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Nations on the Drawing Board

Ethnographic Map-Making in the Russian Empire's Baltic Provinces, 1840-1920

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Abstract

The nineteenth century witnessed an exponential growth in the amount of statistical data collected to define populations, necessitating new ways to process and manage information. Ethnographic cartography offered a visual method to synthesise unwieldy ethnolinguistic data and communicate it in a clear and accessible way. However, in doing so, maps profoundly impacted the very meanings of concepts like language, ethnicity, and nationhood. This dissertation examines how nineteenth-century map-makers in the Russian Empire experimented with geographical methods and graphical techniques to map the inhabitants of the Baltic provinces, constructing ethnic groups based on contemporary notions of similarity and difference. Drawing on primary source materials from archives across East Central Europe, I trace both the political and scientific debates among map-makers about how to translate statistics into cartographical form. I depart from the existing literature by deliberately emphasising the technological, socio-economic, and commercial aspects that shaped the processes of collecting data, printing, publishing, and selling maps. By drawing attention to the wide range of actors who engaged in ethnographic map-making, such as women and members of the lower classes, I challenge the prevailing historiographical tendency to view maps solely as instruments of state governance and part of the material and visual culture of intellectual elites. I reveal how ethnographic maps had a strong subversive tendency and the spread of cartographical literacy through school textbooks and popular print culture in the second half of the nineteenth century enabled local populations to use maps to assert agency and challenge the imperial state. Situating the Baltic provinces within the wider transnational information space of East Central Europe, the project enriches our understanding of how ethnographic mapping permeated multiple social and political spheres and came to hold such a powerful sway over popular imagined geographies of nationality.

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Notes on the Text

In 1827, statistician and map-maker Petr Keppen published a book about the history, language, and literature of the 'Lithuanian peoples' (*litovskie narody*). Keppen used 'Lithuanian' as a collective term comprising three ethnographic groups: Lithuanians, Latvians, and Samogitians (*zhmud'*).[1] Keppen urged historians and philologists interested in the 'Lithuanian peoples' to pay 'special attention' to the plurality of terms in different languages used to describe these peoples, the area where they lived, and the languages they spoke. To aid readers, he included a table in his book listing equivalent terms in Russian, Latvian, Polish, and German, and also transliterated the terminology into three scripts – Cyrillic, Gothic (Fraktur), and Latin Antiqua (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Keppen's table of ethnographic and geographic names

Source: Petr Keppen, *O proiskhozhdenii, iazyke i literature litovskikh narodov* (St. Petersburg: Karl Krai, 1827), 5–6.

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[1] Petr Keppen, *O proiskhozhdenii, iazyke i literature litovskizh narodov* (St Petersburg: Tipografiia Karla Kraiia, 1827). A German-language translation was also published two years later by Peter von Schrotter in collaboration with the Latvian Literary Society. See: Peter von Koeppen, *Ueber den Urfprung, die Sprache und Literatur der lithuanischen (oder lettischen) Völkerschaften* (Mitau: J. F. Steffenhagen und Sohn, 1829).

Almost two centuries later, it is once again commonplace for historians of Central and Eastern Europe to draw readers' attention to how the same place could be known by multiple names in various languages in different contexts. This dissertation preserves the forms used in the sources in question, for example Russian Revel, German Reval, and Estonian Tallinn. Contemporary Estonian or Latvian versions are provided in parentheses to aid readers with locating these places today. Keppen's table also reminds us that the names used to describe ethnic groups (ethnonyms), languages (linguonyms), and individuals also varied over time and across languages. Historians today are similarly wary of imposing contemporary national categories when describing ethnographic or linguistic phenomena, or when discussing the beliefs, attitudes, and perceptions of historical actors. For this reason, the names of individuals are given in multiple forms in the first instance and thereafter in the form that they most frequently used themselves or published under. When quoting from sources, nineteenth-century spelling and orthography is preserved. Russian and Belarusian Cyrillic titles, names, and quotations are transliterated using the Library of Congress system, with the diacritics and soft signs at the end of words omitted. German, Estonian, and Latvian source materials originally written in Gothic (Fraktur) are likewise transcribed into Latin Antiqua script. Unless otherwise indicated, all translations are my own. I endeavour to keep the use of abbreviations and non-English terms in the text to a minimum. Dates pertaining to the Russian Empire prior to 31 January 1918 are given in the Julian calendar (old-style), which ran thirteen days behind the Gregorian calendar (new-style).

Abbreviations

IAN *Imperatorskaia Akademiia Nauk* (Imperial Academy of Science)

IRGO *Imperatorskoe Geograficheskoe Obschestvo* (Imperial Russian Geographical Society, 1849-1917)

RGO *Russkoe Geograficheskoe Obschestvo* (Russian Geographical Society, 1845-18)

KIPS *Komissiia po Izucheniiu Plemennogo Sostava Naseleniia Rossii* (Committee for Studying the Tribal Composition of the Population of Russia)

MGI *Ministerstvo Gosudarstvennykh Imushschestv* (Ministry of State Properties)

MVD *Ministerstvo Vnutrennykh Del* (Minister of Interior Affairs)

Archival materials are referenced throughout as follows:

Estonia:
f. *fond* - collection
n. *inventari number* - inventory number
s. *säilitusüksus* - preservation item (record)
lk. *lehekülg* - page
N.B., I follow the contemporary referencing system in Estonia in which the abbreviations are omitted (e.g. EAA.854.7.714.146)

Latvia:
f. *fonds* - collection
ap. *apraksts* - inventory
l. *lietas* - file
l. *lappuse* - page

Russia and Belarus:
f. *fond* - collection
r. *razriad* - collection (NA RGO)
op. *opis'* - inventory
d. *delo* - file
l. *listok* - page
ob. *obratnyi* - reverse

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The study draws extensively on primary sources and I am grateful to the librarians, archivists, and support staff at the Slavonic Library in Helsinki, Department of Manuscripts at Vilnius University Library, Polish National Library in Warsaw, Estonian Historical Archives in Tartu, Latvian State Historical Archives in Riga, Herder Institute in Marburg, National Historical Archives of Belarus in Minsk, Russian Geographical Society in St. Petersburg, St. Petersburg Branch of the Archives of the Russian Academy of Science, and the British Library in London. At the EUI library, I extremely grateful to Serge Noiret for the numerous book purchases and to Pernille Kjeldsen for sourcing rare books and articles for me through interlibrary loan.

In today's world of academia, neoliberal individualism and competition are frequently portrayed as being endemic. However, my research experience has been full of countless encounters with people who shared their kindness, hospitality, and assistance: Vytautas

Introduction: Geographies of Nationality

In August 1872, St. Petersburg was abuzz with talk of statistics. More than 120 foreign experts and 250 specialists from the Russian Empire gathered in the imperial capital for the eighth meeting of the International Statistical Congress, which ran from 7-18 August.[1] As an experiment in internationalism, the congress brought together experts from across the globe to discuss the implementation of uniform methods and themes for statistical inquiry, ranging from population censuses to trade, industry, medical, and criminal statistics. The delegates worked together to formulate proposals for common standards to facilitate comparability, such as to include 'spoken language' as a statistical measure in censuses, although in practice few states implemented the recommendations.[2]

As part of the Congress, the organising committee arranged two sessions on the uses of geographical and graphical methods for statistical research. Although the relationship between statistics and cartography had been a regular topic of discussion since the third International Statistical Congress in Vienna in 1857, where statistician Karl von Czoernig (1804-1889) had been keen to discuss his recently-published ethnographic study of the Habsburg Empire, the avalanche of thematic statistical maps published in recent years meant that the organisers felt that these topics warranted serious international attention.[3] The organising committee hoped

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[1] Previous meetings of the International Statistical Congress had been held in Brussels (1853), Paris (1855), Vienna (1857), London (1860), Berlin (1863), Florence (1867), and The Hague (1869). On the history of the International Statistical Congresses, see: Nico Randeraad, "The International Statistical Congress (1853—1876): Knowledge Transfers and Their Limits," *European History Quarterly* 41, no.1 (2011), 50–65.

[2] Samuel Brown, "Report on the Eighth International Statistical Congress, held at St. Petersburg, 22nd/10th August to 29th/17th, 1872," *Journal of the Statistical Society of London* 35, no. 4 (Dec., 1872), 431-457, 444; *Report of the Official Delegates to the International Statistical Congress, 1872* (Washington: Government print off, 1875), 41. On the nineteenth-century drive by states to enumerate their populations, see: Theodore M. Porter, *The Rise of Statistical Thinking, 1820-1900* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1986); Theodore M. Porter, *Trust in Numbers: The Pursuit of Objectivity in Science and Public* Life (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995); Silviana Partiarca, *Numbers and Nationhood: Writing Statistics in Nineteenth-Century Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); Nico Randeraad, *States and Statistics in the Nineteenth Century: Europe by Numbers,* trans. Debra Molnar (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010).

[3] Karl von Czoernig, *Ethnographie der österreichischen Monarchie,* 3 vols. (Vienna: K.-K. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1855–57). For a discussion of ethnographic mapping in the Habsburg Empire, see: Morgane Labbé, "La carte ethnographique de l'Empire Austrichien: La multinationalité dans 'L'Ordre des Choses'," *Bulletin du Comité français de cartographie* 180 (2004), 71-84; Steven Seegel, *Mapping Europe's Borderlands: Russian Cartography in the Age of Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 138-144; Wolfgang Göderle, *Zensus und Ethnizität: zur Herstellung von Wissen über soziale Wirklichkeiten im Habsburgerreich zwischen 1848 und 1910* (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2016), 196-207. On the debates about the visualisation of statistics, see: Gilles Palsky, "The Debate on the Standardization of Statistical Maps and Diagrams (1857-1901):

that these sessions would provide a forum to discuss 'the various systems of representing statistical facts to the eye by geometrical figures, lines, and diagrams, and by different colors, and by attaching such facts topographically to geographical maps by various colors, forms of type in printing, and other devices.'[4] The leader of the conference organising committee in St. Petersburg, Petr Semenov-Tian-Shanskii (1827-1914), head of the Central Statistical Commission of the Russian Empire and vice president of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society from 1873-1914, emphasised the value of maps as a research tool that imposed an 'order' on data and illuminated bigger spatial patterns:

> Take the trouble to look at a statistical table of the population in Russia: you will more or less find the population of the counties [*uezdy*], but at first it is not clear to you the idea of a rational, and so to say, logical order in the greater or lesser density of population groups. Throw a glance at the map, this order will show up immediately...[5]

The delegates agreed on the communicative power of graphical visualisations, noting how numbers on their own could be boring and 'for this reason, all means of making reading and understanding easier have to be recommended'.[6] However, when it came to devising international standards for statistical maps, charts, and diagrams, the delegates eschewed uniformity and concluded instead that 'individual fantasy and genius and national tastes may be allowed to develop their own peculiarities'.[7]

This dissertation examines map-making as a geographical technology for visualising ethnic groups in the Russian Empire between 1840-1920.[8] I explore how nineteenth-century map-makers experimented with applying various geographical methods and graphical techniques to map the distribution of peoples, based on contemporary notions of ethnic similarity or difference. Map-makers aggregated ethnolinguistic statistics, shaded local populations together to form communities, and drew boundaries to sharply divide and enforce differences. The development of ethnographic maps as geographical information systems for analysing populations transformed factors such as language and ethnic difference into politicised measures of nationhood, which were presented as objective "fact". I argue that the

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Elements for the History of Graphical Language," *Cybergeo: European Journal of Geography* (1999), http://cybergeo.revues.org/148.

[4] *Report of the Official Delegates to the International Statistical Congress*, 41; *Vos'maia Sessiia Mezhdunarodnago Statisticheskago Kongressa: Proekt Programmy* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Maikova, 1872), 22.

[5] *Vos'maia Sessiia Mezhdunarodnago Statisticheskago Kongressa*, 30.

[6] *Ibid.*, 26.

[7] *Report of the Official Delegates to the International Statistical Congress*, 41.

[8] I use the term 'ethnic group' here in the very loose nineteenth-century sense, used by contemporaries to define a group of people based on a constellation of factors that could include language, religion, socio-economic status, or history. See p.6 for a more detailed explanation.

use of cartography as a graphical medium to communicate these ideas meant that developing attitudes towards, and perceptions of, nationality became closely intertwined with ideas about territory and spatial ordering. As Susan Schulten argues, when it comes to maps, the 'form of knowledge shaped the substance of knowledge'.[9] Maps reduced complex intersectional forms of identification to flat plates of tightly tessellating colour and presented space as a key factor in this process of ordering the human world. While the fallacy of the "nation-state" as a powerful, yet impossible to realise and ultimately illiberal, ideal in modern history has been widely discussed in the literature, this dissertation sets out to explain the intellectual origins and social history of how space-based ways of thinking permeated, and eventually came to dominate, popular understandings of nationality.

Maps are captivating objects that form part of the rich material and visual culture of human knowledge. The American delegates to the International Statistical Congress in 1872 marvelled at how 'In Russia, both the graphic and geographic methods are combined in their large and beautiful maps, upon which geography and various kinds of statistics are happily blended by means of colors, different types, and other insignia.'[10] The enchanting effect and the graphic power of data visualisation, however, often leads us to overlook the more pernicious side of maps. As many scholars have shown, cartography developed over the course of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries as a key instrument of power and control.[11] Benedict Anderson famously included cartography in his triad of institutions of state power.[12] Although map-makers throughout history have often presented their maps as rational and objective works of science – showing the world "as it is" – the process of drawing borders between populations and imprinting them on particular territories was an illiberal activity that created deeply

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[9] Susan Schulten, *Mapping the Nation: History and Cartography in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012), 7.

[10] *Ibid.*, 42.

[11] Matthew H. Edney, *Mapping an Empire: The Geographical Construction of British India, 1765-1843* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); Thongchai Winichakul, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-body of a Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2009); Madalina Valeria Veres, *Constructing Imperial Spaces: Habsburg Cartography in the Age of Enlightenment* (PhD diss., University of Pittsburgh, 2015); Catherine Tatiana Dunlop, *Cartophilia: Maps and the Search for Identity in the French-German Borderland* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015). On the development of cartography in imperial Russia, see: James R. Gibson, *Essays on the History of Russian Cartography, 16th to 19th Centuries* (Toronto: B. V. Gutsell; York University Press, 1975); Leo Bagrow and Henry W. Castner, *A History of Russian Cartography up to 1800* (Wolfe Island: Walker Press, 1975); F. A. Shibanov and James R. Gibson, *Studies in the History of Russian Cartography* (Toronto: B.V. Gutsell; York University Press, 1975); Alexander Postnikov, *Russia in Maps: A History of the Geographical Study and Cartography of the Country* (Moscow: Nash Dom – L'Age d'Homme, 1996); Valerie A. Kivelson, *Cartographies of Tsardom: The Land and Its Meanings in Seventeenth-Century Russia* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006); Seegel, *Mapping Europe's Borderlands*.

[12] Benedict R. Anderson, "Census, Map and Museum," in *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London; New York: Verso, 2006), 163-85.

politicised images of peoples and lands.[13] Ethnographic map-making brutally divided communities, erased certain segments of the population, and promoted the aggrandising claims of other groups. Maps do more than just represent reality, but also exercise a powerful sway over how we think and act. Notably, in the twentieth century, deportations, ethnic cleansings, and mass killings were committed in an attempt to make settlement patterns "on the ground" match the fantastical ideals of ethnically homogenous shaded areas on maps. It is my hope that by studying how images of ethnic similarity and difference were constructed through mapping in the long nineteenth century and developed in conjunction with ideas about territorialisation, we can historicise contemporary ideas about how we divide people into groups and interrogate prejudices about belonging.

Mapping Populations

Mapping is frequently used by scholars as a metaphor to describe efforts to enumerate and draw connections between information. There is a vigorous literature on non-cartographical methods to 'map' peoples, focusing on the activities of statisticians, ethnographers, and anthropologists. In the Russian imperial context, Yuri Slezkine, Nathaniel Knight, and Francine Hirsch have shown how the collection of ethnographic knowledge shaped understandings of the Empire's multi-ethnic population.[14] Martine Mespoulet, Juliet Cadiot, Darius Staliūnas, among others, have analysed the use of statistics and censuses to count and

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[13] On critical approaches to cartography, see: J. B. Harley, *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2002); Denis Wood, *Rethinking the Power of Maps* (New York: The Guildford Press, 2010).

[14] Yuri Slezkine, *Arctic Mirrors: Russia and the Small Peoples of the North* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994); Yuri Slezkine, "Naturalists Versus Nations: Russian Scholars Confront Ethnic Diversity," *Representations* 47 (1994), 170–195; Nathaniel Knight, "Constructing the Science of Nationality: Ethnography in Mid-Nineteenth Century Russia" (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1995); Nathaniel Knight, "Seeking the Self in the Other: Ethnographic Studies of Non-Russians in the Russian-Geographical Society, 1845-1860," in *Defining Self: Essays on Emergent Identities in Russia Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. Michael Branch (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2009), 117-138; Francine Hirsch, *Empire of Nations: Ethnographic Knowledge and the Making of the Soviet Union* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005). Other key studies on ethnography in imperial Russia include: Marcus Köhler, *Russische Ethnographie und imperiale Politik im 18. Jahrhundert* (Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2012); Roland Cvetkovski and Alexis Hofmeister, eds., *An Empire of Others: Creating Ethnographic Knowledge in Imperial Russia and the USSR* (Budapest; New York: Central European University Press, 2013).

classify the Empire's population.[15] Marina Mogilner has studied the development of physical anthropology and racial science in imperial Russia.[16]

While acknowledging the important contributions of this scholarship, this dissertation asserts that cartography is crucial for understanding the process of constructing ethnic groups as it foregrounded space as a key factor in the debates on classifying and taxonomizing peoples. At a time when social and geographical mobility was still rather limited and people spoke a continuum of dialects, the process of defining an ethnolinguistic community involved delineating the group in spatial terms. Ideas about the internal composition and borders of a community of speakers of the same language lay at the heart the process of defining ethnic groups. Moreover, by presenting ethnic groups in spatial terms and inscribing them onto the geographical landscape, the territories occupied by these linguistic groups and the divisions between them were presented as occurring 'in nature' and 'outside of history', even while their promoters often looked to history to justify their claims. The social constructedness of ethnicity was overlooked in the scramble to assert historical claims to distinguish 'autochthonous' or 'indigenous' inhabitants from 'colonisers' or 'migrants', and the implications these labels had for notions of belonging to a homeland and territorial rights. Another important dimension is that map-making is essentially an exercise in aggregating and synthesising vast amounts of data in order to produce a generalising overview. Ethnographic maps garnered material from ethnographic, statistical, and anthropological inquiries in the form of descriptive texts, numerical data tables, or material objects, and translated them into spatial terms. It was precisely this drive towards ordering, generalisation, and essentialism inherent to cartography that made ethnographic maps into a powerful, but also dangerous, medium for communicating ideas about ethnic groups.

I use the term ethnographic map to refer to a broadly-defined genre of thematic maps that began to be produced in mid nineteenth-century Central and Eastern Europe to visualise

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[15] Martine Mespoulet, *Statistique et révolution en Russie: un compromis impossible, 1880-1930* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2001); Juliette Cadiot, *Le laboratoire impérial: Russie-URSS, 1860-1940* (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 2007); Darius Staliūnas, "National Census in the Service of the Russian Empire: The Western Borderlands in the Mid-Nineteenth Century, 1830-1870," in *Defining Self: Essays on Emergent Identities in Russia Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. Michael Branch (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2009), 435-448; David W. Darrow, "Census as a Technology of Empire," *Ab Imperio* 4 (2002), 145–176; Peter Holquist, "To Count, to Extract, and to Exterminate: Population Statistics and Population Politics in Late Imperial Russia and Soviet Russia," in *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin,* eds. Ronald Grigor Suny and Terry Martin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 111-144; Alessandro Stanziani, "Statisticens, zemstva et État dans la Russie des années 1880," *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 32, no.4 (1991), 445-467.
[16] Marina Mogilner, *Homo Imperii: A History of Physical Anthropology in Russia* (Lincoln; London: University of Nebraska Press, 2013).

the distribution of linguistic groups. Map-makers applied cartographical techniques developed for mapping the distribution of different geographical "types" in the material world, such as geological formations, hydrological systems, and topography, to map the human social world. While topographical maps of Russia since the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had incorporated ethnographic vignettes to communicate information about the people living in different localities, my focus is on maps that applied cartographical techniques of using shading, coloured areas, lines, and symbols to denote different geographical types to map population statistics.[17] In his dissertation on the history of Russian imperial ethnographic maps, Aibulat Psianchin distinguishes between ethnic maps (*etnicheskie karty*), that depicted the distribution of ethnic groups in the past and present, and ethnographic maps (*etnograficheskie karty*) that portrayed aspects of an ethnic group's material (e.g. ethnographic objects) and spiritual culture. However, Psianchin acknowledges that in practice there was much overlap and the terms were often used synonymously.[18] My own findings support this conclusion; while most of the maps examined in this dissertation fit Psianchin's definition of an 'ethnic map', they are often titled 'ethnographic map'. At the same time, unlike Psianchin, this study does not limit its scope only to maps bearing the title of ethnic or ethnographic map. The rationale for mapping ethnic groups could be based on different parameters – language, religion, socio-economic status, or history – and was reflected in the titles of the maps as linguistic, confessional, or maps of historical 'tribes' or ethnic groups (*plemia*).[19]

Aside from Psianchin's general survey of ethnographic cartography in the Russian Empire, the research field has been dominated by studies of single ethnic groups or national territories.[20] Ethnographic maps have also been discussed as part of broader studies on the

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[17] On ethnographic representation in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century maps, see: Kivelson, *Cartographies of Tsardom,* 171-193; Maike Sach, "Symbols, Conventions, and Practices: Visual Representation of Ethnographic Knowledge on Siberia in Early Modern Maps and Reports," in *An Empire of Others: Creating Ethnographic Knowledge in Imperial Russia and the USSR*, eds. Roland Cvetkovski and Alexis Hofmeister (Budapest; New York: Central European University Press, 2013), 171-210. It is important to note that the practice of incorporating ethnographic vignettes onto maps did not disappear in the mid-nineteenth with the growing popularity of geographical-style ethnographic maps. A notable example are the vignettes of different ethnic groups surrounding the topographical map of the Russian Empire on Nestor Terebenev's *Karta Rossii i plemena ee naseliaiushchie* (St. Petersburg: M. L. Sveshnikov, 1866).

[18] Aibulat Valievich Psianchin, *Istoriia etnicheskoi kartografii v Rossii (do 30-x gg. XX v.)* (PhD diss., Institut istorii estestvoznaniia i tekhniki im. S. I. Vavilova, 2004), 23-4.

[19] Ol'ga Krasnikova also makes this point in her short overview article: Ol'ga Krasnikova, "Istoriia etnicheskogo kartografirovaniia v Rossii XVII-nachala XX v. v dokumentakh (itogi proekta)," in *Etnokonfessional'naia karta Leningradskoi oblasti i sopredel'nykh territorii. Vtorye Shergenovskie chteniia: Sbornik statei* (St. Petersburg: Evropeiskii Dom, 2008), 18-27.

[20] Henry Robert Wilkinson, *Maps and Politics: A Review of the Ethnographic Cartography of Macedonia* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1951); Vytautas Petronis, *Constructing Lithuania: Ethnic Mapping in Tsarist Russia, ca. 1800-1914* (Stockholm: Södertörn Doctoral Dissertations, 2007); Ilir Kalemaj, *Contested Borders: Territorialisation, National Identity and 'Imagined Geographies' in Albania* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2014);

conceptual histories and formations of different ethnic or national spaces in East Central Europe.[21] These works focus on the activities of local elites to persuade or compel the local population to think in national terms and the long-term consolidation of national forms of identification, which were often seen as the basis for demands for autonomy or sometimes even a future, though not yet realised, state. Nevertheless, by focusing on single national groups, these studies often reinforce, however inadvertently, core aspects of national narratives and teleologies.

Steven Seegel's book, *Mapping Europe's Borderlands: Russian Cartography in the Age of Empire*, made an important intervention into the dominant nation-state paradigm in the history of cartography in East Central Europe by presenting a transnational account of the contested efforts to map the borderlands between the Russian Empire, Austria-Hungary, and Prussia (later, imperial Germany). This dissertation builds on Seegel's work by arguing that the Baltic provinces, like Galicia, constituted an important 'site of overlapping territorial fantasies in East-Central Europe'. [22] However, whereas there have been multiple monographs focusing on Galicia, the Baltic provinces have received surprisingly little attention in the broader scholarship on cartography, empire, and nationhood in nineteenth-century East Central Europe. The region has been dealt with only tangentially in the context of broader Russian and German historiographies, while not being treated as fully part of either. Moreover, in the rich historiography on the contested territories comprising the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the former Duchy of Courland and Semigallia and the Voivodeship of Polish Livonia (*Województwo inflanckie*), both located in today's Latvia, are almost never

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Jason D. Hansen, *Mapping the Germans: Statistical Science, Cartography and the Visualisation of the German Nation, 1848-1914* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015); Ivan Kordiš, "Peter Kozler and his Map of the Slovenian Land and its Provinces (1849–1871)", *Imago Mundi* 68, no.2 (2016), 212-231.

[21] Zita Medišauskienė, "The Borders of Lithuania from 1795 to 1917," in *The Borders of Lithuania: The History of a Millennium*, ed. Loreta Daukšytė (Vilnius: "Baltų lankų" leidyba, 2010), 66-75; Vasilijus Safronovas, *The Creation of National Spaces in a Pluricultural Region: The Case of Prussian Lithuania* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2016); Darius Staliūnas, ed., *Spatial Concepts of Lithuania in the Long Nineteenth Century* (Boston: Academic Studies Press, 2016); Tomaš Nenartovič. *Kaiserlich-russische, deutsche, polnische, litauische, belarussische und sowjetische kartographische Vorstellungen und territoriale Projekte zur Kontaktregion von Wilna 1795-1939* (Munich: Collegium Carolinum, 2016); Anton Kotenko, "Construction of Ukrainian National Space by the Intellectuals of Russian Ukraine, 1860s-70s," in *Osteuropa Kartiert - Mapping Eastern Europe*, eds., Jörn Happel and Christophe Von Werdt (Zürich: Lit Verlag, 2010), 37-60; P. I. Sossa, *Istoriia kartohrafuvannia terytorii Ukrainy* (Kyiv: Lybid', 2007); Aleksandr Kravtsevich, Aleksandr Smolenchuk, and Sergei Tokt', *Belorusy: natsiia pogranich'ia* (Vilnius: Evropeiskii Gumanitarnyi Universitet, 2011); Ol'ga Mastianitsa, "Proizvodstvo i reprezentatsiia 'svoego' prostranstva belaruskim national'nym dvizheniem v nachale XX veka," *Ab Imperio,* no. 1 (2015), 175-211; P. V. Tereshkovich, *Etnicheskaia istoriia Belarusi xix-nachala XX vv.: V kontekste tsentral'no-vostochnoi Evropy* (Minsk: BGU, 2004).
[22] Seegel, *Mapping Europe's Borderlands,* 133.

mentioned.[23] Existing scholarship on nineteenth-century cartography in and of the Baltic provinces has primarily been written through the lens of the present-day states of Estonia and Latvia.[24] This dissertation is the first detailed and critical analysis of efforts to classify, map, and territorialise the inhabitants of the Baltic provinces.

A Sketch of the Russian Empire's Baltic Provinces

The Baltic provinces consisted of three administrative provinces (*guberniia*) located in the Russian Empire's north-western littoral: Estland/Estliand, Livland/Lifliand, and Kurland/Kurliand. The territory had been incorporated into the Russian Empire over the course of the eighteenth century. At the end of the Great Northern War, the Swedish Kingdom formally ceded the former duchies of Estland and Livland to Peter the Great's Russia in 1721. The Polish-Lithuanian vassal of the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia was adjoined at the end of the eighteenth century as part of the lands annexed by the Russian Empire at the third partition of the Commonwealth in 1795.[25]

The term 'Baltic' has a complex history that requires further explanation. Today, we associate the term 'Baltic' with the 'Baltic states', referring to Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania, three countries located on the eastern shore of the Baltic Sea. Historically, however, the concept of 'Baltic' went through several earlier incarnations. In Baltic and Slavic languages, the etymological root *balt* is related to 'white' or 'marshland' (*boloto*) and was originally associated with the sea – *Mare Balticum*. It was only with the incorporation of the three provinces into the Russian Empire in the eighteenth century that 'Baltic' was transposed ashore

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[23] A pertinent example of this tendency is how Timothy Snyder overlooks the former Polish-Lithuanian vassals of Livonia (*Inflanty Polskie*) and the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia in his discussion of the nationalisation and territorial struggles in the lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Timothy Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations: Poland, Ukraine, Lithuania, Belarus, 1569-1999* (New Haven; London: Yale University Press, 2008).

[24] Heino Maridste, Vello Paatsi, and Jüri Jagomägi, "The Development of Estonian National Cartography," *Estonia: Geographical studies* 9 (2004), 107–123; Taavi Pae, *Eesti rahvusatlas/Estonian National Atlas* (forthcoming 2019); Jānis Štrauhmanis, *Latvijas kartogrāfijas vēsture no XIII gadsimta līdz XX gadsimta 90. gadu sākumam* (PhD diss., Latvijas Universitāte, 1997); Jānis Štrauhmanis, *Latvijas kartogrāfijas vēsture: bibliogrāfiskais rādītājs* (Riga: 1999); Andris Caune, *Latvijas zemju robežas 1000 gados* (Riga: Latvijas vēstures institūta apgāds, 1999); Jānis Barbans, ed., *100 gadi 100 kartēs* (Riga: Veikals, 2018). For maps covering nineteenth-century Latgale, see: G. I. Kuznetsov, ed., *Vialiki Histarychny Atlas Belarusi,* vol. 3 (Minsk: Belkatografiia, 2009).

[25] General histories of the Baltic provinces can be found in: Edward Thaden, ed. *Russification in the Baltic Provinces and Finland: 1855-1941* (Princeton; New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1981); Andres Kasekamp, *A History of the Baltic States* (Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010); Andrejs Plakans, *A Concise History of the Baltic States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Norbert Angermann and Karsten Brüggemann, *Geschichte der baltischen Länder* (Ditzingen: Reclam, 2018).

and used to designate the territories on the coast of the Baltic Sea. The terrestrial meaning of 'Baltic' gained currency in the late eighteenth century to designate the newly annexed territories characterised by a common historical heritage in medieval Livonia, a Germanic-speaking noble ruling class, and the Lutheran faith.[26] It is important to emphasise that, contrary to contemporary usage, the present-day territory of Lithuania was not considered to be 'Baltic' in the imagined geography of the nineteenth century. Instead, today's Lithuania was grouped with the lands of present-day Poland and Belarus as part of the 'North-Western Territory' (*Severo-Zapadnyi Krai)* and thus does not form part of the main area of focus of this study.

The notion of the three Baltic provinces as a collective geographical unit was consolidated in the nineteenth century with the administration of the three provinces under a single Governor-General from 1801. In the first half of the nineteenth century, newspapers and learned societies framed their geographical scope as covering all three provinces.[27] Nevertheless, as the conservative publicist Georg Berkholz (1817-1886) from Lifliand observed as late as 1882, identification with the wider Baltic region was far from ubiquitous: 'Even though we answer, for example, when travelling abroad, when asked about our nationality, we do not like to say, "I am a Balt", but rather in a more particular way: an Est- or Liv- or Kurländer'.[28] The adjective 'Baltic' (*Baltisch*) could also be confusing for Germanic-speakers as the term was concurrently used to refer to all the territories on the shore of the Baltic Sea, equivalent to the present-day concept of the 'Baltic Sea Region'.[29]

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[26] Pärtel Piirimäe, "The Baltic" in *European Regions and Boundaries: A Conceptual History*, eds. Diana Mishkova and Balázs Trencsényi (New York: Berghahn Books, 2017), 57–78.

[27] For instance, *Ostsee-Provinzen-Blatt* (est. 1823), *Kur-, Liv-, und Esthlandisches Provinzialblatt* (1828-1838), *Das Inland* (est. 1836), and *Gesellschaft für Geschichte und Alterumskunde der Ostseeprovinzen Russlands* (est. Riga 1834).

[28] Georg Berkholz, "Geschichte des Wortes 'baltisch'," *Baltische Monatsschrift* 29 (1882), 519-530, 529.

[29] Jörg Hackmann, "'Wo liegt das Baltikum?' Enstehung Verwendung und Semantik des Begriffs seit dem 19. Jahrhundert," in *Das Baltikum also Konstrukt (18.-19 Jahrhunder): Von einer Kolonialwahrnehmung zu einem nationalen Diskurs,* ed. Anne Sommerlat-Michas (Wurzburg: Konigshausen & Naumann, 2015), 23-44, 30. In attempting to overcome the East-West divide that characterised historiography in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, historians have increasingly subscribed to the view of the Baltic Sea as a northern-European transnational historical space of maritime economic encounters. This shift was closely tied to the European Union's Baltic Sea Region macro-regional strategy since 2009. For a flavour of this literature, see: Marta Grzechnik, "Making Use of the Past: The Role of Historians in Baltic Sea Region Building," *Journal of Baltic Studies* 43 (2012), 329–43; Heiko Pääbo, "Constructing Historical Space: Estonia's Transition from the Russian Civilization to the Baltic Sea Region," *Journal of Baltic Studies* 45 (2013), 187–205; Michael North, *Geschichte der Ostsee: Handel und Kulturen* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2011) and published in English translation as Michael North, *The Baltic: A History*, trans. Kenneth Kronenberg (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 2015). This trend to recast the history of the territories of present-day Estonia and Latvia in scholarship and current political discourse as part of a northern maritime European space represents an effort to return to the eighteenth-century paradigm of dividing Europe into north and south, as opposed to east and west. See: Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994).

In this study, I refer to the region as 'Baltic', a term which entered English in the territorial sense in the early 1840s.[30] However, the term can also be misleading when we talk about the nineteenth-century as a whole since it merges two ideologically divergent conceptions of the region, a subject to which I return in greater detail in Chapter 4. In brief, in the first half of the nineteenth century the three provinces were referred to in official imperial parlance as the *ostzeiskii gubernii*, a Russified version of the German-language collective term for the three provinces – *Ostsee Provinzen* – derived in turn from the German-language name for the Baltic Sea, meaning literally 'Eastern Sea'.[31] Similarly, the official names of the three provinces remained as Russian transcriptions of the German-language names: Estland/Estliand, Livland/Lifliand, and Kurland/Kurliand. In the 1860s and 1870s, in the context of debates about the so-called 'Baltic Question' in the Russian Empire, the more Russian name *pribaltiiskii gubernii* (Baltic provinces) or *pribaltiiskii krai* (Baltic territory) were gradually introduced.[32] The geopolitical concept of 'Baltic' that is familiar to us today – i.e. including Lithuania – only entered widespread usage in the late 1910s, with the notable difference that Finland (formerly the Empire's Grand Duchy of Finland) was often perceived as a fourth Baltic state at this time.

To complicate matters further, 'Baltic' was not only used to refer to a region of the Empire, but was also used in an ethnolinguistic sense in several distinct ways. Firstly, the term 'Baltic languages' (*baltischen Sprachen*) was coined in 1845 by the Prussian linguist Georg Heinrich Ferdinand Nesselmann (1811-1881) as a common name for Latvian, Lithuanian, and Old Prussian, which he identified as belonging to a distinct Indo-European 'language family' (*Sprachfamilie*).[33] Estonian-speakers, by contrast, were not included as their language was (and still is) classified by linguists as part of the Finno-Ugric 'language family'. Thus, in the nineteenth century the area inhabited by 'Baltic peoples' (i.e. Latvian- and Lithuanian-

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[30] Earlier uses of the term 'Baltic' in English referred to the Baltic Sea. The first known use in English of 'Baltic' to mean the Baltic provinces of the Russian Empire was by Elizabeth Eastlake (née Rigby), a British woman who travelled to St. Petersburg and Estland province to visit her sister. She published her letters and a travelogue of her trip. Elizabeth Eastlake, *A Residence on the Shores of the Baltic. Described in a Series of Letters* (London: John Murray, 1841). The German-language translation was published as *Baltische Briefe* (Leipzig: F.A. Brockhaus, 1846). See: Ea Jansen, "'Baltus', baltisakslased, eestlased I," *Tuna* 2 (2005), 35-44, 41.

[31] Berholz disliked this Russian version of the German name, which he called 'the quite crude transferred form - *ostzeiskii*' (*der ganze crude übertragenen Form - «остзейскій»*). Berkholz, "Geschichte des Wortes 'baltisch'," 520.

[32] Toomas Karjahärm, "Terminology Pertaining to Ethnic Relations as Used in Late Imperial Russia," *Acta Historica Tallinnensia* 15 (2010), 24-50, 28. *Pribaltiiskii* did not immediately supplant *ostzeiskii* in Russian-language sources, but gradually permeated discussion of the region.

[33] Georg Heinrich Friedrich Nesselmann, *Die Sprache der alten Preussen: an ihren Ueberresten erläutert* (Berlin: 1845).

speakers) did not overlap with the territorial concept of 'Baltic', pertaining to the three Baltic provinces. Secondly, in reaction to growing Russian nationalism in the 1880s, Germanic-speakers in the three Baltic provinces began to collectively refer to themselves as Balts (*Balten*) or German-*Balts* (*Deutschbalten*), with the stress falling the latter part of the word to distinguish themselves from Germans living in the newly founded German state.[34] The more common English-language term 'Baltic German' (*Baltendeutsch*) is rejected by most German Balts and their descendants because of its origins and associations with *Ostforschung* (research of the east) and Nazi policies.[35] In Russian-language sources from the 1860s and 1870s, we also encounter the term 'Balts' (*ostzeitsy*), a pejorative term that gained currency in the context of debates about socio-economic reform in the Empire to refer to the class of landowning elites in the Baltic provinces.[36] After 1918, the term 'Balt' (*pribaltets*) was used to refer to all the inhabitants of the three Baltic states in the geographical sense.[37] 'Russian Balt' (*russkii pribaltets*) was also sometimes used in the early twentieth century to refer to the region's Russian-speakers.[38] Finally, Latgalian-speakers in Vitebsk province referred to Latvian-speakers in Lifliand and Kurliand as 'Balts' or 'Baltic Latvians'.[39] This level of detail might be confusing at first for readers unfamiliar with the region. However, a sensitivity to these layers of meaning is crucial for understanding the imagined geographies and political ideas inherent in naming places and peoples.

The Baltic provinces occupied a special administrative place in imperial Russia. Based on guarantees made by Peter the Great in the early eighteenth century, the region's German-speaking nobles and landowners retained control of religion, courts, trade, commerce, and land.

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[34] Ulrike von Hirschhausen, *Die Grenzen der Gemeinsamkeit: Deutsche, Letten, Russen und Juden in Riga 1860-1914* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 358.

[35] Katja Wezel, "Introduction: German Community – German Nationality? Baltic German Perceptions of Belonging in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century," *Journal of Baltic Studies* 48, no. 1 (2017), 1-11, 2.

[36] Chapter 4 discusses these debates in detail. Toomas Karjahärm argues that the term '*ostzeitsy*' could be used in three different ways: 1) to refer to all the inhabitants of the Baltic provinces, 2) Baltic Germans, 3) members of the Baltic German nobility who took up positions in the imperial service. Kar'iakhiarm [Karjahärm], Toomas, "Ostzeitsy i Baltiitsy: ekskurs v terminologiiu," in *Rossiia i pribaltiiskii region v XIX-XX vv.: Problemy vzaimootnoshenii v meniaiushchemsia mire* (Moscow: Lenand, 2013), 7–26. Soviet historiography continued to use the term *ostzeitsy* to refer to the German-speaking nobility, burghers, and clergy. See: M. M. Dukhanov, *Ostzeitsy: iav' i vymysel: o roli nemetskikh pomeshchikov i biurgerov v istoricheskikh sud'bakh latyshskogo i estonskogo narodov v seredine XIX veka* (Riga: Leisma, 1970); M. M. Dukhanov, *Ostzeitsy: polityka ostzeiskogo dvorianstva v 50-70x gg. XIX v. i kritika ee apologeticheskoi istoriogragrafii* (Riga: Leisma, 1978).

[37] This usage of Baltic included Estonians, whose language was not regarded as part of the Baltic 'language family'.

[38] 'Russkii Pribaltets: Iz Pribaltiiskogo kraia,' *Okrainy Rossii*, no.1 (1909), 167-168.

[39] Latgalians in Vitebsk province also referred to Latvians in Lifliand and Kurliand as *pārnovadnieki* (people from other districts), and *čiuļi* (a derogatory term). Meanwhile those living in Lifliand and Kurliand called Latgalians 'Vitebskians', 'Inflantians', and *čangaļi* (a derogatory term). Ilga Šuplinska, ed. *Latgolys lingvoteritorialuo vuordineica = Lingvoterritorial dictionary of Latgale,* vol. 2 (Rēzekne: Rēzeknes Augstskola, 2012), 144.

The provinces' administrative and legislative affairs were managed by nobles' assemblies (*Landtag*), where proceedings were conducted in German and presided over by a Governor-General, who acted as an intermediary between the *Landtag* and the tsarist government. Lutheranism was the official religion, although the region was also home to significant numbers of faiths, including Orthodox, Jews, Roman Catholics, and Old Believers.

While Estonia and Latvia are often characterised in contemporary European discourse by their smallness and 'peripherality', this was certainly not the case for the region in the nineteenth century. Tsar Alexander I had emancipated the serfs in the Baltic provinces between 1816-1819, almost fifty years prior to the abolition of serfdom in the rest of the Russian Empire in 1861. By the end of nineteenth century, the Baltic provinces were the most industrialised and urbanised parts of the whole of the Russian Empire. In terms of industrial workers, Riga was the Empire's third largest city after St. Petersburg and Moscow. The Baltic provinces were of key strategic significance for the Empire: water transportation along the Western Dvina (Daugava) river and, from the 1870s, the development of the railways connected the imperial hinterland to the ice-free ports of Riga, Revel/Reval (Tallinn), Vindava/Windau (Ventspils), and Libava/Libau (Liepāja).

The Baltic provinces played a key role in the administrative, social, and cultural life of the Empire. Members of the Baltic German nobility served in many key positions within the imperial bureaucracy, military, and diplomatic service.[40] The University of Dorpat (today's Tartu), founded in 1632 by the Swedish King Gustavus Adolphus and reopened in 1802 after a period of closure, was an important intellectual centre for the whole Empire. Students from all over the Baltic provinces and further afield studied at the university, which produced many of the Empire's leading scholars.[41] Moreover, by the end of the nineteenth century elementary education in the Baltic provinces was near universal and the population had highest literacy rates in the whole Empire. The beautiful natural landscape, favourable climate, and relative proximity to the imperial capital meant that many of St Petersburg's elite frequently travelled to the region. The seaside resorts in Hapsal/Hapsalu and Pernau/Pärnu were long-standing popular summer vacation spots for the Romanov family.[42]

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[40] Anders Henriksson, *The Tsar's Loyal Germans: The Riga German Community: Social Change and the Nationality Question, 1855-1905* (Boulder: Columbia University Press, 1983).

[41] Pieter Dhondt and Sirje Tamul, "The University of Dorpat as a(n) (inter)national institution at its 50th anniversary in 1852," in *National, Nordic or European?: Nineteenth-Century University Jubilees and Nordic Cooperation*, ed. Pieter Dhondt (Boston: Brill, 2011), 39-69.

[42] S. G. Isakov and T. K. Shor, *Vlastiteli rossiiskoi imperii na estonskoi zemle* (Tallinn: TLÜ Kirjastus, 2009).

However, in the eyes of many of the Empire's intellectual elites in the nineteenth century, the Baltic provinces also posed fundamental challenges to ideas about imperial governance and the identity of Russia as an empire. The region was perceived by many Russian intellectuals as standing apart from inland, Orthodox, and Slavic Russia proper to the east. Travellers frequently remarked that they heard German everywhere and only rarely encountered someone who understood Russian.[43] Over the course of the nineteenth century, the loyalty of the region's German-speaking Lutheran landowners was increasingly called into question.

As a result of the Baltic provinces' privileges and degree of autonomy, there has been a tendency to examine the region's nineteenth-century history in isolation from the wider Russian Empire. Karsten Brüggemann and Bradley W. Woodworth, among others, have countered this prevailing tendency by examining developments in the Baltic provinces within a wider Russian imperial context, but there is still much research to be done.[44] This dissertation contributes to these efforts to write "empire" back into the history of the Baltic provinces by situating the region in a wider imperial and European perspective. Although this study primarily focuses on ethnographic mapping *in* and *of* the Baltic provinces, ethnographic maps were not always confined to administrative boundaries, just as the areas inhabited by various ethnic groups often cut across provincial borders. For this reason, this dissertation is deliberately (and provocatively) a history of the Baltic provinces in a loose administrative sense. I place particular emphasis on tracing the entanglements and cross-border interactions between the Baltic provinces and the neighbouring St. Petersburg, Pskov, and Vitebsk provinces, as well as the North-Western Territory to the south.

Map-Makers and Map-Making

A key argument in this dissertation is that in order to fully understand ethnographic cartography as a system of constructing nations through territory, maps not only need to be read critically as political texts and rhetorical devices, as J. B. Harley famously argued, but as objects of

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[43] Izmail Ivanovich Sreznevskii, *Putevye pis'ma* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia S. N. Khudekova, 1895), 46.

[44] Karsten Brüggemann and Bradley D. Woodworth, eds., *Russland an der Ostsee: Imperiale Strategie der Macht und kulturelle Wahrnehmungsmuster (16th bis 20. Jahrhudnert) / Russia on the Baltic: Imperial Strategies of Power and Cultural Patterns of Perceptions (16th - 20th Centuries)* (Cologne; Weimar; Vienna: Böhlau, 2012); Karsten Brüggemann, *Licht und Luft des Imperiums: Legitimations- und Repräsentationsstrategien russischer Herrschaft in den Ostseeprovinzen im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2018).

material culture created by human hands.[45] Approaching maps as crafted objects broadens the focus from the discursive content of the map, to also considering the individual actors and technologies influencing map-making as a socio-economic activity. Likewise, the economic and consumer-driven forces affecting map-making and publishing have often been overlooked in the history of cartography, yet they are an important part of the historical context for understanding maps.[46] Although maps are often presented as rational, scientific, and neutral objects, they are always the product of a series of human decisions and judgements. Maps embody the ideas, assumptions, and intentions of the funders and publishers, as well as those doing the data collection, processing, drawing, and printing. This dissertation explores how individual choices, printing technologies, and commercial concerns profoundly shaped the division of the Empire into ethnic territories and ideas about the similarity and difference of its inhabitants.

Throughout this study, I consciously use the term *map-maker* rather than *cartographer* to emphasise that none of the protagonists had professional training in cartography or surveying. In contrast to other well-known ethnographic map-makers from early twentieth-century East Central Europe, such as Eugeniusz Romer, Stepan Rudnytsky, Pál Teleki, and Jovan Cvijić, none of the map-makers who created ethnographic maps of the Baltic provinces had higher education in geographical sciences.[47] Instead, ethnographic cartography in this region was primarily done by those with backgrounds in statistics, ethnography, or linguistics and map-making was just one of the many activities they engaged in during the course of their lifetimes. I prefer to think of these figures as 'accidental ethnographers', to borrow Barbara Sòrgoni's term.[48] The individuals who created ethnographic maps of the Baltic provinces had a diverse range of backgrounds, from former military personnel and civil servants, to provincial intellectuals and pastors. All of them engaged with statistics, ethnography, and linguistics through their work for the tsarist administration or out of personal interest, alongside other jobs. They often, though not always, lacked in-depth first-hand knowledge about the peoples

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[45] For a selection of Harley's most influential essays, see: Harley, *The New Nature of Maps*.

[46] Mary Sponberg Pedley, *The Commerce of Cartography: Making and Marketing Maps in Eighteenth-Century France and England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), 12.

[47] For a discussion of these map-makers, see: Steven Seegel, *Map Men: Transnational Lives and Deaths of Geographers in the Making of East Central Europe* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018); Vedran Duančić, *Creating National Space(s): Anthropogeography and Nation-Building in Interwar Yugoslavia, 1918-1941* (PhD diss., European University Institute, 2016).

