

UDK 930.2:070(438)“1887/1939”
DOI 10.24919/2519-058X.27.281535

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Bibliographic Description of the Article: Lazurko, L. & Turyanitsya, I. (2023). History of Lithuania in Authors' Research in "Kwartalnik Historyczny" Lviv Magazine (1887 – 1939). *Skhidnoievropeiskiyi istorychnyi visnyk [East European Historical Bulletin]*, 27, 71–80. doi: 10.24919/2519-058X.27.281535

HISTORY OF LITHUANIA IN AUTHORS' RESEARCH IN "KWARTALNIK HISTORYCZNY" LVIV MAGAZINE (1887 – 1939)

Abstract. *The purpose of the study is to trace the evolution of authors' research interests in history of Lithuania in the "Kwartalnik Historyczny" magazine during the Lviv period of its activity (1887 – 1939). The research methodology is based on the principles of historicism, systematicity, scientificity, verification, authorial objectivity, moderate narrative constructivism, as well as the use of general scientific (analysis, synthesis, generalization), special historical (historical genetic, historical typological, historical systemic) methods. The scientific novelty is that for the first time, on the basis of historiographical sources, the development of Lithuanian studies is traced in the studies of scholars focused on the Polish specialized historical journal "Kwartalnik Historyczny", which was published in Lviv during the period of 1887 – 1939. The Conclusion. The magazine "Kwartalnik Historyczny" – the printed organ of the Lviv Historical Society was the intellectual centre around which professional researchers of history gathered. The priority areas of interest of the authors of this edition were the past of the Red rus, with the ambitious goal of covering all printed products of the history of*

Poland. One of the important thematic areas of the magazine was also the history of Lithuania, in particular those issues related to the common Polish-Lithuanian past. Both during the first and second periods of the periodical's existence, on its pages there were discussed issues of the ancient history of Lithuania, Polish-Lithuanian relations, and socio-economic development of territories. The topics of the Polish-Lithuanian unions as decisive for the history of both states were the most debatable. These studies, written in the spirit of positivism, lacked broad generalizations, demonstrated mastery of source criticism and a certain micrographicism. In the interwar twenty years, with Poland gaining independence, these themes took on a new tone. In particular, the problem of researching the history of the Jagiellonian era, which is relevant for the Polish society, and in it the idea of joint political coexistence of the Poles with the Lithuanians, reached new stages of development.

Key words: scientific press, history of Lithuania, Polish Historical Society, historiography.

ІСТОРІЯ ЛИТВИ У ДОСЛІДЖЕННЯХ АВТОРІВ ЛЬВІВСЬКОГО ЧАСОПІСУ “KWARTALNIK HISTORYCZNY” (1887 – 1939)

Анотація. Мета дослідження – відстежити еволюцію дослідницьких зацікавлень авторів часопису “Kwartalnik Historyczny” у вивченні історії Литви впродовж львівського періоду його діяльності (1887 – 1939). **Методологія дослідження** ґрунтується на принципах історизму, системності, науковості, верифікації, авторської об’єктивності, поміркованого нарративного конструктивізму, а також на використанні загальнонаукових (аналіз, синтез, узагальнення) та спеціально-історичних (історико-генетичний, історико-типологічний, історико-системний) методів. **Наукова новизна** полягає у тому, що вперше на підставі історіографічних джерел простежуються розвиток литuanістики у дослідженнях науковців, зосереджених довкола польського фахового історичного часопису “Kwartalnik Historyczny”, що впродовж 1887 – 1939 рр. видавався у Львові. **Висновки.** Часопис “Kwartalnik Historyczny” – друкований орган львівського історичного товариства був тим інтелектуальним осередком, довкола якого згуртувалися фахові дослідники історії. Пріоритетними напрямками інтересів авторів цього видання було минуле Червоної русі, з амбітною метою охопити усю друковану продукцію з історії Польщі. Одним з важливих тематичних напрямів видання була також історія Литви, зокрема питання, що стосувалися спільного польсько-литовського минулого. Як у перший, так і в другий періоди існування часопису на його сторінках порушувалися проблеми давньої історії Литви, польсько-литовських стосунків та соціально-економічного розвитку окремих земель. Найбільш дискусійними були теми польсько-литовських уній як визначальні для історії обох держав. У цих дослідженнях, створених у дусі позитивізму, були відсутні широкі узагальнення, демонструвалися майстерність критики джерел та певний мікрографізм. У міжвоєнне двадцятиліття, зі здобуттям Польщею незалежності, ці теми отримали нове звучання. Зокрема, на нові витки розвитку вийшла актуальна для польського суспільства проблема дослідження історії ягеллонської доби, а в ній – ідеї спільного політичного співіснування поляків з литвинами.

