

East and Central European History Writing in Exile 1939–1989, Maria Zdanecka, Andrejs Plakans, Andreas Lavaty (eds.), 'On the Boundary of Two Worlds' vol. 39, Leiden/Boston: Brill/Rodopi, 2015. 433 p. ISBN 978-90-04-29962-7

The series 'On the Boundary of Two Worlds. Identity, Freedom, and Moral Imagination in the Baltics' has seen the release of its 39th volume, devoted to East and Central European historiography in exile from the years 1939 to 1989. Sixteen authors, originally from Germany, Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Belarus and Ukraine, now residing in Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Germany, Sweden, Canada and the United States, have gathered to meet the objective explained on the back of the book: 'All written by experts in the history of the region, give answers to the comprehensive question of how the experience of exile during the time of Nazi and Communist totalitarianism influenced and still influences history writing and the historical consciousness both in the countries hosting exile historians, as well as in the home countries which these historians left.' The collection of articles is divided into three parts: 'Constituting Exile', 'Transfer of Knowledge' and 'New Styles of Thought'. This thematically covers issues of how historians in exile were organised, the creation of their ideas and concepts, and discussions and conflicts with the younger generation of historians and with those remaining in their respective 'socialist' homelands. This review will take a brief look at the articles, mentioning those that make reference to Lithuanian historians.

Armstrong Atlantic State University (USA) professor Olavi Arens, in his article 'Estonian Historians in Exile: Organisation and Publication', writes about the founding of the Eesti Teaduslik Selts Rootsis (Estonian Learned Society) in Sweden in 1945, noting that this Scandinavian country was very important to Estonian exiles, being culturally and geographically close, which explains why such a large number settled there.

The article by Indiana University (USA) associate professor Toivo Raun, 'Transnational Contacts and Cross-Fertilization among Baltic Historians in Exile, 1968–1991', analyses the role of the Association for the Advancement of Baltic Studies in gathering together Baltic State exile scientists in Western Europe and the United States. An important problem was the adaptation of historians from the Baltic States, and their opportunities for finding employment at academic institutions in the United States and Canada. The article's author notes that the Latvian diaspora community was the largest and most productive, and that its members cooperated with Estonian, Lithuanian and Western historians. In this context, the Lithuanian Romualdas J. Misiūnas is mentioned several times.

University of Szczecin (Poland) professor Jörg Hackmann, in his article 'Baltic Historiography in West German Exile', suggests including not only the 'titular nations', Latvians, Lithuanians and Estonians, in the 'Baltic exile' concept, but also Jews and Baltic Germans, even though the latter have not expressed any desire to return to their homeland (p. 46). He gives a rather thorough discussion of the activities of diaspora institutions in postwar West Germany: the Baltic University in Hamburg and Pinneberg, the Baltic research institute Baltisches Forschungsinstitut in Bonn, Institutum Balticum in Königstein, the Lithuanian Institute of Culture in Lampertheim-Hüttenfelde, and the Baltic historical commission in Göttingen, which concentrated on Estonia and Latvia.

Professor emeritus from Iowa University (USA) Andrejs Plakans, in submitting his article 'Remaining Loyal: Latvian Historians in Exile 1945–1991', conducted a socio-historic analysis of three generations of Latvian historians, where he concluded that the youngest third generation, born in America, Canada or Sweden, and educated in universities there, found it most difficult to uphold their 'loyalty' to Latvian history, many of them having lost touch with their roots, unlike the first generation, which wrote and published their work only in Latvian.

University of Alberta (Edmonton, Canada) professor Volodymyr Kravchenko wrote the article 'Ukrainian Historical Writing in North America during the Cold War: Striving for "Normalcy"' about the 'protective' function of writing history in the Ukrainian exile community in the United States and Canada. He also mentioned the primordial thousand-year-long idea of the Ukrainian nation, engaged in a heroic struggle with its predatory neighbours for its independence, gradually becoming the victim of their aggression. Ukrainian historiography in exile has taken a unique path, becoming something of a success story. Unlike other exiles from East and Central Europe, Ukrainian historians have managed to shake off the romantic and nationalist history narrative, and create a professional scientific historiography, while Canadian and American universities and academic journals have opened the doors to Ukrainian history as a separate discipline. In the author's view, the fact that in the 1960s and 1980s the martyr narrative was revised to include modern territorial and multi-cultural Ukrainian history concepts is the greatest merit of Ukrainian historians in exile. I could only add that some Lithuanian historians have cooperated with their Ukrainian counterparts in Europe. In Rome, in 1964–1975, Cardinal Josif Slypyj released *Monumenta Ucrainae Historica*, a 12-volume collection of documents that was assembled by his precursor, Metropolitan Andrej Sheptycki, and edited by Paulius Jatulis.