[48] Barbara Sòrgoni, "Italian Anthropology and the Africans: The Early Colonial Period," *A Place in the Sun: Africa in Italian Colonial Culture from Post-unification to the Present*, ed. Patrizia Palumbo (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 62-81, 71.

they were mapping and drew on a disparate range of sources to create vivid images of the peoples under their gaze.

Examining map-making among this broad spectrum of actors is important for challenging the prevailing narrative of history of cartography in imperial Russian as a canon of 'geographical superstars'.[49] This dissertation interweaves famous figures in Russian imperial history of science, such as Petr Keppen and Aleksandr Rittikh, with at times less well-known map-makers (or those known primarily for their contribution to different strands of national cartography) such as Alexander Sementovskii, August Johann Gottfried Bielenstein, and Matīss Siliņš. In doing so, this dissertation demonstrates how ethnographic mapping was not only pursued in a top-down manner, but from the bottom or regional level up too. The biographical approach to studying map-making also allows us to move beyond thinking of maps in terms of their relative orientation towards science or politics, or the moral question of their degree of neutrality or objectivity, and to think instead about maps in terms of their allegiance or deviance from a set of historically-contingent collective values, norms, and practices in ethnographic cartography.[50]

This study explores map-making as an intensively collaborative endeavour. Ethnographic maps circulated widely and built on the knowledge of multiple contributors. They are highly intertextual objects, which overlay and rework base maps, borrow or appropriate data, contain embedded inset maps, and are reprinted and revised in different forms and contexts. Moreover, although a map's cartouche typically only bears the name of a single, almost always male, cartographer who was responsible for overseeing the project, many anonymous and 'invisible hands' were involved in the various stages of map-making.[51] Financing and collecting data to make a map were highly complex, expensive, and labour-

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[49] David Livingstone, *The Geographical Tradition: Episodes in the History of a Contested Enterprise* (Malden: Blackwell, 1993), 7. The writing of the history of geography, ethnography, and cartography as a chronology of the contributions of different 'superstars' to the field was characteristic of Soviet-era literature, somewhat ironic considering how un-Marxist this approach is. See: S. A. Tokarev, *Istoriia russkoi etnografii (Dooktiabr'skii period* (Moscow: Akademiia Nauk SSSR; Institut ethnografii im. N. N. Mikluho-Maklaia, 1966); Vasil Bandarchyk, *Historyia belaruskai etnahrafii XIX st.* (Minsk: Vydavetstva "Navuka i tekhnika", 1964). The anniversary publications of the Russian Geographical Society were especially influential in entrenching this canon of "great men of science". Petr P. Semenov, *Istoriia poluvekovoi deiatel'nosti Imperatorskago Russkago Geograficheskago Obschestva, 1845-1895*, 3 vols. (St. Petersburg, 1896); L. S. Berg, *Vsesoiuznoe Geograficheskoe Obschestvo za sto let* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Akademii Nauk SSSR, 1946); N T. Agafonov, A. G. Isachenko, S. B. Lavrov, E. M. Murazaev and Iu. P. Seliverstov, *Russkoe Geograficheskoe Obschestvo: 150 let* (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo Rossiiskoi natsional'noi biblioteki, 1995).

[50] For an example of the historiographical tendency to think comparatively about maps in terms of their relative orientation towards science or politics, see: Petronis, *Constructing Lithuania*, 273.

[51] Nils Robert Güttler, "Unsichtbare Hände: die Koloristinnen des Perthes Verlags und die Verwissenschaftlichung der Kartographie im 19. Jahrhundert," *Archiv für Geschichte des Buchwesens* 68 (2013), 133–153.

intensive undertakings that rested on the cooperation of multiple institutions and actors. Surveyors, statisticians, compilers, publishers, engravers, printers, and colourists lent a hand in determining the final form of the map. However, these individuals are rarely acknowledged on the finished publications and their ideas, skills, and labour are embedded in maps as 'silences'.[52] Focusing on the social and material history of map-making thus enables historians to demystify cartography as an activity done by professional cartographers and "great men" of science. This dissertation seeks to broaden our understanding of who was making ethnographic maps. Where the availability of sources allows, I shift the focus onto the anonymous lay informants who provided map-makers with local ethnographic knowledge (Chapters 1 and 3), the draughtswoman Martha Bielenstein from Kurliand province who created manuscripts of ethnographic maps for her father (Chapter 5), or the local population in the Estonian-Latvian border region who produced ethnographic maps in 1920 to challenge the proposed interstate border (see Chapter 7). These examples broaden our understanding of the actors involved in ethnographic map-making and sites of cartographical production in the Empire.

Finally, approaching ethnographic maps as objects of material culture, this dissertation considers ethnographic cartography in the marketplace, directing our attention towards those who produced maps, developments in cartographical printing technologies, the expansion of the commercial sphere of cartographical publishing, advertising, and the consumers of cartographical printed materials.[53] Understanding the production of ethnographic maps in their commercial contexts opens up new questions for research about the growing popular consumption of cartographical material in the second half of the nineteenth century. Many of the maps analysed in this study were published by the famous A. Il'in's Cartographical Establishment (*Kartograficheskoe zavedenie A. Il'ina*) in St. Petersburg (see Chapter 4).[54] There were also numerous smaller cartographical publishing houses located in

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[52] J. B. Harley, "Silences and Secrecy: The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe," *Imago Mundi* 40 (1988), 57–76.

[53] Influential in shaping my approach to cartography in its commercial contexts and as a form of popular science is: Aileen Fyfe and Bernhard Lightman, *Science in the Marketplace: Nineteenth-Century Sites and Experiences* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007).

[54] General studies of the printing and publishing industry in the Russian Empire include: Gary Marker, *Publishing, Printing, and the Origins of Intellectual Life in Russia, 1700-1800* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985); Charles A. Ruud, *Russian Entrepreneur: Publisher Ivan Sytin of Moscow 1851-1934* (Montreal: McGill Queen's University Press, 1990); Mark Steinberg, *Moral Communities: The Culture of Class Relations in the Russian Printing Industry, 1867-1907* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992). On the development of the paper industry in imperial Russia, see Olga Mashkina, "The Pulp and Paper Industry Evolution in Russia: A Road of Many Transitions," in *The Evolution of Global Paper Industry 1800–2050: A Comparative Analysis*, eds. Juha-Antti Lamberg, Jari Ojala, Mirva Peltoniemi and Timo Särkkä (Dordrecht; Heidelberg: Springer, 2012), 285-306.

Mitau/Mitava/Jelgava, Riga, and Dorpat/Iur'ev/Tartu, although piecing together the histories of these firms is difficult as detailed company records have not survived in most cases.

Sources and Approach

From today's perspective, the geographical scope of this dissertation is transnational, spanning present-day Estonia, Latvia, Russia, and Belarus. The lands and former inhabitants of present-day Finland, Lithuania, Poland, and Germany also form part of the story. However, from a nineteenth-century perspective, this study primarily concerns people and territories that were part of the same empire. It is only as a result of the turbulent geopolitics of the twentieth-century that the source materials are now scattered across many different states. A pertinent example is the region of Latgale in present-day eastern Latvia, where the archives from the nineteenth-century imperial era have been dispersed in the course of the twentieth century between Latvia, Belarus, and Russia. Therefore, in order to understand the world of the nineteenth-century Baltic littoral, historians are now required to cross many borders to traverse a region which was once much more politically and administratively interconnected than it is today. Consequently, material for this dissertation was gathered from 18 archives, libraries, and map collections across Estonia, Latvia, Russia, Belarus, Lithuania, Finland, Poland, Germany, and Britain, as well as multiple digital collections. A major aim of this study is to recreate the world of the nineteenth-century Baltic littoral by piecing together parts of the region's history that have hitherto been examined in isolation in separate national historiographies or have slipped through the cracks between these national narratives.

Many of the maps included in this dissertation have never been previously published or analysed by scholars. In addition, I examine three types of cartographical source materials that have been neglected by scholars of Russian imperial cartography. Firstly, I compare drafts, corrections, and different editions of maps to trace decisions made during the map-making process and to uncover the backstories behind the completed maps. Secondly, I include hand-drawn manuscript maps to show how ethnographic map-making was a much more widespread activity in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries than has previously been thought. By focusing largely on published maps, previous research has overlooked map-making taking place outside of official institutional settings, such as in the course of fieldwork or in the

home.[55] Finally, I pay attention to contemporary descriptions of maps that have not survived in archives or libraries, as well as map-making projects that were planned, and sometimes even initiated, but never completed for various reasons. I argue that these 'failed' or truncated map-making projects can tell us much about the daily grind, practical difficulties, inevitable mishaps, and personal life events that made map-making a complicated and messy process.[56] Examining map-making in the light of these unsuccessful or unrealised endeavours is an important counterbalance to common narratives of the history of science as a chronology of triumphant progress.

In addition to the maps themselves, this study draws on a wide range of sources related to the provenance, production, reception, and uses of ethnographic maps. An important source are map commentaries (known as *otchet'* or 'report' in Russian), which were frequently published to accompany maps in the nineteenth century. Surprisingly, this supplementary textual material has often received less attention from historians than the maps themselves. However, as Alexander Schnuka argues, these commentaries 'lay at the decisive point of intersection between the gathering of information (either directly at the location or from other maps or literary texts) and the next step in which this information congealed into a cartographical form of knowledge as presented in the completed map'.[57] These commentaries reveal map-makers' ideological motivations, political intentions, and the economic factors impacting cartographical production and dissemination. I read these commentaries in conjunction with the map-makers' personal papers, correspondence, published monographs, journal articles, and transcribed speeches and presentations. Archival materials about map-making within the imperial administration and by members of learned societies were also consulted, including the minutes of meetings, protocols, and instructions. Censorship reports,

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[55] A notable exception is Valerie Kivelson's work on early modern manuscript maps, known as 'sketches' (*chertezhi*). Valerie Kivelson, "Early Mapping: The Tsardom in Manuscript," in *Information and Empire: Mechanisms of Communication in Russia 1600-1850*, eds. Simon Franklin and Katherine Bower (Cambridge: Open Book Publishers, 2017), 23-57.

[56] For a discussion of the concept of 'failure' in history of science, see Graeme Gooday, "Re-Writing the 'Book of Blots': Critical Reflections on the Histories of Technological 'Failure'," *History and Technology* 14 (1998), 265-291. The emphasis on the 'hard work' of map-making resonates with Pieter Judson's argument that nation-building and efforts to legitimise spatial imaginations were protracted and laborious. Pieter M. Judson, "Constructing Nationalities in East Central Europe: Introduction," in *Constructing Nationalities in East Central Europe,* eds. Pieter M. Judson and Marsha L. Rozenblit (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005), 4.

[57] Alexander Schunka, "Cartographic Commentaries and Map Descriptions of the 19th Century as Historical Sources," in *History of Cartography. Lecture Notes in Geoinformation and Cartography*, eds. E. Liebenberg, P. Collier P and Z. Török (Berlin; Heidelberg: Springer, 2014), 277-294, 281. See also: Alexander Schunka, "Das Rohe, das Gekochte – und das Kochrezept. Kartenkommentare des 19. Jahrhunderts als historische Quellen," in *Die Werkstatt des Kartographen. Materialien und Praktiken visueller Welterzeugung,* eds. S. Siegel and P. Weigel (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 2011), 143–160.

newspaper advertisements, reviews, and petitions written by the local population are used to interrogate issues of audience and reception. The majority of historical sources consulted for the nineteenth century are in Russian or German, while later chapters draw on material in Latvian, Estonian, Belarusian, Polish, French, and English.

Chronological Scope and Structure

This dissertation addresses the application of geographical and graphical methods to visualise the distribution of ethnic groups in the Russian Empire's Baltic provinces from the early experiments in ethnographic map-making in the 1840s to the use of map-making in the post-war boundary negotiations between 1919-1920. The *longue durée* perspective enables me to explore how ethnographic mapping was used by various actors and was particularly pliable to different political contexts and motives. Maps are highly intertextual objects, and taking this broad chronological scope allows me to trace how map-makers referenced, built upon, reworked, challenged, and confronted the maps produced by earlier generations. Moreover, a major aim of this dissertation is to show that while map-makers deliberately positioned their maps within a larger genre of cartographical works, this was not a static genre. Understandings of what an 'ethnographic map' was underwent substantial modulations and the label 'ethnographic map' was applied to radically different cartographical objects by map-makers in different times.

Whereas the majority of literature on Russian imperial cartography stops in 1914, this dissertation extends to cover the period of World War I, the Revolutions of 1917, and the subsequent regional conflicts. I follow Peter Holquist, and others, in viewing these years of conflict as part of a broader 'continuum of crisis' facing the Russian Empire.[58] Just as in other periods of heightened political tensions where nationality questions bubbled to the surface – such as in the aftermath of the European Revolutions of 1848, the Polish-Lithuanian Uprising in the Russian Empire (1863-4), the founding of the German Empire at the western edge of the Russian Empire (1871), and the 1905 Revolution – during the World War I and the Revolutions of 1917 ethnographic cartography was used to grapple with ontological questions about ethnicity and territory. Studying ethnographic cartography in the early twentieth century as part of this broader chronological picture also allows me to address the continuities between

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[58] Peter Holquist, *Making War, Forging Revolution: Russia's Continuum of Crisis, 1914–1921* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002).

imperial and nationalist mapping practices and how nationalists and state actors appropriated imperial technologies to legitimise nation-state sovereignty.

My aim is not to provide a comprehensive overview of all ethnographic maps of the Baltic provinces, but instead the argument is formed through discussion of different case studies and examples. I argue that a micro-level perspective is crucial for focusing our attention on the lives of map-makers, techniques of data collection and fieldwork, and the worlds of printing, publishing, and bookselling, all aspects of the history of cartography in East Central Europe that have often been overlooked in the scholarship directed predominantly towards the politics of mapping. The study is structured chronologically, but each chapter has a strong thematic focus. The chapters are organised so that the argument broadly arcs from a discussion of the close relationship between ethnographic cartography and imperial statecraft towards an examination of the proliferation of ethnographic map-making as part of more widespread social, cultural, economic, and political activities by a diverse array of actors.

Chapter 1 asks how the genre of the ethnographic map developed in East Central Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century. It places particular emphasis on the transfers of knowledge and personal correspondence between map-makers in the Habsburg and Russian Empires to show how approaches to ethnographic cartography were shaped by actors and ideas circulating across imperial borders in both directions. Chapter 2 assesses the early efforts by members of the Russian Geographical Society to map the inhabitants of the Baltic provinces and charts the debates on the use of geographical and graphical methods to visualise ethnographic groups in the late 1840s. Chapter 3 shifts the focus from St. Petersburg to examine map-making in the provinces, examining how members of the Provincial Statistical Committees introduced ethnographic mapping into their work. Together, these chapters evaluate how different institutional structures within the Russian Empire collaborated in the field of ethnographic map-making. While ethnographic cartography was shaped in the mid-nineteenth century by a close alignment of imperial bureaucratic aims and individual intellectual interests, the main impetus and driving focus behind ethnographic mapping was individual initiative, with the support of civil society organisations such as the IRGO.

Chapters 4 and 5 move on to explore cartographical thinking about the Baltic provinces on different scales and the interplay between the local, imperial, European, and global frames of reference. Chapter 4 analyses how map-makers engaged with the debate on the 'Baltic Question' in imperial Russia through the medium of cartography. I examine how the Baltic provinces were increasingly mapped in the second half of the nineteenth century as an arena of conflict between overlapping and competing macro-visions of pan-Slavic and pan-Germanic

spaces in Europe. Chapter 5 investigates how local intellectuals in the Baltic provinces appropriated cartographical techniques used at the Empire-wide scale and experimented with applying them to map their immediate surroundings. These local map-makers placed an increasing emphasis on language as the defining characteristic of an ethnic or national group and carved out ethnolinguistic spaces within the Empire. At the same time, by the turn of the twentieth century map-makers' outlooks became increasingly globalised and they used ethnographic mapping to situate the inhabitants of the Baltic provinces in relation to imperial theatres of wars in the Far East and global migratory patterns. Both these chapters elucidate the ways in which ethnographic cartography in the second half of the nineteenth century challenged the concept of the Baltic provinces as a stable administrative concept and became an important medium through which to explore and debate the relationship between ethnicity and territory.

Chapters 6 and 7 focus on ethnographic cartography during the turbulent years of World War I, the 1917 Revolutions, and conflicts and negotiations surrounding the establishment of the independent states of Estonia and Latvia on the territory of the former Baltic provinces. Chapter 6 examines the application of ethnographic cartography during World War I to lay historical claims over the lands and peoples in the region by German and Polish nationalists. Chapter 7 looks at the role of ethnographic mapping during the process of delimiting the Estonian-Latvian state border between 1919-20. It examines the bordering process as an interaction between the Estonian-Latvian Boundary Commission and the local inhabitants, who wrote petitions and drew maps to inform, correct, and challenge decisions about nationality, property ownership, and boundary-drawing made by the authorities.

Transnational Conversations on Ethnographic Map-Making

In 1851 the Imperial Russian Geographical Society (IRGO) published an ethnographic map of the western part of the Russian Empire. The *Ethnographic Map of European Russia* comprised four lithographed sheets, which had been hand-coloured to depict the distribution of 38 ethnographic groups inhabiting the territory between Warsaw and the Ural mountains, and from the Arctic reaches of the Grand Duchy of Finland to the Caucasus (Figure 2). Whereas earlier maps published in German-speaking Central Europe had mapped the ethnographic landscape of the Russian Empire, including Constant Desjardin's *Ethnographic Map of Europe* (1837) and the ethnographic plate in Heinrich Berghaus's *Physical Atlas* (1847), the IRGO's publication in 1851 was the first large-format and publicly-available ethnographic sheet map published in the Russian Empire itself.[1] The map was highly acclaimed by the Society's members and swiftly reprinted in a second (1853) and third edition (1855). Petr Petrovich Semenov-Tian-Shanskii (1827-1914), the eminent geographer, statistician, and long-serving head of the IRGO between 1873-1914, pronounced the map as one of the crowning moments of the Society's early years.[2]

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[1] Constant Desjardins, *Ethnographische Karte von Europa, oder Darstellung der Hauptvertheilung der europaischer Volker nach ihren Sprachen und Religions-Verschiedenheiten* (Vienna: Verfasser, 1837); Heinrich Berghaus, "Übersicht von Europa; mit ethnograph," in *Dr. Heinrich Berghaus' Physikalischer Atlas* (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1847).
[2] Semenov, *Istoriia poluvekovoi deiatel'nosti IRGO,* 1:111.
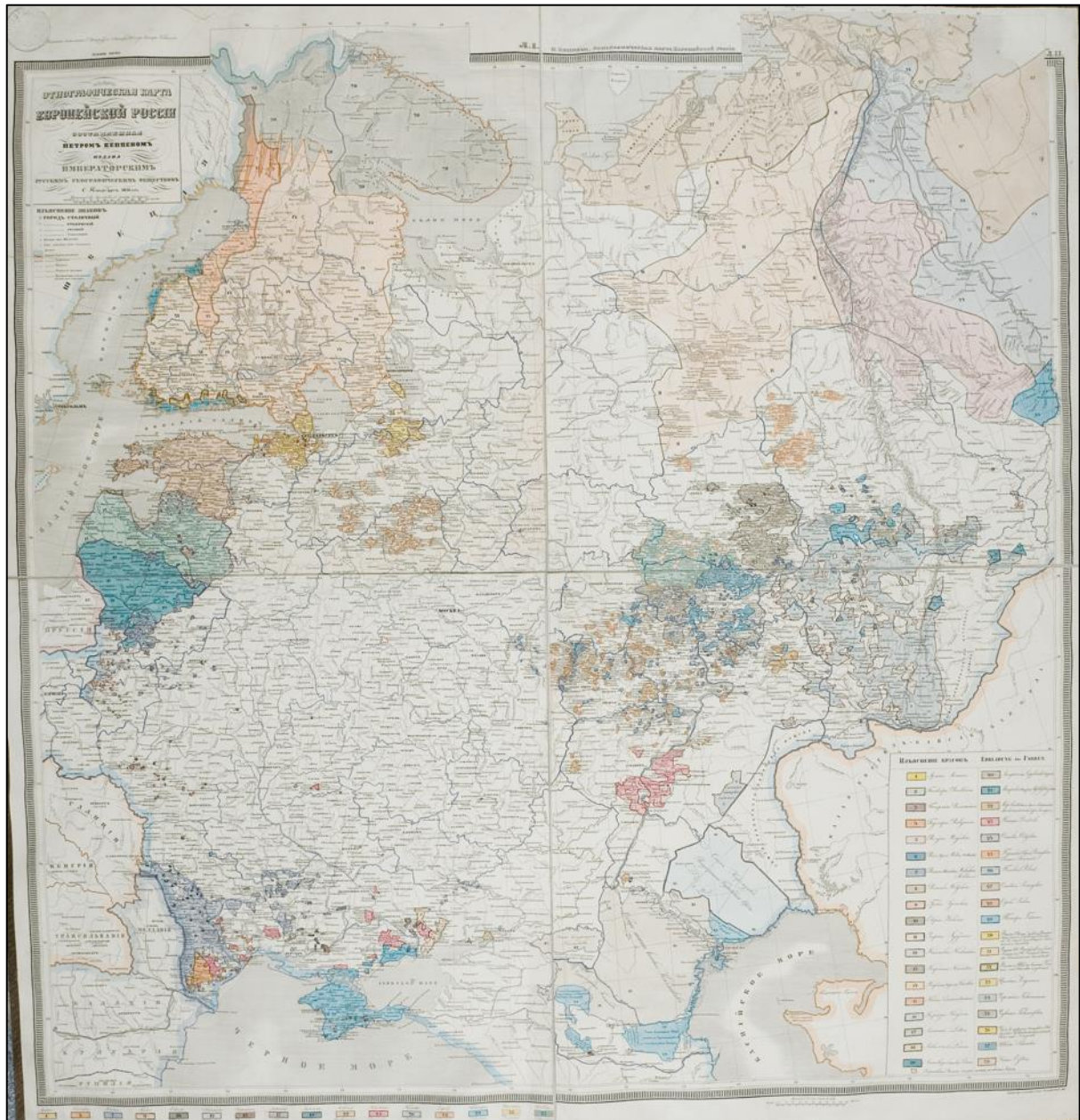
Figure 2. Keppen's *Ethnographic Map of European Russia* (1851)

Source: Petr Keppen, *Etnograficheskaia karta evropeiskoi Rossii* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia IRGO, 1851).
Credit: National Library of Finland.

The name inscribed onto the map's cartouche was that of Petr Keppen (1793-1864), a well-known figure in the history of science in the Russian Empire in the nineteenth century.[3]

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[3] Natalia G. Sukhova, "Petr Ivanovich Keppen kak geograf: k 200-letiu so dnia rozhdeniia," *Izvestiia RGO* 125, no. 5 (1993), 1-11; Petronis, *Constructing Lithuania*, 184-194; Ol'ga Krasnikova, "Osnovnye napravleniia razvitiia etnicheskogo kartografirovaniia v Rossii XIX – nachale XX vv," in *Proniknovenie i primenenie diskursa natsional'nosti v Rossii i SSSR v kontse XVIII – pervoi polovine XX vv.,* eds. Indrek Jääts and Erki Tammiksaar (Tartu: Estonskii natsional'nyi muzei, 2011), 29-60; Marina Loskutova, "Early Research on Insect Pests in the Russian Empire: Bureaucracy, Academic Community and Local Knowledge in the 1830s-1840s," *Centaurus* 56, no. 4 (2014), 229-253.

Keppen was one of the first experts on statistics in the Russian Empire, an academician at the Imperial St. Petersburg Academy of Science, and a founding member and first head of the Statistical Section of the RGO. Keppen's name also appears in another historiographical context as one of the so-called 'enlightened bureaucrats' active in the decades prior to the Great Reforms, which swept across the Empire following Russia's defeat in the Crimean War (1853-6) and the ascension of Tsar Alexander II in 1855.[4] While Keppen had one foot in the 'learned estate' (*uchenoe soslovie*) of nineteenth-century St. Petersburg life, his other was firmly planted within the imperial bureaucracy. As Marina Loskutova argues, Keppen was representative of a 'particular group of ministerial "experts", who occupied a liminal position between a very small circle of academic scholars (affiliated mostly with the Imperial Academy of Sciences in St. Petersburg and much less with universities, medical academies, and other institutions of higher learning) and a rapidly expanding civil service.'[5] This chapter explores how Keppen's interest in ethnographic mapping emerged as a result of the contacts and experiences he gained navigating between academic and administrative spheres of the imperial machinery and his key role in the application of geographical and graphical methods to map ethnographic statistics.

Keppen's Geographical and Intellectual Horizons of Experience

To understand what motivated Keppen to create the *Ethnographic Map of European Russia*, it is helpful to paint a picture of the kind of 'imperial person' that Keppen was and his 'horizons of experience'.[6] Keppen was born Peter von Koeppen/Köppen in 1793 in the city of Kharkov (present-day Kharkiv in Ukraine) in the Kharkov Hetmanate (from 1796, part of the Sloboda Ukraine governorate).[7] Both his grandfather and father were famous Brandenburg doctors. In 1786 Keppen's father, Johann Friedrich von Koeppen (1752-1808), was one of 24 doctors who accepted an invitation from Empress Ekaterina II to work in the Russian Empire. Keppen's

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[4] Bruce W. Lincoln, *In the Vanguard of the Reform: Russia's Enlightened Bureaucrats, 1825-1861* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University, 1982).

[5] Loskutova, "Early Research on Insect Pests", 249.

[6] Keppen is often referred to as one of the Empire's 'German-Russians', yet this hyphenated identity does not do justice to the complex mesh of identifications and experiences that contributed to Keppen's worldview. Instead, I prefer to follow Willard Sunderland's approach and think of Keppen as an 'imperial person'. Willard Sunderland, *The Baron's Cloak: A History of the Russian Empire in War and Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2014), 7. The concept of 'horizons of experience' is taken from Dagmar Schäfer, *The Crafting of the 10,000 Things: Knowledge and Technology in Seventeenth-Century China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), ii.

[7] The details of Keppen's life in this section are taken from the biography written by one of Keppen's sons, Fedor Petrovich, a famous zoologist, entomologist, and natural scientist. Fedor Petrovich Keppen, "Biografiia P. I. Keppena," *Odeleniia russkago iazyka i slovesnosti imperatorskoi akademii nauk* 89, no. 5 (1911), 1-170.

father moved from the Brandenburg city of Schwedt to take up a position as head of Kharkov governorate medical district. His mother, Caroline Friedrich Schulz (1772-1851), was born in Hamburg, but had moved in 1773 as a small child to Kharkov, where her father was director of an educational institute for the nobility.

Keppen grew up in a German-speaking family as one of eleven children and was baptised a Lutheran. He attended gymnasium in Kharkov. His father planned to send his son to be educated at a university abroad in the Holy Roman Empire or Prussia, but Johann Friedrich's death in 1808 and the eastward movement of Napoleon's army meant that these plans were never realised.[8] Instead, Keppen enrolled in 1809 at the newly established University of Kharkov, where he pursued a broad education in law, statistics, history, physics, chemistry, botany, and zoology. In 1814 Keppen graduated from the law faculty after successfully defending his thesis in German on state and warfare, inspired by the Napoleonic War of 1812. Keppen also received some military training from a young age and between 1805-1809 he served with the Kharkov province draughtsmen, where he helped prepare maps and plans. It is likely that this practical experience in his youth provided an important foundation for his own cartographical work later in life. After graduating, like many young men of a certain social standing in the Russian Empire, he moved to St. Petersburg to pursue a career in the civil service, working in the postal department.

Throughout his life, Keppen held a diverse array of positions. After his early career in the postal service, he worked for several years in the Department of Education. In 1827 he moved to Simferapol' in Crimea, where he worked for eight years as a sub-inspector of sericulture. He returned to St. Petersburg in 1834 to become the chief editor of the German-language periodical, *St. Petersburg Newspaper* (*St. Peterburgische Zeitung*). In 1837 he was recruited by the Ministry of the Interior as an expert on agriculture in Crimea, before being promoted in 1841 to the Academic Committee, where he served as a consultant on topics ranging from wine production in Crimea to determining the minimum food rations for different categories of manual labourers.[9] From 1843 he was elected as a full member of the Academy of Science as an expert on statistics. Keppen played an important role in the early years of the RGO between 1845-51 and served as the first head of the Statistical Section. In 1825, Keppen founded the journal *Bibliographical Lists* (*Bibliograficheskie listy,* 1825-6). The journal was modelled on the *Yearbook of Literature* (*Jahrbücher der Literatur*), published in Vienna

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[8] The Holy Roman Empire was dissolved in 1806 into the French satellite of the Confederation of the Rhine in the north and the Austrian Empire in the south.

[9] Loskutova, "Early Research on Insect Pests," 237.

between 1818-1849, and aimed to disseminate information about the most important new books printed in different languages, as well as maps, plans, pictures, musical works, and rare manuscripts. Keppen published several specialist monographs, including a book on the Lithuanian language, the first Russian-language reference book on agricultural entomology, and numerous books on Russian imperial demographic statistics.[10]

Keppen travelled extensively during his lifetime and personally visited much of the territory that would later appear on his *Ethnographic Map of European Russia.* During his summers as a student in Kharkov, he travelled to the southern parts of the Empire and the Crimean Peninsula. While working for the postal department in 1819, the Ministry of Internal Affairs sent him to audit over 320 postal stations in the western part of the Empire, stretching from Narva near the Baltic Sea shore to Sevastopol' on the Black Sea coast. Between 1821-4, Keppen was hired by Aleksei Sergeevich Berezin (1801-1824), a young retired lieutenant from Tambov province, to be his travel companion and research assistant on a trip through Europe. The pair journeyed south from St. Petersburg through the western borderlands of the Empire, throughout the Habsburg Empire, and also to Congress Poland. After parting with Berezin in Vienna, Keppen headed north to the German Confederation, before returning to St. Petersburg.[11] Keppen repeatedly returned to Crimea in the late 1820s and conducted a research expedition to the Lower Volga region in 1829. In 1952, Keppen retired to his estate at Karabag/Karabakh (present-day Bondarenkovo) near Alushta on the southern shore of Crimea.

During his lifetime Keppen built up a wide-ranging network of acquaintances. Between 1814-1921, Keppen was introduced to many key intellectuals and scientists of the period in St. Petersburg, including the well-known linguist and philologist Friedrich von Adelung, whose daughter, Alexandra Fedorovna, Keppen married in 1830.[12] Keppen was a member of

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[10] Petr Keppen, *O proiskhozhdenii, iazyke i literature litovskikh narodov* (St. Peterburg: Tipografiia Karla Kraiia, 1827). A German-language translation by Peter von Schrotter was also published two years later by the Latvian Literary Society (*Lettisch-Literärische Gesellschaft)*. von Koeppen, *Ueber den Ursprung*; Ministerstvo Gosudarstvennykh Imushchestv, *O vrednykh nasekomykh,* 2 vols. (St. Petersburg: Ministerstvo Gosudarstvennykh Imuschestv, 1845 & 1851); Petr Keppen, *O sushchnosti statistiki* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1840); Petr Keppen, *O chisle zhitelei v Rossii, v 1838 gody* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1840); Petr Keppen, *Predvaritel'nyie svedeniia o chisle zhitelei v Rossii, po guberniiam i uezdam v 1851 godu* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1854).
[11] Keppen and Berezin parted ways in Vienna in April 1923 due to Keppen's frustration with Berezin's persistent money troubles. Keppen, "Biografiia P. I. Keppena", 79-80.
[12] Friedrich von Adelung (Fedor Pavlovich Adelung) (1768-1843) was a Prussian linguist and philologist. His most famous works included an overview of all languages and dialects, *Übersicht aller bekannten Sprachen und ihrer Dialekts* (1820), and a study of Sanskrit, *Bibliotheca sanscrita* (1837). Adelung was a strong believer that by studying languages, the whole history of the different human races could be understood. In the 1810s he also promoted the idea of setting up a Russian National Museum (as opposed to the pan-European Hermitage Museum) that would showcase the diversity of the Empire's ethnographic peoples. See: Kevin Tyner Thomas, "Collecting the Fatherland: Early-Nineteenth-Century Proposals for a Russian National Museum," in *Imperial Russia: New*

numerous voluntary associations, including the Free Society of Lovers of Literature, Science, and the Arts, the Moscow Society of Naturalists, the Imperial Philanthropic Society, the Kurliand Society for Science and Art, and the so-called Rumaiantsev circle.[13] During his travels around East Central Europe in the early 1820s Keppen established personal contact with many prominent Slavicists in the Habsburg Empire, including pan-Slavist ideologist Jan/Ján Kollár (1795-1861) and linguist Pavel Josef Šafařík (1795-1861). Whilst travelling through the lands of the German Confederation in 1824, Keppen met Jacob Grimm (1785-1863), Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832), and Carl Ritter (1779-1859), the first professor of geography at the University of Berlin. When the Russian Imperial Academy of Science initiated a plan to establish Chairs in Slavic Studies at major universities in the Russian Empire in the late 1820s, its members approached Keppen to personally reach out to the Slavicists Jernej Bartol (Bartholomäus) Kopitar (1780-1844), Václav Hanka (1791-1861), and Šafařík to enquire as to whether they would accept the position to work on a draft dictionary of all the Slavic languages.[14]

This brief sketch of Keppen's life and main activities provides important context for understanding how and why Keppen made maps, and how he understood his role as a map-maker. Although Keppen's interests and activities were remarkably diverse, what united his various projects was his passion for listing, cataloguing, and categorising. Over the years, Keppen amassed a vast statistical index of information on the inhabitants of the Russian Empire gathered from different sources. In the second half of the 1840s, he drew on this vast corpus of data as the basis for making ethnographic maps. Keppen was no armchair statistician. Through his travels and work in different parts of the Empire, he was highly aware of the diversity of the imperial space and the matrix of social, cultural, political, and economic statistical measures that could be used to classify and enumerate the population. In his work, Keppen always strove to balance close attention to local details, while maintaining a 'comparative gaze' to collect

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Histories for the Empire, eds. Jane Burbank and David L. Ransel (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 91-107.

[13] Count Nikolai Petrovich Rumiantsev (1754-1826), Russian Foreign Minister (1808-1812), became a passionate collector and publisher of old Slavic and Russian manuscripts in his retirement and a patron of Slavic studies.

[14] Šafařík to Keppen, December 16/18, 1826, in *Korespondence Pavla Josefa Šafaříka. Vol 1. Vzájemné dopisy P. J. Šafaříka s ruskými učenci (1825–1861),* ed. Vladimir Andrejevič Francev (Prague: Česká Akademie Věd a Umění, 1927), 315. All further references to the correspondence between Keppen and Šafařík come from this edited collection. On the importance of learned travels (*gelehrte Reise)* for establishing contacts between academics, see: S. G. Potepalov, "Puteshestvie P. I. Keppena po slavianskim zemliam," in *Iz istorii russko-slavianskikh literaturnikh sviazei XIX v.* (Moscow; Leningrad: Akademiia nauk SSSR, 1963), 5-22; G. V. Rokina, "Puteshestviia rossiiskikh uchenykh v slavianskie zemli i ikh rol' v formirovanii otechestvennogo slavianovedeniia v pervoi polovine XIX veka," *Zapad-Vostok* 6 (2013), 36-48.

data that could later be processed using statistics or cartography.[15] For Keppen, cartography was a positively affirming imperial scientific project that connected the far-flung reaches of the Empire. Cartography provided him with a means to combine his data into a coherent and 'totalising overview' (*Totaleindruck*) of the Empire in a single glance.[16]

Transnational Conversations on Ethnographic Cartography

Keppen's *Ethnographic Map of European Russia* (1851) has often been regarded as the first work of ethnographic cartography published in the Russian Empire.[17] However, as we shall see, this was not strictly true. Moreover, while Steven Seegel has argued that the genre of the ethnographic map developed over the course of the 1840s and 1850s along the 'Vienna-St. Petersburg axis', this chapter emphasises how knowledge transfers along this 'axis' occurred in both directions.[18] Keppen played a pivotal role in the circulation of cartographical thinking between German-speaking East Central Europe and Russia. Of particular importance for the development of ethnographic cartography in the Russian Empire was Keppen's relationship with the Habsburg ethnographer, linguist, and publicist Pavel Josef Šafařík.[19] While the connection between Keppen and Šafařík has been widely noted by scholars, most studies summarise their relationship in a single sentence along the lines of: they met, corresponded, and provided each other with information.[20] However, the relationship between Keppen and Šafařík merits a deeper investigation. Keppen met Šafařík in June 1822 in Neusatz (today's

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[15] Nancy L. Green, "The Comparative Gaze: Travelers in France before the Era of Mass Tourism," *French Historical Studies* 25, no. 3 (2002), 423-440.

[16] On the use of mapping to observe the interconnectivity of plant geography, see Nils Robert Güttler, "Scaling the Period Eye: Oscar Drude and the Cartographical Practice of Plant Geography, 1870s–1910s," *Science in Context* 24 (2011), 1–41.

[17] Petronis argues that the first ethnographic maps were produced by Keppen in 1848 and 1851. Petronis, *Constructing Lithuania*, 185. As will be explored below, Keppen was involved in several earlier ethnographic mapping projects in the second half of the 1840s.

[18] It is important to note here that my focus here is on exchanges of ideas and information. As will be discussed in Chapter 4, printers in the Russian Empire in the second half of the nineteenth-century imported much sought-after printing technology from western and central Europe, such as the engine press (*skoropechatnaia mashina* or *presse mécanique*). Seegel, *Mapping Europe's Borderlands*, 133-157. On the transnational development of cartographical techniques for mapping population statistics, see: Gilles Palsky, "La cartographie statistique de la population au XIXe siècle," *Espace, populations, sociétés* 3 (1991-3), 451-458.

[19] Petronis, *Constructing Lithuania,* 176-185; Gilles Palsky, "Connections and Exchanges in European Thematic Cartography: The Case of 19th Century Choropleth Maps," *Belgeo* 3-4 (2008), 413-426.

[20] Pavel Josef Šafařík / Pavol Jozef Šafárik (1795-1861) was born in Kobeliarovo (Kisfeketepatak) in the Kingdom of Hungary and was a Slavic writer, philologist, ethnographer, historian, and literary scholar. Here, I follow Alexander Maxwell's precedent and use the modern Czech form of his name. See: Alexander Maxwell, *Choosing Slovakia: Slavic Hungary, the Czechoslovak Language and Accidental Nationalism* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2009), 194. For examples of the brief scholarly treatment of Keppen and Šafařík's relationship, see: Darius Staliūnas, "Nationality Statistics and Russian Politics in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Lithuanian Historical Studies* 8 (2003), 95–122, 98; Petronis, *Constructing Lithuania,* 178; Seegel, *Mapping Europe's Borderlands,* 139.

Novi Sad, Serbia) during his grand tour through the Habsburg Empire. In fact, Keppen and Šafařík very nearly did not meet in person, as the first time Keppen passed through Neusatz, where Šafařík was headmaster of a Serbian Orthodox gymnasium, Šafařík was out of town. However, Keppen doubled back a few days later and they were able to meet. Despite only crossing paths briefly, Keppen and Šafařík made a considerable impression on one another and they kept up a regular correspondence for the rest of their lifetimes. A close examination of their letters gives us an insight into how the discussion on ethnographic cartography developed through personal correspondence between map-makers through the 1820s and 1830s.[21]

The scope of Keppen's and Šafařík's scholarly interests was not contained within the boundaries of their respective Empires. Procuring information from abroad, however, was difficult. A substantial portion of Keppen and Šafařík's letters, especially in the 1820s and 1830s, were concerned with obtaining bibliographical details of new publications and the logistics of physically sending books to one another. Writing to one another in German, Keppen provided Šafařík with information about recently published works and research being conducted in the Russian Empire, including his own work on the Lithuanian languages and statistical data on the inhabitants of the Russian Empire.[22] In return, Šafařík sent Keppen details of new publications to be included in *Bibliographical Lists* and recommended books about Central Europe's Slavs. Šafařík repeatedly expressed his frustration at the practical difficulties of procuring Russian-language books in the Habsburg Empire, at one point remarking that Russian Slavs 'are here so unknown, as the Chinese, as we don't and can't have any journals or catalogues'.[23] Šafařík complained that booksellers often could not read the titles or names of publications printed in Cyrillic script.[24] Both men expressed frustration at the practical difficulties of building up their respective bibliographical collections due to the long time they had to wait between replies, which could take five or six months. Moreover, booksellers and intermediaries were not always reliable. To his dismay, a parcel sent by Keppen on one occasion never reached Šafařík as the young man entrusted with the transportation stole it.[25]

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[21] On the importance of using correspondence for shedding light on the personal relationships between geographers and cartographers in East Central Europe in the early twentieth century, see Seegel, *Map Men*, 6. The correspondence between Keppen and Šafařík through the 1820s-1830s reveals that similar transnational connections existed between map-makers in the first half of the nineteenth century. Keppen and Šafařík's letters share many similarities with the correspondence networks described in: Anne Secord, "Corresponding Interests: Artisans and Gentlemen in Nineteenth-Century Natural History," *The British Journal for the History of Science* 27, no. 4 (1994), 383-408.

[22] Keppen to Šafařík, March 20, 1836, 343; Keppen, *O proiskhozhdenii, iazyke i literature litovskikh narodov*; Šafařík to Keppen, May 30, 1825, 296-99.

[23] Šafařík to Keppen, July 8, 1836, 354.

[24] Šafařík to Keppen, May 30, 1825, 296.

[25] Šafařík to Keppen, May 2, 1847, 405.

The topics of Keppen's and Šafařík's letters extended beyond mere practical matters and they wrote to one another to solicit expert advice. In May 1825, Šafařík informed Keppen about the upcoming publication of his history of the spoken and literary Slavic languages and wrote to Keppen with a list of questions about the classification of Russian dialects and the borders of spoken dialects.[26] A month later, he asked Keppen for clarification of the meaning of the Russian-language terms *iazyk* and *narechie*, usually translated into English as 'language' and 'dialect'.[27] Keppen also provided Šafařík with introductions to relevant experts, including historian Mikhail Pogodin (1800-1875), Slavic linguists Izmail Sreznevskii (1812-1880) and Osip (Iosip/Iosif) Maksimovich Bodianskii (1808–1878), and Finnic-Ugric linguist and ethnographer Anders Johan Sjögren (1794-55).[28]

From 1836 onwards, Keppen's and Šafařík's letters frequently mentioned ethnographic cartography. Notably, their discussion began a year prior to the publication of Constant Desjardin's *Ethnographic Map of Europe* (1837), regarded as one of the earliest ethnographic maps. In March 1836, Keppen wrote to Šafařík about his work on a map of southern Crimea.[29] Šafařík replied in July praising Keppen's endeavours and outlining his own plan to produce a linguistic map of the Slavic languages. It seems that Šafařík had already been thinking about this idea for some months, as earlier in the year he had written to Keppen complaining that there was no directory for the *Detailed Map of the Russian Empire* (*Podrobnaia karta Rossiiskoi imperii i blizlezhaschikh zagranichnykh vladenii*, 1801-16), the first publicly-available sheet map of the Russian Empire, which Šafařík was using as a reference for his base map.[30] Šafařík encouraged Keppen to produce a linguistic map of Russian Slavs, urging that 'A treatise on Russian peasant dialects (*Volksmundarten*), with a more accurate characterisation of their peculiarities and a careful delimitation of their area or space (this can be best done on an ethnographic overview map), would certainly be greatly desired not only by me, but by all literature-lovers.'[31]

Neither Šafařík nor Keppen had any professional training in the technical aspects of map-making, although, as mentioned earlier, Keppen had some experience in his youth of

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[26] Paul Joseph Schaffarik, *Geschichte der slawischen Sprache und Literatur nach allen Mundarten* (Ofen: Mit kön.ung. Universitäts Schriften, 1826); Šafařík to Keppen, May 30, 1825, 299.
[27] Šafařík to Keppen, July 1, 1825, 304.
[28] A selection of Šafařík's correspondence with Russian imperial linguists was published in Francev, *Korespondence Pavla Josefa Šafaříka*. Šafařík's letters to Anders Johan Sjögren can be found in the National Library of Finland. A. J. Sjögrenin ariksto, 1805-1855. Coll.209.14.
[29] Keppen to Šafařík, March 20, 1836, 344.
[30] Šafařík to Keppen, May 8, 1836, 351.
[31] Šafařík to Keppen, Jul 8, 1836, 353.

working with surveyors and draughtsmen during his military service in Kharkov province. Both men became map-makers relatively late in their careers when they were in their forties. By this time, both men had assembled vast personal inventories of ethnographic information and now faced the common problem of how to process it all. Cartography provided them with a method to analyse and present their research as single image that synthesised their findings. The process of making a map also made visible gaps in existing knowledge, methodological approaches, and ways of conceptualising subjects, which they could then focus on addressing. Cartography also partially helped to address the logistical problem of how to share ethnographic information as a map could be transported much more easily than heavy tomes of statistical and ethnographic descriptions. Šafařík urged Keppen to publish his research on Russian Slavs in a journal, accompanied by a small language map, which Šafařík could then use as a reference for drawing the boundaries of the Russian Empire's Slavs on his own map.[32]

Busy with his work for the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Ministry of State Properties, Keppen did not immediately act on Šafařík's suggestion to make a map of the Russian Empire's Slavs. Meanwhile, back in Prague, Šafařík continued to pursue his idea of creating an ethnolinguistic map over the next few years. His map of the *Slavic-Settled Territory* (*Slovanský Zeměvid*), with contributions from the cartographer and engraver Václav Merkla (1809-1866), was published in 1842 in conjunction with Šafařík's book on *Slavic Ethnography* (*Slovanský Národopis*) (Figure 3). In the map, Šafařík depicted the distribution of Slavic and non-Slavic languages across Europe. The text provided details of the individual villages and manor houses marked on the map, which served as identification points for drawing ethnographic borders (Figure 4). All the Slavs were coloured in the same shade of green, although the map's legend provided a breakdown of the various sub-groups. The physical features of the landscape were de-emphasised, apart from rivers and mountain ranges. In contrast to the ethnographic maps of later decades, the red lines demarcating imperial state borders on Šafařík's map bore little correspondence to ethnolinguistic borders. According to Šafařík's worldview, ethnolinguistic and political borders coexisted, but were not mutually interdependent. At the same time, in the context of the early 1840s, the map also had an important political function in the emerging Pan-Slavist movement as it constructed an image of a greater Slavic ethnic territory spanning imperial borders. By using Daniel Gottlieb Reyman's *Topographical Detailed Map of Central Europe* (*Topographische Spezialkarte von Mitteleuropa,* 1806-8) as his base map, yet translating the German place names into their Slavic (mostly Czech) versions, Šafařík was

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[32] *Ibid.*, 354.

making a strong statement about the strength of the Slavic presence in East Central Europe.[33] Šafařík's map also highlighted the importance of the Russian Empire as the only independent state with a Slavic-majority. Obviously, this argument only worked because the map depicted just the 'European' part of the Russian Empire.

Figure 3. Šafařík's map of the Slavic-speaking territory (1842)

Source: Pavel Josef Šafařík, *Slovanský Zeměvid* (Prague: 1842). Credit: Study Platform on Interlocking Nationalisms (SPIN).

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[33] Alexander Maxwell, "Effacing Panslavism: Linguistic Classification and Historiographic Misrepresentation," *Nationalities Papers* 46, no.4 (2018), 633-653.

Figure 4. Detail of the Baltic provinces

Source: Pavel Josef Šafařík, *Slovanský Zeměvid* (Prague: 1842). Credit: Study Platform on Interlocking Nationalisms (SPIN).

