European trauma, the Armenian question, the European periphery, Europe as a continent of immigration, and Europe's success story after 1945. Yet while Leggewie's categories might be a useful framework for analysing the contents of the House of European History when it opens, his focus on empirical examples means that his model cannot be easily applied as a tool for analysing regional transnational memory projects

[110] Available at: http://www.expo-europe.be/ [Accessed 22 July 2016].

which might not address all these specific cases. Aleida Assmann responded to this gap in the literature by devising a seven-part typology for transnational memory (2014). Rather than basing her categories around different events or periods in history, she develops categories to reflect what she calls different 'formats' of memory, which describe the relationships, interactions, and contestations between memories in different states or regions. She uses concepts such as 'shared memory' to indicate instances where there is a common focus of memory among the different states, 'entangled and dialogic memories' to describe a situation where different memories are reconciled and co-exist alongside one another, and 'obstacles' to account for unreconcilable differences and 'memory wars'. A full list of Assmann's seven 'formats' of memory can be found in Figure 6. These will be used in the following section to reflect on an example of a cross-border museum project concerning Latgale.

Globalised Memories	Memory moves beyond the container of the nation-state as a result of the connectivity of digital technologies and media, and new transnational actors and networks
Holocaust	Hegemonic transnational memory that is supported by an extensive network of states
Shared Memory	Backs up a supra-national identity by creating a common focus within the manifest disparity of different experiences and orientations of the member states
Multidirectional Memories	Remembrance that cuts across and binds spatial, temporal and cultural sites
Obstacles	Counter-movements to transnational memory: divided memories and 'memory wars'
Entangled and Dialogic Memories	Different memories of past events are reconciled, sensitivity to other interpretations of an entangled history
Memory Transfers	Societies can learn from one another by the transfer of memorial concepts and practices

Figure 6: *Aleida Assmann's 'formats' of Transnational Memory*

Latgale and the Cross-Border Virtual Past Project

In November 2014, a new way of representing Latgale's History in the public domain was launched in the form of the online museum project, *The Virtual*

Past is a Keystone for the Future of Museums.[111] The project was awarded funding by the European Union within the framework of the Latvia-Lithuania-Belarus Cross Border Cooperation Programme (2007–2013) in order to bring together four institutions, the Rēzekne Higher Education Institution, the Latgale Culture and History Museum, the M. Bohdanovich Museum (Hrodna), and Kėdainiai Museum, to study the regions of Rēzekne, Hrodna, and Kėdainiai and their shared History. The aim of the project was to 'provide access to tangible and intangible cultural heritage values for [a] wide circle of society, creating a virtual museum and expanding exchange of cross-border experience in the field of cultural education' (Virtual, 2015). Designed primarily as an educational initiative for schoolchildren, each of the partner institutions contributed a section to the website with information about their region. Interactive games were created to introduce different historical and cultural aspects of the region, including such diverse topics as the house of John Arnet, one of the Scottish merchants and tradesmen who settled in Kėdainiai in the seventeenth century; the family house of Maksim Bahdanovich, a famous Belarusian writer and poet in Hrodna; Latgalian pottery-making; and an interactive travelling adventure which involves players discovering different places in Latgale. The content is translated into five languages (English, Latvian, Latgalian, Lithuanian, and Belarusian) to reach the widest possible audience (Šuplinska, 2014; Gusāns, 2014).

The project description explains that, thus far, the History of these regions has been 'comparatively static' and that the project aims to challenge existing '[sic. national] stereotypical interpretations' (Virtual, 2015). The museum thus represents an example of an initiative that attempts to draw attention to transnational aspects of the regions' Histories, based on raising awareness of what A. Assmann (2014) defines as the 'shared memories' between these neighbouring regions, and to promote regional cultural cooperation within the Cross Border Programme. Aspects of 'shared memory' presented on the website are almost all related to the cultural sphere, and are mostly linked to examples of the similarities between certain ethnographic traditions such as pottery-making. Moreover, we can question the extent to which these aims have been achieved as the regions are presented separately on different sub-sections of the website and the museum makes no attempt to explore themes, historical figures, or periods which reflect contacts and interconnections between these three regions. As such, understandings of cross-border and transnational History

[111] Available at: http://futureofmuseums.eu/ [Accessed 22 July 2016].

are limited in this project to institutional cooperation and to discussing the histories of Rēzekne, Hrodna, and Kėdainiai together in the same virtual space.

If we analyse the *Virtual Past* project through the lens of A. Assmann's 'formats' of transnational memory, it becomes apparent that the main achievement of this project comes in the form of its contribution to the 'globalised memory' of Latgale. The medium chosen as the place for the museum – a web-'site' as '*lieux de mémoire*' – is an example of how digital technology can be used to spread knowledge about a neighbouring region across state borders. In the case of the *Virtual Past* museum this is aided by the fact that the content is available in five languages, something which would probably be financially unfeasible in the case of a joint History textbook or museum. The coming together of scholars from Latvia, Lithuania, and Belarus to work on the project is also testament to the role of transnational actors and networks of scholarly cooperation.

In addition to the 'globalised memories' and partial use of 'shared memories' in the *Virtual Past* museum, many of the museum curators and project participants reflected on many other potential areas for conceptualising the region in a transnational way in the papers they presented at the launch of the *Virtual Past* museum.[112] The paper by Rimantas Žirgulis from the museum in Kėdainiai, for example, provides a rich overview of potential avenues to be explored, touching on issues such as the Jewish community and the Holocaust, the transnational biography of Czesław Miłosz, and importance of the noble Radziwills family for the history of Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine, and Poland (Žirgulis, 2014). These topics could provide scope in the future for exploring many more of A. Assmann's 'formats' of transnational memory, such as 'Holocaust', 'entangled and dialogic memories', and even 'obstacles' which divide memories, such as whether the Grand Duchy of Lithuania is in early Modern Lithuania or Belarus, and whether present-day Latvia also has a partial historical claim as a former vassal. As it stands, however, the museum only presents a positive picture of multi-cultural influences, focussing almost exclusively on ethnographic topics or cultural and literary History, and shies away from dealing with any of the more problematic or controversial topics from the region's political past.

The *Virtual Past* project nonetheless stands out as an interesting example of a new and somewhat experimental initiative, which takes some steps to reframe

[112] For a more in-depth discussion of the contributions of the different museums, see the published conference proceedings from the launch of the museum in *Via Latgaliaca* 6 (2014), especially the papers on the museums in Latgale (Atpile-Jugane, 2014), Kėdainiai (Banis/Banys, 2014; Žirgulis, 2014), and Hrodna (Rapinčuka, 2014).

Latgale's History in a transnational perspective. While the amount of information on the site as it presently stands is quite limited, especially when compared to the presentation of Latgale's History in the three museums within Latvia analysed in the previous chapters, this initiative represents a rather radical reconceptualization of Latgale's History which seeks to challenge the framing of Latgale's History solely within the borders of the contemporary Latvian state. While we can question the extent to which this museum presents a narrative of these regions' pasts which will contribute to the construction of a truly transnational memory, the initiative might be more accurately described using James Clifford's concept of the 'more-than-local narrative' which attempts to situate the regional between the local and the global (2013, p. 41). As was clear from the project launch, the real value of the project lay in bringing together scholars and curators from Latvia, Lithuania, and Belarus to work together to think about how to conceptualise and communicate to a wider audience a History of their regions in a way which presented an alternative interpretation of the past to the state-centred national narratives of local and regional History.