Ключові слова: наукова преса, історія Литви, Польське історичне товариство, історіографія.

The Problem Statement. In the 2nd half of the 19th century, since scientization of history scientific journals began to play the role of a kind of tribune, from which actual achievements of science about the past were announced, around which the most heated discussions that entered a public sphere took place. Therefore, the scientific press is interpreted as a separate phenomenon by modern historiography, which in a concentrated form contains a reflection of scientific progress. Such a separate historiographical phenomenon is the magazine “Kwartalnik Historyczny” – the official spokesman of the first all-Polish Historical Society, which was published in Lviv in 1886. The authors of this professional journal of a universal nature focused on the issues of Lithuania’s past as a state that had been key in Polish history for a long time before the establishment of the Commonwealth of Both Nations.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Research. In the 60s and 80s of the 20th century the first specialized studies devoted to the journal appeared, but there was only analyzed the problem of understanding of authors' and editors' contribution to the formation and professionalization of the Polish historical science (Śreniowska, 1960; Maternicki, 1996). As for the past of Lithuania, the era of the Polish People's Republic historiography was not too favourable to this topic (Ochmański, 1961). The situation changed at the turn of the 20th – 20st centuries, when the activity of "Kwartalnik Historyczny" began to be considered as a separate historiographical phenomenon, which reflected the progress of historical thought (Telvak, 2005). At the same time, individual historiographical problems in the coverage of the magazine's authors become a subject of interest (Telvak & Telvak, 2018; Lazurko & Dikhtiiievskiyi, 2021). At the current stage, we observe a growing interest of researchers in understanding the contribution of individual historiographic centres and institutions to the study of Lithuania's past (Kutsyi, 2010; Vinnychenko, 2015), as well as understanding of some scholars' research in the study of this topic (Gmerek, 2016; Sierżęga, 2020).

The Purpose of Publication. The purpose of the article is to trace the evolution of authors' research interests of the journal "Kwartalnik Historyczny" in the study of the history of Lithuania during the Lviv period (1887 – 1939).

The Results of the Research. A significant part of the contents of the magazine "Kwartalnik Historyczny" (hereinafter – "KH") dealt with the history studies of the north-eastern lands of the divided Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Long and complex Polish-Lithuanian relations were always at the centre of focus of the Polish researchers of antiquity. "KH" was no exception, on the pages of which we can see many publications devoted to these issues, in particular the analysis of the first attempts at a synthetic understanding of Lithuania's past, the problems of ancient history, the issue of legal and political relations with Poland, the study of features of a socio-economic development of the region, etc. A. Prochaska, V. Kętrzyński, A. Lewicki, A. Kopystiański, and V. Nowodworski presented their vision of the specified issues in their papers on the pages of "KH". Among the reviewers of the magazine who worked on the history studies of Lithuania, we find the names of Ya. Jakubowski, A. Lewicki, A. Prochaska, I. Linniczenko, O. Halecki, and V. Nowodworski.