In addition to the Slavic languages, Šafařík depicted neighbouring languages, including German, Estonian (*Estonci*) (as part of the Finnic language family), and Lithuanian (comprising the Lithuanian [*Litvané*] and Latvian [*Lotyši*] branches) (Figure 4). The external border of the Russian Empire was marked, but not the internal provincial administrative borders, and Šafařík drew the boundary between Estonians and Latvians as a vertical line running through the town of Valka in the centre of Lifliand province. Although the ethnic border between Latvians and Lithuanians was depicted as corresponding to the historical administrative boundary of southern Kurliand (formerly the border between the Duchy of

Courland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania), it was represented as an ethnolinguistic border rather than an administrative border.

In the foreword to *Slavic Ethnography*, Šafařík shed light on the technical challenges he faced when turning his ethnographic prose into cartographical form. As he wanted to fit the whole Slavic linguistic territory onto a single sheet, while still making the map as large as possible, he was forced to compromise and only extended the map's frame to St. Petersburg. The areas to the north of St. Petersburg were presented in a small map inserted into the top left-hand corner of the map. To simplify the process of colouring the map, Šafařík decided not to render the low-density and scattered distribution of Turks or of Germans in the Baltic provinces, only indicating the latter's presence in yellow in big cities such as Riga, Jelgava, and Derpt (Dorpat/Tartu). Šafařík wrote the names of cities and rivers in the local vernacular, 'the way they *sound* in the local dialect'.[34] As a result, the Latvian-language toponyms Jelgava, Kuldiga, and Valka appear on the map, rather than the more commonly printed German names of Mitau, Goldigen, and Walk.[35] In this respect, Šafařík followed Ludwig August Mellinn (1754-1835), author of the first complete atlas of Estland and Lifland published at the end of the eighteenth century, in drawing attention to the Estonian- and Latvian-speaking inhabitants of the Baltic littoral by rendering place names in the form used by the local peasants.[36] Šafařík regarded his map as a work-in-progress that would continue to be developed and improved in the future.[37] Nevertheless, Šafařík's map made important advances in cartographical thinking about the relationship between ethnolinguistic groups and territory, and in the use of ethnographic cartography as a discourse of political opposition to the idea of a Pan-Germanic Central Europe and in support of an alternative Pan-Slavic vision of Europe.

Within a year, Šafařík's book was published in Russian translation by the well-known Slavicist Osip Bodianskii (1808-1877). It appears that Keppen was somehow involved in getting Šafařík's work translated, as inside the jacket of the copy of the translation digitised by the Russian National Library there is an inscription from Bodianskii gifting the book to

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[34] My emphasis. The quotations here are taken from the Russian translation published in 1843. Pavel Shafarik, *Slavianskoe narodopisanie, sostavlennoe P. I. Shafarikom,* trans. I. Bodianskii (Moscow: Universitetskaia Tipografiia, 1843), ii-iv. See below for a discussion of the translation and the reception of Šafařík's work in the Russian Empire.

[35] As the Latvian names were transcribed using the Czech orthographic system, the bear a striking resemblance to their contemporary Latvian spelling. For comparison, see the German-language map: Carl Gottlieb Rücker, *Specialcharte von Livland in 6 Blättern* (Riga; Wenden: 1839). See: Martin Jeske, "The Map Specialcharte von Livland: Georg Friedrich Parrot's Agenda or a New Perspective on Livland," *Acta Baltica Historiae et Philosophiae Scientiarum* 6, no. 2 (2018), 128-137.

[36] August Ludwig Mellin, *Atlas von Liefland, oder von den beyden Gouvernementern u. Herzogthümern Lief- und Ehstland, und der Provinz Oesel* (Riga: Johann Friedrich Hartknoch, 1791-98).

[37] Shafarik, *Slavianskoe narodopisanie*, iii-iv.

Keppen.[38] In the translator's foreword, Bodianskii gave the work his highest praise and anticipated that it would become an essential reference work for every Slavicist. He attached special importance to Šafařík's map, marvelling at the ease with which cartography could be used to convey information about the distribution of ethnolinguistic groups. Through the medium of cartography, Šafařík was able to present his findings in a concise manner, which 'could be grasped, so to speak, with a single glance'. Moreover, 'to acquaint oneself with it does not require any puzzling or strenuous effort, but merely careful visual consideration alone.'[39] Bodianskii apologised to his readers that the map itself was not translated into Russian (i.e. Cyrillic) letters, explaining that this would have delayed the publication of the translation by two years. However, unlike with prose text, Bodianskii was confident that most of his readers would already have a trained eye for reading the visual language of cartography. He assumed that they would be familiar with Latin letters and the conventions of map-reading, so that interpreting the map would not pose a problem. Like musical or mathematical notation, cartography was regarded as a medium that facilitated communication across linguistic barriers.[40]

Bodianskii nevertheless concluded his foreword by stressing the importance of publishing a Russian-language map that would develop and provide corrections to Šafařík's work.[41] Bodianskii's criticisms of Šafařík's map were mild and he acknowledged that inaccuracies were inevitable in a work of this enormity. Other linguists in the Russian Empire, however, were much harsher in their criticisms. The Slavicist Izmail Sreznevskii argued that Šafařík's map contained so many mistakes that it was neither useful nor important for scholars. He noted how many of the same errors were later reproduced by the geographer Heinrich Berghaus in the ethnographic plate of his *Physical Atlas* (1847).[42] Sreznevskii especially faulted the small size (48,5 x 60 cm) and large scale of Šafařík's map (110 *versts*[43] to the English inch, or approximately 1:4530000), which he argued made it too cramped to be of any real scientific use.

The reception of Šafařík's ethnolinguistic map in the Russian Empire highlights how the genre of ethnolinguistic cartography was gradually born out of trans-imperial discussions

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[38] *Ibid,* accessed May 13, 2017, https://dlib.rsl.ru/viewer/01003560707#?page=1.
[39] *Ibid.,* v.
[40] *Ibid.*, vi.
[41] *Ibid.*, vi.
[42] Ismail I. Sreznevskii, "Etnograficheskaia karta Evropeiskoi Rossii," *Izvestiia IAN po otdeleniiu russkago iazyka i slovesnosti* 1, no. 1 (1852), 68-70.
[43] Literally 'turn' (of a plough), a Russian imperial unit of measurement of distance equivalent to 1,067 km.

between ethnographers, linguistics, geographers, and statisticians in the late 1830s and 1840s about the common problem of how to use geographical and graphical methods to map ethnolinguistic data about populations. Keppen and Šafařík's correspondence reveals how the ethnographic map genre did not simply develop in the lands of the German Confederation and Habsburg Empire and then 'went eastwards'[44], but was the product of the mutual exchange of ideas and data between individuals across the German Confederation, Habsburg Empire, and Russian Empire. The discussion on ethnographic cartography not only panned out in the salons and universities of the imperial capitals of Vienna and St. Petersburg, but also as a direct result of travel and fieldwork done in the borderlands and 'peripheries' of the empires. In light of this, the publication of Keppen's *Ethnographic Map* in 1851 should not be seen as an effort by Russian cartographers to import or transpose an East Central European model into the Russian imperial context, but the realisation of ideas which they had been actively and integrally involved in developing since ethnographic maps began to be developed in the late 1830s.

Keppen and Šafařík's correspondence also demonstrates the intensely collaborative nature of ethnographic cartography. The wide-ranging expertise and sheer volume of information required to produce an ethnographic map was beyond the scope of a single person and involved reaching out to relevant specialists. Keppen and Šafařík's relationship, however, extended beyond merely posting books to one another and the reciprocal exchange of information about their respective geographical areas of expertise. Their dialogue was sustained over the decades due to a close alignment of their interests and a vivid engagement with each other's work. Throughout the second half of the 1840s, Keppen regularly updated Šafařík on the progress he was making with his own works of ethnographic cartography. Šafařík repeatedly expressed his anticipation at receiving Keppen's finished maps. They commiserated with one another over common challenges they faced and, in their later letters, exchanged sentiments of a more personal nature about their family and health problems. When Keppen's *Ethnographic Map of European Russia* was finally published in 1851, Keppen wrote to Šafařík that: 'May it remind you of our many years of friendly relations from time to time and tell you that time and space could not shake my respect for you.'[45]

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[44] Seegel, *Mapping Europe's Borderlands*, 138.
[45] Keppen to Šafařík, May 4/16, 1852, 411.

Institutional Incubators: Navigating Between Administrative and Academic Structures

In the second half of the 1840s, Keppen began to experiment more systematically with different methods of applying geographical and graphical methods to visualise ethnic data about the inhabitants of the Russian Empire. Prior to and parallel to his work on the *Ethnographic Map of European Russia* (1851)*,* he worked on several cartographical projects for the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of State Properties, and Imperial Academy of Science. Considering Keppen's cartographical ventures in these different institutional contexts not only allows us to explore the development of Keppen's cartographical thinking during these years but challenges the historiographical emphasis placed on the Russian Geographical Society as the main incubator of ethnographic cartography in the Russian Empire. Only one out of Keppen's four ethnographic maps was funded and published by the Russian Geographical Society, while the rest were supported by the Academy of Science.

Keppen's first forays into cartography resulted from his involvements with the Ministry of Internal Affairs and Ministry of State Properties. While Keppen did not immediately act on Šafařík's suggestion to create an ethnographic map of the Russian Empire's Slavic population in the summer of 1836, he was involved in several other cartography-related projects. In 1836 Keppen published a map of southern Crimea for the Governor-General of Novorossiia and Viceroy of Bessarabia province, Prince Mikhail Semenovich Vorontsov (1782-1856). Although it was ostensibly a topographical map designed to be used by the military as well as travellers to the region, Keppen had already begun to explore the relationship between cartography, ethnography, and language. His fieldwork in Crimea involved identifying the location of 'German colonies' and 'Russian villages', and in the map's commentary, Keppen detailed the methodological challenges and solutions he adopted to record oral versions of place names and transcribe the Tatar-language from the Arabic script into Cyrillic.[46] By 1837, Keppen must have been perceived by his contemporaries as having a degree of cartographical expertise since the Military Topographical Corps invited him to review the *Detailed Map of the Western Part of Russia* (*Spetsial'naia karta Evropeiskoi Rossii,* 1821-39), which had been completed under the leadership of the chief of the Military Topographical Corps, Fedor Fedorovich (Friedrich Theodor) Shubert (1789-1865). In Keppen's 53-page review, which was presented to the Academy of Science but never published, he demonstrated his thorough

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[46] Petr Keppen, *Ukazatel' k karte iuzhnago Kryma, prinadlezhashchei k Krymskomu sborniku Petra Keppena* (St. Petersburg: Imperatorskaia Academia Nauk, 1836).

knowledge of eighteenth and early nineteenth-century maps of Russia.[47] Keppen's access to Shubert's maps, which were regarded as a military asset and not made available to the public, would prove crucial when he later used them as the base maps for his own cartographical projects.

Several years later, in his position as a member of the Academic Committee of the Ministry of State Properties (MGI), Keppen participated in the project to produce the *Economic-Statistical Atlas of European Russia*, the first climate and soil map of the Russian Empire.[48] The MGI had been established in 1837 to introduce more efficient methods of land management, ranging from increasing agricultural production to managing forests and overseeing population resettlement. A key part of the Ministry's activities revolved around the development of applied sciences, such as forestry and entomology.[49] When the *Economical-Statistical Atlas* project was initiated in 1843, Keppen was appointed to oversee the creation of the climate map. However, due to his other commitments at the time (preparing his book on insect pests, gathering statistics for the MGI, and working on his ethnographic atlas etc.), he passed the responsibility the following year onto Adolph-Theodor (Iakovlevich) Kupffer (Kupfer) (1799-1865), a leading expert on geomagnetism and meteorology from Lifliand, whom Keppen had worked with since the 1830s on collecting meteorological observations.[50] Despite handing over the climate map to Kupffer, Keppen remained connected to the project and presented Kupffer's draft map to the scientific committee of the MGI in May 1847.[51]

In early 1846 Keppen began gathering data to prepare the *Ethnographic Map of European Russia* for the RGO. However, he also decided to work on a spin-off project to compile a separate ethnographic map of the Grand Duchy of Finland for the Academy of

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[47] Petr Keppen, "Ueber die beim militärisch-topographischen Depot erscheinen neue Karte des europäischen Russlands." SPBF ARAN f.30, op.1, d.108.

[48] *Khoziaistvenno-statisticheskii atlas Evropeiskoi Rossii, sostavlennyi pri Departamente sel'skogo khoziaistva MGI* (St. Petersburg: 1851). On the making of this atlas, see Marina Loskutova, "'Svedeniia o klimate, pochve, obraze khoziaistva i gospodstvuiushshchikh rasteniiakh dolzhny byt' sobrany…': Prosveshchennaia biurokratiia, gumbol'dtovskaia nauka i mestnoe znanie v Rossiiskoi imperii vtoroi chetverti XIX v.," *Ab Imperio*, no. 4 (2012), 111–156.

[49] Anastasia A. Fedotova and Marina V. Loskutova, "Forests, Climate, and the Rise of Scientific Forestry in Russia: From Local Knowledge and Natural History to Modern Experiments (1840s–early 1890s)," *New Perspectives on the History of Life Sciences and Agriculture*, eds. Denise Phillips and Sharon Kingsland (Cham: Springer, 2015), 113-137; Marina V. Loskutova and Anastasia A. Fedotova, "The Rise of Applied Entomology in the Russian Empire: Governmental, Public, and Academic Responses to Insect Pest Outbreaks from 1840 to 1894," in *New Perspectives on the History of Life Sciences and Agriculture*, eds. Denise Phillips and Sharon Kingsland (Cham: Springer, 2015), 139-162.

[50] Kupffer was head of the Commission for the Introduction of Unitary Weights and Measures, along with military topographer Fedor Shubert and the head of the Pulkovo astronomical observatory, Friedrich Georg Wilhelm Struve (1793-1864). Michael Gordin, "Measure of All the Russias: Metrology and Governance in the Russian Empire," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 4, no. 4 (2003), 783–815.

[51] Loskutova, "Svedeniia o klimate", 130.

Science (Figure 5). It is no coincidence that the map, which would become the first ethnographic map published in the Russian Empire, focused on Finno-Ugric peoples. As Hans F. Vermeulen has shown, the very concept of 'ethnography' as a research field emerged through academic expeditions (*gelehrte Reise*) organised by the Academy of Science to Siberia during the 1730s and 1740s.[52] Interest in Finno-Ugric studies further increased after the Grand Duchy of Finland was ceded to Russia in 1808-9 and in the first half of the nineteenth century a large proportion of ethnographic works focused on the history, language, and onomastics (the study of the history and origin of proper names and place names) of the Finno-Ugric peoples.[53] The composition and design of Keppen's map of the Grand Duchy of Finland already contained many of the characteristic features of ethnographic maps. Like in Šafařík's map, Keppen used coloured block shading to divide the Grand Duchy into different ethnographic spaces, with clear lines separating the areas inhabited by different groups. Keppen used language as the principle for dividing the inhabitants into five ethnolinguistic groups: Finns, Swedes, Russians, Lapps, and Germans. Keppen further sub-divided Finnish-speakers into two 'main dialects' (*Haupt-Dialekt)* of Tawaster (Hämäläiset) and Karelian.

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[52] Hans F. Vermeulen, *Before Boas: The Genesis of Ethnography and Ethnology in the German Enlightenment* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2015); Slezkine, "Naturalists Versus Nations."
[53] Michael Branch, *A. J. Sjögren: Studies of the North* (Helsinki: Suomalais-Ugrialainen Seura, 1973).
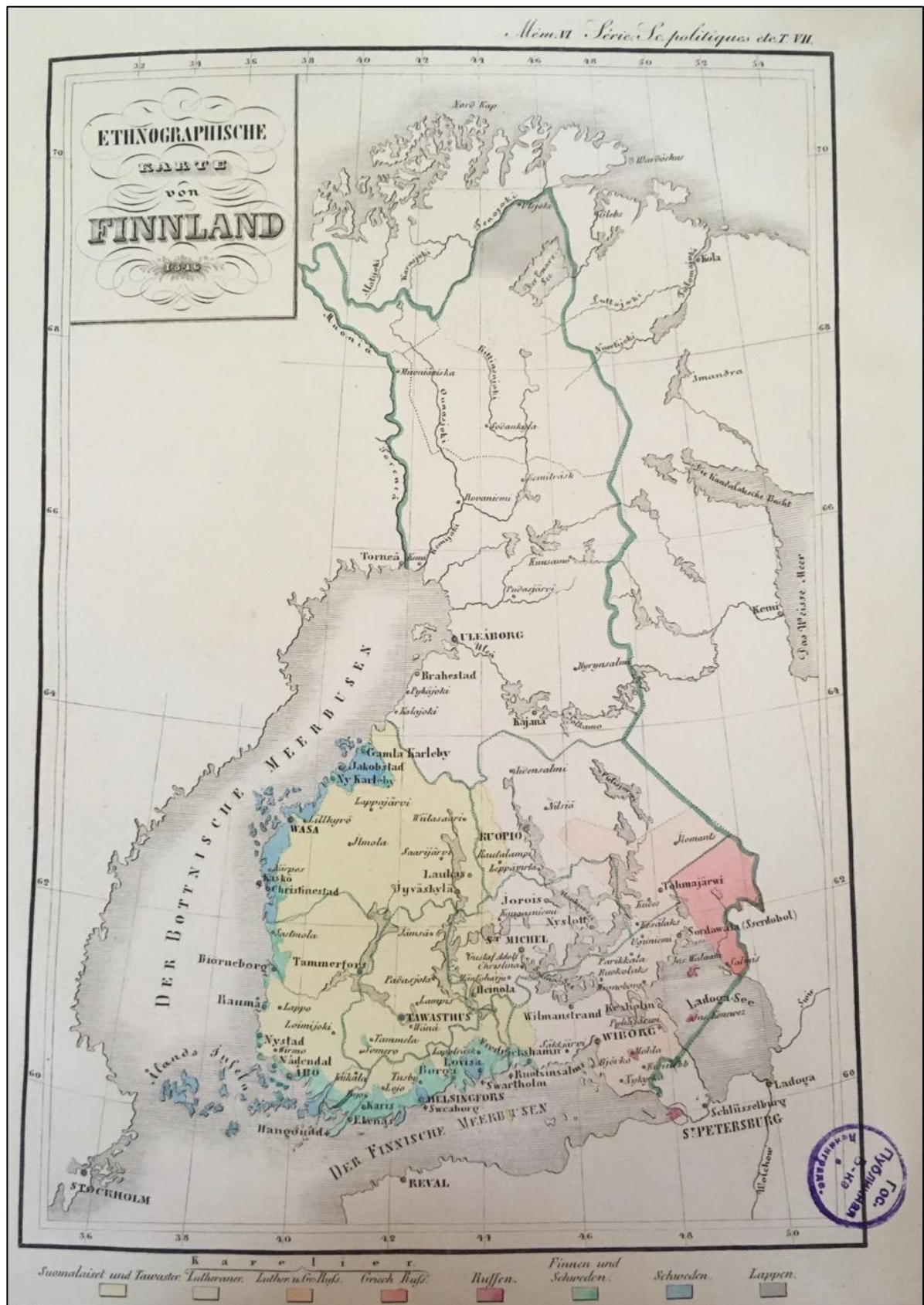
Figure 5. Keppen's *Ethnographic map of Finland* (1848)

Source: Peter von Köppen, "Ethnographische Karte von Finnland," in "Finnland in ethnographischer Beziehung (avec une carte coloriée)," *Mémoires de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg. Sixième Série. Sciences politiques, histoire, philologie* 7 (1848), 452-464. Credit: Russian National Library.

Work proceeded quickly and Keppen presented his findings in an address to the Academy of Science on 13 November 1846.[54] Keppen's presentation of his ethnographic map reveals how a map's intended audience could impact how map-makers chose to depict information. Whereas the mapping projects Keppen had been involved in for the Ministry of Internal Affairs and MGI were primarily aimed at bureaucrats and civil servants, his audience at the Academy of Science consisted of fellow academicians. While Keppen did spend some time outlining the main empirical findings of his ethnographic research, what he – and presumably also his audience – was more interested were the theoretical and technical aspects of cartography, the reliability of data, and the wider applicability of the methods. Keppen enlightened his audience on methodological issues, such as how the ethnolinguistic border between Lapps and Karelians 'flowed into one another' to the extent that it 'cannot be specified with certainty'.[55] He noted how he had been hampered by the fact that the population data available to him was organised according to the administrative divisions of the Grand Duchy and thus the ethnographic map was bound by these same administrative structures. Moreover, this data mostly classified the population by religion rather than 'nationality' (*Nationalität*). Keppen concluded with a positive assessment of the methodological potential of ethnographic cartography, especially the ability of colour shading to convey the 'nuances' of ethnographic settlement and make the relations between the different groups 'vivid'.[56] At the same time, the small format of the map meant that generalisations were inevitable; without such simplifications, a map would contain so much information that it would become impossible to read. Examining Keppen's talk and map in tandem reveals how Keppen used his talk in front of an expert audience to point out how the transformation of data from one medium to another - in this case, ethnographic descriptions and local administrative census statistics to an ethnographic map - resulted in the creation of different ways of seeing the same phenomenon.

Two years later, Keppen built on his experience of mapping the inhabitants of the Grand Duchy of Finland to produce a far more ambitious work in the form of his *Ethnographic Atlas of European Russia* (1848), which was also published by the Academy of Science (Figure 6). The atlas comprised 98 sheets of ethnographic maps and the aforementioned Shubert's map of the Russian Empire, which Keppen had reviewed in 1837, formed the base map. The plates in

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[54] Peter von Köppen, "Finnland in ethnographischer Beziehung (avec une carte coloriée)," *Memoires de l'Academie Imperiale des Sciences de St Petersbourg. Sixième Serie. Sciences politiques, histoire, philologie* 7 (1848), 452-464.
[55] *Ibid.*, 434.
[56] *Ibid.*, 435.

the atlas were preceded by a table of contents and a two-page data table containing the results from the 1834 census, used by Keppen to compile the *Atlas*. The maps were made using a combination of lithography and hand colouring. Only three copies were created, one each for the Academy of Science, the Russian Geographical Society, and Keppen himself.[57] On the title page, Keppen's credentials as a member of the Academy of Science were printed as a statement of the author's authoritativeness and expertise. A possible link between the impetus behind Keppen's activities to create an ethnographic atlas and discussions taking place in the Ministry of Internal Affairs at this time about a reorganisation of the Empire's administrative divisions seems quite likely.[58]

At first glance, the similarities between the colours used on Keppen's *Atlas* and Šafařík's 1842 map are striking (compare Figure 4 & Figure 6). On both maps, Estonians are rendered in orange and Latvians/Lithuanians in blue. However, upon closer examination, Keppen's *Atlas* differed conceptually from Šafařík's map in crucial ways. Aside from the much larger format of Keppen's *Atlas*, Keppen was interested in mapping what he considered to be non-Slavophone (and non-German) inhabitants of the Baltic littoral, which he referred to in a later publication as '*inorodtsy*'.[59] As a result, Germanic- and Slavic-speakers did not feature on Keppen's *Atlas*. Moreover, whereas Šafařík had only mapped Estonians and Lithuanians (grouping Lithuanians and Latvians together) as the two main linguistic families in the Baltic provinces, Keppen distinguished between Estonians (orange) and Livs (yellow), and between Lithuanians (blue) and Latvians (blue/green). Few scholars before Vytautas Petronis paid much attention to the Keppen's *Atlas*, which has been overlooked in the historiography in favour of Keppen's 1851 ethnographic sheet map.[60] A possible explanation for the scarcity of material

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[57] I was able to consult a facsimile of the atlas in the National Library of Russia in St. Petersburg: *Ethnograficheskii atlas Evropeiskoi Rossii sostavlennyi Petrom Keppenom* (St. Petersburg: Al'faret, 2008). I am grateful to Vytautas Petronis for sharing his photos of the atlas with me.

[58] I thank Marina Loskutova for our conversation about this in Tartu in June 2017. Unfortunately, I have been unable to locate sources to confirm this link.

[59] '*Inorodtsy*' was originally a legal term that had been used since 1822 to describe certain ethnic and religious minorities, often nomadic peoples living in the east of the Empire, and which was extended in 1835 to include Jews. Gradually, throughout the nineteenth century, the term came to be used in an unofficial sense to refer to all non-Russians. For a detailed account of the evolution in the usages of this term, see John W. Slocum, "Who, and When, Were the Inorodtsy? The Evolution of the Category of 'Aliens' in Imperial Russia," *The Russian Review* 57, no. 2 (1998), 173–90. Slocum argues that the it was only in the 'first decades of the twentieth century, [that] the word *inorodtsy* began to be used in a variety of contexts to refer to all of the empire's non-Russian peoples' (p.185), however Keppen used the term to refer to the Empire's non-Orthodox and non-Slavophone populations already in the 1860s. See: Petr Keppen, *Khronologicheskii ukazatel' materialov dlia istorii inorodtsev evropeiskoi Rossii* (St. Petersburg: Imperatorskaia Akademiia Nauk, 1861).

[60] Petronis, *Constructing Lithuania*, 185-9.

relating to Keppen's *Atlas* is that both projects are referred to in the sources as Keppen's 'map' (*Karte* in German, or *karta* in Russian), which makes it hard to distinguish between them.

Figure 6. Map of Lifliand province from Keppen's *Ethnographic Atlas of European Russia* (1848)

Source: Petr Keppen, *Etnograficheskii atlas evropeiskoi Rossii* (St. Petersburg: 1848). Credit: Image courtesy of Vytautas Petronis.

By 1849, Keppen's work on the *Ethnographic Map of European Russia* was well underway. However, he quickly realised at the start of the project that the map's scale of 75 *versts* (or 11 miles) to the 'English inch' was insufficient to convey all the 'ethnographic nuances' (*etnographischen Nuäncen*) and 'shades' (*Schattierungen*) of the Empire's ethnic composition. At the same time, he was concerned that making a bigger map would only hamper the work's ability to provide 'the overall overview'.[61] Shortly after presenting his ethnographic

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[61] Peter von Koeppen, *Ueber die Deutschen im St Petersburgischen Gouvernement. Mit einem Vorworte über die Ethnographische Karte des genannten Gouvernements und einem Anhange über die auf derselben vorkommenden Dorfnammen* (St Petersburg: Buchdruckerei der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1850), 1; Petr Keppen, *Vod' s S. Peterburgskoi gubernii: Otryvok iz poiasnitel'nago teksta k etnograficheskoi karte S. Peterburgskoi gubernii* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1851), 1.

map of the Grand Duchy of Finland to the Academy of Science, Keppen applied to the Academy for funding to prepare a more detailed ethnographic map of St. Petersburg province. Keppen's project to ethnographically map St. Petersburg province ran in parallel with the mapping activities of the Military Topographical Corps, which had started work in 1845 on a 1-*verst* topographical map of the province. Although the topographical map was only completed in 1854, the coexistence of both mapping projects suggests the close links between the accumulation of ethnographic knowledge and administrative changes to toponyms that were implemented in the province in the late 1840s and 1850s.[62]

Keppen collected material to compile the map of St. Petersburg province from a variety of different sources. Using his contacts within the Academy of Science, Keppen was able to access the directory of non-Russian inhabitants compiled by the Civil-Governor of St. Petersburg province. Although Keppen noted that the data he received was very incomplete, it nonetheless gave him a starting point. In addition, he gathered information from church books, police records, and other local administrative organs. Keppen also collaborated with locals who informed him about the names of villages, although he noted that pairing Finnic and Slavic versions of place names proved challenging.[63] Keppen produced multiple drafts of the map, correcting the spellings of place names and annotating the base map with numbers to indicate the positioning and colours to be used to shade different ethnographic areas (Figure 7).[64] During these rounds of corrections, Keppen incorporated changes based on errors pointed out by local correspondents, who sometimes even included small sketches in their letters to indicate how the map should be corrected (Figure 8).[65]

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[62] Ol'ga Alekseevna Krasnikova, "Sankt-Peterburg i guberniya na "Odnoverstakh" XIX v.: k istorii pereimenovaniia naselennykh punktov," *Istoriko-kulturnyi landshaft Severo-Zapada 3: Shestye Shegrenovskie chiteniia: Sbornik statei* (St. Petersburg: Evropeiskii Dom, 2014), 102-112.
[63] von Koeppen, *Ueber die Deutschen*, 4-5.
[64] SPBF ARAN f.30, op.1., d.102, l.2-4.
[65] SPBF ARAN f.30, op.1, d.102, l.49.

Figure 7. Detail from a draft of Keppen's *Ethnographic Map of St. Petersburg Province*

The annotations mark the villages inhabited by Estonian-speakers on the western bank of Lake Pskov.

Source: SPBF ARAN f.30, op.1., d.102, l.2. Credit: St. Petersburg Branch of the Archives of the Russian Academy of Science.
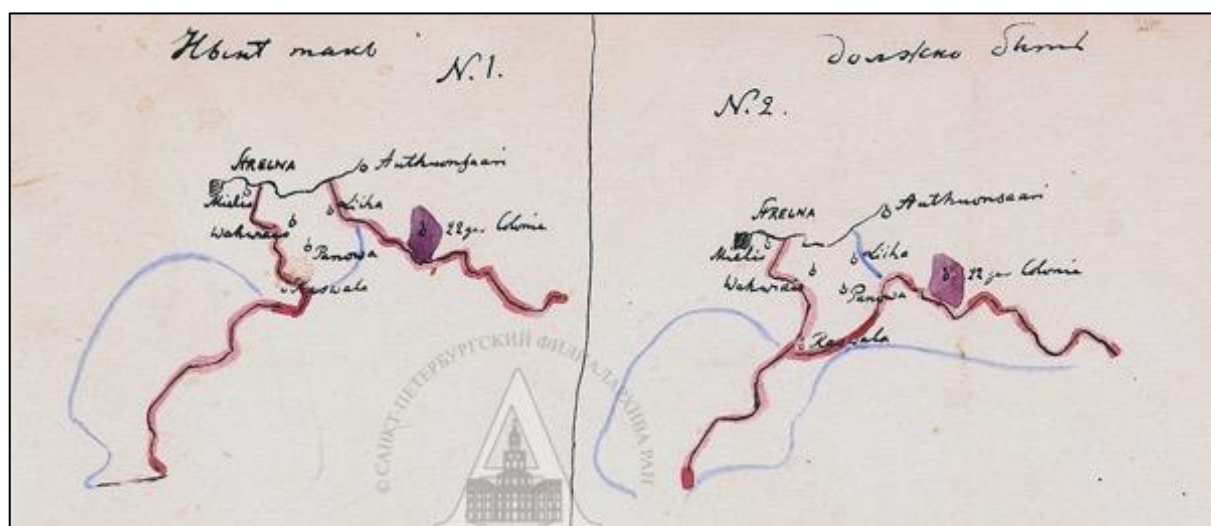
Figure 8. Sketch map by a correspondent from Pavlosk, St. Petersburg province

The map was appended to a letter sent to Keppen on 26 July 1849. The map inscription reads: (left) 'Not like this…' or 'Presently this' (*Net tak' or N'ne tak'*) and (right) 'it should be' (*dolzhno byt'*).

Source: SPBF ARAN f.30, op.1, d.102, l.49. Credit: St. Petersburg Branch of the Archives of the Russian Academy of Science.

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While Keppen's map of St. Petersburg province divided the inhabitants into different ethnolinguistic groups, he also experimented with cartographical techniques to convey a sense of the complex patterns of settlement and forms of identification (Figure 9). He underlined the names of villages inhabited by a different ethnographic group from the surrounding area, thus differentiating between urban and rural settlement patterns. He also decided not to render Russians as they were 'more or less in all parts of the province', a technique that he was also using on his *Ethnographic Map of European Russia*.[66] Overall, Keppen was satisfied with the outcome of the ethnographic map of St. Petersburg province, which he felt was far more comprehensive than his ethnographic map of the Grand Duchy of Finland.[67] Echoing Bodianskii's positive remarks regarding the ease with which Šafařík's map could be read, Keppen commented on how he felt that the map was self-explanatory: 'According to the colours and signs, the owners of the map will already find their way without further explanation.'[68] The map was published in German, as was the case with all the publications of the Academy of Science at this time. However, Keppen expressed his hope that the Russian Geographical Society would publish a Russian edition of the map.[69] An anonymous and undated map held in the Russian National Library appears to confirm that the map was indeed later revised and republished in a Russian-language edition.[70]

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[66] von Koeppen, *Ueber die Deutschen,* 2.
[67] Köppen, "Finnland in ethnographischer Beziehung", 463.
[68] Koeppen, *Ueber die Deutschen*, 8.
[69] *Ibid.*, 5.
[70] RNB K 3-Zap 2/192.
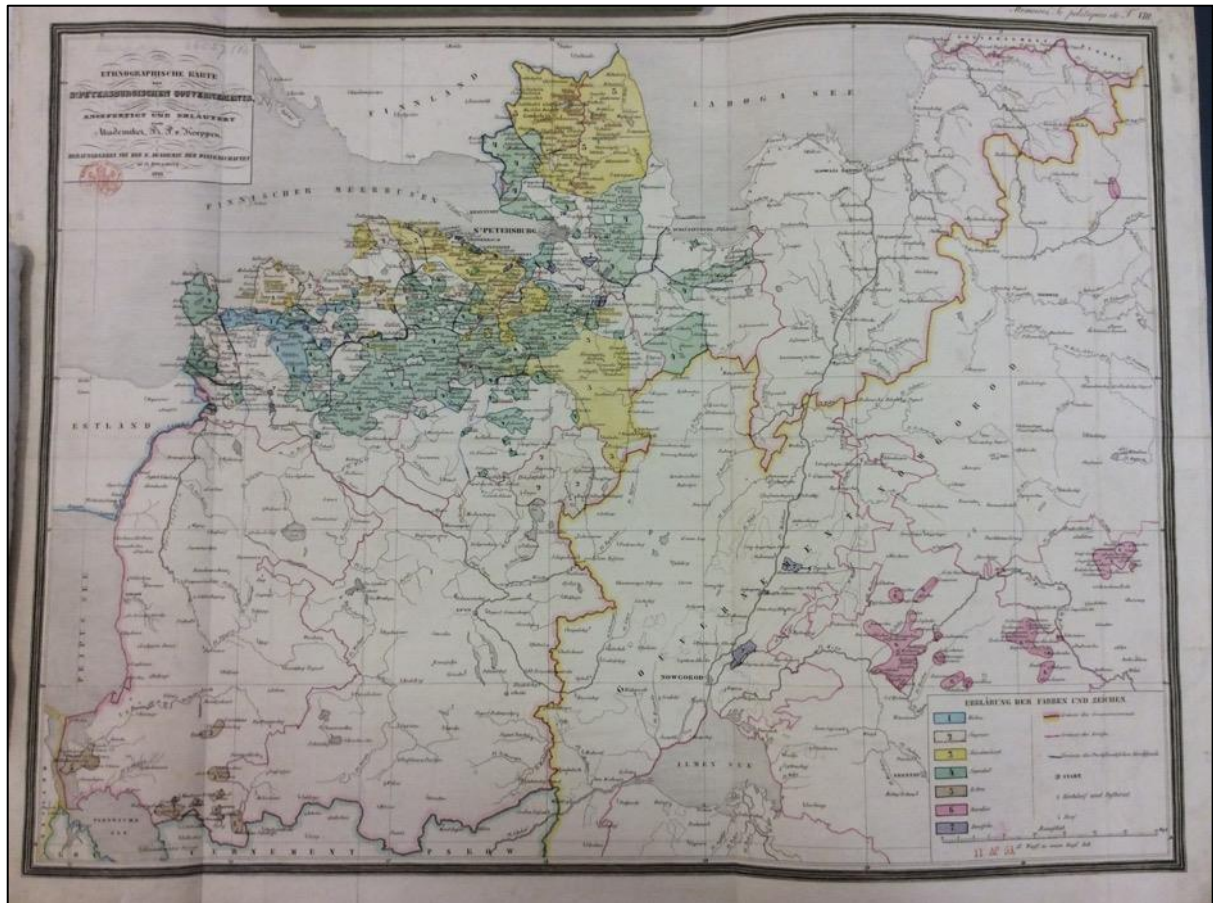
Figure 9. Keppen's *Ethnographic Map of St. Petersburg Province* (1849)

Source: Peter von Koeppen, *Ethnographische Karte St. Petersburgischen Gouvernements* (St. Petersburg: Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1849). Credit: British Library.

Conclusions

Map-makers such Keppen and Šafařík experimented with ethnographic map-making in the middle of the century as part of wider pan-European experiments with applying geographical and graphical methods to visualise ethnolinguistic data. By titling their maps 'ethnographic map' (*Ethnographische Karte* in German, or *etnograficheskaia karta* in Russian), Keppen and Šafařík deliberately positioned their works within this emerging cartographical genre. The term 'ethnographic map' established expectations among audiences about the form and content of the maps. Map literacy was already widespread among the educated part of the population across Europe in the first half of the nineteenth century. A shared cartographical language of conventional techniques, signs, and symbols was already being used on ethnographic maps several decades prior to the discussion about establishing formal international statistical and cartographical standards of measurement, notation, and expression that occurred in later decades.

The ethnographic maps of the 1840s travelled quickly across empires and circulated in different milieus of knowledge production. They contained a high degree of intertextuality and were founded upon the same base maps, corpuses of statistical data, and often directly copied one another in the colours used to render different ethnic groups. The correspondence between Keppen and Šafařík demonstrates how rather than simply appropriating or copying a model developed in Central Europe, map-makers in imperial Russia played a key role in the wider transnational conversation on ethnographic mapping from its early years. The relationship between Keppen and Šafařík is an important example for challenging notions of a unidirectional 'cultural gradient', of a Russia always imitating "the West", and of models of singular 'centres of calculation' for the 'diffusion of ideas' in cartographical thinking.[71]

Finally, Keppen's often-overlooked cartographical activities of the late 1830s and 1840s highlight how ethnographic cartography developed in the Russian Empire as a result of the aligned interests of different stakeholders, as both the tsarist state and intellectual elites turned to science to inventory and manage the natural and human resources of the Empire. The complex biographies of men like Keppen, who straddled the worlds of government and academia, makes it hard to define the line between imperial officialdom and civil society. Keppen's ventures in ethnographic mapping evolved precisely because of his ability to navigate between bureaucratic and academic institutions.

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[71] Catherine Evtuhov and Stephen Kotkin, *The Cultural Gradient: The Transmission of Ideas in Europe, 1789-1991* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2003); Bruno Latour, *Science in Action: How to Follow Scientists and Engineers Through Society* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987). On the concept of 'centres of calculation', see pp. 215-257.

CHAPTER 2

Early Activities of the Russian Geographical Society in the Baltic Provinces

Having established a broad overview of Petr Keppen's early cartographical activities in the previous chapter, I now turn to more closely examine his involvement in the Russian Geographical Society (RGO) and the process of making his most famous map, the *Ethnographic Map of European Russia* (1851) (Figure 2)*. As argued in the previous chapter, the development of ethnographic cartography in the Russian Empire needs to be understood in a broader East Central European context. The timing of the publication of Keppen's map in 1851 coincided with large-scale state-directed ventures to map the peoples of the Habsburg Empire, such as the projects led by Rudolf Fröhlich (1848-9) and Karl von Czoernig (1855-57).[72] Responding to the revolutionary wave that spread across Europe in 1848-49, map-makers in Austria used ethnographic cartography to provide the state with empirical evidence to understand the multi-ethnic logic of the Empire. The maps demonstrated the impossibility of territorially dividing the Empire by nation and functioned as grand statements about unity in diversity. Ethnographic cartography in the mid-nineteenth century was thus closely tied to population management and imperial governance. Although the wave of revolutions did not reverberate across the borders into the Russian Empire, map-makers in imperial Russia similarly experimented with ways to use cartography to explore the Empire's nationalities through science.[73] This chapter explores the role of civic organisations and learned societies, notably the Russian Geographical Society, in funding and organising ethnographic mapping projects. In contrast to the Habsburg Empire, where ethnographic mapping was primarily carried out at the direction of government sponsored ventures through the State Statistical

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[72] Labbé, "La carte ethnographique de l'Empire Austrichien"; Peter Stachel, "Die Harmonisierung national-politischer Gegensätze und die Anfänge der Ethnographie in Österreich," in *Geschichte der österreichischen Humanwissenschaften, ed. Karl Achim* (Vienna: Passagen Verlag, 2002) 323-367; Seegel, *Mapping Europe's Borderlands*, 138-144; Göderle, *Zensus und Ethnizität,* 196-207.

[73] Isaiah Berlin, "Russia and 1848," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 26, no. 67 (1948), 341-360; David Saunders, "A Pyrrhic Victory: The Russian Empire in 1848," in *The Revolutions in Europe, 1848-1849: From Reform to Reaction*, eds. Robert John Weston Evans and Hartmut Pogge von Strandmann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 135-156.

Commission, especially under von Czoernig's leadership, in the Russian Empire learned societies played a far greater role.

Historians usually date the origins of the Russian Geographical Society to 1843 when Keppen, together with the famous Baltic German natural scientist and explorer from Lifliand, Karl Ernst von Baer (1792-1876), began hosting informal weekly meetings of a small circle explorers, geographers, ethnographers, and linguists in St. Petersburg. These meetings were known among attendees as 'The Evening Gatherings of Statisticians and Travellers' (*Die Abend-Versammlungen der Statistiker und Reisenden* or simply *Sonnabend Versammlungen*) and functioned as a precursor to the establishment of a formal geographical society on the model of those already established in Paris (1821), Berlin (1828), and London (1830).[74] Alongside Baer and Keppen, the core members of this founding group comprised geographer and Arctic explorer Friedrich von Lütke / Fyodor Litke (1797-1882) and explorer and high-ranking naval officer Ferdinand von Wrangel (1797-1870), who served as chief of the Russian-American Company and de facto governor of Alaska in the 1820s and early 1830s. They also managed to draw in a wide circle of interested collaborators, including statistician Konstantin Ivanovich Arsen'ev (1789-1865), explorer Alexander Theodor von Middendorff / Aleksandr Fedorovich Middendorf (1815-1894) recently returned from an expedition to Siberia organised with Baer, geologist Grigory Petrovich Helmersen (1803-85), astronomer Otto Wilhelm Struve / Otto Vasil'evich Struve (1819-1905), military topographer Friedrich Wilhelm Rembert von Berg / Fyodor Fedorovich Berg (1794-1874), and lexicographer Vladimir Ivanovich Dal' (1801-72). All these men were motivated by a desire to promote the study of the Empire and enhance the visibility and prestige of Russian science internationally. A large number of the founding members had German-speaking ancestors or were from the Baltic German nobility.[75]

The RGO was inaugurated in October 1845 and Grand Duke Konstantin Nikolaevich was appointed as the society's official president, although the society's vice-president, Litke, was responsible for overseeing the day-to-day activities of the society. Baer directed the Ethnographic Section, while Keppen led the Statistical Section. The society was originally based at an apartment near Pevchevskii Bridge, before moving in 1862 to a much larger premises in a former gymnasium located at Chernyshev Bridge (today's Lomonosov Bridge).

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[74] Nataliia G. Sukhova, "Eshche raz o predystorii Russkogo geograficheskogo obschestva," *Izvestiia RGO* 122 (1990), 403–8.

[75] On the role of German-speakers in scientific activities in the Russian Empire in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see: Rudolf A. Mark, *Imperial Science im Zarenreich die Rolle deutscher und russländischer Gelehrter bei der Expansion Russlands nach Zentralasien seit Peter I* (Lüneburg: Nordost-Institut, 2015).

In 1908, the society moved to a purpose-built building on Demidov Lane (today's Grivtsova Pereulok), where it remains to this day. Although the RGO was divided into different specialist sections (*otdeli*), it functioned as a social space for exchanging knowledge, ideas, and methods among different specialists (Figure 10).[76] Whereas prior to the 1840s ethnography in the Russian Empire had primarily been conducted by individuals and with no overarching 'coherent or systematic research agenda', the RGO played an important role in promoting collaborative research.[77]

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[76] On the importance of place in the dissemination of scientific knowledge, see David N. Livingstone, "Science, site and speech: scientific knowledge and the spaces of rhetoric," *History of the Human Sciences* 20, no. 2 (2007), 71–98.

[77] Petronis, *Constructing Lithuania*, 116.

Засѣданіе Императорскаго Географическаго Общества.

Императорское Географическое Общество въ С.-Петербургѣ. Входный залъ.

Ориг. рис. (собств. „Нивы“) Г. Бролинга, грав. Бухеръ.

Библіотека "Руниверс"

Figure 10. The Imperial Russian Geographical Society

Source: *Niva* 42, no. 16 (1890), 433.

This chapter advances two main arguments. Firstly, the historiography on the RGO has often presented it as, to all intents and purposes, a branch of the Russian imperial Interior Ministry. Steven Seegel, for example, argues that the RGO's members were imperial civil servants who engaged in 'intelligence gathering' for the Empire. I argue that this assessment underestimates the scholarly underpinnings and aspirations of the RGO's members, especially in its early years.[78] Secondly, this chapters explores how the Baltic provinces occupied a prominent place in the early work of the RGO. Not only were many of the founding members of the RGO from the Baltic provinces, or had ancestors from the region, but they also regarded the area as an important site for conducting fieldwork expeditions in the second half of the 1840s.

Sjögren, Russwurm, and the Baltic Provinces as a Site of Ethnographic Fieldwork

Ethnography played a prominent role in the RGO's programme from the outset.[79] At a meeting on 6 March 1846, Baer delivered a speech outlining his views on ethnography as a discipline. Baer was natural scientist by training and strongly influenced by the work of Prussian geographers Alexander von Humboldt (1769-1859) and Carl Ritter (1779–1859), who had argued that geography should be founded on empirical research and study the interrelations between human and physical environments. In his speech, Baer explained that the diversity of human ethnic groups or 'tribes' (*Stammen*), cultures, and languages inhabiting the earth had occurred as a result of environmental and geographical conditions. In his view, the RGO should endeavour to collect as much information as possible about the Empire's small ethnic groups and non-Russian peoples (or *inorodtsy*), who were in danger of disappearing through assimilation due to the onset of modernity.[80]

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[78] Seegel, *Mapping Europe's Borderlands,* 19.

[79] On the activities of the Ethnographic Section of the RGO, see: A. N. Pypin, *Istoriia russkoi etnografii,* 4 vols. (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia M. M. Stasiulevicha, 1890-93); Tokarev, *Istoriia russkoi etnografii*; Wladimir Berelowitch, "Aux origines de l'ethnographie russe: la société de géographie dans les années 1840-1850," *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 31, nos. 2-3 (1990), 265–273; Nathaniel Knight, "Science, Empire, and Nationality Ethnography in the Russian Geographical Society, 1845–1855," in *Imperial Russia: New Histories for the Empire*, eds., Jane Burbank and David L. Ransel (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 108-141; Nathaniel Knight, "Seeking the Self in the Other"; Joseph Bradley, "The Quest for National Identity: The Russian Geographical Society," in *Voluntary Associations in Tsarist Russia: Science, Patriotism, and Civil Society* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009), 82-127; A. V. Psianchin, ed. *Ot plemeni k etnosu (etnografii v Russkom geograficheskom obschestve)*, 3 vols. (St. Petersburg: Svoe izdatel'stvo, 2014-16).