Finally, the selection of partner countries for this project also says something about the geographical orientation of Latgalian scholars looking to conceptualise Latgale's History from a transnational perspective. The decision to initiate a project to link Latgale to Lithuania and Belarus can perhaps also be understood as a particularly Latgalian response (whether conscious or not) to other transnational region-building projects currently underway in Latvia, such as the rather active initiatives to promote a Baltic Sea Region identity (Gerner, 2002; Grzechnik, 2012; Hackmann, 1996; Pääbo, 2014). For example, in 2013 the Unitas Foundation, an Estonian-based NGO, issued a report entitled *Bridging the Baltic History Education Strategy 2014–2020* (2013) which provided policy recommendations for teaching a transnational History of the Baltic Sea Region (BSR), defined by the organisation as Estonia, Latvia, Finland, and Sweden. The proposed curriculum focussed on common topics from the region's past, such as the Vikings, migration, trade relations during various periods (including the Hanseatic League), and empires (Swedish and Russian). However, these topics and the focus on the social, economic, political, and religious mutual-penetrations and influences of the territories surrounding the Baltic Sea does not have much resonance for the inland region of Latgale.[113] The *Virtual Museum* project might indicate that historians of

[113] The same tendency can be observed in Michael North's recent monograph, *The Baltic: a History* (2015).

Latgale are shifting their gaze eastwards and southwards, to Russia, Belarus, Lithuania, and Poland, in search of an alterantive 'inland' transnational network within which to situate Latgale in History and memory. This reflection is highly suppositional and only time will tell how these different intellectual projects to locate Latgale's past in a wider network of ideas and historiographies will develop, and whether this kind of memory can be effectively presented to the public in all its complexity.

Historians as Transnational Memory Actors?

In our interview, Inese Runce highlighted some of the dangers of conceptualising the History of Latgale solely within a narrow regional focus. By placing Latgale's History in so specific a context, Runce argued that the events and developments appear enigmatically as if 'they are lost in time and space' (2015). This poignant observation touches on the way in which Latgale is often presented in the work of scholars who solely focus on Latgale as a sort of island, an insular phenomenon studied only from the perspective of its uniquenss. The emphasis on regional specificity results in a memory of Latgale's past which is often not linked to other historical developments in neighbouring regions, let alone broader social, economic, and political trends or events. In the last decade, however, historians have been increasingly aware of the importance, and indeed intellectual value, of locating Latgale's History within a broader regional, if not global, context.

More transnational approaches to narrating Latgale's History emerged in the 1990s as part of the increasing interest among a new generation of Latvian scholars in the first decade of restored independence in researching Latgale's ethno-linguistic minorities. In the second half of the 1990s, a series of monographs was published by researchers in the Centre of Ethnic Studies of the Institute of Philosophy and Sociology at the University of Latvia, with works on the Belarusian (Apine, 1995, Jēkabsons, 2001), Polish (Jēkabsons, 1996), Russian (Volkovs, 1996), and Lithuanian (Jēkabsons, 2006a) historical connections and minorities in Latvia and Latgale. A history of the Slavic ethnic group was also published (Apine and Volkovs, 1998). More recently, a Russian-language History of Latgale has been published (Alants and Gaponenko, 2012). In 2012, a Belarusian journal was established, *Latyshi i Belorusy: Vmeste Skvoz' Veka* (Latvians and Belarusians: Together through the Centuries), to publish

research on Latvian-Belarusian historical interactions.[114] However, these works continue to be very much shaped by the memory politics of the present-day. For example, Ēriks Jēkabsons (1996) does not mention the terms 'Polish Livonia' or 'Inflanty' in recognition of the existence of the region as a separate territorial polity, but rather refers to the periods when parts of the territory of present-day Latvia were under political and cultural influence of the Kingdom of Poland or the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth as the 'Polish period' in the History of the Latvia (1996, pp. 9–11; 136; Zajas, 2013, p. 15).[115]

With this broadening of the horizons of Latgalian History has come increasing collaboration with scholars outside Latvia working on topics related to Latgale. There is an annual international conference of Latgalistics, which is jointly organised by two institutions in Latvia, the Rēzekne Higher Education Institution and University of Latvia, in partnership with Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań (Poland) and St Petersburg State University (Russia). The conferences have been held in Saint Petersburg (2008), Rēzekne (2009), Greifswald (2010), Poznań (2011), Riga (2012), Archinsk in Siberia (2013), Rēzekne (2014), and Vilnius (2015), and play an important role in bringing scholars working on Latgale in different countries together. The theme of the 2014 conference, where research material for this book was gathered, was entitled 'Points of Intersection in Cross-Border Culture, Language, History'. The conference also involved researchers from the Kėdainiai Regional Museum (Lithuania) and Hrodna State Historical and Archaeological Museum (Belarus) as part of the European Neighbourhood and Partnership Instrument 2007–2013 Cross Border Cooperation Programme Latvia-Lithuania-Belarus. Scholars from Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, Russia, and Poland presented their research connected to Latgale. The opening keynote speech of the 2014 conference was delivered by a scholar from the Belarusian State University and National History Museum on 'Relations between the Grand Duchy of Lithuania[116] and Inflanty at the end of the 16th century till the first third of the 17th century'.[117] Another instance where the reframing of the History of Latgale, within a wider international context, can be seen in practice is in the course taught at the University of Latvia by Inese Runce since 2007 on 'The Cultural and Historical

[114] Available at: http://lat-bel.wix.com/journal [Accessed 11 August 2016].

[115] In a later article Jēkabsons (2012, pp. 33–34) reflects on this issue in the Latvia historiography of Poland-Lithuania.

[116] Viewed in Belarusian historiography as an early modern Belarus (Bazan, 2014). This interpretation is also reflected in the recently published 3-volume historical atlas of Belarus (Kuznetsov, 2009).

[117] The conference proceedings were published in *Via Latgalica* 6 (2014).

Aspects of Latgale in the Context of Baltic Regionalism'. Offered as an elective course as part of the English-language Master's programme in Baltic Sea Region Studies to a mixture of Latvian and foreign students, the course situates the cultural History of Latgale within the wider context of regionalism in the Baltic Sea Region, and uses it as a case study to explore a wide range of different themes and issues.

The standout publication in recent years on Latgale has been the compilation of a huge two-volume, quadrilingual (Latvian-Russian; Latgalian-English) 'linguo-territorial' dictionary (Šuplinska, 2012). In the last decade there have also been several publications covering different aspects of the History of Latgale by scholars outside Latvia, mostly in Poland (Zajas, 2013; Dybaś, 2001) and especially in the field of historical-linguistic studies (Gierowska-Kałłaur, 2011; Jankowiak, 2012; Nau, 2011; Ostrówka, 2005; Rembiszewska, 2009).[118] Works have also been published in the UK (Swain, 2003) and Germany (Angermann, 2004; Benz, 1998; Plath, 2012), but they remain narrowly focused on certain specific topics. Nonetheless, these publications also point to the beginnings of a transnational undercurrent which holds a more diversified storage memory of Latgalian history.

At the same time, activities to write about Latgale's History from outside Latvia have not always been well received. A notable example is the only Russian language monograph on the History of Latgale by Alants and Gaponenko which was published in 2012 by the Institute of European Studies in Riga, an NGO that is regarded by Latvian security services as an organisation heavily sponsored by Moscow. Aleksandr Gaponenko, president of the Institute, is well known in Latvia for being a vocal advocate for the rights and interests of Latvia's Russian-speaking population and 'non citizens'.[119] On the very first page of the monograph about Latgale, comparisons are made between Latgale and Montenegro, Kosovo, and other 'non-recognised territorial entities' (*nepriznannykh regional'nykh obrazovanii*) such as Transdniestria, South Ossetia, and Abkhazia (2012, p. 6). Alants and Gaponenko write that:

[118] In this context, a notable project is 'Poland's Linguistic Heritage' (*Dziedzictwo Językowe Rzeczypospolitej*) supported by the Polish Ministry of Science and Higher Education which includes detailed information about Latgalian as part of the linguistic heritage of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Available at: http://www.inne-jezyki.amu.edu.pl/Frontend/Language/Details/1 [Accessed 22 July 2016].

[119] The titles of Gaponenko's other populations include *Pribaltiiskie russkie: istoriia v pamiatnikakh kul'tury (1710–2010)* (Baltic Russians: History in Cultural Monuments [1710–2010]) (2010), funded by Kremlin-backed Russkiy Mir Foundation, and *Etnicheskie konflikty v stranakh baltii v postsovetskii period* (Ethnic Conflicts in the Baltic States in the Post-Soviet Period) (2013).