University of Białystok (Poland) professor Oleg Łatyszczek wrote the article 'Belarusian Historians in Exile: New Circumstances, Old Problems'. He noted that Belarusian historians exhibited a status of being in exile even within their own country, a kind of 'never-being-at home' feeling

that has lasted for as long as the modern Belarusian nation has existed (p. 120). Due to their highly contradictory concept of the history of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, none of the Belarusians in exile have sought to establish dialogue with Lithuanian historians (p. 128).

Mirosław A. Supruniuk, who is on the staff at Torun University Museum and Poland's Emigration Archive (Poland), presents an article called 'Fr. Prof. Walerian Meysztowicz and the Polish Historical Institute in Rome', where he writes about the efforts to keep the 'spirit' of Stephen Bathory University (USB) in Vilnius alive in the diaspora. He mentions the famous historians and intellectuals Stanisław Kościalkowski, Henryk Paszkiewicz and Władysław Wielhorski. The latter's book *Polska a Litwa – stosunki wzajemni biegu dziejów* was given a rather poor review by the famous Lithuanian historian and publicist Adolfas Šapoka, in whose opinion the question of Lithuanian-Polish relations is one of the most confusing issues in Eastern Europe, while Wielhorski 'writes for Poles, entrenching them in old positions, while he teaches Lithuanians resignation to the "historical process", urges logic and invites them to reject their earlier mistakes'. In addition, Wielhorski 'tries to depict the role of the Lithuanian nation and Lithuanian culture as weak in all respects, highlighting the Slavic element in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Slavic infusion in the Lithuanian nation. Allegedly, Lithuania's russification had started from the very beginning of Mindaugas' times [...] He is wrong to think that Lithuanians drew their ill-will towards Poles from areas near the Volga, and studied from anti-Polish Russian historiography (p. 218). The school of Ustrialov and Kojalowicz, plus the *litowsko—ruskoje gosudarstvo* concept was just as unfavourable to Lithuanians [...].'¹

One of the book's editors, Stockholm University (Sweden) professor of Polish language and literature Maria Zadencka, wrote two articles: 'Polish Exile Historians at the International Historical Congresses' and 'The Shape of Europe in the Works of Oskar Halecki, Józef Mackiewicz, and Marian Kukiel'. In the first, she analyses 'dualism' and tensions between socialist Poland and Polish emigrant historians at international historical congresses, stating that the International Committee of Historical Sciences 'reproduced' Soviet censorship policy by not allowing exile historians to participate under a 'separate flag'. She mentions Zenonas Ivinskis, who cooperated with Polish exile historians and was a member of the Polish History Institute in Rome (p. 179). In her second article, the author presents the ideas on Europe of three famous Polish historians in exile.

Rafał Stobiecki, a professor at the University of Łódź (Poland), has contributed two articles to the book: 'To Be a Polish Historian in Exile: Semantic and Methodological Remarks' and 'Polish Exile Periodicals as

¹ A. Šapoka, 'Lietuvos ir Lenkijos santykiai lenkų akimis', *Aidai*, 1948, no. 21, gruodis.

a Dialogue Forum: *Teki Historyczne, Polish Review, Zeszyty Historyczne*'. In the first, he discusses a semantic problem: who is truly a historian in the diaspora, given that few actually had a higher education in history, or mainly engaged in journalism (p. 191). In the second, he discusses the main Polish exile history journals.

The former director of the Department of History at Göttingen University and the head of the Baltic History Commission (Baltische Historische Kommission), Gert von Pistohlkors, wrote two articles: 'Homeland Livland and "Exile" in the German Fatherland: Reinhard Wittram (1902–1973) and his Attitudes towards Baltic History' and 'Generations in Baltic German Historical Writing, 1919–2009'. The first article is about the view of Baltic German emigrants towards the situation post-1918. Their transition was easier than for Russian emigrants from the former Russian Empire, as they were going to Germany where they were surrounded by their own nationality, and could on occasion return to visit the places of their childhood. Their main problem was their dissipation, resulting in a loss of identity (p. 205). The author claims that the historian Reinhard Wittram, who worked at the Herder Institute in Riga during the interwar years, was convinced that the new Latvian state categorically rejected the inclusion of any German historical legacy in the interpretation of Latvia's history that was being created (p. 207). It should be added that the Lithuanian historian Robertas Šimkus has written about the historiographical confrontation between Latvians and Baltic Germans, which began concurrently with the state institutionalisation of Latvian history.² His second article introduces readers to present-day German researchers engaged in Baltic history themes.

The director of Tallinn's Tuglas Centre of Literature and member-professor of the Estonian Academy of Sciences Jaan Undusk has also published two articles: 'How to Become a Perfect Danish-Estonian Historian: Homage to Vello Helk' and 'History Writing in Exile and in the Homeland after World War II: Some Comparative Aspects'. In the first, the author analyses ego-documents, including the subject's travel or 'friendly' albums *album amicorum*, researching the question of how the Estonian historian Vello Helk (1923–2014) became a 'real Dane', when it is widely known that the almost homogeneous population of Denmark is traditionally suspicious and ill-inclined towards foreigners: little was known about Estonians, who used to be confused with Icelanders.