A great interest of the magazine's authors was aroused by the ancient history of Lithuania. In particular, the issue of the first Lithuanian Duke Mindog's apostasy was analyzed by A. Prochaska, who sought to revise the established views on the Duke's renunciation of the Christian faith. Traditionally, the case of the Duke's apostasy was associated with breaking of peace agreements with the Crusaders. The author, on the contrary, defended the opinion that the return of Lithuania to paganism and a subsequent slowdown of the Christianization of this land for the whole century was connected precisely with the apostasy of the Grand Duke (Prochaska, 1906, pp. 58–73). The issue of localization of the ancient capital of Lithuania, where Prince Mindog ruled, was analyzed on the pages of the magazine by V. Kętrzyński. It is noteworthy that while analyzing the information of the oldest chronicles, the author also referred to the achievements in the field of archeology of Lithuanian ancient researchers (Kętrzyński, 1906, pp. 604–611).

The Polish scholars focused on the issues of legal and political relations between Lithuania and Poland during the Middle Ages. Thus, A. Lewicki's research published on the pages of the magazine focuses on finding out the time of Vytautas Keistutovych receiving the title of Duke of Lithuania. This made it possible for the Polish king Jagiełło to extinguish the flames of the struggle for the throne and retain the supreme power in Lithuania under the title of Grand

Duke of Lithuania. A. Lewicki, in particular, assumed that Vytautas was appointed general elder of Lithuania in 1392. He was titled in just a few years and took a fief oath to Jagiełło. The author concluded that at the end of the 14th century the Polish-Lithuanian relations took on the character of a union of two states, and only after the death of Vytautas the Principality of Lithuania was to become part of Poland again (Lewicki, 1894, pp. 424–436).

The research on the last years of the reign of Kiejstut, the uncle of King Wadysław II Jagiełło, was published on the pages of the magazine by A. Prochaska. The crusaders, seeking to seize Žemaitia and take Lithuania under their protectorate, took advantage of its split into pagan and Christian and created such situation that provoked confrontation between Jagiełło, who was leaning towards Christianity, and his uncle Kiejstut, a supporter of preserving the old faith (Prochaska, 1909).

The Ukrainian scholar A. Kopystiański presented the research on the life and activities of the Lithuanian prince Mikhail Sigismundovich on the pages of the magazine. This work was published as part of a historical seminar at Lviv University, which was directed by L. Finkel. The hero of A. Kopystiański's research was the late Vytautas Keistutovych, whose biography was presented against the background of historical events in Lithuania after signing the Union of Krewo (Kopystiański, 1906, pp. 75–165).

The authors of the journal "Kwartalnik Historyczny" attached special importance to the critical assessment of scientific research, and from the beginning of its activity, "The Reviews" section occupied up to half of the publication's issues. Reviewers of the magazine analyzed the works on the history of Lithuania carefully, which were of a synthetic nature. At the end of the 19th century the Polish historians pointed out that due to greater opportunities for the Russian researchers to access archival materials on the history of Lithuania, which were kept in Moscow, it was they who led the way in the study of Lithuanian studies. Despite the fact that historians such as A. Lewicki, S. Smolka, A. Prochaska, F. Papeč also dealt with these issues, their research was primarily concerned with political history and was not of a synthetic nature. In this context, critics on the pages of the magazine noted the works of Moscow University professor M. Liubavskiy on the history of the Lithuanian-Russian state before the Union of Lublin, which summarized the historiographical work on this topic up to that time (Jakubowski, 1911, pp. 295–298). "KH" also monitored the work of Ukrainian scholars on this topic. For example, we meet A. Lewicki's review of the "History of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania" edited by O. Barvinskyi. It was a compilation from V. Antonovych's work "Essay on the History of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania" and D. Illovayskyi's "History of Russia". A. Lewicki noted that V. Antonovych's skillfully, critically and objectively written work, which was published as early as 1878, was practically unknown in Galicia, and he used the opportunity to introduce the readers of "KH" to its main features in the review (Lewicki, 1888, pp. 132–135).