> Characteristically, according to official statistics from the present century, in Latvia there is not one Latgalian […] Those in power determine that the Latgalians are an ethnographic group of Latvians, incorporating them into this definition in the census. The existence in Latvia of the Latgalian language is not recognised – it is defined as a dialect (variety) of Latvian (2012, p. 8).

In this way, Alants and Gaponenko construct their History of Latgale as an example of how the Latvian state does not respect minority rights by not recognising Latgalians as a separate ethno-linguistic group with their own language.

Nonetheless, among my survey respondents and interviewees, the benefits to be gained by situating Latgale's History within a broader regional, if not global, context was widely recognised. Ivanovs commented that 'Latgale should be studied as a complex multi-ethnic region taking into consideration the impacts from Lithuania, Poland, Belarus, Russia, certainly other Baltic regions, for example Latvian regions and also Estonia' (Interview, 2015). It is important to notice how Ivanovs couches his response in speculative terms, emphasising that this 'should be' the research agenda and, by extension, implying that this is not always the case. Likewise, one of my respondents stressed that the Latgale's past is important outside Latvia too, for 'Latgale is not only the eastern border of Latvia but also the eastern border of the European Union. Latgale is an important cultural and religious border (Catholicism, Protestantism, Orthodoxy)'. Yet, when asked to follow up on this statement, the respondent was unable to provide any concrete examples where this is actually happening. Similarly, Runce (2015) stressed the value of Latgale as a nodal point from which to investigate many different political phenomena in History, from the impact of Russification in the western imperial borderlands to the rise in popularity of Marxism and socialism in the late nineteenth century, but acknowledged that Latgale's History is rarely approached from this perspective.

Methodological Challenges for Transnationalising Borderland Histories

While many historians recognise the potential insights to be gained both for Latgalian History and for our knowledge of wider regional and global phenomenon by researching Latgale's History in a way that transcends the borders of the contemporary Latvian state, this approach is still not widely applied to Latgale. This draws attention to some of the challenges faced by researchers

working on borderland History.[120] A notable obstacle is that primary sources about Latgale are very widely dispersed due to the many different states of which Latgale was historically part. The trend in the last century towards the centralisation of historical documents into national archives means that researchers have to travel far and wide to piece together the region's History. Moreover, this material is not always easy to locate, is often not very widely known about, and much has also been destroyed as Latgale fell within the theatres of front-line warfare during both World Wars. When asked about where he would look for source materials about Latgale, Ivanovs replied that:

> Up to the 16th century, the bulk of the material can be found in the Latvian historical archives […] as for Polish times of Latgale […] I suppose that some arbitrary records can be found in Poland […]. 19th century history […] primary records are mostly in Belarus in Minsk National Archives since the centre of the province was Vitebsk […] There are also many historical records in the archives of St Petersburg in Russia related to this period of time since some, for example, the fortress of Daugavpils was supervised by the ministry of defence in St Petersburg so there are many records related to the Latgale region […] In Moscow there are the Archives of Old Charters […] Here, [there] are also many records related to Latgale region in the times of Ivan the Terrible, for example, in the 17th century as well […] As for independent Latvia, these archival documents are available in Latvia (Interview, 2015).

Runce, coming from a background in religious History, also noted that the Vatican archives in Rome hold many valuable sources about Latgale's religious History and the activities of the Jesuits in the region. From my own experience, I have found material related to Latgale's history in archives and libraries in Tartu and Vilnius, as well as in the Slavonic collections of the National Library of Finland (in Helsinki), which holds extensive collections of material published within the Russian Empire, especially from the nineteenth century. Undoubtedly, there are many smaller archives with valuable material, which has yet to enter into widespread knowledge.

The wide dispersal of archival sources is likely to be a characteristic of many borderlands which have been subjected to multiple regime changes throughout their history, and is not only specific to Latgale. These factors present many common practical challenges for scholars engaged in researching borderland histories, from the difficulties of finding out about materials in foreign

[120] The author raised this point in her presentation at the Latgalistics conference (Gibson, 2014).

archives, the time and research funds available to visit those archives, and the bureaucratic hurdle of obtaining visas to travel to those archives (Frede et al., 2015).[121] Other hurdles to overcome might include the 'perception of a lack' of source material about a particular region (Zajas, 2013, pp. 279–280), the language skills required to undertake such research (Jēkabsons, 2012, p. 45) and, in certain cases such as Latgale, the sometimes fragmentary nature of research on the borderland as researchers in different countries each work on their own small project linked to when the territory was part of 'their' state, and only on rare occasions collaborate as cross-border research groups that attempt to transcend these spatial and temporal boundaries. Many researchers face these challenges on a daily basis, but as yet they have not been openly and widely discussed as a specific methodological issue related to the practices of 'doing' borderland History.

As a result, we must be careful not to exaggerate the impact of these tendencies to study Latgale from a transnational perspective which are still very much in its infancy: the number of scholars is currently very small, the majority of the archival material has not been studied, and 'such studies are actually fragmented' (Ivanovs, Interview, 2015). The insights yielded from this work remain firmly within the realm of *relicised* memory, kept alive by the initiatives of a small group of localised scholars, and are not yet part of any wider collective memory. In our interview, Ivanovs illustrated this:

> In Poland, Polish historians tried to make a lexicon related to Polish Latgalian, *Inflanty Polskie*. They made the programme, the plan, and aim to prepare two huge volumes on the history of Latgale from 1561 to 1772. But they did this research work separately from Latvian historians. We have been informed, we know that they have such research projects, but we haven't seen the results and we haven't been invited to cooperate in this work […] In Belarus, they have also studied the history of Latgale separately from the researchers in Lithuania, Poland and Latvia […] within the context of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania […] (Interview, 2015)

These examples about Polish and Belarusian historians researching Latgale highlight the tensions and contradictions inherent in transnational approaches to memory, the blockages – ideological or material – that prevent circulation

[121] For example, in the case of Russian or Belarusian scholars wishing to visit archives in Latvia or Latvian scholars travelling to Russia or Belarus. Only those in possession of a Latvian 'non-citzens' (*nepilsoņii)* passport can travel to both the Schengen Area and Russia without the need for a visa, yet they still require a visa for Belarus.

and movement of ideas. For, as Susannah Radstone reminds us, 'memory research, like memory itself […] is always located – it is […] specific to its site of production and practise' (2011, p. 114).

In many ways, the challenges outlined above in reframing the memory of Latgale's past in terms of a more general transnational memory of the region are resonate with many of the challenges faced by the European Union project to construct a common European History in the museum in Brussels. The case of Latgale demonstrates the difficulties inherent in reconciling different antimonies and assymetries, the delicate line between relativisation and trivialisation, and that memory work and the codification of an official history are still very much an ongoing process. At the same time, Kattago (2010) argues that we should abandon the search for consensus about the past in relation to the present, and should focus instead on the debate and discussion so central to democracy. In light of this, the case of Latgale serves as an important reminder of the value of pluralism when it comes to the memory of the past. Perhaps we should be wary of attempting to build too much consensus among these multiple palimpsestuous layerings of memory, which have been preserved in this region. In many ways, they constitute a bulwark against tendencies towards the centralising homogenisation of historical memory in and of the state.

Conclusion: The Palimpsestuous Memories of Latgale's Past

The main objective of this book was to explore different interpretations and narratives about Latgale's past currently circulating in Latvia. It aimed to offer a new perspective on *Geschichtspolitik* in Latvia by drawing attention to how, particularly in the case of Latgale, we cannot simply categorise different memories of the past in terms of the binary ethno-cultural groups of 'Latvians' and 'Russians'. The articulation by Latgalian (or 'Latvians of Latgale') historians and regional activists of a specifically Latgalian narrative of the past challenges the 'monolithic idea of collective memory' (Fortunati and Lamberti, 2008, p. 128) among 'Latvians'. Likewise, the concept of ethnic 'Russian' was shown to be problematic in the case of Latgale. The label is often casually applied in everyday usage to Old Believers, the ancestors of peasant who migrated to the region in the nineteenth-century, and Soviet-era settlers from all over the Soviet Union, despite the fact that within Latgale itself, they are perceived as belonging to quite distinct communities.