[80] K. M. Ber, "Ob etnograficheskikh isledovaniiakh voobsche i v Rossii v osobennosti, *Zapiski RGO* 1-2 (1849), 73–90. For a detailed discussion of Baer's views on ethnography, see Erki Tammiksaar, "The Contribution of Karl Ernst von Baer to the Study of Ethnic Minorities in the Russian Empire, 1819-1878," in *Defining Self: Essays*

The long-standing fascination among scholars in the Russian Empire with the Finno-Ugric peoples, coupled with Baer's understanding of ethnography as being about the study of small peoples of the Empire, meant that the Baltic provinces featured prominently on the intellectual horizons of the members of the RGO in its early years. On 31 January 1846, at a party at Keppen's house, Baer informed members of the Ethnographic Section of his intention to organise the RGO's first ethnographic expedition to investigate the Finno-Ugric-speaking Livs and Krevings inhabiting Lifliand and Kurliand provinces, as well as the Swedish-speaking inhabitants of the coastal islands. As the Imperial Academy of Sciences had limited funds for organising expeditions, Baer hoped that the newly established RGO would stimulate wider interest in the ethnography of the Russian Empire. The proximity of the Baltic provinces to St. Petersburg and the compact settlements of these ethnic groups meant that the research expedition would be relatively short and inexpensive to organise.[81]

Baer approached Anders Johan Sjögren (Andrei Mikhailovich Shegren) (1794-1855) to lead the expedition. Sjögren was born and educated in the Grand Duchy of Finland and had learnt Finnish as his first language. He developed a strong interest in the Finno-Ugric inhabitants of the Russian Empire and conducted research expeditions to Karelia, Lapland, Siberia, and the Caucasus.[82] Sjögren's work on Ingria and the Finno-Ugric inhabitants of St. Petersburg province galvanised popular interest in Finno-Ugrian peoples in the Russian Empire.[83] Baer also appointed August Pezold (1794-1859), an artist from Wesenberg (Rakvere) in Estliand, to accompany the expedition to produce ethnographic drawings.[84]

Sjögren and Pezold travelled to Lifliand and Kurliand in the summer of 1846.[85] In

on Emergent Identities in Russia Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries, ed. Michael Branch (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2009), 139-151; Erki Tammiksaar, "Das Verhältnis von Wissenschaft und Nationalität im Russländischen Imperium im 19. Jahrhundert am Beispiel Karl Ernst von Baers," *Deutsch als Wissenschaftssprache im Ostseeraum - Geschichte und Gegenwart,* eds. Michael Prinz and Jarmo Korhonen (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2016), 254-272.

[81] NA RGO f.2, op.1., d.33, l.35-36.

[82] Branch, *A. J. Sjögren: Studies of the North*.

[83] Keppen cited Sjögren's work as an important scholarly influence on his *Ethnographic Map of St. Petersburg Province* (1849): SPBF ARAN f.30, op.1, d.105a; Anders Johan Sjögren, *Über die finnische Bevölkerung des St. Petersburgischen Gouvernements und über den Ursprung des Namens Ingermannland* (St. Petersburg, Buchdruckerei der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1833). Following the publication Keppen ethnographic map of St Petersburg province, Keppen also pursued his interest in Finno-Ugric ethnography by publishing a more detailed study of the Votes of St. Petersburg province: Keppen, *Vod' s S. Peterburgskoi gubernii.*

[84] Pezold was one of the founders of the Estonian Literary Society and had already produced numerous portraits of Estonian peasants. On Baer's appointment of Pezold, see: NA RGO f.1-1846, op.1, d.4, l.10.

[85] The expedition report was published in: "Izvlechenie iz otcheta, predstavlennogo russkomy geograficheskomy obschestvy chlenom-sotrudnikom A. Shegrenom. Ob etnograficheskoi ekspeditsii v lifliandiiu i kurliandiiu," *Zapiski RGO* 1-2 (1849), 311-322; A. J. Sjögren, "Bericht über eine im Auftrage der russischen geographischen Gesellschaft während der Sommermonate des Jahres 1846 nach den Gouvernements Livland und Kurland unternommene Reise zur genauen Untersuchung der Reste der Liwen und Krewingen," *Denkschiften der*

Kurliand, they found a two thousand strong population of Livs, who had preserved their language and traditional culture since they mostly lived separately from Latvian-speakers.[86] By contrast, on the coastal estate of Neu-Salis (Svētciems) in Lifliand, they encountered far fewer Livs: Sjögren recorded the details of 22 peasants (16 men and 6 women) who either spoke or 'more or less understood' the Liv language.[87] They were all middle-aged or elderly and had to be 'compellingly persuaded to say some words in this language'.[88] Sjögren concluded that Livonian was a language in decline as the Livs in this region were being gradually assimilated into Latvians.[89] Moreover, Sjögren observed that the Livonian language was regarded with contempt by Latvians and the local nobility, and consequently many parents were reluctant to speak to their children in this language.

Based on his fieldwork notes from 1846 and a follow-up expedition in 1852, Sjögren compiled a Livonian grammar and dictionary.[90] He classified Livonian as a branch of the Estonian language family, which had been separated and developed for hundreds of years under the influence of Latvian. Although the language now abounded in Latvian words, Sjögren noted that it still shared many features with the dialect of Estonians living near Dorpat/Derpt in northern Lifliand. The album of drawings that Pezold presented to the RGO was not

Russischen geographischen Gesellschaft zu St. Petersburg 1 (Weimar: Druck und Verlag des Landes-Industrie-Comptoirs, 1849), 453-605. Sjögren and Pezold's activities in the Baltic provinces are also discussed in: Renāte Blumberga, "A.J. Sjögren's Expeditions to the Livs 1846-1852," in *Defining Self: Essays on Emergent Identities in Russia Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. Michael Branch (Helsinki: Finnish Literature Society, 2009), 519–33; Saulvedis Cimermanis, "The Livs of Svētciems Pagasts in the late 18th and 19th century," *Pro Ethnologia* 15 (2003), 11–27.

[86] This number corresponds with the available statistical data in 1861, which counted 2,313 Livs in Kurliand. Theodor Graß, "Die Bevölkerung der Ostsee-Provinzen nach Nationalitäten," *Baltische Wochenschrift für Landwirthschaft, Gewerbfleiss und Handel* 1 (Feb 1863), 7-8; Cimermanis, "The Livs of Svētciems Pagasts," 25-26.

[87] "Ob etnograficheskoi ekspeditsii v lifliandiiu i kurliandiiu," 312. Sjögren's count tallies with the 24 Livs counted in the 1861 census of Lifliand. See: Graß, "Die Bevölkerung der Ostsee-Provinzen nach Nationalitäten," 7-8.

[88] "Ob etnograficheskoi ekspeditsii v lifliandiiu i kurliandiiu," 312.

[89] In his report, Sjögren alluded to an incident described by Heinrich Georg von Jannau, a pastor and scholar of Estonian language, who described in 1828 how some years earlier 260 Livs had been moved (or displaced) from their farmsteads on Neu-Salis estate and dispersed among Latvian farmsteads, presumably with a view to their assimilation. Heinrich Georg von Jannau, *Ueber die Grund- und Ursprache der Ehsten und die Mittel zu einer allgemeinen ehstnischen Schriftsprache zu gelangen. Eine historisch, philologisch-critische Untersuchung, nebst kurzer Zusammenstellung, Vergleichung und Wuerdigung der Finnischen, Livischen, Reval-Ehstnischen und Dorpat-Ehstnischen Sprache* (Pernau: G. Marquardt, 1828), 154.

[90] These works were posthumously published. Following Sjögren's death in 1855, the Finno-Ugric linguist Ferdinand Johann Wiedemann (1805-1887) continued Sjogren's work. Their combined labour was published as: F. J. Wiedemann, *Joh. Andreas Sjögren's Livische Grammatik nebst Sprachproben, im Auftrage der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften bearb. und mit einer historisch-ethnographischen Einleitung versehen von Ferdinand Joh. Wiedemann* (St Petersburg: Eggers, 1861); F. J. Wiedemann, *Joh. Andreas Sjögren's Livisch-Deutsches und Deutsches-Livisches Wörterbuch* (St Petersburg: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaft, 1861).

published with Sjögren's report and did not appear in print until a century later (Figure 11).[91] An explanation for the relatively low importance given to Pezold's ethnographic drawings at the time might be linked to the expedition's findings. Sjögren reported that the Livs in Lifliand were indistinguishable from Latvians in terms of their external physical appearance, meaning both their physiognomy and clothing. Instead, the main criteria Sjögren used to identify Livs was language, something that was not captured in Pezold's visual ethnography. The positive reception of Sjögren's work encouraged Baer to ask the RGO for funds for a follow-up project to study the Finno-Ugric population of neighbouring St. Petersburg province, however Baer's request was denied due to budget shortages.[92]

Figure 11. Ethnographic sketch by Pezold of a Liv family from Kurliand province

Source: L. S. Berg, *Vsesoiuznoe Geograficheskoe Obschestvo za sto let* (Moscow; Leningrad: Akademiia Nauk SSR, 1946).

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[91] For the original album of ethnographic drawings produced by Pezold, see: NA RGO f.116, op.1, d.61. Soviet zoologist and geographer Lev Semenovich Berg (1876-1950) reproduced several of Pezold's images in his history of the RGO published in 1946 to commemorate the Society's centenary: Berg, *Vsesoiuznoe geograficheskoe obschestvo za sto let.*

[92] Semenov, *Istoriia poluvekovoi deiatel'nosti IRGO,* 37-38.

Sjögren died in 1855 before he was able to complete his planned work on the coastal Swedish-speaking population in Estliand province. Nevertheless, in the early 1850s he closely followed and supported the work of Carl Friedrich Wilhelhem Russwurm (1812-1884), a teacher and school inspector working in Hapsal (Haapsalu) in Estliand province. Russwurm was born in Ratzeburg in the Duchy of (Saxe-) Lauenburg, which was granted to Sweden in 1815 at the Congress of Vienna and subsequently ruled in personal union with the Danish Crown. He moved to western Estliand in 1835 to work as private tutor for the Ungern-Sternberg family at Echmes (Ehmja) manor. In 1841, Russwurm moved to the seaside town of Hapsal, a favourite summer resort of the Romanovs. Alongside his work as a tutor, teacher, and school inspector, Russwurm developed an avid interest in the Swedish-speaking population who lived on the islands and coastal areas of western Estliand.[93]

Over a period of more than ten years, Russwurm carried out extensive ethnographic fieldwork and archival research, before eventually publishing his study of the history, language, and folk culture of the Swedish-speaking inhabitants of western Estliand in 1855.[94] Russwurm referred to these people as *Eibofolke,* a Germanised version of the inhabitants' term of self-description *äjbofålke/äjbofålke* (*öbofolket* in High Swedish), meaning 'island people'.[95] Sjögren was closely involved in the project and acted as a mentor to Russwurm, commenting on the manuscript, providing him with references, and reporting on the project's progress to the Academy of Science. Thanks to Sjögren's interest, when Russwurm ran into problems with his publisher in Leipzig, the Imperial Academy of Science decided to support Russwurm to help finish and publish the work. Further delays however were caused by a shortage of some Latin script type with diacritics needed to print Swedish orthography.[96] After the publication of *Eibofolke*, the Academy of Science recognised Russwurm's scientific contribution by awarding him the prestigious Demidov prize.

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[93] Aivar Põldvee, "Russwurmist ja 'Eibofolkest', tõlke ilmumise puhul," *Keel ja Kirjandus* 4 (2016), 312-317, 313.

[94] Russwurm explained that his research on the ethnography of the coastal and island Swedes were based 'on my views and many years of research' as there was little previous research for him to cite. Carl Friedrich Wilhelm Russwurm, *Eibofolke oder die Schweden an den Küsten Ehstlands und auf Runö: Eine historisch-ethnographische von der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu St. Petersburg mit einem Amidoneschen Preise gekrönte Untersuchung. Mit Urkunden, Tabellen und lithographirten Beilagen* (Reval: Fleischer, 1855), vi.

[95] Russwurm's use of the term *Eibofolke* to refer to all of Estliand's Swedish-speakers has been challenged. Others argue that the term was only used by the inhabitants of the two Rågö islands and not those living on the mainland. See: "Eibofolke," in *Nordisk familjebok* 7, 2nd ed. (Stockholm: Nordisk familjeboks förlags aktiebolag; Nordisk familjeboks tryckeri, 1907), 45, accessed February 28, 2018, runeberg.org/nfbg/0039.html.

[96] Russwurm, *Eibofolke,* ix.

Russwurm's book on the *Eibofolke* contained four ethnographic maps of western Estliand. His decision to make ethnographic maps appears to have been inspired by Keppen as among Russwurm's personal papers I found an undated hand-drawn watercolour copy of Keppen's *Ethnographic Map of Finland* from 1848 (Figure 12). As Keppen's map was published in the proceedings of the Imperial Academy of Science, it was widely circulated and would have been relatively easy for Russwurm to get hold of. Russwurm's ethnographic maps of coastal Estliand were published in Reval/Revel and are the first known ethnographic maps published in the Baltic provinces. An anonymous Herr Schmidt from Reval/Revel prepared the maps with the help of several of Russwurm's school pupils.[97] The maps consisted of a general ethnographic map of western Estliand (Figure 13) and three close-up maps of small islands inhabited by Swedish-speakers. The maps portrayed the areas inhabited by Swedes (blue), Estonians (yellow), and mixed Swedish and Estonian areas (green). The enlarged scale of the map enabled Russwurm to make local particularities visible. For example, Russwurm indicated areas previously inhabited by Swedes but now inhabited by Estonians (red). Russwurm perceived the shrinking of the Swedish-inhabited areas over time as evidence that they were gradually being assimilated into the surrounding Estonian population.[98] Russwurm's research on the *Eibofolke* was motivated by the same principle of 'salvage ethnography' as Sjögren's research on Livonian-speakers in Lifliand and Kurliand, namely to record and preserve the cultural heritage of a people who were gradually disappearing.[99]

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[97] *Ibid.*, x.
[98] *Ibid.*, x.
[99] *Ibid.*, v.

Figure 12. Sketch by Russwurm of Keppen's *Ethnographic Map of Finland*

Source: Undated manuscript. EAA.854.7.714.146. Credit: Estonian Historical Archive.
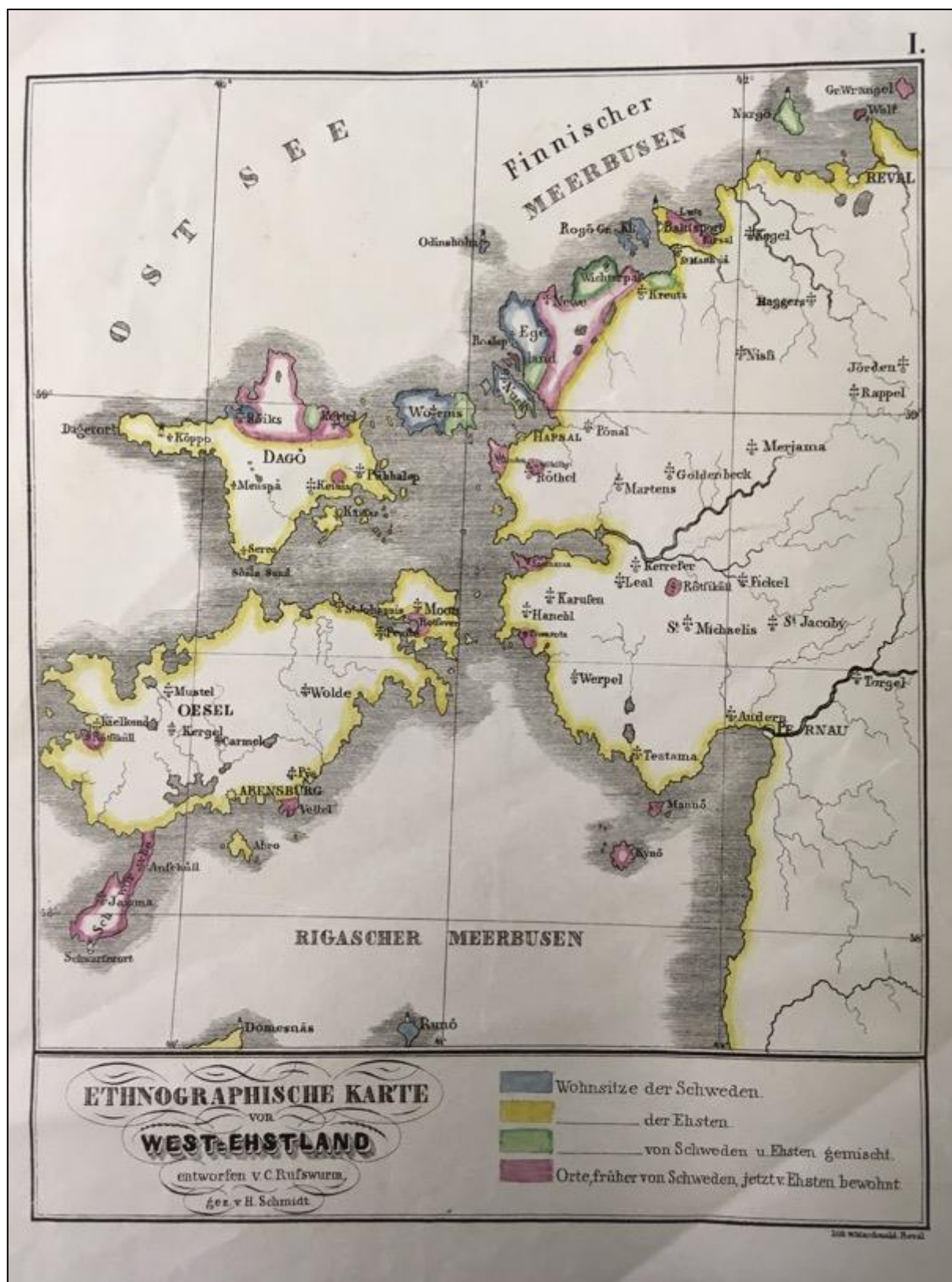
Figure 13. Russwurm's *Ethnographic Map of West-Estland* (1855)

Source: Carl Friedrich Russwurn, "Ethnographische Karte von West-Ehstland" (Reval: Lith. W. Macdonald, 1855). LVVA f.6828, ap.4, l.352. Credit: Latvian State Historical Archive.

The research by Sjögren, Pezold, and Russwurm on the Livs, Krewings, and coastal Swedes in the late 1840s and early 1850s positioned the Baltic provinces in a prominent place in the intellectual horizons of academicians in the RGO and Imperial Academy of Science during this period.[100] The impact of the ethnographic studies by Sjögren, Pezold, and Russwurm was such that, despite their small numbers, Livs and coastal Swedes appeared on almost all ethnographic maps of the Baltic provinces published in the Russian Empire throughout the second half of the nineteenth century.[101] The entrenched practice of depicting Livs and coastal Swedes on maps is an important counterexample to the tendency to think of ethnographic cartography as a tool to erase local or regional forms of identification and assimilate smaller groups into larger national categories.[102] In this case, ethnographic cartography buttressed knowledge about these peoples among the Empire's scholarly community and gave the impression that the numbers of Livs and Swedish-speakers in the Baltic littoral were far greater than they actually were.[103]

Keppen was also caught up in the intellectual fascination with the Baltic provinces in the late 1840s. In 1846, he began preparations to make ethnographic maps of Estliand and Lifliand, similar to the ethnographic maps of the Grand Duchy of Finland and St. Petersburg province that he was working on. In preparation, Keppen published several short articles on the ethnographic composition of the three Baltic provinces in the journal of the Academy of Sciences based on his analysis of data from the 1834 'revision of souls' (*Seelenrevision*).[104] The following year, he contacted officials in Estliand and Lifliand for more detailed and up-to-date information about the location of villages inhabited by Estonians, Latvians, and

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[100] Interest in carrying out research expeditions in the Baltic provinces was not only limited to ethnography. Between 1851-52 Baer led a fisheries expedition organised by the Ministry of State Properties to the eastern coast of the Baltic Sea from Narva to Riga and Lake Chudsko-Pskovskoe, which lay important groundwork for his more famous expedition to the Caspian Sea in 1853-56. Erki Tammiksaar, "U istokov rybopromyslovykh issledovanii v Rossii: Karl Ber i ego ekspeditsiia na Chudskoe i Pskovskoe ozera v 1851-1852 gg," *Studies in the History of Biology* 8 (2016), 10–28.

[101] See for example: "Karta gubernii: Lifliandskoi, Estliandskoi, Kurliandskoi, Kovenskoi, Vilenskoi, Grodensskoi i Minskoi" (1858), published in N. I. Zuev, *Podrobnyi Atlas Rossiiskoi Imperii* (St. Petersburg: 1860), which marked the location of Livs and Swedes far more prominently than the far more numerous German and Jewish populations.

[102] On the importance of paying attention to ethnolinguistic communities in East Central Europe who defined themselves in non-national terms, see: Tomasz Kamusella, *The Politics of Language and Nationalism in Modern Central Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).

[103] A parallel can be drawn here with the 'affirmative action' policies in the early Soviet Union designed to promote and nurture ethnic consciousness among ethnic minorities. See: Terry Martin, *The Affirmative Action Empire: Nations and Nationalism in the Soviet Union, 1923-1930* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001).

[104] Peter von Koeppen, "Die Bewohner Kur- und Livlands im Allgemeinen und die Liven insbesondere," *Bulletin de la Classe des sciences historiques, philologiques et politiques de l'Académie impériale des sciences de Saint-Pétersbourg* (1846), 257-269; Peter von Koeppen, "Die Bewohner Estlands," *Bulletin de la Classe des sciences historiques, philologiques et politiques de l'Académie impériale des sciences de Saint-Pétersbourg* (1846), 346-347.

Russians. However, it appears that Keppen never got any further than the data-collecting stage.[105] No further mentions of the maps were found. The history of cartography has often been written as a sequence of success stories, chronicling the production of different maps. Paying attention to projects that never materialised or failed reminds us of the intellectual and financial difficulties that cartographers faced when trying to produce a map and the contingencies involved in the process.

The Process of Making the *Ethnographic Map of European Russia* (1851)

The RGO quickly developed into a space of political struggles over the aims and methods of scientific inquiry, as well as of clashing visions of Russia, either as a dynastic empire or as a state pertaining to its titular ethnic nation.[106] The members of the RGO became polarised by internal quarrels into two factions that positioned the so-called 'German' founding members against a younger group of 'Russians'. The conflict over the formulation of ethnography as an academic discipline, including its aims and methodology, is well-known and has been extensively documented.[107] Pertinent to the present discussion is how this debate played out in the viewpoints of the leading scholars of the respective camps, Baer and Nikolai Nadezhin (1804-1856), ethnographer, literary critic, and a former professor of aesthetics at Moscow University. As mentioned earlier, Baer understood ethnography as a science that should study the Empire's diverse nationalities. Influenced by ideas of European enlightenment and racial hierarchies, Baer regarded ethnography as part the state's "civilising mission" towards its "indigenous" and "primitive" peoples. The task of the ethnographer should be to describe and collect material artefacts about these peoples, especially those who were in danger of disappearing through assimilation. Nadezhin, on the other hand, perceived ethnography as an expression of national identity and insisted that ethnographers focus their efforts on studying the Russian nation (*narod*).[108] By 1848, the so-called Russian faction had gained dominance

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[105] The correspondence is slightly ambiguous as it discusses Keppen's need for ethnographic information to make his 'map'. It is therefore unclear whether Keppen was collecting information in preparation for his ethnographic atlas and map of European Russia or for separate maps of Estland and Lifland. The titles of the archival files, however, support the latter interpretation and that the documentation refers to stand-alone mapping projects. See: "Materialy dlia etnograficheskoi karty Lifliandii," NA RGO f.2, op.1, d.202; "Materialy dlia etnograficheskoi karty Estliandii," NA RGO f.2, op.1, d.203.

[106] Knight, "Seeking the Self", 118.

[107] For a detailed discussion of these debates, see: Knight, "Science, Empire, and Nationality", 116-122; Tammiksaar, "The Contribution of Karl Ernst von Baer", 146.

[108] Nikolai Nadezhin, "Ob etnograficheskom izychenii narodnost russkoi," *Zapiski RGO* 2 (1847), 61-115. For a discussion of the term *narod*, see: Alexei I. Miller, "'Narodnost' i 'natsiia' v russkom iazyke XIX veka:

within the RGO and Baer resigned from his post. In 1849, the changes in the direction of the RGO were reflected with the addition of 'Imperial' to the society's name (henceforth IRGO).

The idea to create an ethnographic map of European Russia was on the table right from the early days of the RGO.[109] Nevertheless, although planning began shortly after the founding of the RGO, the map did not materialise for another five years. The prolonged process of creating the map can be traced through the regular progress updates Keppen presented to the RGO. Keppen presented four sheets of the map to the RGO on 3 February 1848 and reported that the sheets were engraved and coloured, but still missing inscriptions. Keppen explained the data he was using (the 1834 'revision of souls'), his 'system of classification' (*sistema klassifikatsiia*), and the information he was planning to include in the map commentary. He also drew attention to the areas where he was missing information.[110] The following year, at the RGO's annual meeting on 22 February 1849, Keppen informed members that while the two eastern sheets of the map (nos. 2 and 4) had been successfully completed during the past year, the engraving work on the other half had slowed down. Keppen claimed that this was due to his desire to finish the map to the high standards, which was being hampered by the technical challenges of including an increasing number of inscriptions and the need to incorporate continual modifications based on new data that he was receiving. Keppen was also simultaneously working on an ethnographic atlas for the Academy of Science, which had consumed a large part of his time and energy.[111]

Keppen's map was finally published in 1851 and encapsulated the conflicting ideas about ethnography within the Ethnographic Section in the late 1840s. On the one hand, Keppen's map followed Baer's conception of ethnography as the study of the diverse nationalities of the Russian Empire. Informed by a strong sense of geographical determinism about the relationship between humans and the environment, he divided the Empire's inhabitants into geographical regions.[112] The map's legend listed 38 'nationalities' (*narodnost'*) alphabetically, which were each assigned a unique colour and number. Whereas Šafařík's map of the Slavic language area had depicted ethnolinguistic groups flowing across state borders, on Keppen's map they abruptly stopped at the Empire's borders. In doing so,

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Podgotovitel'nye nabroski k istorii poniatii," *Rossiiskaia istoriia* (2009), 151–65; Karjahärm, "Terminology Pertaining to Ethnic Relations."

[109] "Otchet' Russkago Geograficheskago Obshchestva," *Zapiski RGO* 2 (1847), 9-10.

[110] *Geograficheskie izvestiia* 1 (1848), 7.

[111] "Otchet' Russkago Geograficheskago Obshchestva za 1849 goda," *Zapiski IRGO* 5 (1851), 19-20.

[112] On Baer's geographical determinism, see: Knight, "Science, Empire, and Nationality", 118-119; Tammiksaar, "The Contribution of Karl Ernst von Baer", 140-141.

Keppen's map constructed a contained image of ethnographic diversity *within* the Russian Empire, where ethnographic territories tightly overlapped with imperial borders.

At the same time, as in his map of St. Petersburg province from 1849, Keppen left Russians – comprising Great Russians, White Russians (Belarusians), and Little Russians (Ukrainians) – blank. By not colouring the Russians, Keppen was making a strong statement about the separation, and ethnic hierarchy, between Russians and non-Russians. The great swathes of blank background space on the map reinforced the message of the Empire as Russian by majority, with minority ethnic groups inhabiting small enclaves in the borderlands. Keppen's ethnographic map subtly embodied both sides of the debates panning out in the IRGO. By leaving Russians blank, Keppen drew viewers' attention to the brightly rendered small groups inhabiting the borderlands as a statement about the rich ethnographic diversity of the imperial territories. Yet, by suggesting that the Russian Empire was ethnically Russian (and Orthodox) "by default", his map promoted the idea of the fundamentally Russian nature of the Empire, while the Empire's other inhabitants were portrayed as ethnographic curiosities living in the peripheries.

The map was published in three editions (the second edition alone was printed in 300 copies, an extraordinary number for that time) and accompanied by a 40-page commentary.[113] Despite the popularity of the map, Keppen did not want it to be taken at face value. By drawing attention to the methods and sources used, and choices made, Keppen's commentary demystified the map as an object of unquestionable authority. He ended his commentary with an appeal to local observers to send him information to improve the map, the mid-nineteenth century equivalent of a crowdsourcing appeal. In Keppen's eyes, the Empire's inhabits were not only the object of his research, but also subjects who could actively contribute and participate in the mammoth project to map the imperial realm. He specifically addressed the corrections and new statistical information he was sent in a revised version of the commentary published to accompany the third edition of the map.[114] Understanding ethnographic map-making in the context of these networks of lay participation enables us to challenge the distinction between departmental or institutionally affiliated scientists, the 'applied' science of bureaucrats and civil servants (*Polizeiwissenschaft*), and local hobby ethnographers. Keppen

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[113] Petr Keppen, *Ob etnograficheskoi karte evropeiskoi Rossii* (St. Petersburg: Imperatorskoe Russkoe Geograficheskoe Obschestve, 1852). Keppen also published a German translation of the map commentary: Peter von Koeppen, "Über die Anfertigung der ethnographischen Karte des europäischen Russlands," *Bulletin de la Classe des sciences historiques, philologiques et politiques de l'Académie impériale des sciences de Saint-Pétersbourg* 9 (1852), 137-164.

[114] Petr Keppen, *O tret'em izdanii Etnograficheskoi karty Evropeiskoi Rossii.* SPBF ARAN f.30, op.1, d.108.

used his map to make visible gaps in existing networks of knowledge and engage in scientific discussion with lay observers and correspondents throughout the Empire.[115]

Areas, Lines, Colours: A Graphical Language for Mapping Ethnographic Groups

The publication of the *Ethnographic Map of European Russia* (1851) provides us with an opportunity to reflect on developments in the application of geographical and graphical methods to visualise ethnic statistics across the 1840s and early 1850s. As discussed in the previous chapter, Bodianskii anticipated that Russian readers in 1843 would have no problem deciphering the cartographical language of Šafařík's map, even if they did not know Czech. A close reading of the *Ethnographic Map of European Russia* (1851) reveals that Keppen was subscribing to a set of graphical conventions for mapping ethnic groups, which had already become an established norm within the genre. Paying attention to the 'graphic code' (shading, lines, colour etc.) and variations in size, shape, tone, texture, orientation, and hue highlights how maps not only represented findings from other disciplines, such as statistics and ethnography, but played an important role in shaping emerging ideas about ethnic groups, language use, and nationhood.[116]

The most visually striking features of the *Ethnographic Map of European Russia* are the 38 shaded zones depicting the geographical spread of ethnographic groups. These colour-lithographed spaces extrapolated information from different sources about the number and nationality of inhabitants in a village, town, parish, or city, in order to make claims about the territorial distribution of a particular ethnic group. Urban centres functioned as 'population points' and were used as indicators of the religious and ethnographic character of the surrounding area, despite the fact that there were often considerable differences between the ethnographic composition of urban and rural inhabitants in a particular region.[117] The method of using coloured block shading was closely influenced by topographical and geological maps, which are also concerned with depicting distributional information about a variable covering

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[115] Marina Loskutova makes the same observation about the *Economic-Statistical Atlas of European Russia* (1851), where she argues that large-scale mapping projects heavily relied on local informants to accumulate natural science knowledge. Loskutova, "'Svedeniia o klimate."

[116] On approaches to reading maps' 'graphic codes', see: Mark Monmonier, *How to Lie with Maps* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 18-20.

[117] On the concept of 'population points', see Mastianitsa, "Proizvodstvo i reprezentatsiia 'svoego' prostranstva", 199.

the earth's surface.[118] The technique of block shading denoted an implicit belief that the rendered ethnographic group inhabited the whole extent of the shaded area and did not share this territory with any other groups. The map also did not convey any information about population density. Consequently, Keppen's map enhanced the presence of ethnic groups inhabiting a widespread geographical area in a low density and diminished the visual impact of groups concentrated in a more compact territory.

Keppen was acutely aware of the problems related to projecting ethnographic groups onto a two-dimensional surface. In the map commentary, he noted that while he included ethnic 'enclaves' on his map, such as Swedes (light blue) and Russians along the lakeshore of *Chudskoe ozero* (Peipsi järv / Peipussee), he decided not to mark scattered ethnic groups (Figure 14).[119] Moreover, where Germans and Jewish communities lived in separate villages, he shaded them in the corresponding colour, but where they lived with other nationalities 'and did not consist of the majority population, it was inconvenient to show them'.[120] As a result, Germans and Jews were made 'invisible' within the ethnographic landscape of the Baltic littoral. Likewise, Gypsies (*tsigany*), who were 'scattered throughout all Russia in small numbers', were mostly not shown.[121] Whereas Germans, Jews, and Gypsies are included in the statistical description and data tables in the map commentary, they disappeared in the process of transferring information from data table to map. The task of creating an ethnographic map involved not merely representing a synthesis of assembled numerical data, but a translation of these numbers into areal terms. Ethnographic maps thus inherently privileged regions inhabited by settled and more ethnically homogenous populations. Nomadic, transient, seasonally-migrating, or dispersed ethnic groups, as well as those living in ethnically mixed regions, often disappeared and became part of the maps' 'silences'.[122]

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[118] Martin J. S. Rudwick, "The Emergence of a Visual Language for Geological Science 1760-1840," *History of Science* 14 (1976), 149-195.

[119] Keppen, *Ob etnograficheskoi karte*, 25. The inhabitants along the lakeshore were Russian-speaking Old Believers, perceived by imperial statisticians as "Russians". On the politics of ethno-religious classifications, see: Irina Paert, "'Two or Twenty Million?': The Languages of Official Statistics and Religious Dissent in Imperial Russia" *Ab Imperio* (2006), 75–98.

[120] Keppen, *Ob etnograficheskoi karte*, 25. Keppen's statement is ambigious about whether this 'inconvenience' was political, technical, or a combination of both.

[121] *Ibid.,* 25.

[122] Harley, "Silences and Secrecy."

Figure 14. Detail of the Baltic provinces from Keppen's *Ethnographic Map of European Russia* (1851)

Source: Petr Keppen, *Etnograficheskaia karta evropeiskoi Rossii* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskago Geograficheskago Obschestva, 1851). Credit: National Library of Finland.

Keppen's experiments with ethnographic map-making highlight one the key tensions in scientific image-making in the nineteenth century described by Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison. On the one hand, Keppen's fastidious attention to detail reveals how he was striving towards an epistemological realism. Keppen wanted to make his map as truthful to nature as possible and, like other scientific image-makers in the mid-nineteenth century, '[was] painstaking to the point of fanaticism in the precautions [he] took to ensure the fidelity of [his] images'. On the other hand, Keppen readily intervened 'in the image-making process to "correct" nature's imperfect specimens' and compensate for discrepancies or lack of data.[123] Keppen was self-reflective about his role as a map-maker and was not wholly comfortable with

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[123] Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison, *Objectivity* (New York: Zone Books, 2007), 42.

the way his ethnographic map reduced the intersectional complexity of the imperial experience to a rational classificatory schema of nationalities. This led him to experiment with other graphical techniques to convey ethnographically mixed areas, such as assigning each ethnic group a number according to the alphabetical list of ethnographic groups in the map's legend. These numbers were added as another layer to the map, which allowed Keppen to indicate the presence of a particular ethnographic group outside of its shaded area of majority concentration, such as Estonians on the east bank of the lake (indicated by the number 38). On the one hand, this is an example of Keppen's experimentation with techniques to cartographically depict mixed ethnographic regions and convey a sense of overlapping and hybrid forms of identification. On the other hand, the fact that these tiny numbers require a keen eye and careful contemplation to make out, indicates how his attempt at mapping the imperial situation was overshadowed by the convention of block shading in thematic mapping at the time, which reduced the Empire to a mosaic of tightly tessellating ethnographic regions.[124]

Keppen sought to counterbalance the overly clean image of the 'imperial situation' depicted on the map by going into greater detail about the heterogeneity and relations among the ethnic groups in the map commentary. Keppen included a taxonomic schema that divided the inhabitants of the Russian Empire into Iugra, Finns, Perm peoples, Volga peoples, Tatars, Mongols, Lithuanians, Slavs, and Jews. For certain ethnic "families", Keppen included up to three more layers of sub-branches, as in the case of the Finns (Figure 15).[125] Using curly brackets to create a chart resembling the tree diagrams (*Stammbaum*) of linguistic theorist August Schleicher (1821-1868), Keppen was able to say much more about relationships between ethnic groups and the various nested layers of ethnolinguistic identification.[126] These nuances are lost in the map, which only portrayed the third level of the branches (e.g. Estonians, Livs, Latvians, Lithuanians). For example, Estonians' place in the wider taxonomic schema (*Finny – Chud' – Esty* [*Chukhny*] *– dvukh narechii*), as well as the fact that Estonians can be sub-divided into two dialects (*dvukh narechii*), are details which become lost in the map.

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[124] On the idea of the Russian Empire as an 'empire of regions', see Leonid E. Gorizontov, "In Search of Internal Balance: Debate on Changes in the Territorial-Administrative Division of the Russian Empire in the 1830s and 1840s," in *Imperiology: From Empirical Knowledge to Discussing the Russian Empire*, ed. Kimitaka Macuzato (Sapporo: Slavic Research Center Hokkaido University, 2007), 179-198, 179.

[125] Keppen, *Ob etnograficheskoi karte*, 15-17.

[126] On the tree metaphor in biology, see: Robert J. Richards, "The Linguistic Creation of Man: Charles Darwin, August Schleicher, Ernst Haeckel, and the Missing Link in Nineteenth-Century Evolutionary Theory," *Experimenting in Tongues: Studies in Science and Language,* ed. Mattias Dörries (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), 21-48; J. David Archibald, *Aristotle's Ladder, Darwin's Tree: The Evolution of Visual Metaphors for Biological Order* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2014).

Moreover, Keppen emphasised that while language was the most important factor for dividing the population of the Russian Empire, it was not the sole factor. Close attention to the ethnonyms Keppen uses reveals that in addition to language, he also incorporated geographical (e.g. Perm, Volga, Karelia, Caucasus) and socio-economic dimensions into his system of ethnographic classification.[127]

Figure 15. Keppen's taxonomy of Finnish peoples

Source: Petr Keppen, *Ob etnograficheskoi karte evropeiskoi Rossii* (St. Petersburg: Izdannoi Imperatorskim Russkim Geograficheskim Obschestvom, 1852), 16.

Keppen's ethnographic map not only portrayed the distribution of ethnic groups, but also demarcated the borders between them. Ethnic groups were flattened and enclosed, obscuring how the inhabitants often spoke a continuum of dialects which gradually changed

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[127] In the map commentary, Keppen went into detail about the cases of two groups, Tepteri and Bobyl', whom he defined as lying in the murky taxonomic no-man's land between socio-economic and ethnic group. Keppen's expertise in imperial statistics accounts for his cognizance of these specialized legal-administrative categories. Keppen defines Tepteri (also known as Teptiari) as a 'sort of cross between' (*nichto srednee mezhdu*) peasants and Bashkir-Mishar Tatar troops. He describes how they were 'outlaws' (*begletsov*) of Tatar origin who arrived in Bashir after the destruction of Kazan in the sixteenth century. Keppen, *Ob etnograficheskoi karte*, 20-21. Elsewhere, Tepteri are classified as a separate nationality (*narodnost'*). F. A. Brokgaus and I. A. Efron, eds. *Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar'* 64 (St. Petersburg: Tipo-litografiia I. A. Efrona, 1901). Keppen uses the term Bobyl' to describe a social class-cum-ethnic group of 'outlaws' (*begletsov*) of Finnic origin. Elsewhere, this term is used as a legal term to denote a landless peasant in the western provinces in the Empire. Brokgaus and Efron, *Entsiklopedicheskii Slovar'* 4 (1891).

from village to village as one travelled in a certain direction. The imagined impermeability of these ethnic borders was enhanced by the contrasting colours used for adjacent groups. The use of the same technique – line – to depict ethnographic boundaries as state and administrative borders, rivers, and roads on the base map, attributed an artificial fixity to ethnic borders and suggested that boundaries between groups were somehow solid and observable phenomena. The lines depicted on the maps have been smoothed as a result of the resolution and printing techniques used, thereby obscuring the messiness of the process of gathering ethnographic data and ambiguities of classification, especially in ethnographically mixed areas. At the same time, Keppen's decision to surround each ethnographic territory with a thick line in a contrasting colour emphasised the uniqueness of each small ethnic group and, by extension, their value as part of the collective ethnographic heritage of the Empire.

Colour played an important role in Keppen's map as a functional and technical means of differentiating ethnic groups and to convey hierarchies between groups. Over the course of the nineteenth century, colour was used in thematic maps to label various phenomena, from administrative and political territorial divisions, to topographical and geographical maps.[128] The use of colour also had an aesthetic function. In the case of Keppen's ethnographic map, the rainbow of colours showcased the magnificence of the Russian Empire that ruled over such an extensive territory and diversity of peoples.

Dorothea Schäfer-Weiss and Jens Versemann have argued that the colour theories of Johann Wolfgang von Goethe (1749-1832) influenced colouring practices on early nineteenth-century geological maps.[129] Although most famous today as a writer, Goethe was also keenly interested in natural science, including chromatics. In his *Theory of Colours* (*Zur Farbenlehre*, 1809), Goethe developed a theory of how humans perceive and associate meanings with different colours. Moving beyond literal descriptive associations – such as blue areas represent water and green for vegetation – Goethe was interested in the moral characteristics and subconscious values communicated: purple and red (beauty), orange (nobility), yellow (good), green (useful), blue (mean, common), violet (unnecessary). Goethe's chromatic theories had an important influence on the art world and on scientific modes of visualisation, especially the colouring of geological maps. Notably, the geologist and mineralogist Christian Keferstein (1784-1866) collaborated with Goethe for advice on how to colour his geological atlas of

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[128] Güttler, "Unsichtbare Hände", 137.
[129] Dorothea Schäfer-Weiss and Jens Versemann, "The Influence of Goethe's Farbenlehre on Early Geological Map Colouring: Goethe's Contribution to Christian Keferstein's General Charte von Teutschland (1821)," *Imago Mundi* 57, no. 2 (2005), 164–84.

Central Europe. Writing about Keferstein and Goethe's collaboration on the atlas, Schäfer-Weiss and Versemann, note how:

> The chief colour of the chromatic circle – "the purest most beautiful red", "this highest of all appearances of colour", which "conveys an impression of gravity and dignity" – was assigned to the chief formation containing granite (along with gneiss and mica) to reflect the "dignity of this rock". Goethe considered granite to be "the highest and deepest", at once the archetype and foundation for all younger strata.[130]

Cultural conventions and subconscious colour associations could be used by map-makers to subtly convey information about the hierarchies and attributes of different aspects of geographical knowledge.

While I have not uncovered any direct evidence that Keppen was aware of Goethe's work on chromatics, Keppen did spend a week with Goethe in Weimar in early 1824 where they might well have discussed colour theory.[131] Nevertheless, whether Keppen deliberately incorporated contemporary chromatic theory or was guided more by intuition, his use of colour reinforced certain ways of seeing and categorising the inhabitants of the Russian Empire. Keppen did not explicitly write much about his use of colour in the map commentary, simply claiming that he chose the colours arbitrarily:

> I could not, concerning colour, follow any system; that is why I decided to just choose three main colours as representatives of peoples: green for Finns, blue for Tatars, red for Germans. However, as on the map one must show no less than 38 differences, I only resorted to bordering the coloured areas, so that from the combined use of two colours, it was possible to determine where people inhabit.[132]

A close examination of Keppen's map, however, suggests that his choices of colour were less haphazard than he made out. For instance, Keppen's decision to render Finns, Tatars, and Germans in contrasting colours reinforced the idea they were three distinct "families" based on their geographical location and linguistic distinctiveness. Keppen presented Latvians and Lithuanians as two sub-groups of the Livonian tribe, conveying a sense of their kinship by shading them both in green, but also distinguishing them by using two distinct shades. Jews were rendered black on Keppen's map, as they appeared on almost all ethnographic maps in the nineteenth century. As Dennis Cosgrove and Laura Vaughan both note, the use of black shading on thematic maps carried 'powerful moral connotations' in the late nineteenth-century and often 'darkness and shadow implied ignorance and decay, both physical and moral'.[133] In

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[130] *Ibid.*, 170.
[131] Keppen, "Biografiia P. I. Keppena", 87-9.
[132] Keppen, *Ob etnograficheskoi karte*, 24.
[133] Dennis Cosgrove, *Geography and Vision: Seeing, Imagining and Representing the World* (London; New York: I.B.Tauris, 2008), 164. Laura Vaughan discusses several examples of the use of colour to suggest immorality on

imperial Russia, the widespread practice of depicting Jews in black on ethnographic maps was likely a reflection of anti-Semitic attitudes and reinforced stereotypes about the "othering" of the Empire's Jewish inhabitants.

Audience and Reception: Academic Critiques of Ethnographic Geography

As mentioned at the beginning of Chapter 1, the eminent geographer and statistician Petr Petrovich Semenov-Tian-Shanskii (1827-1914) pronounced Keppen's *Ethnographic Map of European Russia* one of the crowning moments of the IRGO's early years.[134] Keppen was awarded the prestigious Constantine medal and Zhkovskii prize by the IRGO for his work.[135] The map was highly acclaimed by the members of the IRGO and used as the basis for several subsequent ethnographic maps.[136] In his speech to the IRGO in 1851, the eminent Slavicist Izmail Sreznevskii (1812-1880) and future head of the IRGO's Ethnographic Section (1856-1860) praised the map as the first step towards creating a geographical map of the Russian language, as it demarcated the borders and space where Russian was not the dominant language.[137] Reading Keppen's map through the lens of Nadezhin's approach to ethnography, Sreznevskii stressed the importance of Keppen's map for understanding the languages and dialects of the Russian 'nationality' (*narodnost'*).

In a review of the map published by Sreznevskii the following year, he lavished even more opulent praise, admiring Keppen's 'indefatigable exactitude' and describing the map as a 'marvellous' and 'wonderful experiment' (*prekrasknyi opyt*).[138] Of particular importance was the establishment of the borders between languages, which he felt were still 'unmarked' (*neotmechenyi*). He argued that maps provided a 'reading of the facts, which are not convenient to understand without a visual aid'.[139] He argued that Keppen's work greatly benefitted from the extra time and care he had devoted to it compared to Šafařík, who – in his opinion – had rushed to publish too soon and delivered a half-baked effort. Sreznevskii argued that the map

maps of poverty and Jewish settlement in late nineteenth-century London. See: Laura Vaughan, *Mapping Society: The Spatial Dimensions of Social Cartography* (London: UCL Press, 2018), 8.

[134] Semenov, *Istoriia poluvekovoi deiatel'nosti IRGO,* 111.

[135] *Ibid.*, 111.

[136] For instance, Iakov Kuznetsov included an ethnographic map based on Keppen's 1852 map in his popular school atlas of the Russian Empire. Iakov Kuznetsov, "Etnograficheskii atlas evropeiskoi Rossii, sostavlena po materialam akad. P. Keppena" in *Uchebnogo Atlas Rossii*, 3rd ed. (St Petersburg: 1857).

[137] Ismail I. Sreznevski, "Zamechaniia o materialakh dlia geografii russkago iazyka," *Vestnik IRGO* 1, no. 5 (1851), 1-25, 8.

[138] "Etnograficheskaia karta Evropy i poiasnitel'naia stat'ia k nei," *Geograficheskie izvestiia* 7 (1849), 251-55.

[139] Sreznevski., "Zamechaniia o materialakh dlia geografii russkago iazyka", 6.

was a great improvement on earlier maps of the Slavic languages created by Šafařík and Berghaus; Sreznevskii dismissed their scientific value as they were based 'on assumptions' and so were 'often wrong'.[140]

At the same time, Sreznevskii acknowledged that it was inevitable that maps of such large expanses of territory would contain mistakes and noted the practical difficulties of covering the areas outside of the Russian Empire too. He felt that Keppen had underestimated the spread of the Russian-speaking territory as he had accounted for *inorodtsy* who had 'forgotten' their native language and now used Russian as their language of everyday communication. Moreover, Sreznevskii argued for an even more expansive vision of the geography of the Russian language by including settlements of Russian-speakers in Siberia and outside the borders of the Russian Empire, notably the *Ruthenen* (Ruthenians) in the Habsburg Empire.[141] Sreznevskii also highlighted some more general limitations of the cartographic approach, namely that working with maps shifts the focus of linguistics to 'questions of the borders and space of languages and dialects' and that maps presented a static snapshot and thus could not convey the influence of one language on another.[142] He conceded that it is impossible to draw 'a single completely truthful line between languages, or even between dialects'.[143] Nevertheless, despite these limitations in the cartographic method from his perspective as a linguist, Sreznevskii was optimistic about the potential of ethnographic cartography. He viewed map-makers in the Russian Empire as standing at the dawn of great cartographical endeavours and encouraged the IRGO's members to continue to work on the geography of the Russian language. Sreznevskii felt that Russian academicians were in a good position to become the leaders in the field of ethnolinguistic mapping due to the diversity of the Empire's inhabitants on their doorstep.