Publications of a popular nature also fell into the field of view of the magazine's authors. Thus, one cannot fail to mention a small critical review of P. Briantsov's textbook on the history of the ancient Lithuanian state. This book, written in a lively, figurative language, was intended for a wide range of readers (J.A.M., 1890, pp. 352–353). Reviewers also noted the introductory essay on the history of Lithuania by Konstanzia Skirmunt, created as a textbook for schoolchildren. A. Prochaska drew the readers' attention to the fact that in this work the author skillfully overcame the obstacles associated with the lack of monographic works, showing remarkable historical and popularization skills (Prochaska, 1887, pp. 312–313).

A short review of sources for the history of Lithuania in the Middle Ages, made by A. Barabashev, also received favourable reviews from the magazine's authors. Russian,

Lithuanian, Livonian and Prussian chronicles were included in this work, which was not an independent study and was interpreted rather as a bibliographic work. In general, the mentioned short review was characterized as very useful for novice researchers of Lithuanian history (Linniczenko, 1889, pp. 554–555).

The works devoted to the study of the Lithuanian chronicle received positive feedback on the pages of the journal. Published by I. Danylovyč in 1823 – 1824, his Suprasl List was long forgotten among researchers of antiquity. Of course, it was used, but no one dared to critically examine it. The first Polish historian to address this question was S. Smolka, who divided the text of the chronicle into its components and analyzed them in detail (Prochaska, 1890, pp. 574–577). Subsequently, A. Prochaska proposed his own study of this problem. And if S. Smolka used only the text of the annals published by I. Danylovyč, A. Prochaska also had at his disposal a facsimile of one of the manuscripts of this annals from the Poznań library, which gave him additional arguments for polemics with S. Smolka (Lewicki, 1891, pp. 164–166).

The work of Oskar Stavenhagen was also dedicated to the beginnings of the reign of Prince Vytautas in Lithuania. Critics of the journal favourably received his research, which related to the reasons for the worsening of Polish-Lithuanian relations due to the rapprochement of Lithuania with the Crusaders in 1398. At Congress of Lithuanian and the Order representatives on Lake Salina, Vytautas concluded an agreement with the Order, by which he announced the transfer of Žemaitia to the latter in full possession. As a result, the Polish-Lithuanian Union was disrupted (Prochaska, 1909, pp. 407–409).

According to critics, the reign of Sigismundt Keistutovyč is one of the least covered topics of Lithuanian history, which is important for learning about the past not only of Lithuania, but also of Poland and Ukraine. That is why, the work of the Ukrainian researcher B. Barvinskyi, who, using the latest material, presented a thorough analysis of the ruler's activities and based on this, presented a vivid image of the rule of the rightful successor of Vytautas and Svydrygail. The work was distinguished by its clarity and systematic presentation. Its value, as noted by A. Prochaska, was not only in the fact that it was the first attempt to analyze the activity of the above mentioned person, but primarily in the fact that it "promoted historical science a step forward" (Prochaska, 1906, pp. 339–345). Subsequently, on the pages of the journal, we also find reviews of documents published by B. Barvinsky in "Notes of the National Academy of Sciences", related to the times of Lithuanian princes Svydrygail and Sigismundt Keistutovyč (Halecki, 1915, pp. 324–327).

The research conducted by I. Lappo was aimed at recreating social and political structure of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1569 – 1586. Critics of the magazine drew readers' attention to a low scientific level of this compilative work. However, they also noted that the author raised issues that were not often the focus of the Polish historiography of that time and were insufficiently developed. In particular, V. Nowodworski wrote the following: against the background of the lack of a monograph on the Lublin Union of 1569 at that time, the lack of comparative studies on structure peculiarities of Lithuanian state institutions and a number of other problems, this work stood out quite favourably from among the other topical issues discussed (Nowodworski, 1902, pp. 331–341).