Instead, this book proposed that a more nuanced approach to understanding how the past is shaped in Latgale can be found by looking at political factors and motivations shaping the way the past is actualized in the present in different contexts. By investigating the palimpsestuous layerings of different narratives about Latgale's History in three physical museum settings and a virtual museum, this book drew attention to the complex interaction between different factors and actors shaping how the past is remembered: how states use national History museums to build national master narratives; the role of local museums, historians, and activists in shaping specifically regional Histories to bolster a sense of regional identity; and new transnational initiatives aimed at reframing borderland History in a way which escapes the conceptual confines

of nation-state borders. The museum in Daugavpils provided a pertinent example of the mnemonic layering of different official Histories, which continue to persist in the present long after the state that institutionalized them, disappeared from the map.

Inese Runce poignantly described Latgale's History as often being presented as if 'lost in time and space' (Interview, 2015). It is hoped that this book will both function as an introduction to the region for Anglophone readers and to bring the case study of Latgale into broader debates in the literature about History, memory, and borderlands, and the ways in which the past is actualised in the present. This book has only begun to scratch the surface of this complex topic and there is certainly a need for much more research to be done on Latgale. In particular, Latgale continues to be researched mostly as an isolated case study and many valuable insights could surely be gained by incorporating more comparative or transnational perspectives into the study of Latgale's History (Baud and Van Schendel, 1997). This would help us to transcend the narrow framework of the nation-state as the container of historical narratives about the past, and place more emphasis on the pivotal role played by borderlands as sites where national, regional, local, as well as transnational memories exist and interact in dynamic ways.

Comparative Overview of the Three Museums

In order to summarise and draw conclusions about how Latgale's History is represented in the three museums, the different periods (outlined in Figure 5) were coded in each of the three museums (LNVM, LKM, DNMM) according to the following categories:

- *No mention* – not mentioned in the museum
- *Brief mention* – the period is mentioned and some artefacts may be displayed, but no further details are given
- *Moderate mention* – some details are given about this period in one or two display cases, often just about one aspect of the period
- *Extensive mention* – information about a wide range of different aspects of this period are presented over multiple display cases or a whole room

This enabled a comparison of which, and to what degree, the different periods were represented in each of the three museums. It also facilitates the

identification of patterns and discrepancies between the museums in a more systematic manner. The various periods were also colour-coded according to the rulers of the territory, which is how the museums themselves frame the different periods of Latgalian History. The Virtual Museum discussed in Chapter 6 was not included in the comparative analysis as it only deals with some specific aspects of Latgale's History. The results are displayed in Figure 7 in the Appendix.

This comparative framework allows us to draw a number of interesting conclusions about different political motivations and factors shaping the narratives of Latgale's History represented in the three museums. There are several reoccurring elements of Latgale's History that are *used* in all the museums. Firstly, all three museums mention the *Latgaļi* ethno-cultural tribe who inhabited the territory of present-day Latgale a thousand years ago and depict them as ancient Latgalians/Latvians. Even within the national focus of the LNVM, the *Latgaļi* are extensively discussed as they provide evidence of a socially, economically, and culturally developed community living in this region at that time. The way in which a continuous line is drawn between the ancient *Latgaļi* and modern Latvians/Latgalians follows Anthony Smith's (1986) ethno-symbolist concept of *ethnies* as the pre-modern roots of modern nations. In doing so, the museums establish a strong narrative from the beginning that this is a Latvian territory which was subsequently 'colonised' and 'occupied' for 800 years by different powers. This narrative also provided a legitimising argument for independent Latvian statehood since it presents this territory as 'originally' being Latvian. The second period of Latgale's History which plays an important role in the functional narrative of all three museums is the period of the interwar Republic of Latvia, framed either side by the processes leading up to independence and the loss of independence as a result of triple occupation in the early 1940s.

Based on this, it can be concluded that the predominant trend in the functional memory of Latgale's History is its nationalization, or Latvianisation, within the framework of the Latvian nation-state. This is supported by the fact that the three museums devote at least half their space to the twentieth century, and corresponds to A. Assmann's argument that the main components of national narratives are 'built on a small number of normative and formative texts, places, persons, artefacts and myths' (2008a, p. 100). This is the cultural capital of society that is continually recycled, reconfirmed, and eventually becomes canonized.

While there are some similarities between the museums, what is most striking is the way the representation of Latgale's History diverges in the three

museums. In the case of the LNVM, Latgale's past is framed within the national master narrative of Latvian History. In some instances, the 'peculiarities' of Latgale are present in the exhibitions, especially in the period prior to the thirteenth century. There are also several brief mentions of geopolitical developments on the territory of Latgale in the exhibitions spanning the thirteenth to eighteenth centuries, as well as details about cultural developments in the region. In the exhibitions covering the late nineteenth and early twentieth century periods, Latgale receives very little mention other than when events occurred in the region that constitute part of the *used* Latvian canon. We can therefore conclude that the discourse of Latgale as a Latvian borderland – in the geographical sense and in relation to its marginalisation within narratives of Latvian History – is shaped by the memory (or lack of memory) of Latgale's History in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This probably results both from the emergence of the Latvian national movement and the emergence of Latvian historiographical tradition and national discipline during this period, which promoted the idea of a united Latvian nation and state (Bolin, 2012). Latgale's History thus moves from having an important functional role within the narrative of the early periods of Latvian History where it is *used* as evidence that the territory was inherently 'Latvian' before being 'colonised' and 'occupied' by different external powers, to becoming more of a storage element in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. As a large proportion of contemporary Latvian historiography focuses on the twentieth century (Plakans, 2014), this means that large parts of Latgale's past are either *relicised* as a 'peripheral curioristy' or simply *negated* within the Latvian master narrative.

The LKM constructs a narrative of Latgale's History which presents it as a unique regional phenomenon with its own specific historical developments, but which is still embedded within the broader narrative of the History of Latvia. Accordingly, in the LKM there is less emphasis on the Germanic influences of the Medieval Livonian period, which had a less long-lasting impact on Latgale, and some attention is paid instead to the 'Polish' influences during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially the cultural influence of Catholicism which continues to be an important component of Latgalian regional identity. The role of Rēzekne within the Russian Empire is also addressed, as is the ethno-linguistic, religious, and cultural diversity of the city's inhabitants. Generally speaking, however, the narrative of this museum can be characterized by a 'Latgalianisation' of the region's History as a regional component of Latvian History. This regional orientation can be understood as part of wider initiatives currently underway in Latgale to

promote its regional identity. Moreover, while the museum displays represent the diversity of Latgale's inhabitants in the nineteenth century, the exhibits on the twentieth century become increasingly focused on Latgalians in the ethno-linguistic sense. Many of Latgale's inhabitants, including the sizeable number of Russian-speakers, are *negated* from the museum's narrative of the latter part of the twentieth century, which focuses only on the 'Latgalian-ness' of Rēzekne.

The DNMM presents yet another narrative of Latgale's past, one that contains the lingering imprints of the former official Soviet Latvian and Russian imperial interpretations of the past. In the Daugavpils museum memories, which have been *negated* in the other two museums since the 1990s, remain as many of the exhibits have not been updated due to financial neglect. The DNMM is the museum which deals most extensively with the Polish-Lithuanian period, although it still remains the least represented period in all the museums. Particular emphasis is placed on the periods of Russian rule, including early contacts between Jersika and Rus' and the short period from 1561–1569 when the city was incorporated into the Tsardom of Russia. Moreover, the DNMM is the only museum that represents the whole of the nineteenth century when Latgale was part of the Russian Empire, and not just the latter half as in the other two museums. Most strikingly, the museum contains neither mention of the Holocaust, nor of the repressions and negative aspects of the Soviet period, which the DNMM crucially does not define as an 'occupation', as in the other two museums. The emphasis on Latgale's long history of Slavic links and the uncritical representation of the Soviet period are the most noticeable indicators of the Soviet historiographical interpretation which still lingers in the museum. It must be stressed however that the lingering presence of elements of the Soviet narrative in the museum should be taken as evidence of the relative economic neglect of the museum by the Latvian state rather than as a blanket indicator of pro-Soviet sentiment in the city. More research certainly needs to be done in order to understand the memory politics landscape of Daugavpils.