In his second article, the author presents the historiography of Estonians in exile, and the uncomfortable spatial state of an emigrant writer. The physical involuntary change of location sharpened the sense of time and space, and raised questions of historical causality: why are we here?

² R. Šimkus, 'Istoriografinių konfliktų prielaidos: konkuruojančios istorinės atmintys tarpukario Latvijoje', *Acta Humanitaria Universitatis Saulensis. Mokslo darbai*, t. 9: *Kultūrinės atminties kaita ir lokalinė istorija* (2009), pp. 55–69.

Why will we not remain here? And what will we be doing tomorrow? (p. 322). Similar questions have been raised by Lithuanian writers and historians. For example, A. Šapoka, whilst interned at the Augsburg-Hochfeld DP camp, wrote: 'I have had enough of hanging around along the camp's walls. This pointless existence and all sorts of troubles will soon sap the last of our strength. Those living under normal conditions cannot even understand how this environment eats away at our health, ruins our nerves, and how badly people long to escape somewhere.'³

The director of the East-Central Europe Institute and professor at the John Paul II Catholic University of Lublin (Poland) Miroslaw Filipowicz prepared the article 'Polish Historiography in Exile: On Selected Works and Ideas of Oskar Halecki, Henryk Paszkiewicz and Marian Kukiel', where he noted that among the Poles in emigration in the 19th century, even in Paris, there were no conditions to establish any professional historiography foundations, as Joachim Lelewel spent more of his creative time in Vilnius and Warsaw (p. 249), whereas after the Second World War, the situation of Polish historians was especially difficult: separated from their archives and colleagues, lacking any financial support, and not always finding their way into academic institutions in the Western world, the younger generation simply 'parted' from Poland's history, etc. The historians mentioned, Halecki, Paszkiewicz and Kukiel, were probably the most famous historians in exile, whose works were followed and discussed in the West, despite being condemned in the East. It should be added that the first two historians cooperated with Lithuanian historians in exile, especially with Ivinskis, who was assisted in making contact with the Poles by the former professor at Vytautas Magnus University in Kaunas Ignas Jonynas. When the Second World War started, Paszkiewicz was sent to a Nazi concentration camp, and Lithuanian historians wanted to help their Polish colleague in trouble. Jonynas tried by helping Lithuanian diplomats procure a permit allowing him to travel to Lithuania, sent him food parcels, and even created the legend that the Polish historian was originally from the family of the Lithuanian writer Dionizas Poška.⁴

The historian and translator Artur Mękariski (Poland) wrote an article called 'In Whose Name is the Story Told? The Émigré Critique of Method in the Historiography of the Polish People's Republic', where he analyses the methodological approaches of Polish exile historians and the conflict of the Christian world-view with historic materialism.

Andreas Lawaty, a scientist from the Nordost-Institut Lüneburg (Germany), in his article 'The Figure of "Antemurale" in the Historiography

³ Adolfo Šapokos laiškas Broniui Kvikliui, 1947 08 04, Augsburg. A. Šapoka, *Raštai*, t. IV: *Mokslinė korespondencija*, ed. V. Selenis (Vilnius, 2014), p. 95.

⁴ I. Jonyno laišškai H. Paszkiewiczziui, 1940. 02. 07, 1940. 02. 14, 1940. 04. 27. I. Jonynas, *Istorijos baruose* (Vilnius, 1984), pp. 236–238.

at Home and in Exile', discusses the 'fortress' concept between the East and West in history writing by East and Central European exiles, and its variations.

The article 'A "Polish Connection" in American Sovietology Or the Old Homeland Enmities in the New Host Country Humanities' by Andrzej Nowak, a professor at Krakow's Jagiellonian University (Poland), presents the Sovietological concepts offered by the famous Polish political scientists Adam Ulam and Leo Labeledz, who served as US presidential advisers.

The last author is a historian and biblicist at the University of Latvia in Riga, Iveta Leitāne. Her article 'The Idea of Latvian National History in Exile: Continuity and Discontinuity' presents the most influential Latvian historiography in exile models associated with the problem of 'Latvian-ness'.

To conclude, all the authors have presented valuable insights that help us imagine the conditions for scientific and social organisation among historians in exile from East and Central Europe, their mutual bonds, and approach to the works of their colleagues left behind in the socialist part of the world. It is a shame that this publication does not feature any Lithuanian authors, who could also have suggested topics, such as how Lithuanian historians in exile were organised, publication issues, contacts with the diaspora from other nations, Western historians and intellectuals, and their approach towards the Soviet model of Lithuania's history, romantic 'stagnant' Lithuanian exile history writing, etc. This is all the more relevant, as there are so few summarising works on exile Lithuanian historiography.

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