Great importance was attached to "The Miscellanea" column in the "Kwartalnik Historyczny" magazine, which published small source materials. Accompanied by comments, often discussed, these materials were a kind of example of the critical method application in history and were presented on the pages of the publication as a standard of skills of a professional historian.

In this column, A. Prochaska analyzed the issue of documenting the oath of loyalty that Vytautas took to King Jagiełło and the Polish state. The researcher presented in a chronological order and summarized the content of five known oath texts. A. Prochaska added another text to this list, which he found in the codex “Ratificacio inscripcionum magni ducis” at the University of Prague. The text of this document was published in “KH” and there were added comments by the researcher (Prochaska, 1895, pp. 233–238).

A. Prochaska had analyzed this issue on the pages of the magazine before. Thus, in the section “The Miscellanea” on the pages of “KH” we see his translation from Russian into Latin of an excerpt from the fifth part of the annals of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania. According to A. Prochaska, this text was used by J. Dlugosz when writing his “History of Poland”. The author also made assumptions about the identity of the translator and drew attention to the importance of reproducing this fragment of the annals, which in many ways supplemented the previous lists (Prochaska, 1887, pp. 196–201).

The researcher also addressed the issues of socio-economic development of Lithuania. In the publication entitled “Something about the Starostat in Žemaitia” A. Prochaska raises the issue of a separate status of these lands as part of the Lithuanian state and its preservation even after joining Poland. The researcher believed that such situation was based on certain possibilities of regional autonomy that developed historically. One of the features of this autonomy was an independent position of zemstvo officials, who were elected in zemstvo, and the prince only approved this choice. The position of a headman was also elective. A. Prochaska was looking for answers to the question of the historical conditions in which such management traditions developed in Žemaitia land. As an illustration, he cited the text of the royal decree of the beginning of the 16th century (from the archive of the Lithuanian Metrics in Moscow), the case of Žemaitia headman’s competence (Prochaska, 1895, pp. 663–667). Another vivid illustration of a special status of this land was V. Nowodworski’s publication of a document with the resolution text of the Vilkiū Diet in Žemaitia dated March 28, 1576 in the matter of land management (Nowodworski, 1902, pp. 457–458).

The interest of the magazine’s authors in the history of Lithuania faded somewhat during the interwar twenty years. However, the issues of legal succession to the Lithuanian crown, the origins of princely dynasties, relations with Poland, the history of individual lands of the principality, the origin of the Lithuanian people and the structure of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania continued to be discussed. In connection with the acquisition of independence by Poland, the Jagiellonian idea acquired a new dimension.

Thus, Kolankowski focused on the issue of the transfer of the Lithuanian crown, which was acutely faced by the Polish king Jagiełło after the death of Prince Vytautas. The author highlighted this problem against a broad background of relations between Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1420 – 1430. (Kolankowski, 1926, pp. 386–399). Kazimierz Chodyncki published a study in the journal devoted to the genesis of the Grand Duke Gediminas of Lithuania dynasty, from which many outstanding monarchs of both Lithuania and Poland descended. He drew attention to the lack of thorough works on this issue, which was surprising, since it was not about the ancient times of the Lithuanian state formation, but about the era when Lithuania already passed the initial stages of its development and under the leadership of Mindovg, the unification of individual tribes into a single state organism took place. After analyzing all available materials, K. Chodyncki singled out three main versions about Gediminas’s Teutonic, Lithuanian and Moscow lines of origin. The author

paid special attention to the hypothesis about Žemaitia origin of the Grand Duke of Lithuania Gediminas's dynasty (Chodynicki, 1926, pp. 541–566).

The history of the Union of Poland with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in 1325 (the first in the Polish-Lithuanian relations) directed against the Order was studied by S. Zajązkowski. The Union was sealed by the marriage of Kazimierz, the heir to the Polish throne, with Aldona, the daughter of the Grand Duke of Lithuania Gediminas. The author noted that it was a turning point in the Polish-Lithuanian relations moment in the 13th – 14th centuries – the first important step towards the path, which from a sharp confrontation led to the conclusion of the Union in 1386 (Zajązkowski, 1927, pp. 343–345).