Taken together, the similarities and differences between the LKM and DNMM in the way regional History is represented on the one hand, and with the Latvian master narrative in the LNVM on the other, highlight how we cannot speak simply about 'Latvian' and 'Russian' narratives of the region's History. Rather, the ways that Latgale's past is instrumentalised in the present occurs as a result of complex interactions between national, regional, and local politics. Economic factors are also shown to play an important role in the way in which History is represented in certain contexts: contributing in the case

of Latgale to the stagnation of the Daugavpils museum on the one hand, and to the development of a new European Union-funded cross-border virtual museum project on the other hand. Taking into consideration the specificities of borderland memory identified in this study, the need has been brought to our attention for more nuanced and complex models for understanding the interaction between different historical memories, especially in regions, which have been subject to multiple changes in borders and different geopolitical influences. The case study of Latgale demonstrates how there is little meaning in trying to squeeze collective memories of a borderland's history into narrow ethno-culturally-defined categories. Even if the present analysis has revealed a certain degree of alienation for part of the eastern 'periphery' of Latgale based on a sense of marginalization from Riga-centric national narratives, this by no means implies a stronger affinity to the east.

Looking Forward: The Centenary of the Latgale Congress

In these concluding remarks, it is appropriate to include a glance ahead as 2017 will surely be an important year for Latgalian *Geschichtspolitik*. At the time of completing this book, preparations are underway to mark the 100th anniversary of the Latgale Congress in May 2017 (N.S.) with a series of different cultural events in Rēzekne and Daugavpils. Plans are also being finalised for the construction of a monument commemorating the Congress in the centre of Rēzekne. As a result, the question of the Congress of Latgale, and its pivotal symbolic role in the historical narrative of the formation of the Latvian state, once again re-emerged in the public limelight in Latvia. The Latvian Minister of Culture, Jana Melbārde, issued a statement in May 2016 drawing attention to the significance of this anniversary for Latvia's History:

> The Congress of Latgale centenary should not be considered a small regional activity. The Congress of Latgale was an important prerequisite on the road to the establishment of the Latvian state. It is at this Congress that Latgale's leaders decided to support Latvian independence, stressing that Latgale is one of the Latvian historical regions and Latgale – with its regionally specific cultural identity – is an integral part of Latvia. The Congress of Latgale centenary events will provide the impetus to mark historical events in the 21st century and raise awareness of Latgale and its people's strength and potential in the context of Latvian statehood (LV100, 2016).

Just as the occasion, when the poster of the Congress of Latgale was donated in 2014, prompted a discussion about the relationship between Latvia and its eastern borderlands, the centenary of the Congress of Latgale is likewise being *used* by Latvian politicians to reaffirm Latgale as 'an integral part of Latvia'. At the level of the state, the functional memory of Latgale's History, which is being widely communicated, is one that firmly situates Latgale within 'the context of Latvian statehood'.

Moreover, within the region of Latgale itself, this anniversary is being *used* as an opportunity to reflect on the role of Latgale within the Latvian state. However, in Latgale the accent placed, on how and what precisely about this event should be commemorated, is subtlely different. For example, the 2016 Ninth International Conference on Latgalistics to be held in Rēzekne in late autumn will be devoted to the theme of the 140th anniversary of Francis Kemps and the first 'Latgalian national awakeners'. The call for papers welcomes presentations on 'the contribution of social and cultural agents to Latvian nation-building and the formation of the Latvian state in the context of the Latgalian congress of 1917'. The conference organisers have chosen to place the role played by key local Latgalian actors at the centre of the discussion, which has the effect of attributing an increasing agency to the borderland in the process of the formation of the Latvian state.

In addition, whereas Melbārde describes Latgale as a 'Latvian historical region', which implicitly calls attention to the Latvianness/Latgalianness of the region, the conference organisers' attempt to broaden the definition of who and what should be included in the field of study which they term 'Latgalistics' (*latgalistika*). They invite papers on 'the ethnic, territorial, national and other identities and their reflections in the culture and language of border regions', 'interactions of cultures in border regions: influences, typological similarities and differences in folklore, literature, media discourse, or museum work', and 'language contact between Latgalian and other languages of the border region'. In contrast to the museum in Rēzekne, which predominantly contained a narrative of the Latgalians of Latgale (with some mention of the other inhabitants in the nineteenth century exhibits), the conference organisers open up the potential for a more inclusive vision of Latgale's History that also pays attention to its non-Latgalian inhabitants. Although the call for papers only gives us an idea about the conference organisers' intentions, the question remains whether they will actually receive submissions for papers on all of the above topics. What is, however, clear is that the question of how Latgale's History should be represented in the public domain will form a central part of the conference.

The call for papers even specifically invites contributions on 'methodological aspects of teaching Latgalian language and local history and geography in schools' as well as, importantly for this study, 'museum work' and the representation of borderland History. Keen eyes will surely be directed on the commemorations and centenary events in the coming year as an opportunity both for politicians, historians, and other regional activists to draw attention to Latgale's History, as well as to potentially re-evaluate old narratives and develop new interpretations.

Appendix

Map A: *Approximate bounddaries of the Baltic Tribes c. 1200.*
By MapMaster (Wikimedia Commons) and distributed under a CC BY-SA 3.0 license

Map B: *Polish Livonia (Inflanty) within the Polish-Livonian Commonwealth. By Halibutt (Wikimedia Commons) and distributed under a CC BY-SA 3.0 license*

Map C: *The Partitions of the Polish-Livonian Commonwealth in the eighteenth century. By Halibutt (Wikimedia Commons) and distributed under a CC BY-SA 3.0 license*

Map D: *The administrative divisions of the Russian Empire in the nineteenth century. The author apologises that this map is in Russian, but there is a scarcity of maps of the Russian imperial provincial boundaries available in the public domain. Latgale is the territory to the north of the city of Двинск (Dvinsk/Daugavpils) in Vitebsk* gubernia *(beige).*
This is a cropped version of the map by Nicolay Sidorov (Wikimedia Commons) and distributed under a CC BY-SA 3.0 license

Map E: *Interwar Latvia.*
This is a cropped version of the map by Halibutt (Wikimedia Commons) and distributed under a CC BY-SA 3.0 license