Conclusions

Analysing the early debates and map-making activities of members of the (I)RGO reveals how the process of creating an ethnographic map was inherently paradoxical. On the one hand, map-makers like Keppen attempted to use cartography to showcase the rich and diverse ethnographic heritage of the peoples of the Russian Empire. On the other hand, the technical

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[140] *Ibid.*, 8.
[141] *Ibid.*, 8-9. Russian nationalists viewed Ruthenianas as a sub-branch of Russians, while many Ruthenians, and later Ukrainian nationalists, perceived them as a distinct nationality.
[142] *Ibid.*, 6.
[143] *Ibid.*, 10.

parameters of the medium of cartography through which they chose to communicate imperial diversity ended up working against this very aim. Maps not only made generalisations out of ethnographic descriptions and statistical data, but they also constructed images of the Empire in which the inhabitants were essentialised into homogenously coloured groups, classified, and ranked into "civilisational" hierarchies. Moreover, maps promoted new spatialised ways of thinking about nationality by associating each ethnographic group with a specific and bordered geographical territory. Despite Keppen's efforts to elaborate on these simplifications and transformations in his map commentary and presentations to the (I)RGO, his reviewers often evaluated his maps as stand-alone objects and rarely commented on the accompanying text. In inventories, the *Ethnographic Map of European Russia* is often listed without the commentary. Instead, his maps were interpreted as authoritative and scientifically "objective", which lent a strong legitimacy to the images of the Empire that they constructed. The success of the *Ethnographic Map of European Russia* paved the way for the application of ethnographic cartography as a tool for visualising ethnic statistics in many different settings in the second half of the nineteenth century. However, as will be explored in the following chapter, ethnographic map-making did not remain the purvey of administrative elites and learned academicians in St. Petersburg for long. By the early 1870s, ethnographic cartography was quickly becoming more widely used as a tool of provincial administration to address questions of ethnicity at the local scale.

Despite the initial interest and enthusiasm for conducting ethnographic research on the Baltic provinces in the (I)RGO's early years, interest waned from the 1850s. Following the Polish-Lithuanian Uprising of 1863-4, the IRGO's attention and resources in so-called 'European Russia' were trained on the North-Western Territory. In order to coordinate and carry out research, a separate North-Western branch of the IRGO was established in Vil'na (Vilnius) in 1867.[144] As I will explore in Chapter 4, this shift in focus towards the North-Western Territory meant that Aleksandr Rittikh had to lay out extensive justification for his project to create ethnographic and confessional maps of the Baltic provinces in the early 1870s to convince the IRGO for funding.

In the 1880s, interest in the studying the language and ethnography of the Lithuanian peoples (today's Lithuanians and Latvians) increased once more, particularly due to the initiative of Eduard Vol'ter (Wolter/Volteris, 1856-1941), a Baltic linguistic, ethnographer, and future Professor of Comparative Linguistics and Sanskrit (of which the Lithuanian

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[144] Petronis, *Constructing Lithuania*, 159-164.

language family, including Latvian, was considered a part of) at the Imperial University in St. Petersburg.[145] In 1892, Vol'ter obtained funding from the IRGO to conduct a research expedition to collect ethnographic, dialectological, and folklore materials of Latvian-speakers in Vitebsk province and Lithuanian-speakers in Eastern Prussia.[146] In 1893, a special Latvian-Lithuanian Commission was established within the IRGO, with the aim of developing a research programme for studying Lithuanians and Latvians, organising ethnographic expeditions, and republishing important scholarship on Latvians and Lithuanians.[147] Lithuanians and Latvians were the only two ethnic groups to be given a dedicated commission within the IRGO. While the results of the Commission mainly consisted of linguistic and ethnographic materials, and they did not engage in map-making, the work of the Latvian-Lithuanian Commission did continue the legacy of the early research by IRGO members by focusing on ethnolinguistic minorities or groups whose language and ethnographic customs were perceived as being somehow different from the larger community they were considered part of. Just as Keppen, Sjögren, and Russwurm had focused on researching the Finno-Ugric peoples of the Grand Duchy of Finland and St. Petersburg province, the Livonian-speakers in Kurliand and Lifliand, and the Swedish-speakers of coastal Estliand, the research carried out by Volt'er and the Lithuanian-Latvian Commission in the 1880s concentrated on the Latvian-speakers in Vitebsk and Lithuanian-speakers Eastern Prussia and Samogitia. Ethnographers working within the imperial space studied a broad range of different ethnolinguistic groups and were not limited only to those groups who came to be widely perceived as nations in the twentieth century.

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[145] Vol'ters played a key role in the development of institutional structures for researching Lithuanian- and Latvian-speakers in the Russian Empire from the early 1890s onwards. In 1892 he established a programme for collecting Latvian folklore material and language at the Imperial University of St. Petersburg. Later, in 1910, Vol'ter established a 'Lithuanian Studies Circle' (*Kruzhka Litovedeniia*) at the university, with the aim of acquainting students 'with the spiritual life (language, literature, folk literature) and the public (ethnography, statistics, national economy) by the life of the Lithuanian people'. Vol'ter also regularly gave public talks at the university, including topics such as the 'Lithuanians of Vitebsk province' (*Litovtsy Vitebskoi gubernii*). SPBF ARAN f.178, op.1, d.232, l.25; SPBF ARAN f.178, op.1, d.188, l.35.

[146] E. A. Vol'ter, *Ob etnograficheskoi poezdke po Litve i Zhmudi letom 1887 goda* (St. Petersburg: 1887).

[147] Petronis, *Constructing Lithuania,* 160.

CHAPTER 3

Data-Collection and Statistical Cartography in the Provinces

In 1872, Aleksandr Sementovksii, Secretary of the Vitebsk Provincial Statistical Committee, noted in the commentary to his *Ethnographic Map of Vitebsk Province*, that:

> Never has ethnography, as a science, attracted so much attention from scientists and generally educated people as in the second half of this century, when the affairs of state politics joined with the significant question of nationality. Never have we Russians paid so much attention to studying the inhabitants of our half-the-world fatherland of nationalities, as in the last decade.[1]

Sementovskii was reflecting on the results of the far-ranging programme of social and economic reforms embarked on by Tsar Alexander II in the 1860s, known as the era of Great Reforms. Russia's humiliating defeat in the Crimean War (1853-1856) spurred the new tsar and his government to instigate changes to restore the Empire's prosperity and military dominance. The most notable step was the abolition of serfdom throughout most of the Empire in 1861, although this has less of an impact on the three Baltic provinces as serfdom had already been abolished there for almost half a century.[2] Other reforms did, however, impact life in the Baltic provinces, such as the creation of an independent judiciary, the transformation of military service, and the greater autonomy granted to universities.[3] During this period, the government sought to involve the Empire's educated elite in strengthening the state by directing their knowledge and skills towards improving society.[4] To facilitate this, the government eased censorship restrictions, permitted public debate on issues such as the abolition of serfdom, and simplified the regulations for forming professional organisations and voluntary associations.[5]

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[1] Aleksandr Sementovskii, *Etnograficheskii obzor Vitebskoi gubernii* (St. Petersburg: M. Khan, 1872), 1.

[2] An exception was the protectorates of Bukhara and Khiva in Central Asia where slavery was only formally abolished in 1917.

[3] Bruce W. Lincoln, *The Great Reforms: Autocracy, Bureaucracy, and the Politics of Change in Imperial Russia* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 1990).

[4] Elizabeth A. Hachten, "In Service to Science and Society: Scientists and the Public in Late-Nineteenth-Century Russia," *Osiris* 17 (2002), 171-209, 181.

[5] Joseph Bradley, *Voluntary Associations in Tsarist Russia: Science, Patriotism, and Civil Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000).

The climate of reform also invigorated state-sponsored research into the socio-economic and ethnographic character of the Empire's inhabitants. The accumulation of statistical data about the population was perceived as vital for implementing the reforms and to create a more unified and organised state.[6] The imperial government sought to take advantage of the skills and expertise of local elites and intellectuals to outsource the description and numeration of the Empire's population to regional specialists. An important example of this trend was the IRGO's expansion of specialist regional Sections (*Otdeli*) across the Empire in Tbilisi (1851), Irkutsk (1851), Vil'na (1867), Orenburg (1868), Kiev (1873), and Omsk (1877).[7] In the aftermath of the Polish-Lithuanian Uprising (1863-4) in the Empire's western borderlands and founding of the German Empire (1871), questions of ethnicity and territory became politicised with a new intensity. In this context, ethnographic cartography flourished as a science and bureaucratic tool geared toward the needs of a multi-ethnic Empire stretching half way across the globe.

This chapter focuses on the activities of one institution which played an important role in collecting, recording, and reporting information about the ethnic composition of the Empire – the Provincial Statistical Committees. These Committees were designed to provide a stable flow of mass-produced, reliable, and useable knowledge from the provinces to the Central Statistical Committee, a branch of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, in St. Petersburg. Although the Committees had been established in the 1830s, they became much more active from the 1860s. In many parts of the Empire, the Provincial Statistical Committees worked alongside the *zemstvo* (institutions of local self-government), which also employed their own statisticians to carry out data collection, land surveying, and to produce cadastral maps.[8] However, as the *zemstvo* system was not established in the Baltic provinces or the North-Western territory, this chapter focuses on the Provincial Statistical Committees which carried out the majority of statistical work in these regions.

Examining the activities of the Provincial Statistical Committees in the late 1860s and 1870s is key to understanding the 'archaeology of knowledge' behind the completed

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[6] On the nineteenth-century drive by states to enumerate their populations, see: Porter, *The Rise of Statistical Thinking*; Porter, *Trust in Numbers*; Randeraad, *States and Statistics in the Nineteenth Century*.

[7] The other parts of the Empire, including the Baltic provinces, continued to fall under the remit of the central branch of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society in St. Petersburg.

[8] Robert E. Johnson, "Liberal Professionals and Professional Liberals: The Zemstvo Statisticians and Their Work," in *The Zemstvo in Russia: An Experiment in Local Self-Government*, eds. Terence Emmons and Wayne S. Vucinich (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 343–63; Mespoulet, *Statistique et révolution*; Catherine Evtuhov, "The Cadastral Map in the Service of the Zemstvo," in *Portrait of a Russian Province: Economy, Society, and Civilization in Nineteenth-Century Nizhnii Novgorod* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011, 165–181).

ethnographic maps published during this period.[9] How did the lofty ideals given in the instructions to the Provincial Statistical Committees connect with actual practices of statistical data collection? How did the ways in which information was collected, recorded, and reported affect how ethnic groups were depicted on maps? Anke te Hessen, for example, has shown how the process of organising natural history knowledge gathered in Siberia in the early eighteenth century occurred while the collectors were still in the field, through the use of written notes, lists, boxes, and cases.[10] Ann Blair has argued for the importance of paying close attention to note taking as a means of understanding how information was stored, sorted, summarised, and selected, and as 'a central but often hidden phase in the transmission of knowledge'.[11] The craze for ethnographic map-making in the second half of the nineteenth-century meant that data was increasingly collected with an eye to its eventual representation in cartographical form. Practical and financial constraints shaped what information was gathered and how it was organised. In this chapter, I explore how methodological and practical factors impacted ethnographic mapping as much as ideological motivations, especially in the case of ethnic groups and with no strictly-definable territory. The process of translating ethnographic knowledge between different media – statistical data tables, textual descriptions, and cartography – and of making 'visible numbers' becomes particularly evident in the case study on the ethnographic map created by Vitebsk Statistical Committee in 1872 discussed in the second half of this chapter.[12]

Whereas Chapters 1 and 2 focused to a large extent on ethnographic map-making based or co-ordinated from St. Petersburg, this chapter shifts to examine ethnographic cartography from the vantage point of local bureaucrats and administrators working in the provincial administration.[13] This chapter investigates how ethnographic knowledge was exchanged between the Provincial Statistical Committees and imperial government in St. Petersburg, and also how it circulated between local administrators, police, correspondents, observers, and census-takers at the provincial level. In doing so, I challenge the notion that there was a well-

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[9] Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge and Discourse on Language* (London: Tavistock Publications Limited, 1972).

[10] Ankte te Hessen, "Boxes in Nature," *Studies in the History and Philosophy of Science* 31, no. 3 (2000), 381–403.

[11] Ann Blair, "Note Taking as an Art of Transmission," *Critical Inquiry* 31, no.1 (2004), 85–107, 85.

[12] For a discussion of the development of methods to make data visible in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see: Miles A Kimball and Charles Kostelnick*, Visible Numbers: Essays on the History of Statistical Graphics* (London: Routledge, 2017).

[13] Morgane Labbé has argued for the importance of moving beyond state-level statistical institutions to look at how local authorities registered nationality in Prussia. Morgane Labbé, "Institutionalizing the Statistics of Nationality in Prussia in the 19th Century (from Local Bureaucracy to State-level Census of Population)," *Centaurus* 49 (2007), 289–306.

defined centre of ethnographic cartographical production in the Russian Empire and argue that the process of collecting and constructing ethnographic knowledge not only created the geography of the Empire, but was itself also a geographical enterprise that spanned the length and breadth of the Empire.[14]

The relationship between the imperial authorities in St. Petersburg and the Provincial Statistical Committees illuminates many of the dynamics and tensions involved in governing a multi-ethnic Empire. On the one hand, the Central Statistical Committee in St. Petersburg sought to hold the Provincial Statistical Committees to uniform standards for collecting and reporting statistical data that could be compared across the whole Empire. On the other hand, the Provincial Statistical Committees were highly adaptable to local circumstances. Building on the work of Martine Mespoulet, I explore how the Provincial Statistical Committees functioned as hubs of creativity and innovation in the field of statistical data-collection and ethnographic cartography, which fed back to the Central Statistical Committee.[15] Moreover, whereas the IRGO and Academy of Science concentrated on producing large-format maps of the vast expanses of the Empire, the maps created by the Provincial Statistical Committees reinforced the idea of the administrative province as a spatial container for thinking about the relationship between ethnic groups and space.

Finally, another major contention of this chapter is that focusing on ethnographic map-making outside of St. Petersburg brings a different sort of map-maker into the spotlight. Whereas map-makers affiliated with the IRGO have received considerable attention from scholars, the role of provincial intelligentsia and local civil servants in the history of science in the Russian Empire has often been overlooked. The protagonists coordinated the collection of statistical data at the provincial level and presented their experience and knowledge "in the field" as a sign of the reliability and credibility of the information they reported.

Reforming Imperial Statistics: Russia's Provincial Statistical Committees

Since the time of Peter the Great, the imperial government had carried out 'revision of souls' (*revizskaia dusha* or *Seelenrevision* as they were called in the Baltic provinces) every ten years

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[14] David N. Livingstone, *Putting Science in Its Place: Geographies of Scientific Knowledge* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003).

[15] Mespoulet, *Statistique et révolution en Russie*. See especially Chapter 1. On the problem imposing a unified approach to administering the Russian Empire, see Don K. Rowney, "Imperial Russian Officialdom during Modernization," in *Russian Bureaucracy and the State: Officialdom from Alexander III to Vladimir Putin*, eds. Don K. Rowney and Eugene Huskey (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 26-45.

to calculate the amount of tax to be paid by estate owners on the 'souls' living on their estates. For each of the ten revisions between 1718-1859, 'revisions lists' (*revizkie skazki*) were compiled containing the names of male heads of households, their age, the number of people in their family, and any increase or decrease since the previous census.[16] This data formed the basis of statistical descriptions of the Russian Empire in the first half of the nineteenth century and were used by Petr Keppen for compiling his statistical overviews of the Russian Empire.[17] Authors in the Baltic provinces used the revision lists to inform a genre of German-language descriptive literature known as *Beschreibung*, which contained a mixture of textual description and data tables.[18] Nevertheless, the revisions of souls were widely criticised by contemporaries for their methodological shortcomings, particularly the way in which, for taxation purposes, souls counted in one revision were presumed to be alive until the next revision was organised.[19] The existence of thousands of 'dead souls' in Russian imperial demographic statistics was satirised by Nikolai Gogol in his 1842 novel.[20]

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the work of the Scottish economist and philosopher Adam Smith (1723-1790) impacted statistical thinking in the Russian Empire.[21] Gradually moving away from the cameralist tradition of the eighteenth century, statisticians began to focus on the condition and well-being of the people as a 'litmus test' for the strength and prosperity of the Empire.[22] Konstantin Konstantinovich Arsen'ev (1789–1865), an ardent supporter of Smith's theories, underscored the importance of gathering knowledge about Russia's diverse regions for economic progress of the Empire as a whole.[23] In 1835 Arsen'ev was appointed by Nicholas I to head the Statistical Division of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which was responsible for collecting statistical material, analysing data, and making policy recommendations. To accomplish this task, the Statistical Division needed to be supplied with a steady stream of information on local conditions from the provinces. Thus, in December 1834 the Ministry of Internal Affairs established Provincial Statistical Committees. Composed of provincial bureaucrats, the Committees were instructed to gather information based on reports

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[16] The sixth revision, carried out in May 1811, was interrupted due to the threat of war with France.

[17] Keppen, *O chisle zhitelei v Rossii*.

[18] P. E. von Keyserling, *Beschreibung der Provinz Kurland* (Mitau: Steffenhagen, 1805); Georg von Bienenstamm, *Beschreibung des kaiserlich-russischen Gouvernements Kurland* (Mitau: Meyher, 1841).

[19] P. I. Keppen, "O narodnykh perepisiakh v Rossii," *Zapiski IRGO* 6 (1889), 1–95. This work was posthumously published.

[20] Nikolai Gogol, *Mertvye dushi* (Moscow: Universitet, 1842).

[21] Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations* (1776) was published in Russian translation between 1803-6.

[22] Susan Smith-Peter, "Defining the Russian People: Konstantin Arsen'ev and Russian Statistics before 1861," *History of Science* 45 (2007), 47–64, 48.

[23] Konstantin Arsenev'ev, *Nachertanie statistiki Rossiiskogo gosudarstva,* 2 vols. (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Vospishatel'nago Doma, 1818-19).

from the rural police and voluntary correspondents.[24] As Susan Smith-Peter argues in her study of the Vladimir Provincial Statistical Committee, the relatively weak presence of the state in the provinces meant that the government relied on local elites to provide them with information.[25] Nevertheless, although the Provincial Statistical Committees were formally established in late 1834, they were mostly inactive for the first decades of their existence. As the Committees received no government funding, it is unsurprising that Arsen'ev's ambitious plans to reform Russian statistics fell short in the face of the overburdened, short-staffed, and under-financed local administrators, who often had no training in statistics. In the Baltic provinces, Statistical Committees were founded in Lifliand (1847), Estliand (1854), and Kurliand (1860). Several Baltic German nobles and educated elites actively embraced statistics as a tool to help them maintain political authority, economic influence, and social prestige by highlighting their agricultural achievements and economic prosperity relative to the rest of the Russian Empire.[26]

In December 1860, the Ministry of Internal Affairs introduced steps to reform and strengthen the network for gathering statistical knowledge throughout the Empire, thereby marking the beginning of a new era for the Provincial Statistical Committees. The Ministry specified that the main task of the Committees was to collect accurate statistical data on the quantity and types of land and people, to format this information into statistical tables, and to publish statistical descriptions of the province. Crucially, it also specified that each Committee was to be allocated an annual budget of 1500-2000 roubles and a salary of 750 roubles for the secretary. Funds were also allocated from the Provincial Typography for printing publications.[27]

The establishment of a salaried secretary post was designed to address the problem of understaffing and poor commitment from the voluntary members. The Secretary position was to be filled by someone with higher education and preferably prior experience in doing statistical research. The secretaries in the Baltic provinces matched this profile. Friedrich von Jung-Stilling (1836-1888), head of the Lifliand Statistical Commission from 1869-1888, and Paul Eduard Jordan (Pavel Avgustovich Iordan) (1825-94), head of the Estliand Statistical Committee from 1865 until his death in 1893, both worked in the trade statistics sections of the

[24] Smith-Peter, "Defining the Russian People", 52.

[25] Susan Smith-Peter, *Imagining Russian Regions: Subnational Identity and Civil Society in Nineteenth-Century Russia* (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2017), 6.

[26] Mark R. Finlay, "International Science and Local Conditions on the Ground: The Agricultural Sciences and Baltic German Identity, 1845-1905," *Journal of Baltic Studies* 44 (2013), 339–62, 341.

[27] *Pamiatnaia kniga Vitebskoi gubernii na 1862 god* (Vitebsk: Tipografiia Gubernskago Pravleniia, 1862), x.

stock exchanges in Riga and Revel respectively, and attained an international reputation for their statistical work.[28] However, a comparison with the Committees in neighbouring provinces reveals how many of the secretaries also had more diverse backgrounds. Prior to assuming the position of secretary of the Vitebsk Statistical Commission in 1863, Aleksandr Sementovskii (1821-1893) worked as a forestry inspector in Podolia province and provincial forester (*gubernskii lesnichii*) of Vitebsk governorate.[29] Ivan Ivanovich Vasilev (1836-1901), secretary of Pskov Statistical Committee from 1863, studied at the Riga Seminary, Moscow Theological Academy, and taught Church History at the Pskov Seminary. As the de facto heads, the secretaries were the life and soul of the Committees and many held their positions for long periods spanning twenty or thirty years. Their initiative and enthusiasm played a key role in shaping the activities of the Committees.[30] As Vera Kaplan argues, the Provincial Statistical Committees 'created an initial agenda of local studies by conducting the first surveys on the ethnography, archaeology, and ethnography of the various gubernias.'[31]

Despite the number of people who were formally members of the Committees, the secretaries often expressed their frustration that many members participated in name only. S. K. Sadovskii, Secretary of Vitebsk Statistical Committee in the early 1860s, blamed the 'unsatisfactoriness' (*neudovletvoritel'nost'*) of the Committees' early publications on the apathy of the Committee's members who did not reply to his appeals for contributions.[32] The membership lists of the Estliand Statistical Committee included the names of many famous Baltic Germans active in the early years of the RGO, including the explorer and first vice president of the Society, Fyodor Petrovich Litke (Friedrich Benjamin Lütke, 1797-1882), explorer and founder of the Russian-American Company, Ferdinand von Wrangel (Ferdinand Petrovich Vrangel, 1797-1870), natural scientist and first head of the Ethnographic Section, Karl Ernst von Baer, and explorer and zoologist Alexander von Middendorff (1815-1894).[33] Although these famous individuals lent the authority of their names to the activities of the Estliand Statistical Committee, they did not play an active role in the work of the Committee.

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[28] *Deutschbaltisches Biographisches Lexikon 1710–1960*, ed. Lenz von Wilhelm (Wedemark: Verlag Harro von Hirschheydt, 1998), 359-60. Jordan's obituary was also published in: *Vremmenik Estliandskoi gubernii* 2 (1895), 93-96.

[29] Until 1869 the Forestry Corps was a military unit and then it became part of the Forestry Department within the Ministry of State Properties.

[30] On the importance of considering the personalities of individual local officials in the governance of the Russian Empire, see: Jane Burbank, "Supervising the Supervisors: Bureaucracy, Personality and Rule of Law in Kazan Province at the Start of the 20th Century," *Acta Slavonica Iaponica* 38 (2015), 1-21.

[31] Vera Kaplan, *Historians and Historical Societies in the Public Life of Imperial Russia* (Bloomington; Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2017), 95.

[32] *Pamiatnaia kniga Vitebskoi gubernii na 1863 god* (Vitebsk: Tipografiia Gubernskago Praveleniia, 1864), 5.

[33] All were born in Estliand province, apart from Wrangel who was born in Pskov province.

For the bulk of the data collection work the secretaries relied on a network of unpaid local informants, correspondents, and observers. Appeals for information were sent to district police officers, members of the clergy, and school directors. These 'lay' collectors and observers contributed their various skills and experiences to gather, communicate, and verify statistical data.[34] However, while these informants provided the secretaries with raw data, they did not help with the enumeration, analysis, or writing up of the data.

Fieldwork and Data Collection: Imperial Officialdom and Local Knowledge

The Provincial Statistical Committees in the Baltic provinces were very active in the 1860s. One of their greatest achievements was to plan and carry out of a series of censuses.[35] The first census in the Russian Empire was carried out in Kurliand in 1863. This was swiftly followed by further 'trial censuses' (*Probezählungen*) in the parish of Jensel in Estliand (today's Kuremaa) in 1864, in Lubahn and Merian parish in Lifliand (present-day Lubāna and Meirāni) in 1865, a census of Riga and nine other cities in Lifliand in 1867, and an urban census of Reval/Revel in 1871.[36] Finally, on the night of 28-29 December 1881, the Statistical Committees of Estliand, Lifliand, and Kurliand collaborated to conduct a census of all three Baltic provinces. This was the first large-scale census in the Russian Empire prior to the 1897 All-Russian Census.[37] Part of the success of these censuses came down to the support of local Baltic German nobles and professors at the University of Dorpat, and the financial support of the *Landtag*. Local Baltic German landowners showed considerable interest in the statistical project and offered their estates up to be used for the trial censuses in Jensel and Lubahn.[38]

Just as the Baltic provinces had occupied a prominent place on the intellectual horizons of the RGO and Academy of Science in the late 1840s and early 1850s, the region also functioned as an important site for experimenting with statistical approaches for counting

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[34] Jeremy Vetter, "Introduction: Lay Participation in the History of Scientific Observation," *Science in Context* 24 (2011), 127–141.

[35] Andrejs Plakans, "Indigenous Populations, Ethnicity and Demography in the Eastern Baltic Littoral in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries" in *Indigenous Peoples and Demography: The Complex Relation between Identity and Statistics*, eds. Per Axelsson and Peter Sköld (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2011), 253–72.

[36] Friedrich von Jung-Stilling, *Bericht über die Probezählung ausgeführt im Kirchspiel Lubahn in Livland, 21 Oktober–2. November, 1865* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1866); Friedrich von Jung-Stilling, *Die Resultate der am 3. Marz, 1867, in der Stadt Riga ausgeführten Volkszählung* (Riga: Statistischen Comité der Stadt Riga, 1867).

[37] The results were published in the 16-volume *Ergebnisse der baltischen Volkszählung vom 29. Dezember 1881* (Riga; Reval; Mitau: 1883-87).

[38] Finlay has shown how similar practices occurred in the field of agricultural science and experimental farms. Finlay, "International Science and Local Conditions on the Ground", 353.

populations. For example, it was Paul Jordan, head of the Estliand Statistical Committee, who proposed in 1868 that individual census cards should be used to improve the accuracy of counting of the population, a measure that was implemented in 1871 during the Reval/Revel urban census.[39] Even more innovative was the fact that the 1881 census in the Baltic provinces recorded data about both the 'language… that the person speaks most casually and frequently' and the 'nationality (*Nationalität*), to which the person relates according to their own statement'.[40] There thus existed the possibility to identify as a German-speaker while claiming another nationality for oneself. However, in practice there was a high level of overlap between the number of people who identified with German language and German nationality; out of 2,730 self-identified Germans in Riga, 2,637 also recorded German as their 'preferably spoken language'.[41] Moreover, in order to understand how these categories for labelling and classifying the population worked in the context of the Baltic provinces in the 1880s it is also important to consider how nationality (*Nationalität*) was defined. The published census results noted that: 'For the purpose of our census, the term nationality should be understood as the national sphere of education and culture that each individual affirms oneself to'. However, the organisers of the census were not convinced that the respondents had fully understood this definition of nationality and instead 'other moments [sic.] have been decisive, such as ethnic descent or 'subjecthood' (*Staatsangehörigkeit*)'. For this reason, in the light of the disparities in the way that respondents answered the question about their nationality, the authors concluded that statistics on language provided the best indicator of nationality for the purposes of the present census.[42]

While the Statistical Committees in Pskov and Vitebsk did not organise censuses, they did endeavour to collect large amounts of data about the linguistic and religious composition of their provinces. Whereas Martine Mespoulet argues that *zemstvo* statisticians lacked the resources to survey the whole province and instead sampled "typical" villages to collect data on economic activities and agricultural production, I have found no evidence that sampling was

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[39] Toivo U. Raun, "Literacy in the Russian Empire in the Late 19th Century: The Striking Case of the Baltic Provinces," *Acta Historica Tallinnensia* 23 (2017), 65–77, 70. See also: Ülle Tarkiainen, "Estland und Livland as Test Areas for Agricultural Innovation in the Russian Empire in the 19th Century", in *Russland an der Ostsee. Imperiale Strategien der Macht und kulturelle Wahrnehmungsmuster (16. bis 20. Jahrhundert)*, eds. Karsten Brüggemann, Bradley D. Woodworth (Vienna; Cologne; Weimar: Böhlau, 2012), 345−364.
[40] *Plan der Volkszählung in Livland im Jahre 1881* (Riga: Stahl, 1881), 7-8. By contrast, the 1897 All-Russian census did not include a question about nationality, following the recommendation of the Eighth International Statistical Congress held in St. Petersburg in 1872. The delegates decided that questions about nationality were only necessary when asking foreigners about their origin and place of birth. *Report of the delegates to the International statistical congress,* 37.
[41] Jung-Stilling and Anders, *Ergebnisse der baltischen Volkszählung*, 126.
[42] *Ibid.*, v.

used by the Provincial Statistical Committees as a method for collecting ethnographic data.[43] The Committees strived to elicit responses about the linguistic and religious characteristics of the population in every *uezd* and *volost'*.

Opinions could diverge among the provincial administrators and local police over the best way to conduct a statistical survey of the local population. In the early 1860s, map-maker Aleksandr Rittikh (whom I return to in Chapter 4) designed routes to collect data to make his confessional atlas of the North-Western territory.[44] In the case of Minsk province, the route was marked out on a 3-*versts* map (1: 126,000) that was spread over 41 sheets. This approach turned out to be very impractical as the map was too large to use as a tool for navigation in the field where there were no tables on which to spread it out.[45] In comparison, the map of Jensel estate prepared in advance of the 1864 trial census in Estliand was in the scale of 1-*verst* to the English inch (1: 42,000).[46] The local police found Rittikh's map to be totally incomprehensible for other reasons too, since it directed them along routes that were completely unknown to them. Statisticians and the local police could hold diverging ideas of what 'adherence to the route' (*vernost' marshruta*) for carrying out statistical data collection practically entailed. Whereas administrators and statisticians drew routes on maps with the aim of carrying out an efficient and comprehensive survey of the province, the local police were more knowledgeable about the lie of the land and complained, for example, about being ordered to trek across swampy terrain.[47]

Data collection could be a hazardous enterprise and collectors found themselves at the mercy of the weather and other environmental factors. The census-takers for the October 1864 trial census in Jensel worked in freezing temperatures, but they were able to complete the census on time as the roads remained passable and the clear skies enabled them to read their lists.[48] The census report noted that the dry weather conditions meant that the lists were returned clean, neatly bound together in the correct order with cotton threads, and the

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[43] On the sampling methods used for the collection of socio-economic data by Zemstvo Statistical Commissions, see: Martine Mespoulet, "From Typical Areas to Random Sampling: Sampling Methods in Russia from 1875 to 1930," *Science in Context* 15 (2002), 411–25. I have not found any evidence to support Martine Mespoulet's claim that ethnographic surveys in the second half of the nineteenth century were conducted using the same sampling principles as economic surveys (p.413).

[44] It was assumed at the time that every person had to be of a religion, in the same way that everyone was assigned a language and nationality.

[45] Aleksandr Rittikh, "Atlas narodonaseleniia zapadno-russkago kraia, po ispovedaniiam," *Zapiski IRGO* 4 (1864), Appendix "Bibliografiia i Kritika", 1-24, 2.

[46] "Charte von Jensel." The map was appended to the census report: *Bericht über eine am 22. October 1864 auf dem Gute Jensel probeweise ausgeführte Volkszählung* (Dorpat: G. J. Karow, 1865).

[47] Rittikh, "Atlas narodonaseleniia zapadno-russkago kraia", 2.

[48] *Bericht über eine am 22. Oktober 1864 auf dem Gute Jensel probeweise ausgeführte Volkszählung*, 18.

information was well-written and clearly readable.[49] The remarks about the good condition of returned lists suggest that this was not always the case. Mishaps also occurred in the course of fieldwork, such as the unfortunate event befalling the ethnographer I. A. Serbov. Returning by train to Vil'na from his expedition in the North-Western Territory in the summer of 1911, Serbov was instructed by the railway administration to stow his camera equipment in the baggage compartment. During transportation, his photographic equipment broke and the glass negatives were shattered.[50]

Statisticians implemented different methods of collecting data to ensure its comprehensiveness and validity. For the 1865 census of Lubahn parish, the census-takers were issued with strict instructions to carry out the census on the same day and time - midnight on 21 October - presumed to be the quietest time of the day and when everyone would be in their homes in order to avoid double-counting. They filled in a house card (*Hauskarte*) for each residence with information about the inhabitants.[51] By contrast, for the routine collection of statistical data, it was more common to assemble all the male heads of households from a village and question them in front of one another. This approach was not only designed to save the statistician time by not having to go from house to house, but it also enabled statisticians to ensure cooperation and verify the information collected on-site; the logic was that the crowd could exclaim if false information was given and reveal omissions.[52] Of course, the opposite could also have been true and the villagers could collectively hide information if they thought it was in their interests.

We only get glimpses in the sources about how the local population reacted to the arrival of a statistician, census-taker, or ethnographer in their midst. When Sjögren and Pezold carried out their research expedition to Lifliand (see Chapter 2), they attempted to take moulds of the face and skull of two Livs. Sjögren mentions in his report that the procedure was unsuccessful. There is no record of exactly what occurred during the incident, but - rather ominously - Sjögren wrote that they could not find anyone willing to be paid to repeat the process for any amount of money.[53] When the linguist and folklorist Oskar Kallas travelled to Vitebsk province in 1893 to study the so-called 'Lutsi country-people' (*Lutsi maarahvas*), a small group of Finno-Ugric-speakers living in the district of Liutsin, the local population

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[49] *Ibid.*, 20.
[50] VUBRS F.34-GB 710. no.4.
[51] Jung-Stilling, *Bericht über die Probezählung ausgeführt im Kirchspiel Lubahn,* 8.
[52] Mespoulet discusses this practise among *zemstvo* statisticians in Saratov province: Mespoulet*, Statistique et révolution,* Chapter 2. See also Stanziani, "Statisticiens, zemstva et État", 447.
[53] Sjögren, "Bericht über eine im Auftrage," 530.

treated him with deep suspicion, fearing he was a tsarist spy or cholera-carrier.[54] Literary depictions of provincial statisticians often emphasise their incompetence and prejudices. The readiness of ethnographers to ascribe their own preconceived ideas onto the local population was satirised by the Belarusian playwright Ianka Kupala in his tragicomic drama *Tuteishiya* (1922), in which two ethnographers search for 'true Belarusian types'; the Polish-speaking scholar concludes that Belarusians are a type of Pole, and the Russian-speaking scholar thinks that Belarusians are essential a type of Russian.[55] A similar satirical image of ethnographers can be found in Uladzimir Karatkevich's 1974 neo-Gothic thriller recounting the escapades and mishaps of the naïve young ethnographer Andrei Belaretski in the remote swamps and forests of the late nineteenth-century 'Belarusian provinces' of the Russian Empire.[56]

Contemporary accounts nonetheless emphasise how the local inhabitants' cooperation was vital for successful data collection. The ability of the census-takers to carry out a trial census in Jensel in 1864 was partly attributed to 'a certain intelligence and self-reliance of the peasantry' and no incidents of uncooperativeness were reported.[57] Nevertheless, the census-takers failed to survey the population of Illukst (Ilūkste) district in south-east Kurliand province due to resistance from the predominantly Polish- and Russian-speaking landowners, who distrusted the intrusion of Lutheran German-speaking census-takers from the provincial capital of Mitau (Jelgava) interfering in their local affairs. Gendarmerie were deployed from nearby Dinaburg (Daugavpils) to calm the unrest.[58] The published report of the census contains the following explanation as to why the census was not carried out in this region:

> Even though the census effort was ordered and supported by the highest ministerial levels, the majority of the population of Illuxt [sic.] district opposed its implementation in a manner that promised bloody confrontations. All efforts at adjudication and friendly advice were futile. Thus, the decision was made not to enumerate this district, but to be satisfied with estimates.[59]

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[54] The people in question referred to themselves as '*Lutsi maarahvas*'. Lutsi derives from the Estonian name for the nearby town, known in Estonian and Latvian as Ludza, in Russian as Liutsin, and in German as Ludsen. As Indrek Jääts has shown in his analysis of Kallas' research notes, although Kallas was a native Estonian-speaker from Saaremaa the Lutsi-speakers did not perceive themselves as Estonians and treated Kallas with deep suspicion. Indrek Jääts, "Üks kuulus välitöö ja selle pikk vari: Oskar Kallas, Paulopriit Voolaine ja Lutsi maarahvas," *Eesti Rahva Muuseumi aastaraamat* 57 (2014), 15-41, 22.

[55] Per Anders Rudling discusses the significance of Kupala's play in Per Anders Rudling, *The Rise and Fall of Belarusian Nationalism, 1906-1931* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2014), 304-5.

[56] Uladzimir Karatkevich, *King Stakh's Wild Hunt*, trans. Mary Mintz (London: Glagoslav, 2012).

[57] *Bericht über eine am 22. Oktober 1864 auf dem Gute Jensel*, 37.

[58] LVVA f.416, ap.1, l.176, l.74.

[59] *Ergebnisse der baltischen Volkszählung vom 29. Dezember 1881. Teil III. Ergebnisse der kurländischen Volkszählung. I. Band. Die Zählung auf dem Lande und in den Flecken. Lieferung I*. (Mitau: 1884), iii. This passage is translated from German in: Andrejs Plakans and Charles Wetherell, "The 1881 Census in the Russian Baltic Provinces: An Inventory and an Assessment," *History of the Family* 9 (2004), 47–61, 52.

The establishment of trust between the statisticians and the local population was paramount. In the instructions given to census-takers in Kurliand province in preparation for the provincial census of 1863, it was stressed that 'An indiscreet use of the information provided need not be feared in any way.'[60] The census-takers were meant to have a professional demeanour and fill in their forms in a systematic and precise way, and dispel any suspicions that the information provided by the local inhabitants would not be used to harm them. The announcement of the 1881 census reassured the population that the census was not connected to taxes or military service. The origins and perceived ethno-confessional affiliation of the data-collectors, and whether they were perceived as untrustworthy "foreigners" or not, could have a strong bearing on how they were received by the local population.[61]

Printed Forms: Reporting and Recording Population Statistics

The Provincial Statistical Committees generated vast paper trails. However, one of the biggest challenges facing the Central Statistical Committee was that the responses they received from all over the Empire were highly diverse, both in terms of their content and the way in which the information was presented. The responses often provided detailed accounts of local circumstances, but it was almost impossible to synthesise the mass of local knowledge into a general overview. Aleksandr Sementovskii, Secretary of Vitebsk Statistical Committee, highlighted one aspect of this problem in his book on units and systems for measurements and weights used in Vitebsk province. Unearthing a huge diversity of units and systems, many of which were highly localised and only used among inhabitants living in a single district (*uezd*), Sementovskii compiled a glossary to enable statisticians to convert these locally-used units and systems into the Russian imperial standards.[62] For the imperial statistical project, data collected locally had to be reported in ways that would allow knowledge to travel and be understood to distant others. Examining these statistical lists reveals the social and political functions of 'paperwork' in the making and management of ethnographic knowledge.[63]

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[60] EAA.41.1.4.8.

[61] Stanziani, "Statisticiens, zemstva et État", 447.

[62] Aleksandr M. Sementovskii, *O merakh i vese, upotrebliaemykh v Vitebskoi gubernii* (Vitebsk: Gubernskaia Tipografiia, 1874). For a discussion on the relationship between efforts to standardise metrology and imperial governance, see Gordin, "Measure of All the Russias."

[63] On the recent interest in lists and paperwork in the history of science, see: James Delbourgo and Staffan Müller-Wille, "Listmania: Introduction," *Isis* 103 (2012), 710-715, 712; Staffan Müller-Wille and Isabelle Charmantier, "Lists as Research Technologies," *Isis* 103 (2012), 743–752. For similar a discussion of census forms in Austria-Hungary, see Wolfgang Göderle, "Administration, Science, and the State: The 1869 Population Census in Austria-Hungary," *Austrian History Yearbook* 47 (2016), 61–88, 71-77.

It was impossible for the members of the IRGO and Central Statistical Committee in St. Petersburg to verify all the information they received and so they had to trust their informants.[64] From the mid-1850s onwards the Central Statistical Committee issued detailed instructions to the provincial branches about the types of statistical data they should collect, the methods to be used, and how information was to be recorded. The secretaries of the Provincial Statistical Committees circulated these guidelines via circulars or personal correspondence to their informants throughout the province, and synthesised and interpreted the replies. From 1854, the Provincial Typography in each province provided a budget of 1,000 roubles to print forms, plans, and maps.[65] These standardised printed forms were designed to encourage the informants to provide complete data sets, and to harmonise what the local observers knew and saw with the aims and objects of the larger data-collecting projects.

On the one hand, we can view these instructions and printed forms as an assertion of bureaucratic control over local methods of observation and reporting. The forms were designed to iron out variations, bring about a methodological formalisation, and generate uniformity in the reporting process across multiple authors and geographical spaces of the Empire.[66] Printed forms not only disciplined data collectors, but were also a means of teaching the local population how to formulate their responses to questions about their language, religion, and nationality (in the case of the Baltic provinces) using the "correct" official categories and terminology.[67] However, statisticians and peasants often had different ways of interpreting what information a question was trying to elicit and how an answer should be formulated. For example, the majority of peasants in the middle of the nineteenth century would have identified with their village, parish, or religion. The link between place of residence and sense of self was strengthened by the fact that more than 50 per cent of Latvian-speaking peasants' surnames were based on place names.[68] On the forms used for the 1881 census of the Baltic provinces,

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[64] Charles Withers makes this argument in his study of the communicative dimensions of the geographical work in late seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century Scotland. Charles W. J. Withers, "Making Geographical Knowledge in the Late Seventeenth Century," *Isis* 90 (1999), 497-521; Charles W.J. Withers, "Writing in Geography's History: Caledonia, Networks of Correspondence and Geographical Knowledge in the Late Enlightenment," *Scottish Geographical Journal* 120, nos. 1-2 (2004), 33-45.
[65] EAA.41.1.1.4.
[66] On the uses of printed forms in the local administration of the *zemstvo* in the 1880s, see: Martine Mespoulet, "Pratique de l'enquête et construction du savoir statistique en Russie à la fin du xixe siècle," *Genèses* 52 (2003), 96-118.
[67] Mespoulet, *Statistique et révolution*, Chapter 2.
[68] After the emancipation of the serfs in the Baltic provinces between 1816-19, peasants were obliged to take surnames and they often chose a modified form of the place they lived. Andrejs Plakans and Charles Wetherell, "Patrilines, Surnames, and Family Identity: A Case Study From the Russian Baltic Provinces in the Nineteenth Century," *History of the Family* 5, no. 2 (2000), 199–214, 208.

the census-takers were instructed to ask the inhabitants to express their nationality in terms of one of the pre-printed categories: 'According to the nationality to which the person relates to, according to their own statement, either the word "German" or "Russian" or "Latvian", "Estonian", "Jewish" etc. should be underlined.'[69] The local population was asked the question about nationality and then it was up to the census taker to translate the answer into one of the pre-printed categories. Printed forms and the act of form-filling therefore played an important role in calibrating vernacular forms of self-description to official identity categories, thus becoming a 'quintessential tool and emblem of bureaucratic administration'.[70] Even if a peasant remained 'indifferent' to nationality, their answer was adjusted to pre-set categories established as part of the administrative structure of knowledge.[71]

On the other hand, scrutinising how the forms were actually used exposes how there continued to be a high degree of local agency and forms were frequently adapted to suit local circumstances.[72] The Provincial Committees often found that the instructions they received from the Central Committee for carrying out statistical data collection could not be straightforwardly applied to local circumstances and they entered into negotiations as to how the forms should be used. In 1854, the Ministry of Internal Affairs issued a circular to all the Provincial Statistical Committees instructing them to gather information on the local urban and rural population.[73] A representative from Lifliand Statistical Committee replied to explain that the standardised forms could not be used to collect data about Lifliand without some adaptation, citing the example of the directive to collect data on peasant criminals according to the type of peasant: state (*kazennye*), landlord (*pomeschich'i*), and specific (*udel'nye*).[74] As the serfs in Lifliand had been emancipated in 1819, all the peasants belonged to the free estate (*vol'noe soslovie*) and worked on state, church, or communal land.[75] This example highlights how the socio-economic structure of the Baltic provinces could not be straightforwardly enumerated using the categories devised from an All-Empire perspective. As a result,

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[69] *Plan der Volkszählung in Livland im Jahre 1881*, 7.

[70] Simon Franklin, "Printing Social Control in Russia 3: Blank Forms," *Russian History* 42 (2015), 114–35, 114.

[71] Tara Zahra, "Imagined Noncommunities: National Indifference as a Category of Analysis," *Slavic Review* 69, no. 1 (2010), 93–119.

[72] For a similar argument about the tensions between the inclusiveness and repressiveness of statistical documentation in imperial Russia, see: Eugene M. Avrutin, "The Power of Documentation: Vital Statistics and Jewish Accommodation in Tsarist Russia," *Ab Imperio*, no 4 (2003), 271–300, 273.

[73] EAA.41.1.1.9.

[74] 'State peasants' (*kazennye krest'iane* or *gosudarstvennye krest'iane*) were considered personally free but were attached to the land. 'Landlord peasants' (*pomeschich'i krest'iane*) were serfs who lived on land owned by the nobility and were the most numerous category of peasant in the Russian Empire. 'Specific peasants' (*udel'nye krest'iane*) belonged to, and lived on lands owned by, the imperial family.

[75] EAA.41.1.1.41.

demographic statistics continued to be collected and analysed within the spatial container of the administrative province so as to accommodate local particularities.

In some cases, flexibility was explicitly built into the instructions given to the census-takers. Guidelines for the 1881 census in Lifliand stated that: 'if the person declares a nationality which is not pre-dictated, this nationality is written down and nothing is underlined.'[76] In other cases, census-takers and statisticians simply modified the forms by hand, adding or removing certain headings or columns that they regarded as important for the statistical description of their region (Figure 16).[77] In the 1864 Jensel trial census, the local inhabitants were asked to state the 'language' (*Sprache*) that they speak 'most frequently' (*häufigsten*) and 'most commonly' (*geläufigsten*).[78] Only one language was supposed to be recorded for each individual, but sometimes census-takers marked a person down as having several 'language[s] of everyday communication' (*Umgangssprache*), suggesting that they were multilingual or that they simultaneously and equally identified as a member of several linguistic communities.[79] Of the 169,320 inhabitants counted in the 1881 census in Riga, there were 760 individuals whose 'preferred language could not be determined'.[80] These flexible census-taking practices provide an important corrective to the prevailing tendency to view censuses as totalising tools of government that enforced rigid categories of cultural difference. As Benedict Anderson famously wrote: 'The fiction of the census is that everyone is in it, and that everyone has one – and only one – extremely clear place.'[81] Instead, the activities of census-takers in the Baltic provinces reveal how fluid and multi-faceted forms of identification were manifested in the data, even if the result was viewed by statisticians as methodologically problematic and produced "messy data".

The way in which the forms were filled out also heavily depended on the individual census-taker. For example, there were no instructions given to census-takers about how surnames should be written down. As a result, surnames were transcribed on the forms in different ways (Pärtens/Pertels, Pärtel/Pertens, Hallikas/Allikas) based on the pronunciation of the respondent, how the census-taker heard the respondent, and the orthographic system in which they chose to write it down. Surnames that had a meaning were often recorded in their translation (the Estonian name Ounapu [sic. Õunapuu] might appear in its German form as

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[76] *Plan der Volkszählung in Livland*, 7.
[77] EAA.41.1.1.40.
[78] *Plan der Volkszählung in Livland*, 8.
[79] *Bericht über eine am 22. Oktober 1864 auf dem Gute Jensel*, 21.
[80] Jung-Stilling and Anders, *Ergebnisse der baltischen Volkszählung*, 52.
[81] Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 166.