F. Papeë analyzed the origin issue of the Lithuanian people in the pages of the magazine. He focused, in particular, on the analysis of previous research not so much on political history as on ethnolinguistic studies. Under the conditions of sharp international confrontations, which Poland experienced after gaining independence, the magazine called for a scientific dialogue in solving controversial issues of history. Thus, F. Papeë in the above mentioned study wrote not only about the significant progress made by the Polish scholars in the study of this issue, but also about "the need to overcome the "Great Wall of China" between Poland and Lithuania and the need for joint research of common history" (Papeë, 1927, pp. 465–476).

The Jagiellonian period was in the spotlight of many researchers of the interwar twenty years as a dreamy and unattainable age for the 20th century international harmony. The times of the Jagiellonian dynasty, in particular the relations with the eastern neighbours, were of interest to those scholars who studied the history of the Polish expansion to the East during the period of the greatest power of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Much had been written about the "Jagiellonian idea" as such, which was still relevant and in which the search of grounds for "further aspirations of the power of Poland" continued. In the jubilee volume of "KH" for 1937, a study by O. Halecki, in agreement with the official doctrine, was published, in which "the Jagiellonian idea" was presented as extremely relevant for the formulation of a modern national idea. The connection between Poland and Lithuania was interpreted in the spirit of federalism of time, based on a "mixed civilization" spread from the Baltic to the Black Sea. As an ideological concept, "the Jagiellonian idea" was opposed to both narrow nationalism and "the Moscow doctrine" (Halecki, 1937, pp. 487–510; Kolankowski, 1926, pp. 386–399).

During the interwar period, the magazine's authors continued the review section. In particular, the review of S. Zajązkowski's study, devoted to the history of Žemaitia in the 13th century, attracts attention. This work consisted of two sections. In the first section, the author focused on geographical and statistical description of Žemaitia during the period of analysis and its borders. In the second section, S. Zajązkowski presented the history of Žemaitia during the times of Mindovg, focusing on the most ancient times – the first attempts to capture these lands by the Crusaders and the struggle of the autochthonous population for independence (Prochaska, 1926, pp. 200–203).

An attempt to fill historiographical lacunae in the study of the organization of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania until 1386 was the work of Witold Kamenetskyi. In particular, he was interested in finding out the influence of the Order of the Crusaders, who came to the country from Livonia and Prussia, on Lithuania. Critics had certain reservations about the work, which was not based on a source analysis of Lithuanian institutions, but was only a comparison of facts and was of a rather abstract nature (Zajązkowski, 1927, pp. 343–345).

The magazine “Kwartalnik Historyczny” – the printed organ of the Lviv Historical Society was an intellectual centre around which professional researchers of history gathered. The priority area of interest of authors of this edition was the past of the Red rus, with the ambitious goal of covering all printed products on the history of Poland. One of the important thematic areas of the magazine was also the history of Lithuania, in particular those issues related to the common Polish-Lithuanian past. Both during the first and second periods of the periodical’s existence, there were discussed issues of ancient history of Lithuania, Polish-Lithuanian relations, and socio-economic development of some territories. The topics of the Polish-Lithuanian Union as decisive for the history of both states were the most debatable. These studies, created in the spirit of positivism, lacked broad generalizations, demonstrated mastery of source criticism and a certain micrographicism. During the interwar twenty years, after Poland gained independence, these themes took on a new tone. In particular, the problem of researching the history of the Jagiellonian era, which is relevant for the Polish society, and in it the idea of joint political coexistence of the Poles with the Lithuanians, reached new stages of development.

Acknowledgement. We express our sincere gratitude to all members of the editorial board for the advice provided during the preparation of the article for publishing.

Funding. The authors did not receive any financial support for the publication of the article.

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*The article was received September 10, 2022.
Article recommended for publishing 14/06/2023.*