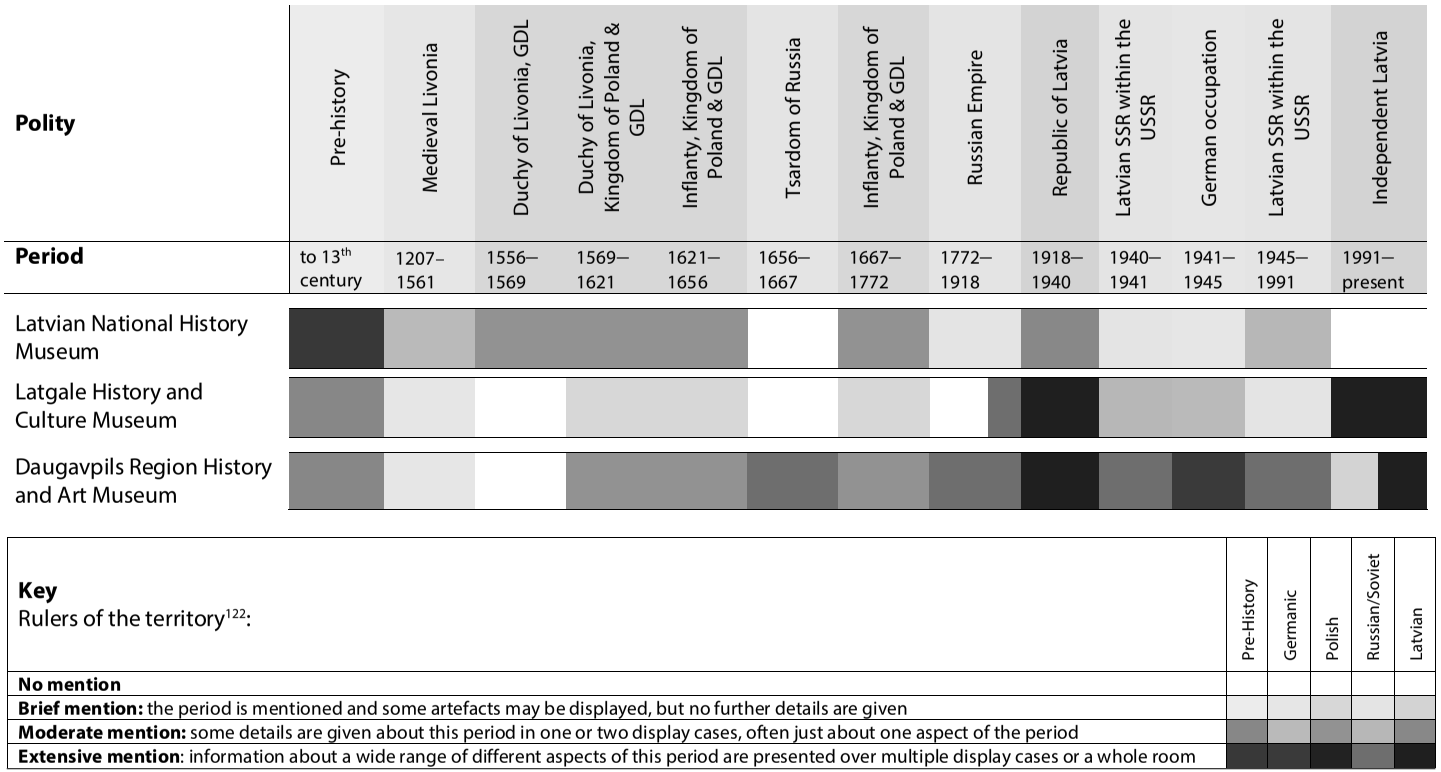

Figure 7: *Overview of Functional Representation of the History of Latgale in Museums in Latvia*

[122] These categories are based on the ethnic terminology used to characterised the periods in the museums themselves, for example, 'Polish' rather than the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, and 'Russian', which is used to refer to both the imperial and Soviet periods. This tendency for slippage between political and ethnonational terms – Soviet and Russian – occurs frequently in Latvian national historiographical discourse (see Platt, 2013, p. 143). Unlike in the functional memory of Latvian national history, there is no 'Swedish' period in Latgalian history because this territory was never ruled by Sweden: the Duchy of Livonia was ceded to Sweden in 1621 (known in Latvian historiography as Swedish Vidzeme), but part of the Duchy which included Latgale remained under Polish-Lithuanian control (Polish Vidzeme).

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Summary in Latvian and Russian

Kopsavilkums: „Pierobežas josla starp vēsturi un atmiņu: Latgales palimpsesta pagātne mūsdienu Latvijā"

Pierobežas josla gan Austrumeiropā, gan citviet pasaulē parasti ir bijusi vieta, kurā pārklājas dažādas atmiņas par aizgājušiem laikiem un notikumiem. Ģeopolitisku robežu izmaiņu un atšķirīgu politisko režīmu rezultātā laika gaitā šajos apgabalos uzkrājušās vairākas atmiņu un nozīmju kārtas. Multikulturālisms, multilingvisms un reliģiju daudzveidība, kas parasti sastopami pierobežas iedzīvotāju vidū, noved pie vēsturiskās atmiņas un vēstures interpretāciju sadursmēm. Starp šiem attēlojumiem noris dinamiska un sarežģīta mijiedarbība, ko nevar izskaidrot kā dažādu skaidri nodalītu etnokulturālo grupu atmiņas.

Sadursmes starp atmiņas atšķirībām iespējamas vairākos veidos. Visplašāk pētīts atmiņas konflikts un savstarpējas atbilstības trūkums par konkrētu notikumu vai laikposmu attēlojumu. Tomēr nesaskaņa ne vienmēr ir neiztrūkstoša – līdzās var pastāvēt dažāda atmiņa, tā var uzturēt savstarpēju dialogu, būt objektīva.

Šīs grāmatas mērķis ir nojaukt priekšstatus par zinātniskajā literatūrā bieži reproducētām vienveidīgām etnokulturāli noteiktām atmiņām un parādīt, cik daudz dažādu grupu un indivīdu piedalās publiski izteiktas kolektīvās atmiņas veidošanā, kas ir pašsaprotams pēdējo 25 gadu laikā noritējušās demokratizēšanas rezultāts. Darba autore uzskata, ka jātiek pāri etnokulturālajām divdabībām (piemēram, „latviešu" un „krievu"), uz kurām balstās cilvēku atmiņa par Austrumeiropu. Mijiedarbība starp vēsturi, atmiņu un mūsdienām jāuztver kā dažādu interešu dialogs, niansēts un komplekss veidojums, ko nevar vienkāršot līdz etnolingvistiskām grupām. Lai to panāktu, vēsturiskās atmiņas mācībai

jāpieiet kā kaut kam, kam ir konteksts gan telpā, gan laikā: vēsturiskā atmiņa veidojas un izplatās noteiktā vietā, noteiktā cilvēku grupā un noteiktā sociāli politiskā kontekstā; tā parādās noteiktā laikā, reaģējot uz esošajiem apstākļiem, saistās ar vēl neizzudušām atmiņām un vēl senākas pagātnes politisko naratīvu.

Lai atvieglotu mērķa sasniegšanu, grāmata veidota kā analītiska struktūra ap metaforu pierobežas joslas vēstures „palimpsesta atmiņās" [*palimpsestuous memories*]. Palimpsests – rokraksts, kas ir rakstīts uz pergamenta, no kura iepriekšējais teksts ir nomazgāts, nokasīts – izmantots kā metafora, lai norādītu uz sarežģītām attiecībām starp vēsturi, pagaidu stāvokli, atmiņu, teritoriju, identitāti un politiku. Mijiedarbība starp vēsturi, atmiņu un pierobežas joslu līdz šim ir plaši pētīta, tomēr iegūtā informācija ir empīriska un nesniedz izpratni par plašākām tēmām un metaforām. Ārkārtīgi nenoteiktajā atmiņas izpētes procesā joprojām trūkst skaidras konceptuālas struktūras, kas ļautu izzināt attiecības starp vēsturi, atmiņu un pierobežas joslu.

Darba analītiskā struktūra, kas balstās uz palimpsesta metaforu, tiek lietota un attīstīta, kā piemēru izmantojot Latgali. Šis reģions atrodas Austrumlatvijā un robežojas ar Krieviju, Baltkrieviju un Lietuvu. Laika gaitā tas ir bijis daudzu „migrējošo robežu" ceļā un veidojis vairāku ģeopolitisku vienību vēsturi. Mūsdienās šis apgabals ir dinamiska palimpsesta atmiņas pilns, tomēr gandrīz pamests novārtā zinātniskajā literatūrā par vēsturi un atmiņu. Tādēļ šai grāmatai ir duāls mērķis – iegūt vispusīgu informāciju par pieeju, pētot attiecības starp vēsturi, atmiņu un pierobežu, kā arī iepazīstināt lasītājus ar reģionu, par kuru ārpus Latvijas zināms relatīvi maz, bet kurš ir pievilcīgs piemērs pierobežas kultūras atmiņas dinamikai.

Grāmata strukturēta šādi.