Apfelbaum), which made it hard to cross-reference the data with the records in church books for those unfamiliar with all the local languages.[82]

Despite being a symbol of bureaucratic centralisation and standardisation, printed forms functioned as a means to record the agency of how the interviewees chose to describe themselves. Only in the case of small children or people who were mute and who could not verbally respond to the census-takers questions themselves, was nationality and language attributed to them by default based on their parents' responses.[83] These forms provide historians with a paper trail of the voices of those whose sense-of-self could not be neatly aligned with the pre-set columns and headings. Nevertheless, when returned, such forms were often perceived as erroneous or incomplete. When the statistical tables were prepared for publication or inserted into ethnographic maps, the data was "cleaned," and "anomalies" and "outliers" usually disappeared or were subsumed under bigger categories.

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[82] *Bericht über eine am 22. Oktober 1864 auf dem Gute Jensel*, 20.
[83] *Plan der Volkszählung in Livland*, 7-8.

Figure 16. Form issued by the MVD in 1854 for collecting religious statistics

Members of the Lifliand Statistical Committee adapted the form to adapt it to suit local circumstances. They scored out Muslim (of which there were very few in Lifliand) and added Evangelical Reformed Protestant (in addition to the pre-printed category of Evangelical Lutheran).

Source: EAA.41.1.1.9.

The process of gathering ethnographic statistics also contained an important descriptive element. A common practice among the Statistical Committees was to provide local informants with a numbered list of questions to be answered in long-answer written form. Local observers used the space and absence of pre-printed headings and columns afforded by this format to comment on local peculiarities and clarify the results presented in the data tables. Martine Mespoulet, quoting the instructions given to *zemstvo* statisticians in Saratov province, demonstrates how the practice of providing additional details was specifically encouraged:

> It is desirable that correspondents not only limit themselves to the questions in the survey guide, but that they also communicate the results of their experience. […] The questions on the form, which for some reason present some difficulty for the correspondents, can be left unanswered. In case of a lack of space, the responses can be written on a separate sheet, on which it is enough to just write down the number of the question.[84]

The 'experiential knowledge' communicated through these long question responses was perceived as a valuable source of local information.[85] By submitting written reports to accompany the data tables, local observers were able to draw on their experiential observations and highlight occasions where they differed from official categories of knowledge. A report by the chairman of the Dinaburg (Daugavpils) Mir Court sent to the Vitebsk Statistical Committee in February 1868 emphasised how the category 'Latvian', which appeared on the data table, obscured the groups' considerable internal diversity. He explained how the majority of Latvians in Dinaburg district were Roman Catholics and were perceived in the local context as distinct from Latvians living near the border with Lifliand province, who were predominantly Lutheran and spoke a different 'dialect' (*narechie*).[86] The use of numbered questions rather than pre-printed forms gave the data-collectors the flexibility to elaborate on the particular characteristics of the population under investigation.

Similarly, in 1895 the ethnographer and linguist Jüri (Georg) Truusmann / Iurii Georgevich Trusman (1856-1930) published a report in the *Annal* (*Vremmenik*) of the Estliand Statistical Committee on Setos, a population inhabiting the northern border region between Lifliand and Pskov province and who did not neatly fit into existing official religious and ethnolinguistic categories.[87] Trusman's report was based on three weeks of fieldwork that he

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[84] My translation. Mespoulet, *Statistique et révolution,* cited in Chapter 1.

[85] Vetter, "Introduction: Lay Participation", 132.

[86] NIAB f.2502, op.1, d.162, l.9-10ob. On the perception of Latgalians as a linguistically and confessional 'mixed' or 'in-between' people, see: Ernst Benz, "Zwischen konfessioneller, regionaler und nationaler Identität. Die Katholiken in Lettgallen und Lettland im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert," *Nordost-Archiv* 7 (1998), 443–495.

[87] Iurii Trusman, "Isaksie poluvertsy v Estliandskoi gub.," *Vremennik Estliandskoi gubernii* 2 (1895), 1–38. In the 1880s, Truusmann conducted a research expedition for the IRGO to research the Setos of Pskov gubernia, for

had conducted in Pskov province in 1885. Numbering around 13,000 people, Trusman described the Setos as 'semi-believers' (*poluvertsy*) who were Orthodox but spoke a kind of Estonian language and had Estonian 'manners' or 'customs' (*nravy*). Consequently, these people were distinct from both from the neighbouring 'pure-Russian' (*chisto-russki*) and Estonians with 'full Estonian language and manners/customs' (*vpolne estonskii iazyk i nravy*).[88] He argued that it was unclear whether the Setos had developed as a result of the spread of Russian culture and faith onto *inorodets* (non-Russians, i.e. Estonians) or were a separate ethno-confessional people living in the contact-region between predominantly Estonian and Russian ethnographic territories. Trusman believed language was an important measure of the Setos' relative Russianness and Estonianness and he included a glossary in his report of the local variety of Russian with an indication of which words were of Estonian origin, as well as a transcript of a conversation in the local dialect.[89] The ethnographic approach adopted by Trusman allowed him to highlight how the Setos' predominantly oral culture of self-description and group identification meant that they were excluded from official ethno-confessional nomenclature.

Attendance at the meetings of the Provincial Statistical Committees was low and the majority of members were kept informed about its activities through the Committees' publications. The most common format was the *pamiatnaia kniga* (memorial book), which included, or sometimes consisted entirely of, an *adres kalendar* (address calendar) listing all the provincial and district governmental and public institutions and the ranks of their personnel. Some Committees chose to publish their results in books with different names, such as *spravochnaia kniga* (reference book), *trudy* (works), *vremmenik* (periodical), or *sbornik* (collection). In addition to statistical tables, the more elaborate memorial books contained articles about economic statistics, archaeology, local history, geography, and ethnography. The secretaries who edited the publications often acknowledged that the range of topics covered in an issue could come across as rather 'random' (*sluchainyi*).[90] However, the memorial books also reflected what sort of knowledge the secretary's thought should receive public warrant and intellectual legitimacy. For example, although the Vitebsk Statistical Committee carried

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which he was awarded a silver medal in 1885. The report of his fieldwork was published as "Poluvertsy Pskovo-Pechorskogo kraia," *Zhivaia starina* 1 (1890), 31-62.

[88] Trusman, "Isaksie poluvertsy", 4.

[89] Trusman, "Iskakie poluvertsy", 27-34.

[90] Aleksei Kharuzin, "Veglyi vzgliad na deiatel'nost' Estliandskago Gubernskago Statisticheskago Komiteta za 30 let ego sushchesvovaniia (s 1863 po 1893g.)," *Vremmenik Estliandskoi gubernii* 1 (1894), 1-12, 12.

out surveys of Roman Catholics (1870)[91], Gypsies (*tsygany*) (1902)[92], and periodical surveys of the Jewish population, no articles were published about the results of these surveys in the memorial book of Vitebsk province. Instead, the contents focused mainly on topics related to history and economics.[93]

The memorial books were printed in significant numbers (around 300 copies) and were intended to help the Provincial Statistical Committees raise money. However, more often than not they were a commercial failure. Priced at 50 silver kopeks, the Vitebsk Statistical Committee failed to sell enough to recoup the cost of the printing and paper, let alone raise enough funds to enable them to purchase maps of the province as they had planned.[94] In theory, the Committees were supposed to publish data annually, but in practice there were often gaps. Some Committees only published sporadically. Up until the mid-1880s the Statistical Committees in the Baltic provinces published their proceedings in German. Aleksei Kharuzin (1864-1932), who was appointed as Secretary of the Estliand Statistical Committee in 1893, argued that publishing in German had significantly limited the readership of the Committee's publications and that the readership had increased since they switched to publishing in Russian in the second half of the 1880s.[95]

Ambitions Stretched: Sementovskii's *Ethnographic Map of Vitebsk Province* (1872)

The most ambitious cartography project embarked on by the Provincial Statistical Committees in the western part of the Russian Empire during this period was the attempt to produce a statistical atlas of the North-Western Territory. The project was conceived in early 1869, when the Governor-General of the North-Western Territory Aleksandr Lvovich Potapov (1818-1886) wrote to all the governors of the provinces under his jurisdiction to collect statistical data.[96] In response, in their meeting on 18 February, the Vitebsk Statistical Committee devised a plan to create eight thematic maps showing the history, archaeology, ethnography, administrative division of the province, communication routes, religious buildings, industry,

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[91] NIAB f. 2502, op.1, d.194.
[92] NIAB f.2502, op.1, d.798.
[93] On the publishing activities of the Vitebsk Provincial Statistical Committee, see: S. M. Soroko, *"Vitebskie gubernskie vedomosti" (ofitsial'naia chast' i neofitsial'naia chast')* (Moscow; Novopolotsk: Nauchnyi tsentr slaviano-germanskikh issledovanii ISl RAN, 2004). See especially pp.82-115.
[94] *Pamiatnaia kniga Vitebskoi gubernii na 1863 god* (Vitebsk: Tipografiia Gubernskago Praveleniia, 1864), 6.
[95] Kharuzin, "Veglyi vzgliad na deiatel'nost' Estliandskago Gubernskago Statisticheskago Komiteta," 11.
[96] NIAB f.2502, op.1, d.183, l.1 & 1.ob.

and literacy.[97] After the programme had been approved by Potapov's assistant, Petr Romanovich Bagration (1818-1876) – the future Governor-General of the Baltic provinces from 1870 – a meeting was held in Vil'na in late March for all the secretaries of the Provincial Statistical Committees in the North-Western Territory. Over five sessions, presided over by Bagration, the secretaries combined their individual proposals into a common programme. After much debate, they decided to produce six thematic maps for each province; the maps of history, archaeology, and literacy were dropped and instructions to make a map of educational institutions was added. On the subject of ethnographic maps, the secretaries agreed on common sources of data to be used to make the maps, namely the lists compiled by the Provincial Statistical Committees in 1868 and the recent history of the region by theologian and historian Mikhail Koialovich (1828-1891), which also contained an ethnographic map of the North-Western Territory.[98] They agreed that the ethnographic maps should all be drawn to a scale of 1: 840,000 and depict the distribution of 10 different groups in the following colours: Great Russians (dark pink), White Russians (Belarusians, light pink), Small Russians (Ukrainians, pink), Poles (yellow), Latvians (blue), Samogitians (*Zhmud'* - green), Tatars (brown), Germans (purple), Jews (black), and Gypsies (*tsigany* - 'wild', *dikaia*).[99] Due to their lack of a definable ethnographic territory, the inclusion of Gypsies was rare on nineteenth-century ethnographic maps.[100]

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[97] *Sbornik v pamiat' pervovo russkogo statisticheskogo s``ezda 1870 g.* 2, ed. Aleksandr Gatsinskii (Nizhnii Novgorod: 1875), 34-36.

[98] Mikhail Koialovich, *Dokumenty obiasniaiuschie istoriu Zapadno-russkago kraia i ego otnosheniia k Rossii i k Pol'she / Documents servant à éclaircir l'histoire des provinces occidentales de la Russie ainsi que leurs rapports avec la Russie et la Pologne* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Eduard Prats/ Imprimerie d'Édouard Pratz, 1865).

[99] NIAB f.2502, op.1, d.183, l.4-6. This ambiguous description of the colour for depicting Roma was variously interpreted as grey (Figure 17) and brown (Figure 18).

[100] Notable exceptions include the *Karta gubernii: Lifliandskoi, Estliandskoi, Kurliandskoi, Kovenskoi, Vilenskoi, Grodensskoi i Minskoi* (1858), published as part of the following atlas: Zuev, *Podrobnyi Atlas Rossiiskoi Imperii*, which marked the location of one Gypsy (*tsygane*) community east of Vil'na. Gypsies are also represented in the ethnographic vignette surrounding Nestor Terebenev's *Karta Rossii i plemena ee naseliaiuschie* (St. Petersburg: M. L. Sveshnikov, 1866). On ethnographic studies of Gypsies in imperial Russia, see: Brigid O'Keeffe, "Gypsies as a Litmus Test for Rational, Tolerant Rule: Fin-de-siècle Russian Ethnographers Confront the Comparative History of Roma in Europe," *International Journal of Comparative and Applied Criminal Justice* 38, no. 2 (2014), 109-131.

Figure 17. Sementovskii's legend of cartographical symbols (*uslovnye znaki*) for the *Atlas of the North-Western Territory*

Source: NIAB f. 2502, op.1, d.183, l.7ob.

In addition to the written instructions, Sementovskii created a legend (*uslovnye znaki*) to standardise the signs and symbols, as well as the precise colours, shades, and tones, to be used on the maps (Figure 17).[101] Inspiration for this template legend may have come from the 10-page compendium of signs and symbols found on boundary plans, maps, and atlases published by the Boundary Commission (*Mezhevaia Komissiia)* and the Provincial Drawing Committee (*Gubernskaia Chertezhnaia*) in 1838.[102] Notably, the legend Sementovskii devised included an eleventh ethnic group, Lithuanians (*Litviny* - green), who were distinct from Samogitians (*Zhmud'* – shaded here in dark green). It is likely that Lithuanians had been accidentally left off from the earlier written instructions. Sementovskii later recounted to Aleksandr Serafimovich Gatsinskii, the secretary of Nizhegorod Statistical Committee, how

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[101] NIAB f.2502, op.1, d.183, l.6ob & 7.
[102] *Uslovnye znaki mezhevykh planov, kart i atlasov* (1938). EAA.298.2.1.1-10.

the final session of the meeting ended on a high note of excitement.[103] Upon the secretaries' departure from Vil'na, the project seemed full of promise and details of the planned atlas were promptly announced in the main journal of the IRGO.[104]

Despite the considerable preparatory work done by the secretaries and the enthusiasm for the project at the meeting in Vil'na in the spring of 1869, the thematic atlas of the North-Western Territory never materialised and historians have dismissed the project as a failure.[105] However, back in Vitebsk, Aleksandr Sementovskii, Secretary of Provincial Statistical Committee, embarked on the task with great eagerness. In the summer of 1869, the Vitebsk Statistical Committee sent out numerous requests for information to school directorates, the district management boards, and the district police.[106] Unlike in the case of Keppen's *Ethnographic Map of European Russia*, data to make the atlas was collected with a specific view to being mapped. In addition, Sementovskii took steps to address some of the practical issues of turning this data into maps and immediately following his return from Vil'na he wrote to A. Il'in's Cartographical Establishment, the commercial publishing house in St. Petersburg, for a quote to print the maps (see Chapter 4).[107] Sementovskii hoped that the private firm, which was already building a sound reputation at this time, would help to share some of the high costs of publishing the atlas.

Annotations Sementovskii made to the template legend reveal how he planned to adapt to it to the local circumstances in Vitebsk province: the categories of Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Samogitians, and Tatars, were scored out, and another group, Estonians, was added. Despite the original purpose of the template to standardise the colour-coding of ethnographic groups, changes were also made to the colours used to represent Germans (blue), Estonians (purple), and Gypsies (brown) (Figure 17). Moreover, on the final published version of the map, three more colours were added to the legend to indicate areas inhabited by Poles, Estonians, and Jews 'together with other nationalities' (*vmeste s drugimi narodami*). Thus, despite the project's aim to devise a uniform legend for all the maps, the differences between the ethnographic composition of provinces within the North-Western Territory necessitated local modifications.

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[103] *Sbornik v pamiat' pervovo russkogo statisticheskogo s"ezda 1870 g.*, 39.

[104] "Statisticheskaia karta Zapadno-russkago kraia," *Izvestiia IRGO* 5 (1869), 80-82.

[105] Petronis writes that 'It is not clear how much was done to fulfil the original plan. The atlas never appeared and even the separate maps were never published. No evidence points to any cooperation occurring between the Statistical Committees on the preparation of the atlas.' Petronis, *Constructing Lithuania,* 149.

[106] NIAB f.2502, op.1, d.183, l.11-48.

[107] NIAB f.2502, op.1, d.183, l.10-10ob.

By spring 1870, Sementovskii had prepared drafts of three thematic maps of trade and industry, hydrography, and ethnography for Vitebsk province.[108] Writing in 1875, Gatsinskii claimed that Sementovskii succeeded in producing all six thematic maps. However, it appears that only the ethnographic map was ever published while the rest, according to Gatsinskii, languished gathering dust in the office of Vitebsk Statistical Committee 'in anticipation of the best days of the activities of this institution'.[109] To Sementovskii's frustration, one year after beginning the project, the secretaries of the other Statistical Committees had still not managed to draft any maps, having underestimated the scale of the task and money required.[110] The initial enthusiasm for the project seems to have burnt out among the other Statistical Committees and Sementovskii gave up hope that a statistical atlas of the whole North-Western Territory would ever materialise. However, he remained determined to get his maps published and began exploring other avenues for achieving this goal.

An opportunity to publish arose in the early summer of 1870 when Sementovskii, along with 74 other Provincial Statistical Committee secretaries and members of the Central Statistical Bureau, convened in St. Petersburg for the first general meeting of statisticians in the Russian Empire. At the closing dinner on 11 June, Sementovskii proposed the publication of a collection of articles on various statistical matters to showcase the contemporary state of the statistical work being done in the provinces and to commemorate the meeting.[111] He hoped that by soliciting contributions from the secretaries from Ufa, Nizhnii Novgorod, Novgorod, Viatka, and Taganrog Statistical Committees, the broad geographical scope of the book would also bring his maps to a wider audience.[112] Many of the pledged articles never materialised and Sementovskii was forced to pad out the volume by writing half the articles himself. Nevertheless, the edited 'Collection' was published in 1872 and included Sementovskii's article and ethnographic map of Vitebsk province.[113] The chapter on ethnography and the ethnographic map were also published as a separate book.[114] The ethnographic map was drawn

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[108] NIAB f.2502, op.1, d.198, l.20.

[109] *Sbornik v pamiat' pervovo russkogo statisticheskogo s"ezda 1870 g.* 2, 40. I was unable to locate the maps Gatsinkii mentions in the archives of the Vitebsk Statistical Committee, which are split between Minsk and Riga. It seems that the maps have either been lost or destroyed. Gatsinskii claims that among the maps that Sementovksii informed him about was a map showing the distribution of literacy of Russians, Poles, and Latvians. If Gatsinskii is to be believed, Sementovskii appears to have decided not to follow the general programme, which stipulated that a map of educational institutions be produced for each province, and instead reverted to his original plan to map literacy.

[110] NIAB f.2502, op.1, d.198, l.20.

[111] *Sbornik v pamiat' pervago Russkago statistiheskago s"ezda 1870 g.* 1, xxxii.

[112] NIAB f.2502, op.1, d.198, l.20ob.

[113] *Sbornik v pamiat' pervago Russkago statistiheskago s"ezda 1870 g.* 1, 297-372.

[114] Sementovskii, *Etnograficheskii obzor Vitebskoi gubernii.*

by a forest inventory surveyor (*zemlemer taksator),* Konstantin Kondratovich, who Sementovskii probably knew from his previous role as a forestry inspector. While Sementovskii's map was praised by his contemporaries, historians have rarely paid attention to Sementovskii's ethnographic map.[115] Examining Sementovskii's publication more closely reveals its significance for the history of ethnographic cartography in the region.

Figure 18. Sementovskii's *Ethnographic Map of Vitebsk Province* (1872)

Source: Aleksandr Sementovskii, "Etnograficheskaia karta Vitebskoi gubernii*," Sbornike v pamiat' pervovo russkogo statisticheskogo s"ezda 1870 g.* 1. (St. Petersburg: 1872), Appendix. Credit: Russian State Library.

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[115] Aleksandr Serafimovich Gatsinskii, the secretary of Nizhegorod Statistical Committee and the editor of the second volume of the 'Collection' published in 1875, identified Sementovskii's ethnographic map as one of the key achievements in the history of the Provincial Statistical Committees. *Sbornik v pamiat' pervovo russkogo statisticheskogo s"ezda 1870 g.* 2, 40. Despite this, Sementovskii's map is not included in the recent four-volume historical atlas of Belarus. See: *Vialiki Histarychny Atlas Belarusi.* Vasil K. Bandarchyk gives a brief account of Sementovskii in his history of Belarusian ethnography, see: Bandarchyk, *Historyia Belaruskai Etnahrafii,* 123.

Triangulating Nationality: Mapping Religion, Language, and Estate

In the introduction to his *Ethnographic Overview of Vitebsk Province*, Sementovskii acknowledged his indebtedness to the ethnographic maps published in the Russian Empire over the course of the previous two decades. However, he also expressed his strong disagreement with 'the choice of signs of nationality' (*v vybore priznakov natsional'nosti*) on which these maps were based.[116] Sementovskii was especially critical of the ethnographic atlas of the North-Western Territory published in 1863 by Roderich von Erckert / Rodrig Fiodorovich Erkert (1821-1900) (I return to this map in Chapter 4, see Figure 26).[117] Erkert had used confession as the defining measure of nationality, which, Sementovskii's opinion, had led to the misclassification of many Roman Catholic Belarusians, Latvians, Estonians, and others as Poles.[118] Instead, Sementovskii argued that other signs, such as 'the native language of the people', should also be taken into account as a more accurate reflection of the local inhabitants' 'wishes, sympathies, traditions, origins, as shown by science, history, and the law'.[119] In this respect, Sementovskii was following recommendations for census-taking set out by the Central Statistical Committee discussed in 1870 at the meeting of Russian statisticians in St. Petersburg, which stipulated that data collected about 'native language' (*rodnoi iazyk*) was to be used to determine 'nationality' (*narodnost'*).[120]

While Erkert and Sementovskii followed different approaches to ethnographic map-making, they shared the core belief that nationality was an amorphous and ultimately unquantifiable concept.[121] As mentioned earlier, while the 1881 census in the Baltic provinces specifically included a question on nationality (*Nationalität*), in the rest of the Russian Empire, the more common practise was to compare data on religion, estate (*soslovie*), and 'native language' (*rodnoi iazyk*) to draw conclusions about the ethnic or national character of the people inhabiting a particular locality. This approach was also applied in the 1897 All-Russian census, where religion, estate, and native language were critically examined to determine the

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[116] Sementovskii, *Etnograficheskii obzor*, 1.

[117] R. d'Erkert, *Atlas ethnographique des provinces habitées en totalité ou en partie par des polonais* (St. Petersburg: 1863); R. F. Erkert, *Etnograficheskii atlas Zapadno-Russkikh gubernii i sosednikh oblastei* (St. Petersburg: 1863).

[118] Sementovskii, *Etnograficheskii obzor*, 2.

[119] *Ibid.*, p.2.

[120] *Sbornik v pamiat' pervago Russkago statistiheskago s"ezda.* 1, xvii.

[121] Alexei Miller has shown how there was considerable terminological confusion over the terms *narod, narodnost'*, and *natsionalnost'*, and the precise use often depended on the individual author or they could be used interchangeably. Miller, "'Narodnost'' i 'natsiia'."

ethnic composition of the Empire.[122] As Juliette Cadiot argues, ethnographers and statisticians 'searched for nationality' by weighing up and interpreting the accumulated ethnographic observations and statistical data.[123] Thus, nationality was determined by observing different signs or characteristics that could be more concretely described, counted, or measured, such as confession, estate, and spoken language. Traditional dress, handicrafts, customs, celebrations, folklore and folksongs, food, and architecture were also commonly used as reference points, providing clues as to which nationality group a person should be categorised. Ethnographic maps were founded on a similar triangulation of statistical data about a population's confession, estate, and spoken/native language. In this way, 'drawing things together' became an essential component of thinking about these things together.[124]

When it came to religion, Sementovskii adamantly refuted Erkert's method of using confession as a straightforward marker of nationality, arguing that this had led to the erroneous classification of many of Vitebsk's Roman Catholics as Poles. To counter Erkert's argument about the link between Roman Catholicism and the "Polish" influence in Vitebsk province, Sementovskii collected reports on the number of Roman Catholics.[125] This data was presented in a table insert into his ethnographic map, which showed that Poles only made up around ten per cent of the total number of Roman Catholics, while the majority were Latvians, Belarusians, Estonians, and Gypsies. As a result, there are only a few scattered clusters of Poles (light green) visible on Sementovskii's map. The other Secretaries of the Provincial Statistical Committees agreed with Sementovksii's approach and in September 1869, the Secretary of the Minsk Statistical Committee wrote to express his disagreement with the assumption that all Roman Catholics in Minsk were Poles, and as such should be shaded the same colour on the ethnographic map. His chief concern, from a statistical point of view, was to ensure 'uniformity' (*odinoobraznost'*) in the way in which confessional statistical data was translated into ethnographic categories. For the purposes of the planned atlas, the criteria for defining different ethnolinguistic groups needed to be standardised, so the reasons for classifying someone as "Polish" in Minsk province would be the same as in Vitebsk province.[126]

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[122] Juliette Cadiot, "Searching for Nationality: Statistics and National Categories at the End of the Russian Empire (1897-1917)," *Russian Review* 64 (2005), 440–55, 442. Cadiot notes how only in the Caucasus was a specific question about nationality also asked.
[123] *Ibid.*
[124] Bruno Latour, "Drawing Things Together," in *Representation in Scientific Practice,* ed. Michael Lynch and Steve Woolgar (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1990),19-84.
[125] NIAB f.2502, op.1, d.194.
[126] NIAB f.2502, op.1, d.183, l.50-51ob.

However, while Sementovskii dismissed the correlation between Roman Catholicism and Polish nationality, in other cases he supported the idea of strong links between religion and nationality. This can be clearly seen in a circular Sementovskii issued in July 1869 alerting the local authorities in Vitebsk province to a mistake that had been made on the form specifying the confessional break down of different ethnographic groups. Sementovskii explained that the form had asked for information on the number of Orthodox and Catholic Great Russians, when in fact the latter should have read 'schismatics' (*raskol'niki*) (Figure 19).[127] Most 'schismatics' were classified as Great Russians, however on Sememtovskii's statistical table embedded in his maps, a small number of 'schismatic' Belarusians and Latvians were also recorded. Whereas White Russians (Belarusians), Poles, and other Slavic peoples could be either Orthodox or Roman Catholic, the possibility of Catholic Great Russians was perceived as a contradiction in terms.[128]

		ЧИСЛО ЖИТЕ												
		СЛАВЯНСКАГО ПЛЕМЕНИ.												
ВСЕГО ВООБЩЕ.		I. II. Бѣлоруссовъ.				III. IV. Великоруссовъ.				V. VI. Поляковъ.			
		Православныхъ.		Католиковъ.		Православныхъ.		Католиковъ.		Православныхъ.		Католиковъ.	
М.	Ж.	М.	Ж.	М.	Ж.	М.	Ж.	М.	Ж.	М.	Ж.	М.	Ж.
150	170	100	110	25	30	2	4	6	8	2	«	2	3

Figure 19. Detail from a form for collecting religious statistics

Column IV contains the "error" implying that Great Russians could be Catholics.

Source: NIAB f.2502, op.1, d.183, l.27b.

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[127] The category of 'schismatics' (*raskol'niki*) was part of the official vocabulary of religious dissent that had emerged in the 1860s as a way distinguishing between 'normal' (*pravovernyi*) and other 'abnormal' religious practises. It was used as an umbrella term to refer to all dissenters and sectarians who deviated from the Orthodox Church over a variety of theological claims or ritual differences, despite internal considerable differences. Neither the Orthodox church nor Russian state acknowledged terms such as Old Ritualists (*staroobriadtsy*) or Old Believers (*starovery*) used by the dissenters themselves. See: Paert, "Two or Twenty Million?".
[128] NIAB f.2502, op.1, d.183, l.48.

Spoken language also proved to be a tricky variable to quantify and use as a marker of nationality. Sementovskii observed how it was hard to define where people stopped speaking one language and started speaking another. Sementovskii noted how the Slavic speech of the Orthodox and Roman Catholic inhabitants of Vitebsk province resembled 'something between' (*nichto srednee mezhdu*) Great Russian, Little Russian (Ukrainian), and Polish. The precise linguistic mix that one could hear varied considerably if one travelled around the territory of White Russian (Belarusian) 'dialects' (*narechie*): Belarusian-speakers in Vitebsk province used more Russian words, whereas those in the provinces of Minsk and Vil'na used more Polish words.[129] Furthermore, the difficulty of mapping frontiers between spoken languages not only concerned Slavic languages. Sementovskii described how in the western districts of Vitebsk province the local variety of White Russian (Belarusian) contained many Latvian influences, or more accurately, the influence of Polish Livonian Latvian or Latgalian rather than the standardised Latvian which was gradually beginning to be codified in the Baltic provinces at this time. The phenomenon described by Sementovskii closely resembles what linguists in the twentieth century refer to as a 'dialect continuum' and transitional dialects. To this day, many Slavophone speakers in Latgale refer to their everyday language of communication as a 'mixed language' (*smeshanyi iazyk*).[130] Nevertheless, in order to make his map Sementovskii had to demarcate language frontiers.

Although Sementovskii advocated the use of everyday spoken language as an indicator of nationality, he cautioned that it was not enough to use it alone. The relationship between recorded nationality and language did not always correlate in the ways that imperial bureaucrats and statisticians wanted. Ethnographic reports frequently mentioned the problem of using German-language as a marker of "Germanness", as many Jews identified as German-speakers.[131] Moreover, many people in western Vitebsk had a degree of competency in multiple languages, either as a result of linguistically mixed marriages or simply because they used, heard, or read different languages in different contexts as part of everyday life. Although we should be careful about assuming that inhabitants of multi-ethnic regions are necessarily multilingual and that language was an important marker of difference among local

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[129] Sementovskii, *Etnograficheskii obzor*, 6; A. A. Zavarina, *Russkoe naselenie vostochnoi Latvii vo vtoroi polovine xix-nachale xx veka: istoriko-etnograficheskii ocherk* (Riga: Zinatne, 1986).
[130] Mirosław Jankowiak, "Belarusian Dialects in Latvian Latgale -Transitional or Mixed?," *Slavica Bergensia* 12 (2014), 343–72.
[131] VUBRS F. 34-GD678, no. 11.401.

communities, in western Vitebsk proficiency in several tongues was common.[132] A local peasant might greet his neighbour, attend church, and conduct a business transaction in different languages.

An important point to stress here is the question of linguistic competency, which draws our attention to how most people are not equally comfortable or adept at conversing in all the languages they know, and also that they may choose to communicate in different languages in different situations. Language competency encompasses a wide spectrum, from active (fluent speaking and writing) to more passive (listening only) skills.[133] Furthermore, the question of linguistic "purity" and "correctness" also needs to be considered. Whereas written language can be held to standardised grammatical and orthographical rules that are taught to the general population in schools, spoken language is much more difficult to gatekeep. Even if children are encouraged to speak in a "proper way" at school, spoken language is situational and many "slip" back into "bad habits" (i.e. dialects) when at home speaking to their parents or grandparents. Contemporary fieldwork in the Latgale region of eastern Latvia, for instance, has revealed that while people think that they may speak Belarusian, Russian, and Polish, from the perspective of linguists, they simply incorporate a higher frequency of words from these standard languages into their speech instead of switching language.[134] Sementovskii in the 1870s encountered a similar phenomenon, noting that many Latvians in western Vitebsk province 'speak Russian badly' (*po russki latyshi govoriat plokho*).[135] This statement can be read in at least two ways: as a comment on the local Latvian-speakers' limited knowledge of Russian language – they possessed only a smattering of words and simple phrases – or as a judgement on the quality of their "Russian", which from Sementovskii's perspective contained many "mistakes". Consequently, when using language as an indicator of ethnicity or nationality, statisticians and census-takers stressed that they want to know a person's 'native national language' (*rodnoi iazyk naroda*).[136] Native language was understood as a means of determining a person's essential national character as it was inherited from their parents, impressed on them at birth, and thus a fundamental part of their being. Knowledge of other

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[132] Pieter M. Judson, "Do Multiple Languages Mean a Multicultural Society? Nationalist 'Frontiers' in Rural Austria, 1880–1918," in *Understanding Multiculturalism: The Habsburg Central European Experience,* eds. Johannes Fechtinger and Gary B. Cohen (New York; Oxford: Berghan Books, 2014), 61-82.

[133] For a discussion of language competency and communicative practices in the Habsburg Empire, see: Michaela Wolf, *The Habsburg Monarchy's Many-Languaged Soul: Translating and Interpreting, 1848-1918* (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2015).

[134] Jankowiak, "Belarusian Dialects in Latvian Latgale", 343–72.

[135] Sementovskii, *Etnograficheskii obzor*, 33.

[136] *Ibid.*, 2.

languages, by contrast, was something that was believed to be acquired later in life and influenced by the particularities of the place and social circumstances in which the person lived.

Ethnic and national labels could also change their meaning depending on the context in which they were used. For example, in the Baltic provinces, upwardly mobile Estonian- and Latvian-speaking peasants were often perceived as being 'Germanised'. To 'become German' and to adopt 'German' attributes such as German-language was an attribute of social class, estate (*soslovie*), and education, rather than something we might understand as an ethnic or national identification.[137] Similarly, in the lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, to self-identify or be perceived as a 'Pole' was usually a way of describing someone's belonging to a noble landowning family.

Surface Area, Population Points, and Urban Spaces

During the process of making the *Ethnographic Map of Vitebsk Province*, Sementovskii encountered methodological issues when mapping urban and rural spaces. The statistical data to make ethnographic maps was collected based on the principle of 'population points' (*naselenie punkti*). Statisticians and census-takers recorded data on the inhabitants living at a particular coordinate (depending on the map's scale, this could be a single household or village) and this data was then aggregated and extrapolated to shade in the whole area of analysis (*uezd* or *district*) in the corresponding colour of the ethnographic group determined to be living there. In this respect, maps differed from data tables in crucial ways. On data tables, every individual could be accounted in name or by a pen mark. On maps, the presence of low-density populations spread over a large area is emphasised, while the visual impact of very concentrated populations is diminished. Moreover, whereas data tables are able to record the presence of populations in small numbers and who are very dispersed, these people often become invisible on ethnographic maps because their numbers are not large enough or they are not sufficiently concentrated to be coloured. The ways in which various formats of displaying information – data tables and cartography – construct different images of the world can be clearly seen in Sementovskii's ethnographic map of Vitebsk province. For instance, the data table inset on the map recorded 177 Gypsies (*tsygany*) in Vitebsk province, divided between Orthodox (151) and Roman Catholics (26). In the legend, Gypsies were assigned a colour

[137] Henriksson, *The Tsar's Loyal Germans,* 12.

(brown) as one of Vitebsk province's ethnographic groups, however the map itself contains no noticeable brown areas indicating their whereabouts.

Another manifestation of these dynamics can be seen in the depiction of urban populations on ethnographic maps. The population of towns and cities in European Russia in the nineteenth century was often religiously and ethnolinguistically diverse and frequently differed from the surrounding countryside.[138] Almost all the towns and cities in the three Baltic provinces had a high proportion of German-speakers and Jews, whereas Latvian- and Estonian-speakers formed the majority in the countryside. Due to the large scale of most ethnographic maps, information about the internal composition of a town or city was either not depicted at all, or only in a very rudimentary way. Rapid industrialisation in Russia in the second half of the nineteenth century led to high rural to urban migration and the emergence of new communities in crowded urban spaces who were not always reflected in population statistics. Moreover, Jews were widely perceived to be averse to regulation and elusive of bureaucratic processes as they were registered separately by state rabbis.[139]

Some information about the ethno-confessional character of towns and cities was conveyed on topographical maps. Usually printed on a larger scale than ethnographic maps, they included symbols showing the location of buildings - churches, monasteries, seminaries, prayer houses, synagogues, and schools – that were associated with a particular confession or denomination.[140] Cemeteries were also commonly associated with a particular confessional and ethnic group and the Provincial Statistical Committees often sent out requests for surveys to be conducted of cemeteries and gravestone inscriptions as a way of determining what ethnicities lived in a locality.[141] However, as Irina Paert has shown, making assumptions about the ethno-confessional characteristics of a population based on the denomination of a church or the religious affiliation of a local school could be misleading. Both Lutheran and Orthodox schools in the Baltic provinces had a confessional mix of students and peasants often made pragmatic choices about which school they sent their children to. Lutheran families often voluntarily chose to send their children to Orthodox schools due to the proximity of the school to their home, the opportunity to learn Russian language, and the perception of Lutheran pedagogy as strict and harsh. Confessional and cultural loyalties therefore often played less of a role than

[138] For a discussion of this phenomenon in nineteenth-century Dvinsk (Daugavpils), see: Solvita Pošeiko, "The Latvian Language in the Linguistic Landscape of Daugavpils (the Middle of the 19th Century - Today)," *Journal of Education Culture and Society* 2 (2015), 320-336.
[139] Avrutin, "The Power of Documentation."
[140] NIAB f.2502, op.1, d.183, l.52.
[141] EAA.41.1.1.52.

practical, material, and academic considerations. Moreover, in the 1880s and 1890s many Lutheran schools were merged into Orthodox ones to save resources.[142] As a result, the location and type of religious buildings or cemeteries did not necessarily correspond to the actual ethno-confessional composition of a town or city.

In an attempt to provide a more accurate picture of the distribution of nationalities on the scale of individual towns and cities, in the summer of 1869 Sementovskii sent out instructions to the police and district officials to gather data to compile a separate series of ethnographic plans of the towns and cities in Vitebsk province. Sementovskii instructed surveyors to shade town plans with colours denoting property ownership by different nationalities, 'or at least of Christians and Jews.'[143] Lists of homeownership were drawn up and Sementovskii a legend specifying how the ethnographic town plans were to be produced and the colours and symbols to be used (Figure 20).[144] While still uncommon, ethnographic town plans were not a new concept: a year earlier the A. Il'in Cartographical Establishment had published a collection of statistical plans of St. Petersburg that included maps showing the density of foreigners, Catholics, and Protestants based on property ownership.[145] In Vitebsk province, some progress appears to have been made towards making the maps as in 1870 lists were drawn up of Jews owning land and property in cities.[146] Although I have not been able to find the ethnographic town plans themselves in the archives, the correspondence between the district surveyors and Vitebsk Statistical Committee suggests that the plans were produced.[147] The discussion about the need to produce ethnographic town plans alongside the overall ethnographic map of the province indicates that Sementovskii was highly aware of the discrepancies between the ethnographic composition of cities and rural areas and how existing technologies and approaches to ethnographic mapping were unable to convey these differences.

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[142] Irina Paert, "Orthodox Education in the Lutheran Environment 1840 – 1890s," *Nordost-Archiv* 25 (2016), 74–91.

[143] NIAB f.2502, op.1, d.183, l.40.

[144] NIAB f.2502, op.1, d.183, l.43.

[145] *Issledovaniia po istorii, topografii i statistike stolitsy. T. 3. Statisticheskii plan Sankt-Peterburga* (St. Petersburg: Kartograficheskoe zavedenie A. Il'ina, 1868).

[146] NIAB f.2502, op.1, d.197.

[147] NIAB f.1437, op.1, d.3924, l.51, l.76.
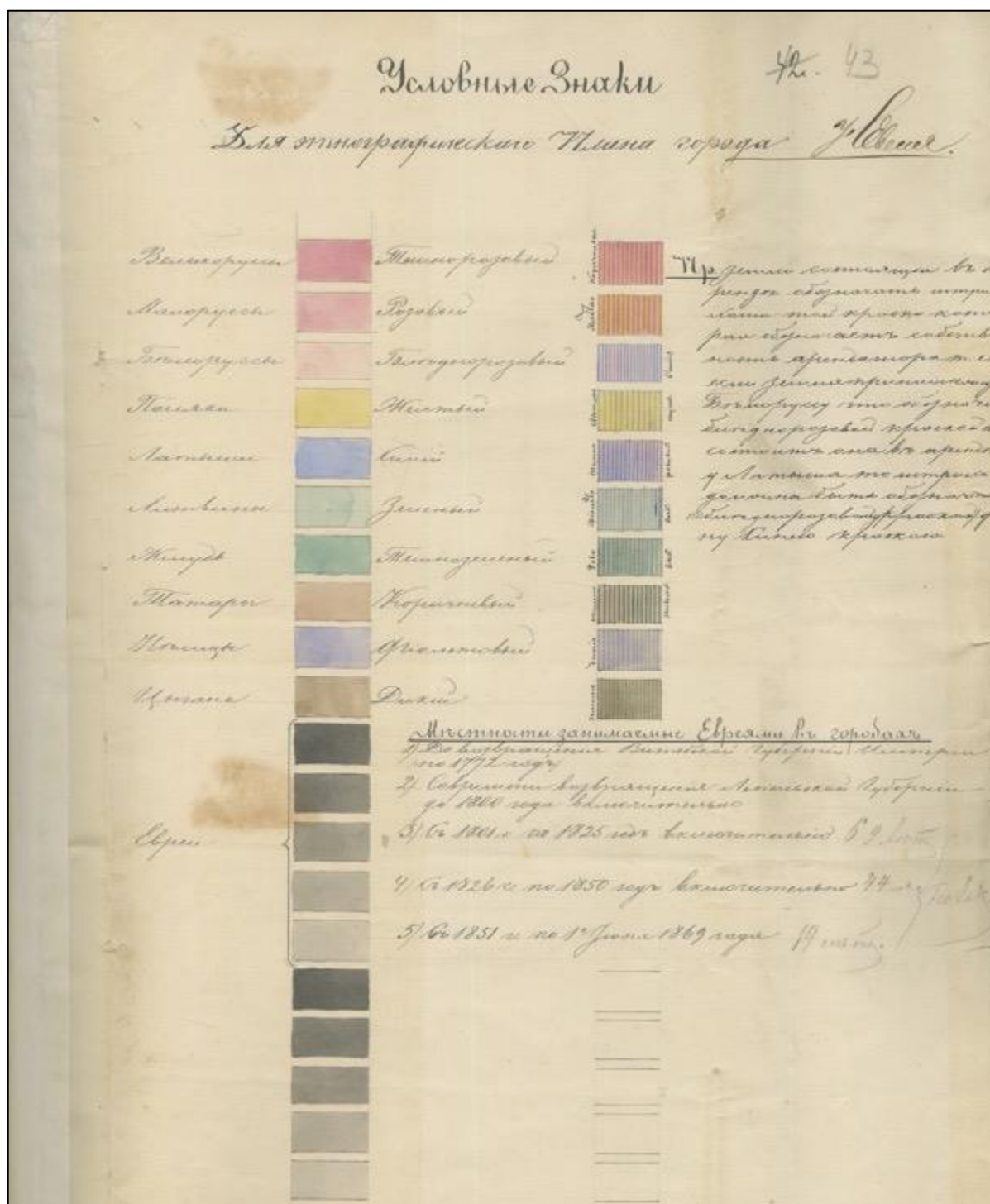
Figure 20. Sementovskii's legend (*uslovnye znaki*) for the planned ethnographic town plan

Source: NIAB f.2502, op.1, d.183, l.43.

Conclusions

The Provincial Statistical Committees were invited to send representatives to the Eighth International Congress of Statistics held in St. Petersburg in 1872, yet few Committees had enough funds to send members. Nevertheless, the discussion at the Congress about the use of

cartography as a statistical method was symptomatic of a wider craze for using maps as a method to visualise and analyse statistics in the late 1860s and early 1870s that permeated all levels of the imperial bureaucracy. The process of making the *Ethnographic Map of Vitebsk Province* highlights how many of the topics about the use of geographical and graphical methods to visualise statistics, discussed by the delegates at the Congress, were already being debated in the years preceding the Congress at a provincial level.

Although this chapter has focused on ethnographic map-making, the Provincial Statistical Committees used cartography to visualise and analyse a wide range of different statistical topics. In 1867, the Vitebsk Statistical Committee produced an archaeological map of Vitebsk province showing the location of castles and main archaeological points of interest.[148] The Pskov Statistical Committee prepared a map of flax production to be exhibited in the Russian pavilion at the 1873 Vienna World Fair.[149] Friedrich von Jung-Stilling, head of the Lifliand Statistical Committee, published thematic maps of Lutheran school statistics and agrarian statistics, showing the distribution of farmland, privately owned land, forests, and distilleries.[150] These provincial-scale statistical cartography projects testify that interest in promoting statistics and mapping as relevant tools of imperial governance was not limited to St. Petersburg and high-ranking imperial academicians and members of the IRGO, but sparked considerable interest and initiative at the provincial level too.

Against the backdrop of the Great Reforms, the Provincial Statistical Committees in the 1860s and 1870s played an important role in fulfilling the demands of the Ministry of the Interior for comprehensive and regular statistical information about the ethnographic composition of the Russian Empire. Collecting, reporting, and mapping of ethnographic data formed part of a broader social engineering project that attempted to build up a unified and comprehensive picture of the Empire's ethnographic landscape. However, despite coordinated efforts to standardise ethnographic methods, terminology, recording processes, and the cartographical symbols and signs for mapping "similar" people in different provinces, the activities of the Provincial Statistical Committees demonstrate how the administrative provinces continued to be an important frame of reference for thinking about ethnographic

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[148] NIAB f. 2502, op. 1, d. 58, l.95-96. The map was subsequently published in *Pamiatnaia kniga Vitebskoi gubernii na 1867 god. s arkheologicheskoi kartoi Vitebskoi gubernii,* ed. Aleksandr Sementovskii (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia K. Vul'fa, 1867).
[149] EAA.41.1.8.1.
[150] Friedrich von Jung-Stilling, *Beitrag zur Statistik der evangelisch-lutherisch Landvolk-Schulen in* Livland (Riga: A. Stahl, 1879); Friedrich von Jung-Stilling, *Ein Beitrag zur Livländischen Agrarstatistik: aus dem Material des livl. Landraths-Collegiums* (Riga: Müllersche Buchdruckerei, 1881).

groups. The results of the 1881 census were published in separate volumes for Estliand, Lifliand, and Kurliand so that statistical data on ethnic groups such as Estonians and Latvians who inhabited several different provinces was not presented together. Likewise, the plan in 1869 to make a statistical atlas of the North-Western Territory was envisaged as a compendium of maps of the different provinces. The combination of regional expertise, reliance on fieldwork and direct observation, and close collaboration with local lay informants enabled the Statistical Committees to draw attention to specific characteristics of the population in their province and reflect on them in the light of the categories devised by the Central Statistical Committee in St. Petersburg. The process of collecting ethnographic statistics prompted reflections on the differences between the Roman Catholic Latvian-speakers inhabiting western Vitebsk province vis-à-vis the Lutheran Latvian-speakers across the border in Lifliand province, or the classificatory ambiguity surrounding the Orthodox Seto inhabitants living in the border region between Estliand and Pskov provinces.

As will be explored in Chapter 5, intellectuals from the late 1870s onwards began to challenge the administrative province as the main framework for thinking about ethnographic groups. Instead, they began to think of Estonian-speakers in Estliand and northern Lifliand as a single collective, and of Latvian-speakers in southern Lifliand, Kurliand, and sometimes also in western Vitebsk as a single Latvian ethnolinguistic group. The shift to thinking about ethnographic groups as communities that transcended the administrative framework of the Empire inspired the production of new maps which focused on mapping linguistic areas and dialectal variation.

CHAPTER 4

Visualising the "Baltic Question"

'Livland and Afghanistan! Were there ever two less comparable lands? What is common to both the Hindu Kush and the Peipus [lake], or to both the horrors of the Kyber Pass and the steamboat-furrowed entry to the mouth of the [river] Düna?'.[1] Waldemar von Bock (1816-1903), a Baltic German lawyer and publicist, posed these provocative questions to his readers in the opening of his book on *The German-Russian Conflict on the Baltic Sea* (1869). Bock went onto explain the logic of his comparison:

> And yet the point of comparison is not quite as far away as it should seem on the first sight! Because, like back there, at the gates of India, Afghanistan, here in front of the gates of Germany, Livland, - in light of the comparative geography, are considered typically one and the same; a historically significant point of encounter of the people of the Russians [*des Volkes der Russen*] with the Germanic tribes [*Stämme*].[2]

For Bock, the ongoing conflict between the Russian and British Empires over influence in Central Asia meant that the Baltic provinces and Afghanistan were both spaces of encounter between Slavic and Germanic peoples. Bock perceived Slavs and Germanic peoples as two distinct civilizations vying for territorial control. The same year, Nikolai Iakovlevich Danilevskii (1822-85) published his famous work on *Russia and Europe: A Look at the Cultural and Political Relations of the Slavic World to the Romano-German World*.[3] Danilevskii was a naturalist by training, who had participated in fisheries expeditions led by Karl Ernst von Baer to the Volga and Caspian Sea. Applying similar methods used for classifying different species in natural science, Danielvskii viewed Germanic and Slavic peoples as representatives of different civilisational types. Against the backdrop of the gradual consolidation of Italian and German states, Danilevskii advocated a unification of Slavic peoples along similar lines.