Pirmajā nodaļā pētītas plaši izmantotas teorētiskās struktūras par nāciju, vēsturi un atmiņu, kas ir pamatā šai analīzei, un sistemātiskā izklāstā aplūkots, kā šie koncepti pārklāj kopīgo Jana Asmana (*Jan Assmann*) „*mnemohistory*" jēdzienā un Aleidas Asmanas (*Aleida Assmann*) funkcionālās un uzglabāšanas atmiņas nošķiršanā. Veikts izzinošs pētījums par šo teoriju pielietojumu pierobežas joslā, kā arī analītiskās un metodiskās struktūras, kas paredzētas, lai pētītu attiecības starp vēsturi, atmiņu un pierobežas zonu, analīze. Par pamatu izvēloties Aleidas Asmanas konceptu „kanons" un „arhīvs", kas palīdz saprast attiecības starp funkcionālo un uzglabāšanas atmiņu, izvirzīti četri tipi: „pielietojamā pagātne" [*used*], „norādošā pagātne" [*referenced*], „noliedzošā pagātne" [*negated*] un „reliktā pagātne" [*relicised*].

„Pielietojamā pagātne" attiecas uz tiem pagātnes elementiem, kas apkopoti un tiek saglabāti. Tie iekļauti nacionālajā kanonā un apvienoti, rūpīgi izstrādāti

un izplatīti dažādās institūcijās, piemēram, izglītības sistēmā, un tiek izmantoti, lai nākotnē palīdzētu specifiskām politiskajām interesēm.

„Norādošā pagātne" apzīmē tās pagātnes daļas, kuras parasti atceras sabiedrībā, bet kurām ir mazāka ietekme uz nacionālo kanonu.

„Noliegtā pagātne" skar tos pagātnes aspektus, kurus apzināti mēģināts izslēgt no populārās vēstures un atmiņas, tādējādi tie dominējošajos (populārajos) viedokļos parasti ir aizmirsti un netiek izmantoti.

„Reliktā pagātne" attiecas uz to, ko A. Asmana sauc par „nelietoto un neiesakņojušos" pagātnes aspektu „amorfo masu", kas plūst apkārt izkaisīta, pamesta novārtā un galvenokārt tiek ignorēta.

Šajā nodaļā rūpīgi apskatītas arī specifiskas situācijas, kurās attiecības starp vēsturi un atmiņām aprakstītas; tam izvēlētais piemērs ir muzeji.

Noslēgumā analizēta pieeja, kas izmantota, šo metodoloģiju pielietojot specifiski Latgalei.

Otrajā nodaļā tiem, kas nepārzina Latgales vēstures galvenos attīstības notikumus, sniegta informācija, kas palīdz izprast, kā vēstures atmiņa aktualizēta mūsdienās. Šis kopsavilkums nav visaptverošs vai padziļināts, tomēr, tā kā informācija par Latgali un tās vēsturi ilgstošā laikposmā ir skopa, ir vērts šai tēmai atvēlēt ievērojamu vietu.

Nodaļas pirmā daļa iepazīstina ar reģiona vēstures pārskatu, kas strukturēts hronoloģiski, ņemot vērā dažādus politiskos režīmus un robežu maiņas pēdējo astoņsimt gadu laikā, kā arī mainīgās politiskās, ekonomiskās, sociālās, reliģiskās, kulturālās un demogrāfiskās izmaiņas jeb nepārtrauktības, kas norisinājušās līdz ar katru režīmu un robežu maiņu.

Otrajā daļā apskatīts, kā Latgales vēsture interpretēta un aprakstīta dažādos vēsturiskos darbos pēdējo divsimt gadu laikā. Tas nodrošina nozīmīgu kontekstu, kas izskaidro mnemonikas atsauksmes par reģiona vēsturi, kas iztirzātas darba pēdējās divās nodaļās.

Trešajā, ceturtajā un piektajā nodaļā veikta triju Latvijas muzeju detalizēta analīze. Tie katrs atspoguļo izteiktu Latgales vēstures attēlojumu, reprezentējot dažādu funkcionālo atmiņu. Latvijas nacionālais plašās Latgales reģiona atainojums apskatīts Latvijas Nacionālajā vēstures muzejā, tad seko reģionālo attēlojumu konstrukcijas un reģionālās identitātes iezīmju atspoguļojumi Latgales Kultūrvēstures muzejā Rēzeknē un Latgales novadpētniecības un mākslas muzejā Daugavpilī.

Analītiskā struktūra, kas attīstīta grāmatas otrajā nodaļā, ļauj pārliecināties, kā pagātne izmantota tagadnē gan veidoto attēlojumu ziņā (kas tiek paturēti atmiņā), gan kas tiek izslēgts jeb aizmirsts. Trīs dažādās interpretācijas par

pagātni, kuru attēlojums redzams minētajos muzejos, atspoguļotas kā dažādu politisko akcentu rezultāts – tie ir Latvijas nacionālā un Latgales reģiona uzskati, kā arī atskaņas no agrāk oficiālās atmiņas, kuru veidoja Krievijas impērija un Padomju Sociālistisko Republiku Savienība. Tas ir labi uztverams piemērs daudzslāņainībai un atmiņas duālajai dabai, kas šajā reģionā pārklājas un kuru nevar izskaidrot vienkārši kā etnokulturālas atšķirības.

Izmantojot materiālus, kas apkopoti divās intervijās, un Latvijā veiktās aptaujas, kurā piedalījušies vadošie Latgales vēstures eksperti, rezultātus, autore triju minēto muzeju vēstījumus attīstījusi plašākā diskusijā par Latgales kultūras atmiņu. Tā apiet funkcionālo attēlojumu, kas sastopams šajos muzejos, lai izpētītu amorfo zināšanu masu par Latgali, kas atrodas aiz tā, kas ar konkrēto atainojumu tiek izmantots tādās iestādēs. Šī nodaļa akcentē spriedzi starp Latgales vēstures iekļaušanu nacionālajā kanonā un tās marginalizāciju kā perifērisku neparastību, konkrētu Latgales aktīvistu centieniem reģionalizēt novada vēsturi, lai nostiprinātu specifisku šī reģiona identitāti, un neseno intereses pieaugumu par Latgales vēsturi ārpus Latvijas.

Sestajā nodaļā izvērsti runāts par Latgales pagātnes atmiņas pētīšanu un Latgales vēstures speciālistu darbību mūsdienās. Ar to šī nodaļa vērš uzmanību uz politiku, kas ir iemesls tam, kā un vai konkrētas atmiņas par Latgales vēsturi kļūst institucionalizētas un funkcionālas, kamēr citas tiek atmestas kā nevajadzīgas un paliek „arhīvos".

Kopsavilkumā autores pārdomas un secinājumi apkopoti pārskatā par Latgales kultūras atmiņu kā specifisku gadījumu, kā arī izvirzīta iespēja plašāk izmantot grāmatā apskatīto analītisko pieeju, lai pētītu citas pierobežas joslas vēsturi un atmiņu. Salīdzinot dažādas funkcionālās atmiņas par Latgali, kas sastopamas minētajos trijos muzejos, ar spriedumiem no piektās nodaļas par atdalīto un fragmentēto Latgales vēstures uzkrājumu atmiņu, kļūst skaidrs, ka vairāk jādomā par atmiņām, nevis atmiņu. Tas ir nozīmīgi pierobežā, kur palimpsesta daudzslāņainība ir īpaši uzskatāma. Turklāt autore secina, ka to nevar norakstīt uz vienkāršām entokulturālām atšķirībām – drīzāk tā ir daļa no ievērojami sarežģītākas un niansētākas vēstures, atmiņas, politikas, identitātes un telpas mijiedarbības.

Translated by Krista Strode

Резюме: «Окраины между историей и памятью: Палимпсест – прошлое Латгалии в современной Латвии»

Пограничные территории как в Восточной Европе, так и в других местах часто представляют собой места, где перекрещиваются воспоминания о различных исторических периодах и событиях. В результате многочисленных геополитических изменений и смен политических режимов различные слои памяти в пограничных зонах накладываются друг на друга на протяжении времени. Этническое, языковое и религиозное разнообразие, часто присущее населению приграничий, приводит к контактам различных исторических воспоминаний и интерпретаций прошлого. Эти различные нарративы находятся в сложном динамическом взаимодействии и не могут быть просто объяснены как вспоминания различных этнокультурных групп. Контакты между различными историческими воспоминаниями могут происходить в разных формах. Наиболее широко в научной литературе описаны конфликты памяти по поводу конкретных событий или периодов истории. Но это не всегда так. Разные воспоминания могут мирно сосуществовать, вступать в диалог друг с другом или оставаться безразличными друг к другу.

Цель этой книги заключается в деконструкции часто встречающихся в научной литературе представлений о существовании воспоминаний, присущих определенным этнокультурным группам. Книга показывает, как положительный результат процесс демократизации в последние 25 лет, как много различных групп и отдельных лиц принимают участие в формировании коллективных воспоминаний. Автор полагает, что мы должны выйти за рамки национально-культурной двойственности (например, «латышской» и «русской») в нашем понимании памяти в Восточной Европе. Мы должны понимать отношения между историей, памятью и настоящим как сложное диалогическое, нюансированное выражение различных интересов, не сводимое к этнокультурным группам. Чтобы сделать это, мы должны подойти к изучению исторической памяти в пространственном и временном контексте, который соответствует определенным территориям и группам людей, а также особым социально-политическим условиям, и который был создан в определенных местах, среди определенных групп людей и в определенных социально-политических условиях. Историческая память также возникает в определенное время, в ответ на специфические обстоятельства,

вступая во взаимодействие с остаточными воспоминаниями и нарративами о прошлом, предшествующими ей.

Чтобы объяснить это, аналитические рамки книги выстраиваются вокруг метафоры «воспоминаний-палимпсестов» [*palimpsestuous memories*], характерных для истории пограничий. Палимпсест – это вид рукописи, в которой слои текста были наложены друг на друга, не стирая при этом предыдущие тексты, но сохраняя многие из их следов. Автор использует «палимпсест» как метафору для выражения сложности отношений между историей, временем, памятью, территорией, идентичностью и политикой. Несмотря на то, что некоторые исследования о взаимодействии истории, памяти и пограничных зон были проведены, они носили в значительной степени эмпирический характер, не использовали аналитические методы и не имели достаточной теоретической базы. В направлении, называемом «*memory studies*», нам все еще не хватает четких концептуальных рамок для изучения взаимосвязи истории, памяти и пограничных регионов.

На примере Латгалии я развиваю и применяю сеть аналитические концепты о теме «палимпсест». Этот регион сегодня является частью современной восточной Латвии и граничит с Россией, Беларусью и Литвой. В течение всей своей истории Латгалия была регионом с подвижными, часто "мигрирующими" границами, будучи частью истории различных государств, палатинатов и областей. Сегодня она представляет собой динамичное место «воспоминаний-палимпесетов», практически не фигурирующее в научной литературе по истории и памяти. Таким образом эта книга имеет две цели: изучить теоретические подходы необходимые для понимания взаимосвязи между историей, памятью и пограничными регионами, и также ознакомить читателей с регионом, который является примером динамичной приграничной культурной памяти и о котором сравнительно мало известно за пределами Латвии.

Структура книги следующая:

В **первой главе** рассматриваются понятия национализма, истории и памяти, которые образуют теоретическую базу анализа. Автор полагает, что эти понятия связаны с концепцией «*mnemohistory*», предложенной Яном Ассманном, а также с идеей Алейды Ассманн о различиях между функциональной и хранимой памятью [*functional and storage memory*]. Затем в данной главе анализируются возможности имплементации этих теорий в сфере изучения пограничных зон. Потом, автор представляет обсуждение аналитических и методологических рамок в необходимым

изучения взаимосвязи между историей и памятью в пограничных зонах. Автор предлагает типологию памяти, которая делится на четыре вида: «используемая» [*used*], «справочная» [*referenced*], «отрицателельная» [*negated*], и «реликтовия» [*relicised*].

«Используемая память» относится к элементам прошлого, которые были собраны и сохранены. Эти элементы были включены в национальные каноны и распространяются при помощи различных институтов, таких как системы образования, для обслуживания политических интересов. «Справочная память» обозначает элементы прошлого, которые, как правило, сохранились в обществе, но имеют слабое влияние на национальные каноны. «Отрицательная память» относится к тем аспектам прошлого, которые сознательно вытесняются из публичной истории и коллективной (или социальной) памяти и становятся в значительной степени забытыми в повседневном дискурсе. «Реликтовия» относится к тому, что А. Ассман называет «аморфная масса» [*amorphous mass*] из «неиспользованных и некорпоративных» аспектов прошлого, которые были рассредоточены, упущены из виду и просто проигнорированы. В этой главе автор концентрирует внимание на местах, находящихся на пересечении истории и памяти, останавливая свой выбор на музеях как объектах изучения. В конце главы показано, как эта методология может быть применима к латгальской ситуации.

Во **второй главе**, автор знакомит читателей с основными событиями в истории Латгалии. В ней кратко изложена информация, необходимая для понимания того, как историческая память Латгалии используется в настоящее время. В первой части главы представлена хронология событий за последние 800 лет, которые происходили под влиянием многочисленных факторов, таких как смена политических режимов, государственных границ, экономических, социальных, религиозных, культурных и демографических изменений. Во второй части прошлое Латгалии рассматривается с точки зрения того, как история региона создавалась и интерпретировалась в различных историографических традициях на протяжении последних 200 лет.

В третьей, четвертой, и пятой главах дан подробный анализ экспозиций и материалов, представленных в трех музеях Латвии. Каждый музей является особым нарративом истории Латгалии, представляющим особую «функциональную память». Аналуз начинается с того, как Национальный музей истории Латвии в Риге представляет Латгалию в латвийской национальной истории. Затем автор сравнивает местные

нарративы как признаки региональной идентичности в Латгальском культурно-историческом музее в Резекне и Даугавпилсском краеведческом и художественном музее. Эти три различных дискурса об истории освещают различные политические аспекты – национальный латышский, региональный латгальский и «официальную» память Российской империи и Советской Латвии. Вместе они представляют собой пример многослойности и диалогичности воспоминаний, которые пересекаются на этой территории и не могут быть объяснены просто как воспоминания разных этнокультурных групп.

Используя данные двух интервью и результаты опроса экспертов по истории Латгалии, проведенных в Латвии, автор стремится расширить предлагаемые тремя музеями нарративы о прошлом Латгалии в более широкую дискуссию о культурной памяти Латвии. В главах, автор идет речь о сложностях включения прошлого Латгалии в национальные каноны и его маргинализации как простой периферической курьезности. Автор исследует деятельность некоторых латгальских активистов, которые создают региональную память истории Латгалии как часть конкретного Латгальского регионального самосознания.

В **шестой главе**, обсуждается исследовательский интерес к истории Латгалии, возникший в последнее время за ее пределами. При этом обращается внимание на политические факторы, которые влияют на то, как и почему одни воспоминания о прошлом Латгалии были институционализированы (часть официальной истории), в то время как другие так и остались достоянием «архивов».

В заключении книги все эти размышления и выводы сводятся в единую картину, раскрывающую потенциал широкого применения данного аналитического подхода в изучении истории и памяти других пограничных регионов. Автор обосновывает, что нельзя говорить о единой или единственной коллективной памяти об истории Латгалии. Сравнивая различные репрезентации прошлого, представленные в этих трех музеях, в книге показано, что гораздо справедливее говорить о разных воспоминаниях, а не о «памяти» в единственном числе. Это особенно относиться в отношении пограничных регионов, где память существует как палимпсест. Кроме того, автор приходит к выводу, что эти различные слои памяти не могут быть сведены лишь к этнокультурным различиям. Воспоминания — часть гораздо более сложного и многогранного пересечения истории, памяти, политики, идентичностей и пространства.