The nineteenth century saw an explosion of 'questions' that crystallised around different political, social, economic, and national issues. As Holly Case argues, 'the nineteenth-century drive to settle or solve these questions reveals something essential about them: they

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[1] Waldemar von Bock, *Der deutsch-russische Konflikt an der Ostsee* (Leipzig: Dunder und Humblot, 1869), 19.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] Nikolai Danilevskii, *Rossia i Evropa* (St. Petersburg: 1869).

were construed as problems'.[4] In the context of the Russian Empire, one of the most hotly debated questions of the mid-nineteenth century was the so-called 'Baltic Question' (*Ostzeiskii vopros*). The special status of the Baltic provinces, encompassing the privileges of the Baltic German nobility and their degree of autonomy over local governance, became a lens through which to discuss different models of how to govern and modernise the Empire, as well to scrutinise the loyalty of its inhabitants. While the debates about the relationship of the Baltic provinces to the Empire that played across the pages of newspapers, books, and pamphlets have been extensively studied by historians, this chapter examines how map-makers engaged with these debates through the medium of cartography.[5] Importantly, these maps were designed not only to visualise the territories inhabited by ethnic groups belonging to different "civilisations", but were orientated towards solving the "problem" of the Baltic Question and devising hypotheses about the underlying historical, social, economic, and political causes.

This chapter focuses on the ethnographic maps made by Aleksandr Fedorovich Rittikh (Alexander Rittich) (1831-1914?), who exemplifies the shift in the second half of the nineteenth century 'towards a more argumentative concept of cartography'.[6] A Lieutenant-General in the imperial army and member of the IRGO, Rittikh played a key role in the production of half a dozen ethnographic and confessional maps covering the Baltic provinces between the 1860s and 1910s. Through an examination of Rittikh's map-making activities, this chapter develops three main arguments. Firstly, I argue that Rittikh's maps not only gave visual representation to the debates on the Baltic Question in the press, but also played an important role in illuminating spatial dimensions of the issues being discussed. Through mapping, Rittikh demonstrated how the Baltic Question was not an isolated issue confined to three small

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[4] Holly Case, *The Age of Questions. Or, A First Attempt at an Aggregate History of the Eastern, Social, Woman, American, Jewish, Polish, Bullion, Tuberculosis, and Many Other Questions over the Nineteenth Century, and Beyond* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), xiv.

[5] The debates on "Baltic Question" in the Russian press have been extensively studied. See: S. G. Isakov, *Ostzeiskii vopros v russkoi pechati 1860-x* godov (Tartu: Uchenye zapiski tartuskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta, 1961); Natalia S. Andreeva, "'Ostzeiskii vopros' vo vnutrennei politike rossiiskogo pravitel'stva (nachalo XX v.)," *Cahiers du Monde Russe* 3 (2002), 67–102; Olga Majorova, "Die Schlüsselrolle der "deutschen Frage" in der russischen patriotischen Presse der 1860er Jahre," in *Deutsche und Deutschland aus russischer Sicht. 19./20. Jahrhundert: Von den Reformen Alexanders II. bis zum Ersten Weltkrieg,* ed. Dagmar Herrmann (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2006); Natalia S. Andreeva, *Pribaltiiskie nemtsy i Rossiiskaia pravitel'stvennaia politika v nachale XX veka* (St. Petersburg: Mir, 2008); Natalia S. Andreeva, "Die 'baltische Frage' und die Reformpolitik" in *Russland an der Ostsee: imperiale Strategien der Macht und kulturelle Wahrnehmungsmuster (16. bis 20. Jahrhundert) = Russia on the Baltic: Imperial Strategies of Power and Cultural Patterns of Perception (16th-20th Centuries)*, eds. Karsten Brüggemann and Bradley D. Woodworth (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2012), 243–85; Kar'iakhiarm, "Ostzeitsy i baltiitsy."

[6] The exact date of Rittikh's death is unknown, but it is no earlier than 1914. For the argument that cartography became increasing 'argumentative' over the course of the nineteenth century, see: Schulten, *Mapping the Nation*, 8.

provinces in the north-west of the Empire, but was ideologically related to, and geographically overlapped with, other politically charged questions, such as the so-called 'Polish Question' and the 'German Question'.[7] Secondly, I explore how while the names of many of these questions implied that they were related to nationalities issues, at their heart lay broader discussions about imperial modes of governance and the Empire's sovereignty. As Terry Martin has argued, intellectual elites grappled with the German Question to ask existential questions about what 'Russia' and 'Russian' meant.[8] This chapter explores how ethnographic map-makers engaged with these big questions during the last decades of the nineteenth century as a way to interrogate ideas about the space of the Empire, its place in the world, and its future. Finally, I examine how the fervent interest and debate on the Baltic Question in imperial Russia was produced by a confluence of factors, both ideological and technological. Technological developments in chromolithography printing and the booming business of private cartographical publishing houses in the second half of the nineteenth century enabled the discussion of the Baltic Question in print culture and contributed to its popularisation in literate society.

Unfolding Debates on the "Baltic Question" in the Russian Empire, 1840s-1860s

The Baltic Question emerged in the second quarter of the nineteenth century in conjunction with debates about modern society in Russia. In the wake of the failed Decembrist uprising of 1825, the Empire's intelligentsia began to evaluate the legacy of Peter the Great's 'westernising' reforms of the early eighteenth century. Their criticisms were encapsulated in the polemical *Philosophical Letters* written by the Muscovite nobleman Petr Chaadaev (1794-1856) between 1827 and 1831, in which he criticised Russia for lacking history, tradition, and for lagging behind western Europe.[9] Chaadaev's concerns about Russia's current condition and future prospects resonated with the growing sense of crisis and impotence experienced by Russia's educated elite. Under the swelling influence of Romanticism, a group of thinkers

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[7] Terry Martin contends that there were three distinct, but interrelated, "German Questions" in nineteenth century imperial Russia, concerning the Baltic Germans, German colonists in southern Russia, and German migration to the western provinces. Terry Martin, "The German Question in Russia, 1848-1896," *Russian History/Histoire Russe* 18, no. 4 (1991), 373–434.

[8] *Ibid.,* p.374.

[9] Petr Iakolevich Chaadaev, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii i izbrannye pis'ma* 1 (Moscow: Nauka, 1991); Robin Aizelwood, "Revisiting Russian Identity in Russian Thought: From Chaadaev to the Early Twentieth Century." *Slavonic and East European Review* 78, no. 1 (2000), 20-43. See especially pp.20-1.

known as the Slavophiles sought to reformulate a new idea of Russia as a unique national culture. They argued that Russian society and values were fundamentally opposed to the West and that the Petrine reforms were the point when Russia had been led astray. By importing and imitating Western ideas and standards, they felt that serfdom had been consolidated, the unity and spirit of the Russian people was weakened, and Russian society had been split between the westernised elites and *narod*, the peasants who retained their Russian essence.[10] Over the course of the eighteenth century, the annexation of the Baltic provinces and the eastern two thirds of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had brought the 'west' within the borders of the Empire. Although the Slavophile standpoint was conservative, its critique of the norms and values of western Europe, by extension, also condemned the Europeanisation of contemporary Russia. The Slavophile vision of Russia clashed with Nicholas I's view of his government as a modern, western power, and who had no interest in returning to the presumed 'golden age' of the pre-Petrine era extolled by the Slavophiles.

For many Slavophiles, the Baltic provinces symbolised much of what they thought was wrong with Russia in the 1840s.[11] The official use of German as the language of administration, Lutheran faith, special code of laws, separate legal proceedings, self-government, and the separation of the four Baltic Noble Knighthoods (*Baltischen Ritterschaften*) of Kurland, Livland, Estland, and Oesel/ Ösel (Saaremaa) from the All-Russian Table of Ranks, were all seen as signs of the literal extension of 'the West' within the borders of the Russian Empire. The polemical writings of Iurii Fedorovich Samarin (1819-1876), an incendiary young conservative aristocrat and low-ranking official of the Ministry of the Interior, played a key role in formulating the idea of the Baltic Question within the wider Slavophile debate.[12] A student of the patriotic historian Mikhail Pogodin (1800-1875) at Moscow University, Samarin entered the civil service and in 1846 was appointed by the Ministry of the Interior to the Stackelberg-Khanykov Commission, established to study the condition of the peasants in Lifliand province. Later that year, Samarin was posted to Riga to study legal, economic, and

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[10] Susanna Rabow-Edling, *Slavophile Thought and the Politics of Cultural Nationalism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2006).

[11] Scholars long characterised the Slavophile discussion on the Russian national idea as 'conservative utopia', philosophically abstract, and disengaged with the social realities of contemporary Russia. See, for example, the classic work by: Andrzej Walicki, *The Slavophile controversy* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975). However, the Slavophile interest in the Baltic provinces as a case study of the problems of contemporary Russia instead supports Susanna Rabow-Edling's counterargument that 'Slavophilism was a critical assessment of Russian society and a project for social change [...] a rational confrontation with what contemporaries saw as genuine problems'. Rabow-Edling, *Slavophile Thought*, 2

[12] Boris Emmanuilovich Nol'de, *Iurii Samarin i ego vremia* (Paris: Société anonyme imprimerie de Navarre, 1926).

political institutions and to write a history of the city.[13] In 1848, Samarin's experiences of living and working in Lifliand, coupled with the appointment of the new Governor-General of the three Baltic provinces, the pro-Baltic German Prince Alexander Arkadevich Suvorov (1804-82), incited him into writing a polemical book-length manuscript, *Letters from Riga (Pis'ma iz Rigi)*. Penned between May and June 1948 as six densely written letters, the manuscript was circulated and widely read by high-ranking officials and educated elites in Moscow and St. Petersburg between 1848-49. Samarin hoped his polemical work would gain Nicholas I's attention and move the Tsar's hand to address the Baltic Question.[14]

The attachment of the Baltic Question to wider the Slavophile debate in the late 1840s highlights how the Baltic provinces provided intellectuals with an arena to engage with wider philosophical questions about the essential character of Russia as a state and the principles of governance by which it should be ruled and managed. In *Letters from Riga,* Samarin heavily attacked the privileges of the Baltic German nobles, arguing that the medieval Teutonic Order had taken the Baltic lands from the Russians by military conquest, converted this Orthodox territory to Catholicism, and subjugated and exploited the native populations. For Samarin, Russian rule in the Baltic provinces was natural and legitimate, based on centuries of harmonious close contact and cultural-religious kinship with the indigenous Estonians and Latvians. German rule, by contrast, was artificial and colonial. Samarin criticised the Baltic Germans for being self-serving and disloyal imperial subjects, and for their refusal to recognise Russian sovereignty and use Russian language. Samarin concluded his diatribe with a strong statement about the need for the Russian government to bring the Baltic provinces closer to the other parts of the Russian Empire, writing that 'The relation of the Baltic territory to the Russian land, to the government, to the situation of Russians, all this is unnatural, false and requires fundamental reform.'[15]

Samarin's recommendations largely fell on deaf ears. Despite the Tsar's endorsement of the doctrine of Official Nationality, Nicholas I perceived the Slavophile brand of cultural nationalism as threatening and regarded Samarin's *Letters* as a radical and marginal viewpoint. Samarin was arrested in March 1849 and personally reprimanded by Nicholas I. Nevertheless, Samarin emerged from the incident relatively unscathed due to his family's close connections

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[13] Iurii Samarin, *Obshchestvennoe ustroistvo goroda Rigi: Issledovaniia Revizionnoi kommisii naznachenoi Ministerstvom vnutrennikh del* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Ministerstva Vnutrennikh Del, 1852).
[14] The *Letters* were only published some 40 years later. *Sochineniia Iu. F. Samarina* 7 (Moscow: A. I. Mamoton, 1889).
[15] *Ibid.,*159.

with the Tsar and was sent back to his family estate in Simbirsk (Ul'ianovsk) on the Volga river. Sarmarin was shortly thereafter permitted to resume state service in the chancery of the Kiev (Kyiv) Governor-General and re-emerged as a key figure in the discussion on the Baltic Question in the 1860s.[16]

In the late 1850s, the Baltic Question returned to the spotlight once more in the context of the liberal transformations in the era of the Great Reforms. Russia's defeat in the Crimean War (1853-6) and the ascension of the more liberal Tsar Alexander II to the throne in 1855 prompted a discussion in the Empire about the gradual introduction of reforms to address social and economic problems. The 1860s witnessed a flood of newspaper articles, brochures, and pamphlets on the Baltic Question, mostly concentrating on the so-called "Baltic method" of peasant emancipation.[17] Serfdom had been abolished in the Baltic provinces between 1816-1819 during the reign of Tsar Alexander I, however the freed serfs were given neither land nor the right to mobility, which – in the eyes of the Slavophiles – had given the peasants few rights and little opportunity to engage in independent agriculture.[18] The publicist Ivan Sergeevich Aksakov (1823-1886) published regular articles on the Baltic Question in his weekly newspaper *Day* (*Den'*) on the dire conditions of the Baltic peasantry and pointed to the failure of the "Baltic method" to improve the lot of the peasants during the famines that swept European Russia due to multiple harvest failures in all three Baltic provinces in 1841-47 and Estliand in 1868-69.[19] Others concentrated on the exploitation of the Baltic peasantry by the Baltic German nobility and landowners.[20] The Kurliand nobleman Otto von Orgies-Rutenberg (1802-1864) went so far as to caution that Kurliand was in danger of becoming the Russian Empire's Mecklenburg, two duchies infamous for being one of the most conservative and "feudal" parts of the German Confederation, and from whence, due to the dire socioeconomic

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[16] Edward C. Thaden, "Iurii Fedorovich Samarin and Baltic History," *Journal of Baltic Studies* 17 (1986), 321–28.

[17] The content of these debates on the "Baltic Question" in the press have been analysed in detail by Isakov, *Ostzeiskii vopros v russkoi pechati 1860-x godov.*

[18] Emancipation Laws were passed in Estliand in 1816, Kurliand in 1817, and Lifliand in 1819. Landowners in Estliand and Lifliand could sell farmland, but in practice very few did so. In Kurliand, landownership outside of towns was restricted to members of the *Ritterschaft* (nobility). Peasants only gained the right to mobility later: Lifliand (1832), Kurliand (1848), Estliand (1856). See: Kersti Lust, "The Impact of the Baltic Emancipation Reforms on Peasant-Landlord Relations: A Historiographical Survey," *Journal of Baltic Studies* 44, no. 1 (2013), 1–18.

[19] Aksakov's writings on the "Baltic Question" were later published in a volume of his collected essays. I. S. Aksakov, *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii. Vol. 6. Pribaltiiskii vopros vnutrenniia dela Rossii* (Moscow: M. G. Bolchanov, 1887), 3-167. On the famines, see: Kersti Lust, "Feeding the Landless in Post-Emancipation Livland during Times of Famine (1840s-1860s)," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 92 (2014), 81–106.

[20] Vassili Timofeevich Blagoveshchenskii, *Der Ehste und sein Herr: zur Beleuchtung der öconomischen Lage und des Zustandes in Ehstland* (Berlin: Rudolph Gaertner, 1851).

conditions, large numbers of peasants and lower classes emigrated to North America in the nineteenth century.[21]

In the wake of the Uprising of 1863-64 in the lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, both the Baltic Question and Germanophobia were increasingly refracted through concerns about the 'integrity' (*tselost'*) of the Empire.[22] As Richard Wortman argues, a central theme in the political culture of the Russian monarchy since the time of Peter the Great was the unity and cohesiveness of its territory.[23] The events of 1863-4 highlighted the threat posed by the potential fragmentation of the Empire's regions and drew attention to the separate status of the Baltic provinces. For the conservative nationalist publicist Mikhail Nikiforovich Katkov (1818-1887), editor of the newspaper *Moscow News* (*Moskovskie Vedomosti*) and the literary magazine *Russian Messenger* (*Russkii Vestnik*), the Baltic provinces were incompatible with the idea of a strong and unified Russian state and he advocated reforms to bring the provinces more closely under central imperial rule.[24]

Alexander II was displeased by the extremity of the attacks in the press on the Baltic Germans and the tendency to equate them with Poles.[25] In 1865 the imperial government took measures to curb the public debate on the Baltic Question by tightening censorship of St. Petersburg newspapers.[26] However, many works grappling with the Baltic Question continued to be published abroad. In the late 1860s, Samarin returned to the public stage and between 1868-76 he published a six-volume work on the *Borderlands of Russia* (*Okrainy Rossii*). The first volume, which was published in Prague in 1868 due to the censorship restrictions, was devoted to the question of the Baltic provinces and brought together the themes debated in the press in the early 1860s on socio-economic development and the Empire's integrity. However, compared to his writings from the late 1840s, Samarin's views on the Baltic Question in the late 1860s were laced with a new sense of urgency. He shifted away from the philosophical arguments about the nature of the Russian state that characterised his early writings to a more sustained engagement with pressing political issues. The Uprising of 1863-64 in the North-

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[21] Otto von Rutenberg, *Mecklenburg in Kurland* (Leipzig: Wilhelm Engelmann, 1863).

[22] Isakov, *Ostzeiskii vopros*, 28.

[23] *Ibid.,* 36. Richard Wortman, "The 'Integrity' (Tselost') of the State in Imperial Russia," *Ab Imperio* (2011), 20–47.

[24] On Katkov's nationalist politics, see Andreas Renner, "Defining a Russian Nation: Mikhail Katkov and the "Invention" of National Politics," *The Slavonic and East European Review* 81 (2003), 659–82.

[25] Michael H. Hatzel, "Russo-German Polemics of the Sixties," in *Russification in the Baltic Provinces and Finland 1855-1914*, ed Edward C. Thaden (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), 124-133, 126.

[26] The censorship decree was not extended to newspapers in the Baltic provinces. Charles A. Ruud, *Fighting Words: Imperial Censorship and the Russian Press, 1804-1906* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), 137-149.

Western Territory and the prospect of German unification brought international dimensions to the debates. Naval activities in the Baltic Sea during the Crimean War had exposed the military-strategic vulnerability of the Baltic provinces, which came to be perceived as a weak spot in the Russian Empire and vulnerable to German conspiracy and foreign intervention.[27] Samarin feared that that the Baltic provinces might become 'the younger brother of the Schleswig-Holstein Question'.[28]

Whereas in *Letters from Riga* Samarin had referred to the region using the Russified German-language name '*Ostzeiskie provintsii*', derived from the German-language name of the Baltic Sea (*Ostsee*), in *Borderlands of Russia* he referred to the region in the volume's subtitle as 'the Russian Baltic seaboard' (*Russkoe Baltiiskoe pomorie*).[29] This act of renaming not only involved a linguistic change from a Russified German-language name to a Russian-language name, but also functioned as a fundamental spatial reorientation and statement of the region's geopolitical belonging. Whereas the former implied that the region consisted of administrative provinces on the 'Eastern Sea' (*Ostsee*), from the perspective of the German-speaking lands, the latter framed the region as a littoral of the Russian territory.[30] Samarin also recommended that the region's Estonian- and Latvian-speaking inhabitants should be brought culturally closer to Russians by increasing the influence of the Orthodox church and implementing Russian as the official language. However, for the most part, Samarin was not concerned with Estonians and Latvians, perceiving them as small nationalities (*narody*) who 'obviously were not intended for an independent political development.'[31]

The arguments put forward against the degree of self-rule in the Baltic provinces and the privileges of the Baltic German nobility by the likes of Aksakov, Katkov, and Samarin did not pass without criticism. Most famously, Carl Christian Gerhard Schirren (1826-1910), a professor of Russian history at the University of Dorpat (Tartu), published a fiery criticism of Samarin's work in 1869 entitled *Livonian Answer to Mr. Juri Samarin*.[32] In his counterattack, Schirren drew on historical sources to argue that the Baltic provinces had not been conquered by the Russian Empire in the early eighteenth century during the Great Northern War with Sweden, but had voluntarily allowed themselves to be annexed based on legal agreements

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[27] Martin, "The German Question in Russia," 392-3.
[28] Samarin, *Sochineniia* 8, 468-9. Cited in Edward C. Thaden, "Samarin's 'Okrainy Rossii' and Official Policy in the Baltic Provinces," *The Russian Review* 33, no. 4 (1974), 405–415, 411.
[29] Iurii Samarin, *Okrainy Rossii. Seriia pervaia: Russkoe Baltiiskoe pomorie* 1-2 (Prague: E. Grogr, 1868).
[30] On the politics of naming the Baltic provinces, see: Brüggemann, "The Baltic Provinces", 113.
[31] Iurii F. Samarin, *Sochineniia* 9, 304-5. Cited in Thaden, "Samarin's 'Okrainy Rossii'", 411.
[32] Carl Schirren, *Livländische Antwort an Herrn Juri Samarin* (Leipzig: Duncker & Humblot, 1869).

drawn up between the German-speaking nobility and Peter I guaranteeing their rights in perpetuity.[33] He also sought to demonstrate that German culture was superior to Russian culture, and consequently that Russians did not deserve to rule over Germans. Samarin responded by openly refuting Schirren's claims and expressing his incredulity that such an outspoken pro-German and anti-Russian scholar could hold a university chair in Russian History financed by the imperial government.[34] As a result of the polemic, Schirren was dismissed from his post and left the Russian Empire to take up a professorship at the University of Kiel.

The debates on the Baltic Question between the 1840s and 1860s remained at the level of public polemic and did not directly impact the outlook or policies of Nicholas I or Alexander II. Although the term Baltic Question was regularly used in the press, it rarely appeared in official documents.[35] Alexander II continued to follow the pro-Baltic German policies of his father Nicholas I and even took steps in 1865 to curb the debate on the Baltic Question with the introduction of the Censorship Statute. It was only in the 1880s during the reign of Alexander III that many of the Slavophiles' previously spurned ideas began to shape imperial policy towards the Baltic provinces. Nevertheless, despite being widely regarded as a radical and marginal subject, the debates on the Baltic Question continued to hold a discursive potency in nineteenth-century intellectual life in the Russian Empire. The very amorphousness of the Baltic Question transformed it into a rhetorical battleground for a wide range of individuals to address very different issues. In nineteenth-century usage, the Baltic Question encompassed debates about the degree of regional self-governance that should be permitted, the territorial sovereignty and integrity of the Russian Empire, the best way to modernise Russia and abolish serfdom, and the privileges and cultural influence of the Baltic German nobility. In the unfolding debate on the Baltic Question, issues of ethnic or national identities took a relative backseat; of greater concern were issues of the loyalty to the Empire and how best to modernise the Empire.

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[33] An echo of this debate re-emerged in the twentieth century regarding whether Estonia and Latvia were involuntarily occupied by the Soviet Union or were liberated from the Nazi fascism and voluntarily ceded to become members of the Union of Soviet peoples.

[34] Iu. Samarin, *Otvet G. G. f. Bokku i Shirrenu po povodu "Okrainy Rossii"* (Berlin: B. Behr's Buchhandlung, 1870).

[35] Kar'iakhiarm, "Ostzeitsy i baltiitsy", 11.

Cartographical Commerce: The Business of Printing and Publishing Ethnographic Maps

The proliferation of ethnographic cartography in the Russian Empire in the second half of the nineteenth century was made possible by more liberal laws on the publication of maps and advances in printing technology. For most of the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth centuries the Military Topographical Corps, the Department of Surveyors, and Academy of Science held a monopoly on map-making.[36] However, as part of Tsar Alexander II's larger drive to reform Russian society, he granted permission in 1859 to Colonel Vladimir Aleksandrovich Poltoratskii (1830-1886) and Captain Aleksei Afinogenovich Il'in (1832-89) to found a private cartographical publishing firm in the imperial capital.[37] It was the first private cartographical printing house allowed to operate in the Empire since the V. Kiprianov firm had been closed down in 1723.[38]

In 1864 Poltoratskii left the firm due to military service duties, leaving full ownership of the company to his partner Il'in. Over the course second half of the nineteenth century, Il'in and his sons Aleksei Alekseevich and Afinogen Alekseevich (who took over the firm on their father's death in 1889) developed the firm into a very successful business with de facto monopoly on printing and publishing cartographical works in the Empire.[39] By the end of the nineteenth century, the firm was responsible for printing ninety percent of all civilian cartographic materials within the Russian Empire. The firm not only printed the materials of the state ministries and departments, IRGO, the Central Statistical Committee, and Academy of Science, but also profited from the increasing demand for popular cartographical products, including school wall maps, atlases, and illustrated journals. In this way, the firm functioned as the Russian equivalent of Justus Perthes Geographical-Cartographical publishing house in Gotha. The firm was nationalised in 1918 following the Revolution and unfortunately the bulk of the company archives do not appear to have survived. Nevertheless, based on a limited number of surviving documents about the firm's activities and two commemoratives books

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[36] L. K. Kil'dushevskaia, "Izdatel'skaia deiatel'nost' 'Kartograficheskogo zavedeniia A. Il'ina'", *Knizhnoe delo v Rossii vo vtoroi polovine XIX - nachale XX veka* 6 (1992), 97-111, 97.

[37] The firm was originally named Chromolithography of Poltoratskii, Il'in & Co. (*Khromolitografiia Poltoratskogo, Il'ina i Co.*).

[38] Kil'dushevskaia, "Izdatel'skaia deiatel'nost'", 97.

[39] Seegel, *Mapping Europe's Borderlands*, 159.

published in 1884 and 1909 to mark the twenty-fifth and fiftieth anniversaries of the firm, we can build up a picture of the daily workings of the publishing house.[40]

In 1884, A. Il'in's Cartographical Establishment employed over 100 workers, including 35 engravers and apprentices, 20 printers, and 45 assistants (*poruchnye*).[41] Skilled workers were in demand in the paper and printing industry and wages were relatively high in comparison with other factory jobs.[42] Due to the hazardous nature of the work, the Council of Trade and Manufacture (*Sovet torgovli i manufaktur)* stipulated that the firm employ a physician to monitor the health of workers.[43] The rooms housing the lithographic steam presses had to be well-ventilated and regularly inspected for risk of fire.

Roles within the cartographical publishing house were gender-defined. It is not known how many of the employees at A. Il'in's Cartographical Establishment were women, but in 1910 women comprised 14 percent of the overall workforce in the printing industry in the Russian Empire.[44] Physically demanding jobs involving heavy-lifting and operating machinery were done by men, whereas women worked at jobs requiring fine handwork and a keen eye. Records of other publishing houses in late imperial Russia indicate that many women worked as typesetters, another job requiring detailed and meticulous handwork.[45] The departments for quality inspection (*brakovka*) and binding and gluing maps at A. Il'in's Cartographical Establishment were primarily staffed by women (Figure 22). Not only were women perceived as an asset to the firm, but they were also given opportunities to advance to leadership positions.

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[40] The company archive fond in the St. Petersburg city archive contains the firm's account books and police fire inspection reports: TsGIA SPB f.1289. The two anniversary publications are: *Dvadtsatipiatiletie Kartograficheskago zavedaniia A. Il'ina, 1859-1884* (St. Petersburg: A Venke, 1884); *Piatidesiatiletie Kartograficheskago zavedeniia A. Il'ina, 1859-1909* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Pervoi Sb. Trudovoi Arteli, 1909).

[41] *Piatidesiatiletie Kartograficheskago zavedeniia A. Il'ina,* 4.

[42] In 1900, the average annual wage of workers in the paper and printing industries was 204.3 rubles. For a comparison with other factory workers, see B. N. Mironov, "Wages and prices in Imperial Russia, 1703-1913," *The Russian Review* 69, no. 1 (2010), 47–72, 65.

[43] TsGIA SPB f.1289, op.2, d.1, "Aktsionernoe obschestvo "Kartograficheskoe zavedenie A. A. Il'ina".

[44] Jane Mcdermid and Anna Hillyar, *Women and Work in Russia, 1800-1930: A Study in Continuity and Change* (London; New York: Longman, 1998), 87. By 1923, this figure had risen to 35 per cent in Petrograd. See: Diane P. Koenker, "Men Against Women on the Shop Floor in early Soviet Russia: Gender and Class in the Socialist Workplace," *The American Historical Review* 100, no. 5 (1995), 1438–1464, 1440. On the broader context of women factory workers in later imperial Russia, see Rose L. Glickman, *Russian Factory Women: Workplace and Society, 1880-1914* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986); Barbara. A. Engel, *Between the Fields and the City: Women, Work, and Family in Russia, 1861-1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[45] The A. A. Levenson Printing House in Moscow employed 30 female typesetters. *T-vo skoropechatni A. A. Levenson: Ist. ocherk i opisanie masterskikh 1881-1903* (Moscow: 1903), 47–50. Three girls (*Mädchen*) were employed by the A. Stahl Printing House in Riga, which printed the maps by Matīss Siliņš (see Chapter 5), although their role within the firm were not specified. Arend Buchholtz, *Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst in Riga 1588-1888* (Riga: Müllersche Buchdruckerei, 1890), 249.

In 1909 the book-binding department was directed by a woman named Anna Grigor'evich Strekalova, who had worked at the firm since 1880.[46]

In the first half of the nineteenth century, lithography was the most widely used technique for printing maps. It involved drawing a greasy image on a limestone slab or a copper board, which would chemically bond to repel water. Lithographic printing was usually done with a hand press in black ink and the colour was added afterwards by hand in a watercolour wash.[47] By the 1870s several important technological advances enabled maps to be produced in larger print runs at lower prices. Mechanical lithographical presses were becoming more widespread. In 1868 the A. Il'in Cartographical Establishment acquired their first engine press (*skoropechatnaia mashina, presse mécanique*) from the factory Koenig & Bauer in Würzburg, although the process of phrasing out hand presses would continue throughout the second half of the nineteenth century.

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[46] *Piatidesiatiletie Kartograficheskago zavedeniia A. Il'ina*, 6.
[47] Karen Severud Cook, "From False Starts to Firm Beginnings: Early Colour Printing of Geological Maps," *Imago Mundi* 47 (1995), 155–72, 158.

Figure 21. The map engraving department in A. Il'in's Cartographical Establishment

The photo is from the firm's premises on Naberezhnaia reki Priazhki in St. Petersburg. Between 1864-1898 the printing house was located at Kriukov canal.

Source: *Piatidesiatiletie Kartograficheskago zavedeniia A. Il'ina, 1859-1909* (St. Petersburg: 1909).

Figure 22. Women print workers in the room for binding and gluing maps in A. Il'in's Cartographical Establishment

Source: *Piatidesiatiletie Kartograficheskago zavedeniia A. Il'ina, 1859-1909* (St. Petersburg: 1909).

Developments in chromolithography printing meant that maps could also be mechanically coloured. From a technical point of view, ethnographic maps were particularly complex objects as they required a large number of colours and shades. Examining contemporary accounts of the chromolithography process reveal how the available printing technology reinforced particular ways of thinking about ethnographic groups in spatial terms. The lithographer first separated the map being printed into different coloured layers and each colour was printed on a separate stone on top of the black lithographed base map. To create the details of each stone, 'a sheet of transparent gelatine is applied to the original and a thin needle is used to scratch the contours of the drawing, and the border of all shades (outline).'[48] The colours representing each ethnographic group thus had to have clear borders. Depicting ethnically mixed areas was not possible as simply overlapping the colours of different ethnographic areas would result in a muddy and indistinguishable section of the map. A full range of colours was created by superimposing different stones, although this substantially pushed up the price of the map. Instead, most cartographers chose to represent the main ethnic groups in primary colours, and to depict sub-groups using crayon shading to create different tones of the primary colour. Hatching and dot patterns created using a ruling machine were other popular ways of graphically conveying relationships between ethnic groups.[49] Despite the adoption of the lithographic engine press and chromolithography technique for printing ethnographic maps, the process was still very labour-intensive and required highly skilled workers. As one description of the chromolithography process from the early twentieth century noted, 'looking at a picture, printed, for example, in 15 colours, we cannot imagine the amount of work that is spent in the lithography to reproduce it.'[50] Whereas copies of hand-coloured maps had varied depending on the colourists' skills in following the lines, in the case of chromolithography each printed layer had to be precisely overlaid and slight misalignments were common. On ethnographic maps, alignment errors are particularly visible in the legends, as it was hard to match up the small boxes exactly.

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[48] *T-vo skoropechatni A. A. Levenson,* 36.
[49] Cook, "From False Starts to Firm Beginnings," 164.
[50] *T-vo skoropechatni A. A. Levenson*, 39.

Rittikh's Ethnographic and Confessional Maps of the Baltic Provinces (1873)

It is within this context of the growing commercial sphere of cartographical publishing in the Russian Empire that map-makers began to engage in the Baltic Question through the medium of cartography, most notably Aleksandr Rittikh. Together with Petr Keppen, Rittikh is remembered today as one of the most prominent figures in nineteenth-century Russian imperial cartography. He was born into a family of Baltic German noble origins and was educated in St. Petersburg at the Nikolaevskaia Engineering Academy and the Military Academy of the General Staff. Between 1862-4 Rittikh served in Minsk province overseeing the construction and repair of Orthodox churches and opening public schools (*narodnaia shkola*). Later, Rittikh served in the Balkans and Caucasus during the Russo-Ottoman War (1877-8). By the time he retired in 1894, Rittikh had ascended to the rank of Lieutenant-General. Alongside his military career, he was a member of the IRGO and developed a strong interest in thematic – especially ethnographic – cartography.

In the early 1860s, in parallel to his official work inspecting and overseeing the repair of Orthodox churches and schools, Rittikh published his *Atlas of the Population of the West-Russian Territory According to Confession* (1864).[51] The timing of the *Atlas*'s publication, shortly after the Uprising of 1863-4, reveals how map-making was closely tied to imperial policies towards the region.[52] The text of the *Atlas* was published in parallel Russian and French, the French translation functioning as an intermediary language to present the official Russian point of view to a foreign readership.[53] The *Atlas* consisted of a revised edition of the maps produced the previous year by Rittikh's superior at the time, Pompei Nikolaevich Batiushkov (1810-92), head of the Church-Building Committee of the Western provinces, Vice-Director of Spiritual Affairs of Foreign Confessions at the MVD between 1857-67, and

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[51] Aleksandr F. Rittikh and Pompei N. Batiushkov, *Atlas Narodonaseleniia Zapadno-Russkago Kraia po Veroispovedaniiam* (St. Petersburg: 1864). For a more in-depth discussion of this atlas, see Petronis, *Constructing Lithuania,* 195-199; Psianchin, *Istoriia etnicheskoi kartografii v Rossii,* 127-130.

[52] Theodore R. Weeks, "Defining Us and Them: Poles and Russians in the 'Western Provinces,' 1863-1914," *Slavic Review* 53, no. 1 (1994), 26- 40; Witold Rodkiewicz, *Russian Nationality Policy in the Western Provinces of the Empire (1863-1905)* (Lublin: Lubelskie Tow. Nauk., 1998); Darius Staliūnas, *Making Russians: Meaning and Practice of Russification in Lithuania and Belarus after 1863* (Amsterdam; New York: Rodopi, 2007), 88; Mikhail Dolbilov and Darius Staliūnas, "Vvedenie k forumu: 'Alfavit, iazyk i natsional'naia identichnost' v Rossiiskoi Imperii'," *Ab Imperio*, no. 2 (2005), 123–134; Mikhail Dolbilov, *Russkii krai, chuzhaia vera: Etnokonfessional'naia politika imperii v Litve i Belorussii pri Aleksandre II* (Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2010).

[53] Derek Offord, "Francophonie in Imperial Russia" in *European Francophonie*, eds. Vladislav Rjéoutski, Gesine Argent, and Derek Offord (Bern: Peter Lang, 2014), 371-404, 380-2.

former Vice-Governor of Kovno province. Rittikh's 1864 edition of the atlas consisted of ten maps: nine maps of each the provinces of the North-Western Territory and one general map of the region. The distribution of different confessions was indicated: Orthodox (green), Catholic (pink), Protestant (blue), Muslim (brown). The names of cities and towns inhabited by Jews were underlined in black.

Even in Rittikh's early maps from the 1860s, we can observe how he was using cartography to explore big geopolitical ideas about the distribution of Slavic peoples in the Russian Empire. In the preface to the *Atlas*, Rittikh stated that the publication had been produced with the aim of countering foreign false claims with the 'historical truth' about the western provinces as 'an organic and inalienable part of the Russian state'. Rittikh pointed out that the *Atlas* clearly showed that Orthodox adherents inhabited almost all of White Russia, and a considerable part of Litva and Ukraine, and that Roman Catholics could only be found in Kovna, western Vil'na, Vitebsk, and Grodno. Rittikh augmented the visual impact of the Orthodox presence by portraying Old Ritualists (*staroobriadtsy*, sic. Old Believers) and Greek Catholics (Uniates) as a 'single tribe with the general mass of Orthodox Russians', and only counted them as a separate confessional group in the accompanying statistical tables.[54] Whereas Batiushkov's first edition of the *Atlas* was intended only for the military and imperial bureaucracy, and was not made accessible to a general audience, Rittikh was granted permission in 1864 to publish the maps for 'public usage' (*dlia publiki / l'usage publique*).[55] Rittikh's work on the *Atlas* was thus closely aligned with imperial policy and social investigation in the North-Western Territory. The maps of Vitebsk, Minsk, and Mogilev provinces included a cross symbol indicating where new Orthodox churches had been constructed or repaired using state funds.

Following the publication of the *Atlas*, Rittikh spent the next decade working on a series of detailed ethnographic studies and maps of different areas of the Russian Empire, including the Kingdom of Poland, Lublin and Avgustov provinces (1864), Kazan province (1870), and the Caucasus (1874).[56] The Baltic provinces also featured on Rittikh's mental map as a potentially troublesome border region of the Empire and in April 1872 he presented his plans to the Ethnographic Section of the IRGO to produce an ethnographic overview of the region.

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[54] Rittikh, *Atlas Narodonaseleniia,* preface.
[55] Pypin, *Istoriia Russkoi etnografii* 4 (St. Petersburg: 1893), 103-4; Rittikh, *Atlas Narodonaseleniia,* preface.
[56] A. F. Rittikh, *Prilozhenie k materialy dlia etnografii Tsarstva Pol'skogo: Gubernii Liublinskaia i Avgustovskaia* (St. Petersburg: 1864); A. F. Rittikh, *Materialy dlia etnografii Rossii: Kazanskaia guberniia* (Kazan: 1870). For a discussion of these works, see Psianchin, *Istoriia etnicheskoi kartografii v Rossii*, 130-136.

Rittikh proposed making two thematic maps showing the distribution of ethnographic and confessional groups in the provinces.[57] Rittikh argued that the polemics surrounding the Baltic Question in the previous decade had rested on misconceptions and false information about the region, thus it was vital that the IRGO conduct scientific research on the region's ethnic composition to set the story straight. Although, as we saw in Chapter 2, the Ethnographic Section of the RGO paid considerable attention to the Baltic provinces in the 1840s, organising its first scientific expedition in 1846 to Kurliand and Lifliand, in the intervening years its attention had been trained on other regions in the western part of the Empire, especially with North-Western Territory with the opening in 1867 of the Vil'na branch of the IRGO.[58] Rittikh argued that it was imperative that the Baltic provinces not be forgotten, especially the ethnic Russians and Orthodox inhabitants who had been neglected in previous German-language ethnographic descriptions of the region. Rittikh perceived ethnographic maps as tools of social inquiry that would help answer important ideological debates of the time. The members of the Ethnographic Section supported his request for 300 silver roubles to cover the cost of the project.[59]

Rittikh's ethnographic study of the Baltic provinces, *Material for the Ethnography of Russia: The Baltic Territory,* was finished within six months and published in early 1873 by the A. Il'in Cartographical Establishment.[60] The study consisted of 70 pages of ethnographic descriptions, with appended data tables and two fold-out maps. The smaller map (1: 2,520,000) depicted the region's population according to confession and the larger one (1: 903,000) portrayed the distribution of different ethnographic groups (Figure 23 & Figure 24). The ethnographic map was engraved by A. Iurgens, an employee of A. Il'in Cartographical Establishment. The engraver of the confessional map is unknown.

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[57] "Zhurnal Zasedaniia Otdeleniia Ethnografii, 8-go ianvaria 1872 g," *Izvestiia IRGO* 8, sec. 2 (1872), 201-9.
[58] On the activities of the North-Western branch of the IRGO in Vil'na, see Petronis, *Constructing Lithuania*, 145-153.
[59] "Zhurnal Zasedaniia Otdeleniia Ethnografii, 8-go ianvaria 1872 g.", 209.
[60] Aleksandr Rittikh, *Materialy dlia ethnografii Rossii: Pribaltiiskii krai* (St. Petersburg: Kartograficheskoe Zavedenie A. Il'ina, 1873).
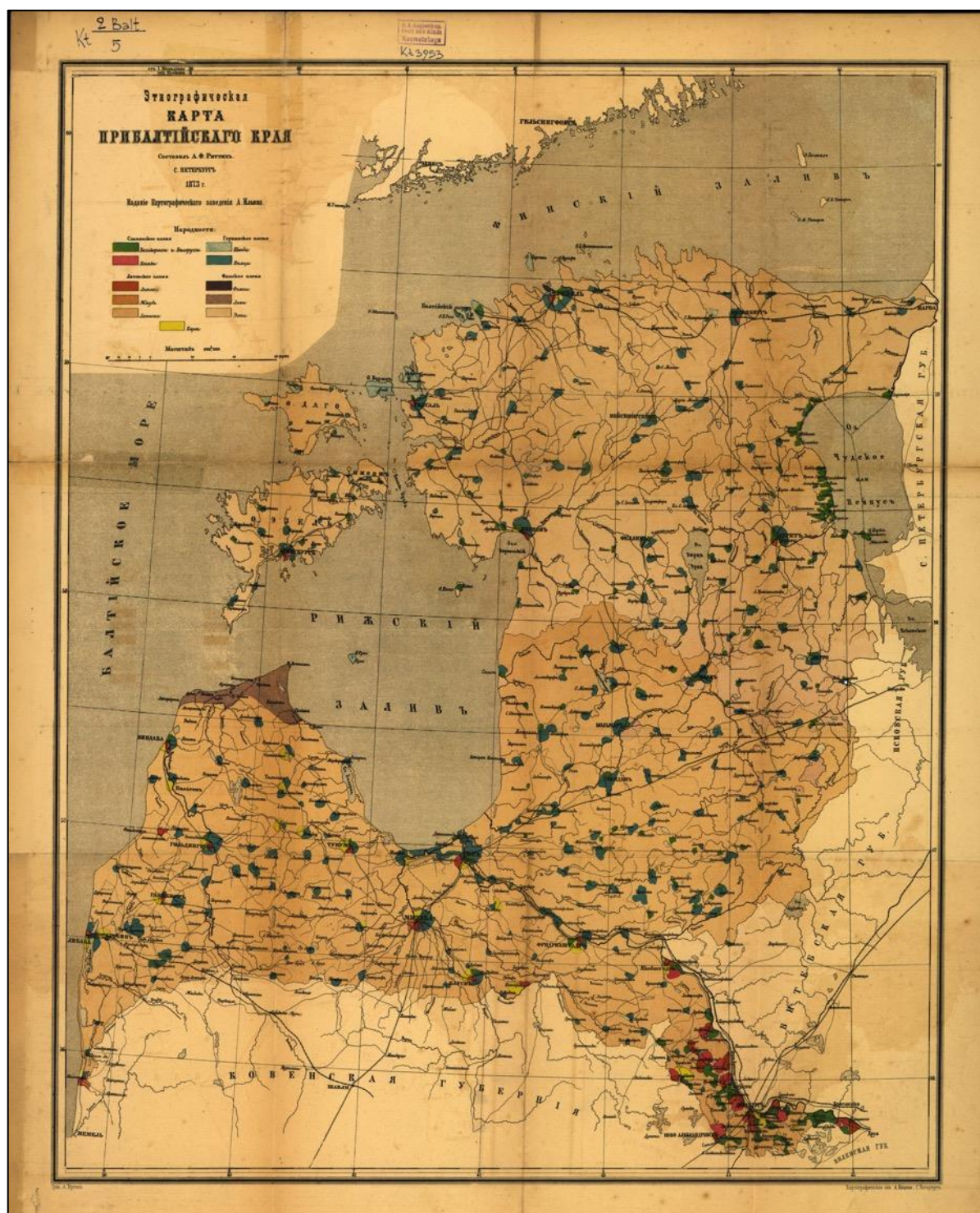
Figure 23. Rittikh's *Ethnographic Map of the Baltic Territory* (1873)

Source: Aleksandr Rittikh, "Etnograficheskaia karta Pribaltiiskago kraia," in *Materialy dlia ethnografii Rossii: Pribaltiiskii krai* (St. Petersburg: Kartograficheskoe Zavedenie A. Il'ina, 1873). Credit: Estonian National Library.

Figure 24. Rittikh's *Confessional Map of the Baltic Territory* (1873)

Source: Aleksandr Rittikh, "Karta Pribaltiiskago kraia po veroispovedaniiam", in *Materialy dlia ethnografii Rossii: Pribaltiiskii krai* (St. Petersburg: Kartograficheskoe Zavedenie A. Il'ina, 1873). Credit: Estonian National Library.

Comparing Rittikh's ethnographic map of the Baltic provinces in 1873 with Keppen's depiction of the region from 1851 (Figure 23 & Figure 14) reveals how Rittikh's map was based on a reverse logic. Keppen's understanding of ethnographic cartography involved mapping the areas inhabited by various small indigenous ethnic groups on the fringes of the imperial territories. Slavs, Germans, and Jews were not coloured on Keppen's map at all; their presence was implied only in the blank spaces of the map. By contrast, on Rittikh's ethnographic map of the Baltic provinces, Lithuanians, Samogitians (*Zhmud'*), Latvians, Finns, Livs, and Estonians were depicted in pale earthy shades of orange, brown, and beige, and appeared to visually retreat into the background. Instead, the settlement of Germanic peoples (German- and Swedish-speakers), Russians (Great and White [Belarusians]), Poles, and Jews, were made to stand out in bright shades of blue, green, pink, and yellow respectively. Whereas Keppen's map had carved up the Baltic provinces into Estonian, Latvian, and Liv ethnographic areas, Rittikh's map highlighted the location of Germanic, Russian, Polish, and Jewish ethnolinguistic 'islands' (*ostrova*).[61] Rittikh's accompanying confessional map of the Baltic provinces followed a similar premise of drawing attention to non-Lutherans (Figure 24). Whereas the predominantly Lutheran areas inhabited by Estonians and Latvians were depicted in a pale green cross-hatching, Rittikh directed viewers' attention to the settlement of Orthodox and Old Believers (shaded together in a darker green), Roman Catholics (pink), and Jews (yellow). The proximity of the green shades used to denote Lutheran, Orthodox, and Old Believers made the red Roman Catholic and yellow Jewish areas stand out. Rittikh's use of colour deliberately directed readers' eyes to what he saw as the problematic ethnographic composition of the Baltic provinces. He expressed his deep concerns about both the nationality and socio-economic aspects of the Baltic Question and used cartography to present them as problems with spatial dimensions.

Rittikh's use of the island metaphor to describe concentrations of particular ethnolinguistic and confessional groups is misleading. These clusters of coloured dots testify not to the isolation of particular groups, but to the mixed ethnic character of these towns and cities (Figure 25).[62] Rittikh's depiction of the multi-ethnic composition of towns foreshadowed

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[61] Aleksandr Rittikh, *Materialy dlia ethnografii Rossii: Pribaltiiskii krai* (St. Petersburg: Kartograficheskoe Zavedenie A. Il'ina, 1873), 24.

[62] Pieter Judson discusses the inherent contradiction of the 'island' metaphor frequently deployed by nationalists for describing multi-ethnic areas. Pieter Judson, "When is a Diaspora not a Diaspora? Rethinking Nation-Centered Narratives about Germans in Habsburg East Central Europe" in *The Heimat Abroad: The Boundaries of Germanness*, eds. Krista O'Donnell, Renate Bridenthal, and Nancy Reagin (Ann Arbour: University of Michigan Press, 2005), 219-247, 231.

the pie chart technique that would appear on ethnographic maps in the twentieth century. Moreover, although Rittikh distinguished the ethnographic and confessional maps by their titles, a close examination of the maps themselves reveals how the distinction was not so clear cut. Notably, on the confessional map Rittikh also hatched the 'borders of the Lithuanian tribe', thereby mixing ethnographic and confessional variables.
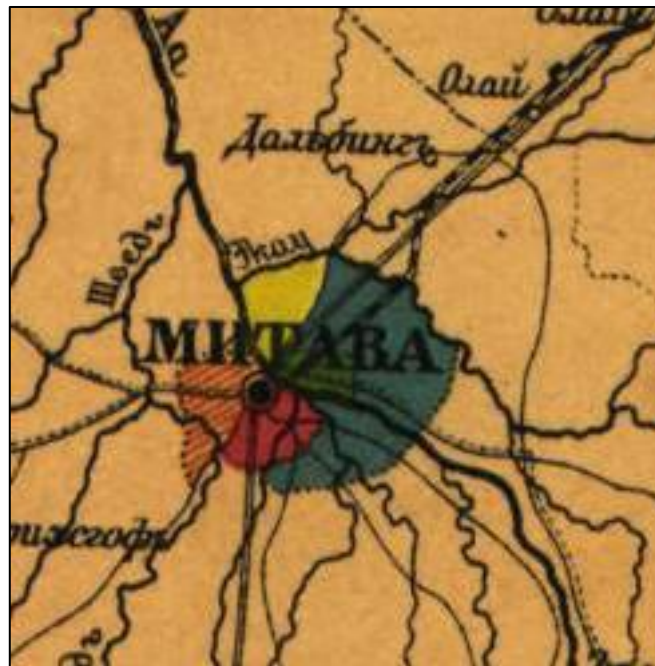
Figure 25. Detail of Mitava/Mitau (today's Jelgava) from Rittikh's *Ethnographic Map of the Baltic Territory* (1873)

The clustering of different ethnic 'islands' is testament to the multi-ethnic character of the city.

Source: Aleksandr Rittikh, "Ethnographic Map of the Baltic Territory," *Materialy dlia ethnografii Rossii: Pribaltiiskii krai* (St. Petersburg: Kartograficheskoe Zavedenie A. Il'ina, 1873). Credit: Estonian National Library.

While working on the maps of the Baltic provinces in the summer of 1872, Rittikh attended the meetings of the International Statistics Congress in St. Petersburg and the sessions on using graphical and geographical methods for statistical research.[63] The Congress clearly left an impression on Rittikh and he opened his book on the Baltic provinces with a quotation from Grand Duke Konstantin Konstantinovich's commencement speech from the Congress.[64] Many of the methodological decisions Rittikh made in his study on the Baltic provinces aligned with the conclusions reached by the international experts at the Congress, although it is hard to

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[63] Rittikh's name appears on the Congress attendance list published in: *Vos'maia sessiia Mezhdunarodnago statisticheskago kongressa*.

[64] Rittikh, *Materialy dlia ethnografii Rossii: Pribaltiiskii krai*, 1.

say whether Rittikh was directly applying the recommendations or whether the consensus reached at the Congress simply reconfirmed generally accepted practices. In particular, Rittikh's views elided with the argument put forward by Adolf Ficker, president of the Austro-Hungarian Central Statistical Commission, about the unreliability of using spoken language as a means of determining nationality. Likewise, when describing his methodology for making the map, Rittikh highlighted the pitfalls of using language to define nationality in the case of the 1869 Kurliand Statistical Annual, which listed the German city-dwelling population as 77,840. In Rittikh's view, this figure masked important confessional differences in Kurliand's urban population, which, according to Rittikh's own calculations, comprised both German-speaking Christians (44,133) and Jews (33,707).[65] Instead, Rittikh preferred to arrive at judgements about nationality by aggregating a wide range of different statistical measures: place of origin or homeland, the nationality of the father and mother, subjecthood (*poddanost'*), confession, language, level of education, and the 'recognition of the requested person' (*priznanie zapreshivaemoi lichnosti*).[66] He also acknowledged the complex overlapping of different criteria for classification, such as the way the ethnic category of 'German' in the region was also regarded as a marker of a socio-economic estate (*soslovie*).[67]

At the same time, Rittikh did not consistently practise what he preached. He criticised the tendency in earlier statistical works on the Baltic provinces to group all Slavs in the region (Great Russians, White Russians, and Poles) together. Yet, it seems that he was willing to challenge this only up to a point; while Poles and Russians were depicted as separate nationalities (*narodnosti*) on his ethnographic map, he still presented Great and White Russians (Belarusians) as a single Russian people. Similarly, Rittikh wrote about the inappropriateness of grouping Orthodox Russians and Old Believers together, since the latter group had their own special historical presence in the region.[68] However, on the confessional map these groups are shaded together in green (*Pravoslavnoe s Staroobriadtsami*). Similarly, despite Rittikh's statement that he took into account the 'recognition of the requested person' (*priznanie zapreshivaemoi lichnosti*), he used the category 'Germans', while acknowledging that German-

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[65] *Ibid.*, 3. Rittikh counted Yiddish as a Germanic language.
[66] *Ibid.*, 3.
[67] *Ibid.*, 28.
[68] *Ibid.*, 4.

speakers in the region referred to themselves as '*ostzeitsy* – as they call themselves' (*ostzeitsy – kak oni sebia nazyvaiut'*).[69]

Paying close attention to the terminology Rittikh used reveals how he perceived the relationship between peoples and languages. According to Rittikh, 'languages' (*iazyki*) are spoken by 'tribes' (*plemena*): Slavs/Slavic, Germans/Germanic, Finns/Finnic, Lithuanians/Lithuanian etc. 'Dialects' (*narechie)* are spoken by 'branches' (*otrasli*) of these tribes, also known as nationalities (*narodnosti*). In the case of the Lithuanian tribe of Lithuanian-speakers, Rittikh noted the presence of the following branches in the Baltic provinces: Lithuanians, Samogitians, Latvians, and Cours, who each speak a 'special advanced dialect' (*osoboe peredovoe narechie*) of the Lithuanian language (*iazyk*). Rittikh explained the emergence of these dialects among the Lithuanian tribe as the result of 'impurities' (*primesi*) from Polish and German, as well as administrative and religious influences. This led to the development of 'different shades' (*raznye ottenki*) of the Lithuanian language in different localities.[70] By studying languages and dialects, Rittikh drew conclusions about close historical contacts and kinship between Lithuanians and Slavs. At the same time, due to the small numbers of this tribe, he believed that the Lithuanian tribe could not exist by itself, as attested by the multiple rulers over this territory: Germans, Poles, Swedes, and now Russians.

Rittikh's maps constructed an image of the Baltic provinces that challenged the Germanic dominance in the region. By grouping Great Russians and Belarusians, and Orthodox and Old Believers, Rittikh was able to visually augment the Russian Eastern Orthodox influence in the region. Although the number of Russians in the Baltic provinces counted in contemporary statistical data was relatively low (2.9 per cent), cartography enabled Rittikh to show that the Russian Eastern Orthodox influence was evenly spread throughout the whole of the Baltic provinces and that Russians lived alongside Germans in most cities and small towns.[71] Russian-language versions of place names were used where they existed (e.g. Libava rather than Libau, Mitava rather than Mitau, Revel rather than Reval). Notably, the name of present-day University of Tartu was printed as Derpt, the low German version of Dorpat, and Iur'ev, the ancient Russian name that was only officially reinstated in 1893.

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[69] *Ibid.*, 28. Toomas Karjahärm argues that the term *ostzeitsy* was used in a variety of different ways, but most often by those outside of the region rather than by the so-called Baltic Germans themselves. Kar'iakhiarm, "Ostzeitsy i Baltiitsy."

[70] *Ibid.*, 17.

[71] *Ibid.*, 10.

In the map's commentary, Rittikh emphasised the Slavic and eastern orientation of the Baltic provinces. Based on archaeological evidence, he argued that Russians had inhabited the Baltic basin for many centuries before the arrival of German 'colonisers'.[72] Moreover, in the nineteenth century the number of Russians had actually increased due to the conversion of Estonian and Latvian peasants to Orthodoxy in the 1840s (which, in Rittikh's view, meant that they had the potential to become Russian), the growth of industry and expansion of the ports which had attracted many Russians for work, and the migration of White Russians (Belarusians) to eastern Kurliand. Rittikh's definition of a Russian in the ethno-confessional sense was very broad, encompassing not only the three nationalities (*narodnosti*) of Great Russians, White Russians (Belarusians), and Small Russians (Ukrainians), but also all Old Believers and potentially all Orthodox (and former Uniates) adherents too.[73]

Setting the Baltic provinces in the wider imperial context, Rittikh argued that the overall majority of Slavs (around 80 per cent) was a sign that the Russian Empire was a strong state: 'It is a sufficiently expressive definition of the situation of the country and the natural predominance of the homogenous mass of Russians over the peoples scattered at opposites edges'.[74] Rittikh compared the proportion of Slavs in the Russian Empire to Prussia, another strong state in his view, where Germans comprised 84.5 per cent of the population. By contrast, he argued that the situation in the Habsburg Empire was completely different, as the German titular nationality only comprised around 25 per cent of the population. In Rittikh's eyes, the Habsburg Empire was a fundamentally unstable state as Slavs, who comprised 47.8 per cent of the population and occupied the most territory, had the least rights.[75] The Russian Empire since the time of Peter the Great in the early eighteenth century had defined itself in terms of its size, cohesiveness, and territorial unity. As a result, territory was a persistent source of anxiety and apprehension for the Empire's elites.[76] For Rittikh, mapping the Russian influence in the Baltic provinces was about justifying imperial rule and making a statement about the strength and cohesiveness of the Russian state in its border regions. Rittikh's maps resonate with

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[72] Rittikh elaborated on his argument about the historical connections between the 'indigenous' (*tuzemtsy*) inhabitants of the Baltic region (Estonians, Latvians, and Livs) and Slavs in a two-part article he wrote several years later. Aleksandr Rittikh, "Pribaltiiskii krai i ego naselenie do pribytiia nemtsev," in *Sbornik materialov i statei po istorii Pribaltiiskago kraia* 1, ed. E. V. Cheshkhin (Riga: A. Lipinskii, 1876), 1-35.
[73] Rittikh, *Materialy dlia ethnografii Rossii: Pribaltiiskii krai*, 8-11.
[74] *Ibid.,* 7.
[75] *Ibid.,* 5
[76] Willard Sunderland, "Imperial Space: Territorial Thought and Practice in the Eighteenth Century," in *Russian Empire: Space, People, Power, 1700-1930*, eds. Jane Burbank, Mark von Hagen, and Anatolyi Remnev (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 37-55. Wortman, "The "Integrity" (Tselost') of the State in Imperial Russia."

administrative practices that sought to 'camouflage ethnicity' by weakening the ethnic connotations of being 'German' and instead present 'the German' as an ideologically subversive and potentially disruptive presence in the Empire.[77]

Rittikh's ideas about the cultural and political orientation of the Baltic provinces towards the Russian Empire and Slavdom was also reflected in the name he used to refer to the region. Like Samarin, rather than calling the provinces *Ostzeiskiia gubernii*, Rittikh referred to the region as the *Priibaltiiskii krai*. The renaming not only involved a linguistic change from a Russified German-language name to a Russian-language name, but also a fundamental spatial reorientation. Whereas the former implied that the region consisted of administrative provinces on the 'Eastern Sea' (*Ostsee*) from the perspective of the German-speaking lands, the latter suggested that the region constituted the territories *(krai)* from the perspective of St. Petersburg and Moscow, on the edge of or near (from the prefix *pri-*) the Baltic Sea. Rittikh's use of the term *Priibaltiiskii krai* as an alternative to *Ostzeiskii gubernii* formed part of a wider pattern of renaming borderland regions as imperial '*krai*'. The Caucasus and Southwestern *krais* had been established in the 1840s. After the 1863 uprising, the administrative provinces comprising the partitioned lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and Inflanty Polskie) became known as the *Severo-Zapandyi krai* (North-Western *krai*) and Congress Poland was unofficially named the *Privislinskii krai* (Vistula *krai*). As Karsten Brüggemann argues in relation to the Baltic provinces, the introduction of an imperialised topographical terminology in Russian-language publications reflected the broader spatial appropriation of the region during this period, which sought to portray it as an integral and natural part of the Russian Empire.'[78]

However, these efforts to toponymically Russify the Baltic provinces remained at the level of symbolic regional geographies. The Baltic provinces were never officially designated as an imperial *krai* and the names of the individual administrative provinces remained as Russian transcriptions of the Germanic names. However, in the context of the early 1870s, the use of the term *Priibaltiiskii krai* would have evoked comparisons among Rittikh's readers with the *Severo-Zapandyi krai* and *Privislinskii krai.* Rittikh also appears to have been one of the forerunners in popularising the Russified name for the region, building on Samarin's designation of region as the '*Russkoe Baltiiskoe pomorie*' (the Russian Baltic seaboard) in

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[77] Mikhail Dobilov makes this argument in relation to policymakers' attitudes towards 'the Pole'. Mikhail Dobilov, "Russification and the Bureaucratic Mind in the Russian Empire's Northwestern Region in the 1860s," *Kritika: Explorations in Russian and Eurasian History* 5, no.2 (2004), 245-271, 246.
[78] Brüggemann, "The Baltic Provinces", 113.

1868.[79] Although the term *Pribaltiiskii* appeared as early as 1859, it took more than a decade to enter widespread usage.[80] In 1867 Petr Semenov-Tian-Shanskii still listed the region under the name *Ostzeiskie gubernii* in his monumental *Geographical-Statistical Dictionary of the Russian Empire*.[81]

While Rittikh's publication was well-received by members of the IRGO in St. Petersburg, it proved controversial for readers in the Baltic provinces. The German-language newspaper *Riga Newspaper* (*Rigascher Zeitung*) ran a condemning review of Rittikh's study on its front page between 18-20 April 1873. The anonymous reviewer highlighted many shortcomings in Rittikh's statistical methodology, criticising the lack of transparency with the sources of data, the way in which the numbers of different nationalities were based on 'conjecture' (*Vermutung*) by taking old figures and allowing for population growth, and the use of speculative figures proposed by others as facts.[82] The reviewer highlighted Rittikh's careless research practices, such as his neglect to record the almost 1,000 Estonians living in Riga because he had failed to turn over a page when consulting a source.[83] The reviewer was scathing of Rittikh's work, writing that 'He apparently wrote about the Baltic provinces, because – or notwithstanding – the fact that he did not know anything about them, and he did not learn much about them while writing. Maybe he is more at home in Russian history.'[84] Rittikh was not only discredited as an ignorant outsider who was methodologically sloppy, but also for his Russian nationalist perspective. By comparing Rittikh's data with the most recent data collected by Provincial Statistical Committees of Estland, Lifliand, and Kurland, the reviewer exposed huge discrepancies in Rittikh's figures, which dramatically reduced the number of Germans.[85] The review concluded that 'Herr Rittich is concerned above all with proving how unfavourably proportionate the Germans are to the other groups of the population.'[86]

Rittikh's book struck a chord in the polarising debates on the Baltic Question and, several days later on 26 April, the same newspaper published a letter defending Rittikh. The anonymous author argued that Rittikh's conclusions differed from those of the Provincial Statistical Committees and previously published works by Baltic German scholars precisely

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[79] Samarin, *Okrainy Rossii*.
[80] Kar'iakhiarm, "Ostzeitsy i Baltiitsy", 16.
[81] Petr Semenov, *Geografichesko-statisticheskii Slovar Russkoi Imperii* 3 (St. Petersburg: 1867), 3:725.
[82] "Eine neue Statistik der Ostseeprovinzen I," *Rigascher Zeitung*, no. 88, April 18, 1873, 1-2.
[83] "Eine neue Statistik der Ostseeprovinzen II," *Rigascher Zeitung*, no. 89, April 19, 1873, 2.
[84] "Eine neue Statistik der Ostseeprovinzen III," *Rigascher Zeitung*, no. 90, April 20, 1873, 2.
[85] "Eine neue Statistik der Ostseeprovinzen I," *Rigascher Zeitung*, no. 88, April 18, 1873, 2.
[86] "Eine neue Statistik der Ostseeprovinzen III," *Rigascher Zeitung*, no. 90, April 20, 1873, 1.

because he was an impartial outside observer and free of 'the restrictive influences of a particular university education and a fixed moral worldview' and 'unaffected by the previous results of science'.[87] Instead, the author praised Rittikh's methodical innovations of estimating current population statistics based on past data. In the reviewer's opinion, the publication was proof not of Rittikh's 'scattiness' (*Kopflosigkeit*), but of his brilliance.[88]

The Polish Question in the Baltic Littoral

Rittikh's ethnographic study of the Baltic provinces challenged the imagined geography of the three provinces as a contained territorial unit. By including a line demarcating the 'borders of the Lithuanian tribe', Rittikh overlaid another ethnic imagined geographical space over the administrative framework of the three so-called Baltic provinces. The hatched area linked southern Lifliand and Kurliand with western Vitebsk, Kovna, and Vil'na, and excluded Estliand and northern Lifliand. In 1876 Rittikh also proposed including former Polish Livonia – the areas of western Vitebsk province inhabited (although not exclusively) by Latvian (Latgalian)-speakers – in calculations of the surface area of the *Pribaltiiskii krai*.[89] However, Rittikh's strongest challenge to the imagined geography of the Baltic provinces concerned Kurliand province and its relationship to the so-called 'Polish Question'.

Kurliand is rarely mentioned in the historiography of the wider Polish Question in the Russian Empire.[90] Edward Thaden, in his classic work on Russian imperial policy towards the Baltic provinces and Grand Duchy of Finland in the second half of the nineteenth century, dismissed any connection and claimed that 'in the nineteenth-century Russians made a distinction between Poland-Lithuania and the other Baltic areas within the Russian Empire, and they looked at the Polish question as being quite different from that of the Baltic provinces and Finland.'[91] However, for many contemporaries, including Rittikh, Kurliand was perceived as having a degree of association with the other former territories of the Polish-Lithuanian

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[87] "A. F. Rittich und seine neueste statistische Erfindung," *Rigascher Zeitung*, no. 95, April 26, 1873, 1.

[88] *Ibid.,* 2.

[89] Rittikh, "Pribaltiiskii krai i ego naselenie do pribytiia nemtsev", 18.

[90] In his history of Kurliand province in the Russian Empire, Arkadiusz Janicki includes chapters on the influence of the uprisings of 1830-1 and 1863-4 in Kurliand, Catholic education, and the participation of "Poles" in the social and cultural life of the province. However, general histories of the Polish Question in the western borderlands of the Russian Empire often overlook these events in Kurliand. Arkadiusz Janicki, *Kurlandia w latach 1795-1915* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2011), 680-752.

[91] Thaden, *Russification in the Baltic Provinces*, 4.

Commonwealth well into the second half of the nineteenth century.[92] The province's geopolitical predecessor – the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia – had remained under the political and cultural influence of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Unlike the northern polities of Estland and Lifland, which had been ruled by Sweden in the seventeenth century before they capitulated to the Russian Empire during the Great Northern War, the Duchy of Courland was only incorporated into the Russian Empire much later as part of the lands annexed in 1795 during the third and final Partition of the Commonwealth.

For Rittikh, Kurliand's ethno-confessional composition clearly bore the mark of the historical ties with the other territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, as Rittikh outlined to his readers, 'Polish nobility began to appear, followed by the *szlachta*, and then the Jews, and the whole of Kurliand, in ethnographic character and appearance, became like the West-Russian region'.[93] At the time of writing in the early 1870s, the districts of Zelbursk and Illustke in Kurliand province were inhabited by a mixture of Polish- and White Russian- (Belarusian) speakers. From a religious perspective, the region comprised Catholics and Orthodox populations, many of whom were former Uniates. Although many of the noble families who had migrated to Kurliand during the time of the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia had since converted to Protestantism and now used German as their everyday language of communication, in demographic terms, Rittikh still regarded Kurliand as the 'sister' of Kovna province and tainted with the stereotype of 'the Pole-as-enemy'.[94]

Despite Rittikh's perception of the "Polishness" of some of Kurliand's nobles and landowners, assigning ethnocultural labels was not a straightforward process. As Darius Staliūnas has shown, many old noble and landowning families living in the provinces of Vitebsk, Kovna, and Vil'na had ancestors with historical links to the Baltic provinces, but who had become "Polonised" to varying degrees due to their conversion to Catholicism and involvement in the *natio* ('political nation') of the Commonwealth, which in the eyes of the imperial authorities in the late nineteenth century was equated with "Poland" and "Polishness". In the 1860s, many members of these Polonised old Baltic German families in the North-

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[92] On how Russian educated society drew comparisons between elite groups in the western borderlands of the Russian Empire, see: Maria Leskinen, *Poliaki i finny v Rossiiskoi nauke vtoroi poloviny XIX v.: "Drugoi" skvoz' prizmu identichnosti* (Moscow: Indrik, 2010).
[93] Rittikh, *Materialy dlia ethnografii Rossii: Pribaltiiskii krai*, 13.
[94] *Ibid.*, 14. Mikhail Dobilov, "The Stereotype of the Pole in Imperial Policy: The 'Depolonization' of the Northwestern Region in the 1860s," *Russian Studies in History* 44, no. 2 (2005), 44-88.

Western provinces sought to prove their Baltic ancestry to avoid taxes placed on Polish-Lithuanian nobility after 1863.[95] At the core of the anxiety about Kurliand's relationship to the Polish Question lay the issue of the inhabitants' political loyalty to the Empire, which was brought into the limelight as a result of the 1863-64 Uprising.

Rittikh was not alone in advocating a more expansive definition of the territory associated with the "Polish Question" that included Kurliand. In the spring of 1863 Roderich von Erckert / Rodrig Fiodorovich Erkert (1821-1900) published an ethnographic atlas of the North-Western Territory (Figure 26). Erkert trained as a military cartographer in the Prussian army, before being loaned to the Russian army around 1850 by the Prussian King, Friedrich Wilhelm IV (1795-1861). Like Rittikh, Erkert pursued a personal interest in ethnography, linguistics, and statistics alongside his military career and became a member of the IRGO in 1860.[96] His 1863 atlas, published in both French and Russian editions, presented the Russian perspective on the ethnic situation in the North-Western Territory to European and Russian readers.[97] Erkert's point of departure for defining the extent of the Polish influence in the Russian Empire was the former borders of the Commonwealth. Pink pockets highlighted the presence of Poles among the predominantly Latvian ethnographic territories Kurliand, as well as in the western part of Vitebsk province, the former Voivodeship of Polish Livonia. In the atlas commentary, Erkert conceded that Kurliand was the least "Polish" part of the territories formerly associated with the Commonwealth and the 1863-4 Uprising had not reverberated across the administrative borders from neighbouring Kovna, Vil'na, and Vitebsk. Only a few minor incidents were reported in the western part of Vitebsk province.[98] Nevertheless, the presence of a Polish-speaking socio-economic elite, the historical connections with the Commonwealth, and the memory of the Commonwealth's former borders was enough for Kurliand to feature on Erkert's mental map of Polish Question in the Russian Empire.

Rittikh's anxieties about the inclusion of Kurliand province within the geographical-imaginative fold of "Polish" lands was also responding to Polish(-Lithuanian) Romanticism in

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[95] Staliūnas, *Making Russians*, 88.

[96] Petronis, *Constructing Lithuania*, 199.

[97] R. d'Erkert, *Atlas ethnographique des provinces habitées en totalité ou en partie par des polonais* (St. Petersburg: 1863); R. F. Erkert, *Etnograficheskii atlas Zapadno-Russkikh gubernii i sosednikh oblastei* (St. Petersburg: 1863). The following year, Erckert published a Russian-language commentary on the atlas. Rodrig F. Erkert, *Vzgliad na istoriiu i etnografiiu zapadnykh gubernii Rossii* (St. Petersburg: Dom Pizreniia Maloletnykh Vednykh, 1864).

[98] Erkert, *Vzgliad na istoriiu i etnografiiu zapadnykh gubernii Rossii*. On the participation of the 1863-4 in the western part of Vitebsk province, former Inflanty Polskie, see Dorota Samborska-Kukuca, "1863. gada Poļu sacelšanās notikumi Latgalē aculiecinieku liecībās un atmiņās," *Journal of the Institute of Latvian History / Latvijas Vēstures Institūta Žurnāls* 85 (2012), 50–73.

the first half of the nineteenth century, which was characterised by a strong sense of nostalgia for the golden times of the Commonwealth that had vanished from the political map of Europe. Spatial concepts played an important role in Polish(-Lithuanian) Romantic thought, which was bound up in a strong sense of vindication about the "unnatural" layout of contemporary geopolitical borders which divided the lands of the former Commonwealth. Throughout the nineteenth century, numerous statistical maps and atlases of Poland were produced that associated Kurliand and Lifliand provinces with the former territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.[99] Rittikh's maps of the Baltic provinces similarly highlighted how the spread of Polish cultural and Roman Catholic influence in the Empire's western borderlands did not stop at the northern administrative borders of the provinces of Kovna and Vil'na, but pushed northward into Kurliand. The strong ideological coupling of Polishness and Roman Catholicism was visually reinforced by the use of pink to depict both Catholics on Rittikh's confessional *Atlas* and Poles on Rittikh's and Erkert's ethnographic maps. As we shall see in Chapter 6, towards the end of World War I, when the prospect of creating an independent Polish state based on a restoration of the Commonwealth's borders, the ethno-confessional character and political-economic orientation of south-east Kurliand became a hotly debated issue during the border negotiations between Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, and Belarus.

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[99] On the imagined geography of "Poland" in nineteenth-century maps, see Piotr Eberhardt, *Polska i jej granice: z historii polskiej geografii politycznej* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Sklodowskiej, 2004); Seegel, *Mapping Europe's Borderlands*, 89-109; Steven Seegel, "Cartography and the Collected Nation in Joachim Lelewel's Geographical Imagination: A Revised Approach to Intelligentsia" in *Values, Words, and Deeds*, eds. Fiona Björling and Alexander Pereswetoff-Morath (Lund: Slavica Lundensia, 2006), 23–31.
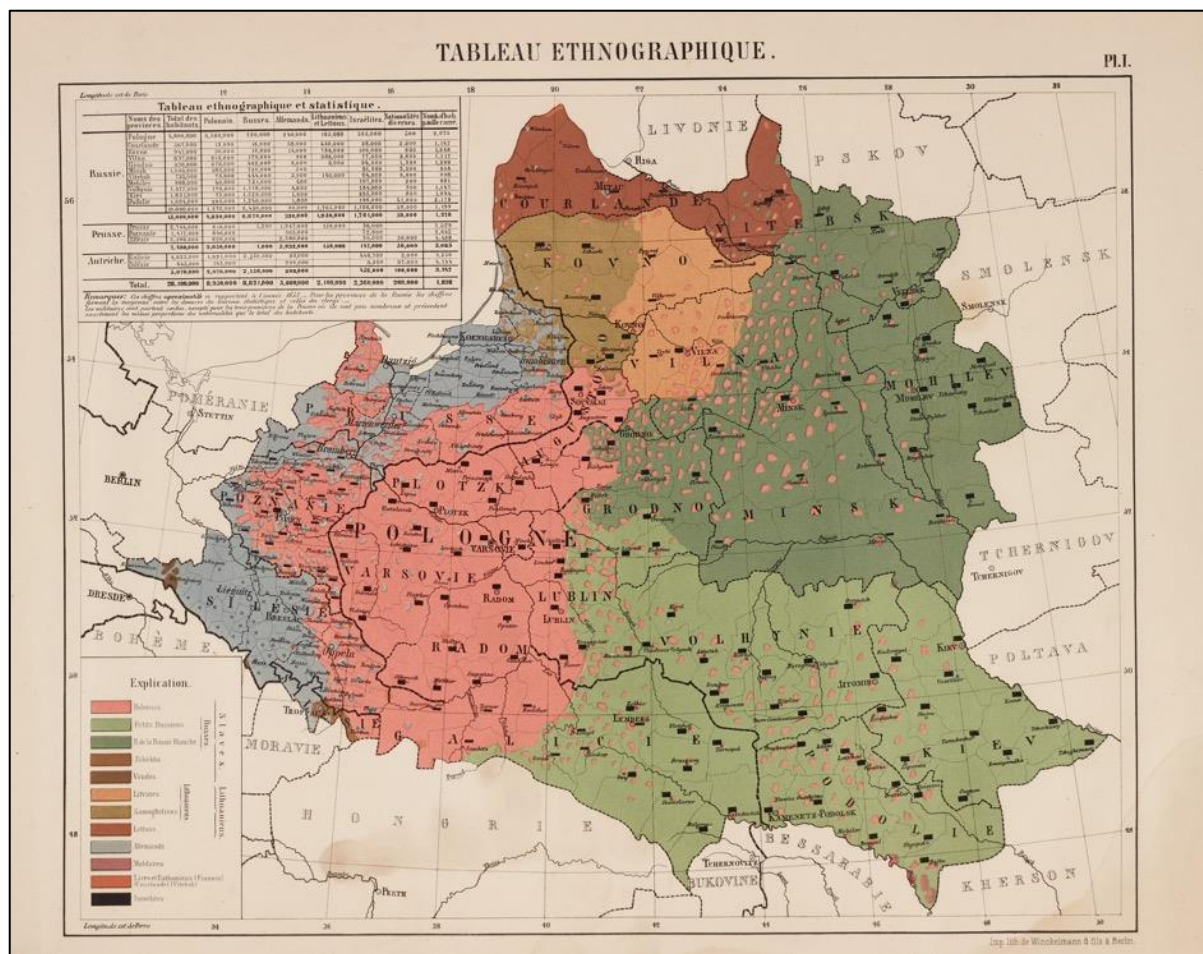
Figure 26. Erkert's ethnographic map of the Polish-inhabited territories (1863)

Source: R. d'Erkert, *Atlas ethnographique des provinces habitées en totalité ou en partie par des polonais* (St. Petersburg: 1863). Credit: University of Minnesota Libraries, John R. Borchert Map Library.

Making a New *Ethnographic Map of European Russia* (1875)

Keppen's *Ethnographic Map of European Russia* (1851) remained the main reference point for ethnographers, statisticians, and map-makers thinking about distribution of ethnic groups in the western part of the Russian Empire for several decades after its publication (Figure 2). However, many commentators also engaged critically with Keppen's work and pointed out ways that his map could be improved. By the early 1870s, the members of the IRGO began discussing the creation of a new ethnographic map. A special committee was established to work on the proposal, led by Petr Semenov-Tian-Shanskii.

In April 1872, Major General Mikhail Ivanovich Veniukov (1832-1901), an explorer and military geographer, presented an initial report to the committee outlining the scope of the proposed ethnographic map. He identified the main shortcomings of Keppen's map, namely that it did not cover the Caucasus region or *Privislinskii Krai* (Congress Poland) and did not

show the distribution of the three main branches of the Russian tribe (i.e. Great Russians, Small Russians, and White Russians).[100] Veniukov suggested that the committee produce an ethnographic atlas with maps for each administrative province of the Russian Empire, but acknowledged that the high cost of such a publication and lengthy production process made this option unfeasible. Veniukov's report was laced with a sense of urgency. He strongly urged the committee to appoint one person to be responsible for producing the map as, from his experience, collectively-authored works tended to become drawn-out and delayed. Individual egos tended to get in the way and resulted in the end product being weaker. The role of the committee would be to critically review the work, pointing out omissions and corrections to the compiler. Another major concern for Veniukov was that the map should be reasonably priced in order to facilitate maximum dissemination. He argued that the only thing that had prevented Keppen's ethnographic map from being displayed on the walls of every school and gymnasium was the prohibitive price of the map, which had cost eight roubles. However, he argued that subsequent advances in chromolithography technology and the expertise of A. Il'in's Cartographical Establishment meant that large-format maps could now be produced more cheaply as the maps did not need to be coloured by hand. Veniukov also recommended that the map be produced at the smaller scale of 100 *versts* to the inch, which would also help to keep costs down. The chromolithography method meant that same level of detail could be maintained as Keppen had managed with his hand-coloured map of 75 *versts* to the inch.[101] Finally, another cost-reducing measure that Veniukov proposed was to depict the three main 'races' (*ras'*) of Slavs, Finns, and Turks in the primary colours of red, yellow, blue, and then to depict all other groups using compound colours, so that the whole map could be printed using just 3 or 4 stones. By following these steps, Veniukov estimated that, based on a print-run of 2,000 copies, each unit could be produced for 1 rouble and 15 kopeks. He advised the IRGO to sell the map for 2 roubles, so the additional revenue would cover the compensation paid to the compiler of the map, the hired assistants, and any other costs incurred during the map-making process.[102]

Following Veniukov's recommendations, the committee appointed Aleksandr Rittikh to oversee the project. Although Rittikh was named as the main contributor on the map's cartouche, the new *Ethnographic Map of European Russia* was an exercise in map-making by

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[100] "Zhurnal Zasedaniia Otdeleniia Ethnografii, 8-go ianvaria 1872 g.," *Izvestiia IRGO* 8, sec. 2 (1872), 196-200.
[101] *Ibid.,* 197.
[102] *Ibid.,* 200.

committee. Rittikh was tasked with compiling the map 'under the supervision' (*pod nabliudeniem*) of the committee members, who were also named on the map's cartouche. Rittikh conceived of his role as that of an 'editor' (*redaktor*), rather than an author.[103]

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[103] A. F. Rittikh, *Plemennoi sostav kontingentov russkoi armii i muzhskogo naseleniia Evropeiskoi Rossii* (St. Petersburg: Kartograficheskogo Zavedeniia A. A. Il'ina, 1875), i.

Figure 27. Rittikh's *Ethnographic Map of European Russia* (1875)

Source: Aleksandr Rittikh, *Etnograficheskaia karta evropeiskoi Rossii* (St. Petersburg: Kartograficheskoe Zavedenie A. Il'ina, 1875). Credit: National Library of Finland.

The map was printed in 1,500 copies for sale in Russia and abroad, and was widely admired in scientific circles across Europe. In August 1875, the map was exhibited at the International Congress of Geographical Sciences in Paris, where Rittikh was awarded first

prize for the map's contribution to anthropology and ethnography. The Congress report especially praised the technical aspects of Rittikh's map, including the use of colours and hatchings to distinguish different populations and the way in which different shades were used to designate affinities between groups. Thanks in part to Rittikh, the Russian Empire emerged from the Congress as the leader in the field of human geography, both in terms of the quantity of maps, drawings, photographs, and written texts displayed - a third of all the exhibits - and their perceived scientific importance. As noted in the Congress proceedings: 'In what may be correctly called ethnography, Russia unquestionably occupies the first place; the other states exhibited collections and works of great merit, but nothing could be compared with the assemblage of maps and ethnographic collections exhibited by Russia.'[104]

Comparing Rittikh's map from 1875 with Keppen's map from 1851 (Figure 2 & Figure 27) reveals how ideas about the content and scope of ethnographic cartography changed in the second half of the nineteenth century. Whereas Keppen primarily sought to document the ethnographic heritage of the Russian Empire's non-Slavic and non-Germanic peoples who were in danger of disappearing, Rittikh depicted the Empire's Slavic majority. Keppen had surrounded each ethnographic territory with a thick line in a contrasting colour to emphasise the distinctiveness of each small ethnic group and, by extension, their value as part of the collective ethnographic heritage of the Empire. By contrast, Rittikh took great care to depict tiny islands of Russian inhabitants, at the scale of single villages or parishes, which penetrated non-Russian ethnic regions. The result was to present a more maximalist vision of the ethnographic spread of Russians and create a border zone of ethnographically mixed inhabitants which fringed the Russian ethnic "core". At the same time, there were limits to the ends to which the IRGO Committee were prepared to go to cartographically "Russify" the ethnographic landscape of the Baltic provinces. Notably, the committee took the methodological decision to exclude soldiers from the ethnic statistics used to make the map as they were not permanent settlers.[105]

Rittikh used a variety of cartographical techniques to construct an image of the Empire founded on a core ethnic Russian majority. Firstly, the area inhabited by ethnic Russians was framed squarely within the centre of the map's frame, with Moscow at the centre. The use of

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[104] *Société de géographie. Congrès international des sciences géographiques. Compte rendu des séances* 2 (Paris: 1875), 311-313; 333-334.
[105] The ethnographic composition of the imperial army was discussed by Rittikh in a separate publication using the data he been given access to through the IRGO to make the *Ethnographic Map of European Russia.* See: Rittikh, *Plemennoi sostav kontingentov russkoi armii.*

red and pink colours enhanced the visibility of the Slavic ethnographic group and made a strong statement about their power in the Russian Empire. There is no indication in the source as to why red was chosen to depict Russians, but a similar strategy was used on maps of the British Empire, which usually shows imperial domains in pink.[106] The switch to representing Russians in red marked a decisive break with the colouring convention running through the maps of Šafařík (1842), Erkert (1863), and Rittikh (1863, 1873), which all depicted Russians (and all Orthodox Slavs) in green.

Secondly, the 1875 *Ethnographic Map* categorised ethnographic groups based on language, or more precisely 'dialects' (*narechiia*). Here, Rittikh departed from the method he used on his 1873 ethnographic map of the Baltic provinces, where he had advocated a mixed method approach to defining nationality. Instead, on his 1875 map, language was elevated to the primary determinant of nationality. White Russians (Belarusians) and Little Russians (Ukrainians) were depicted on the map using hatching overlaying in a similar shade of pink as Great Russians, suggesting that they were a subgroup or variety of (Great) Russians (Figure 28). The other Slavs marked on the map, Bulgarians and Poles, were shaded in dark red and pink, which also conveyed a message about their "familial" affinity. The map illustrates how the dynamics of similarity and difference were closely intertwined: on the one hand, the use of hatching rendered a large portion of European Russia as a Pan-Slavic space; on the other hand, the combinations of hatching and colour highlighted the internal diversity within Slavdom. Nevertheless, taken together, they made a strong visual statement about the Slavic majority of the Russian Empire, as large shaded areas on maps look more saturated than smaller patches of the same colour.[107] The overall effect was to create an impression of 'concentric circles' of diminishing Russianness as one moved further outward from the ethnic Russian core centred on Moscow.[108]

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[106] That the British Empire was often shaded in pink or red on maps has been widely observed, but there is no consensus among historians as to how or why this came to be the norm.

[107] Monmonier, *How to Lie with Maps*, 155.

[108] Leonid Gorizontov, "The 'Great Circle' of Interior Russia: Representations of the Imperial Center in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," in *Russian Empire: Space, People, Power, 1700-1930*, eds. Jane Burbank, Mark von Hagen, and Anatolyi Remnev (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 67–93.

ГРУППЫ	№	ШКАЛА	НАРѢЧІЯ	ГРУППЫ	№	ШКАЛА	НАРѢЧІЯ
СЛАВЯНСКАЯ	1.		Великоруссы	КАВКАЗСКО-ЧЕРНОМОРСКАЯ	24.		Прочія мелкія племена
	2.		Бѣлоруссы		25.		Адыге
	3.		Малоруссы		26.		Кабардинцы
	4.		Болгары		27.		Абхазцы
	5.		Поляки	ФИНСКО-БАЛТІЙСКАЯ	28.		Корелы
ЛИТОВСКАЯ	6.		Литва		29.		Финно-Корелы
	7.		Латыши		30.		Чудь (Эсты, ливы)
ГРЕКО-РОМАНСКАЯ	8.		Греки		31.		Лопари
	9.		Румыны	ФИНСКО-ПРИВОЛЖСКАЯ	32.		Мордва
ГЕРМАНСКАЯ	10.		Нѣмцы		33.		Черемисы
	11.		Шведы		34.		Вотяки
ИРАНСКАЯ	12.		Таты		35.		Пермяки
	13.		Курды	СѢВЕРНАЯ-ФИНСКАЯ	36.		Зыряне
	14.		Осетины		37.		Вогулы
	15.		Армяне		38.		Самоѣды
ИВЕРСКАЯ	16.		Грузины	ТЮРКСКАЯ	39.		Татары
КАВКАЗСКО-КАСПІЙСКАЯ	17.		Аварцы		40.		Башкиры
	18.		Чеченцы		41.		Чуваши
	19.		Лаки		42.		Ногайцы
	20.		Хюркелинцы (Даргинцы)		43.		Киргизы
	21.		Табасаранцы		44.		Кумыки
	22.		Кюринцы	МОНГОЛЬСКАЯ	45.		Калмыки
	23.		Мухадары (Ротульцы)	СЕМИТИЧЕСКАЯ	46.		Евреи

Figure 28. Detail of the legend from Rittikh's *Ethnographic Map of European Russia*

Source: Aleksandr Rittikh, *Etnograficheskaia karta evropeiskoi Rossii* (St. Petersburg: Kartograficheskoe zavedenie A. Il'ina, 1875). Credit: National Library of Finland.

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Great care was taken by the Committee when designing the map to ensure that contrasting colours were used to distinguish between neighbouring groups perceived to be ethnolinguistically unrelated. In the case of Estonians and Latvians, when the designs for the map were reviewed before printing in 1874, the committee proposed several revisions to improve the clarity of the map, including the use of more distinctive colours for Estonians (grey) and Latvians (yellow/green).[109] It is unclear whether this change was made for ideological reasons – that Estonians and Latvians were regarded as being part of separate ethnolinguistic "families" and thus needed to be distinguished – or for technical and aesthetic reasons as the chromolithography printing technique could make certain colour combinations appear muddy.[110] Nevertheless, the result was that Estonians, Latvians, and Lithuanians were represented as clearly differentiated ethnolinguistic groups.

Finally, by using language as the basis for defining 'Germans' (*nemtsy*), the map grouped together a conglomerate of different peoples, experiences, and loyalties, among communities in far-reaches of the Empire. Rittikh highlighted the presence of 'Germans' in the Baltic, Volga, and Black Sea region who had, over the course of history, 'colonised' various parts of the Empire. In doing so, Rittikh's maps consolidated geographical metanarratives about territories of Slavic and German influence and dominance in Europe, and hinted at the German threat within the Empire.

The Baltic Provinces between the Slavic and Germanic "Worlds"

Rittikh's ethnographic mapping projects thus far were all confined within the conceptual framework of the Russian Empire. The shaded areas of different ethnic groups abruptly stopped at the Empire's borders. However, from the late 1870s onwards Rittikh became infatuated with the broader issue of the division of Europe into Slavic and Germanic spheres of influence. Instead of just mapping 'Russia' or 'European Russia', he increasingly used ethnographic cartography to map the expansive spaces inhabited by Slavic and Germanic peoples that flowed over imperial borders. Thus, while the Baltic Question began as a primarily domestic issue, by the late 1870s and 1880s it had taken on international dimensions.[111]

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[109] Semenov, *Istoriia poluvekovoi deiatel'nosti IRGO,* 2:957-8.

[110] Cook, "From False Starts to Firm Beginnings", 166.

[111] On the entangled German and Russian mental maps, see: Denis Sdvižkov, "Russian and German Ideas of the West in the Long Nineteenth Century: Entanglements of Spatial Identities," in *Germany and 'the West': The History of a Modern Concept,* eds. Riccardo Bavaj & Martina Steber (New York; Oxford: Berghan Books, 2015), 97-110.

The assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881 caused his son and successor Alexander III to reconsider his father's liberal policies towards the western borderlands and take the warnings of Samarin and others more seriously. The shifting political climate under the new tsar led to the conviction that the Russification policies implemented in the so-called North-Western Territory since 1864 should be extended to the Baltic provinces.[112] In the summer of 1882, Minister of Justice Nikolai Avksent'evich Manasein (1835-1895) conducted a senatorial inspection of the Baltic provinces in response to peasant unrest. As a result, gradual reforms were introduced over the next decade to partially dismantle some aspects of the Baltic provinces' autonomy and bring them under the more stringent control of the imperial government. The tsarist government place police and judicial institutions in the region placed under the Ministry of Interior Affairs, Russian-language was made mandatory in schools and the court system, and the number of Russian-speaking administrators in the region was substantially increased. Russian Orthodoxy was actively promoted and a large number of new Orthodox churches were built throughout the Baltic littoral.[113]

In the context of the debate on Pan-Slavism and shifting imperial policies towards the Baltic provinces in the 1880s under Alexander III, Rittikh published a book in 1885 on *The Slavic World* (*Slavianskii Mir*).[114] Developing ideas which were germinating in his works from the previous decade, Rittikh provided a detailed overview of the territories inhabited by different Slavic and non-Slavic peoples and the borders between them. Rittikh characterised the Russian Empire as the heartland of Slavdom. Elaborating on the argument from his book on the Baltic provinces about the Russian Empire being the only truly Slavic state, Rittikh argued that 'European Russia, without the Caucuses and Finland, is 82% Slav, of which the share of Russians (*Russkie*) accounts for 75%'.[115] The importance of the Russian Empire was briefly confirmed during the Russo-Ottoman war of 1877-8, when the Russian Empire secured autonomy for Greater Bulgaria and independence for Bosnia-Herzegovina, Montenegro, Serbia, and Romania. However, Russian imperial aspirations for expansion were dashed at the 1878 Congress of Berlin when Bulgaria was divided into Bulgaria and East Rumelia, while the remaining half was returned to Ottoman rule and Bosnia-Herzegovina was place under Austro-

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[112] An account of this shift in imperial policy towards the Baltic provinces is given in the diary of the Minister for Internal Affairs at the time. *Dnevnik P. A. Valueva Ministera Vnutrennikh Del. V dvukh tomakh, 1865-1876* 2 (Moscow: Akademia Nauk SSSR, 1961), 421-34.
[113] Thaden, *Russification in the Baltic Provinces*.
[114] Aleksandr Rittikh, *Slavianskii mir: Istoriko-geograficheskoe i etnograficheskoe issledovanie* (Warsaw: Izdanie V. M. Istomina, 1885).
[115] Rittikh, *Slaviansiii mir,* 23. Russians, according to Rittikh, comprised three branches: Great Russians, White Russians (Belarusians), and Little Russians (Ukrainians).

Hungarian rule. Rittikh appended a map to his book, *Map of the Western and Southern Slavs*, as evidence of the fact that the Russian Empire was inhabited by a Slavic majority (Figure 29). The map constructed an image of the 'Slavic World' that stretched from the Balkans in the south-west, across Central Asia, and to the eastern reaches of the Empire on the Pacific Coast.[116]

Rittikh included numerous small-format black and white ethnographic maps within his book to bolster his various arguments. Maps enabled Rittikh to discover and illuminate bigger patterns concerning the "natural" distribution of ethnographic groups. He highlighted cases where the territory inhabited by a particular group neatly aligned with state borders or topographical features and drew viewers' attention to the "unnatural" distribution of ethnographic groups as a result of aggressive colonialism which had suppressed or displaced the "autochthonous" inhabitants. In the *Map of the Density of the German Population in Eastern Germany, Austria-Hungary and the West-Russian Territory,* Rittikh contrasted the high percentages of Germans in Germany and Austria-Hungary with the low density of Germans in the Russian Empire (Figure 30). The map's German-language subtitle, *Drang nach Osten*, evoked a sense of the perceived threat posed by this population in the Baltic provinces, whose numbers were not insignificant: Estliand (5.7 per cent), Lifliand (6.8 per cent), and Kurliand (7.8 per cent). In another map (Figure 31), Rittikh framed the German influence in the Baltic provinces as colonisers who had created 'depressions' (*vpaniny*) within the Slavic world. Rittikh argued that the Slavic peoples of the Russian Empire formed a naturally 'solid' or 'continuous' (*sloshnogo*) distribution, into which the Germanic peoples had made unnatural intrusions.[117] Cartography was paramount in enabling Rittikh to reach his conclusions and communicate the relevance and urgency of the Baltic Question to his readers.

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[116] As Alexander Maxwell demonstrates, there was no singular idea of the shape of the Pan-Slavic space. Equally, belief in Slavic unity was rarely accompanied by political ambitions to create a Slavic state. Maxwell, "Effacing Panslavism", 634.

[117] Alexander Rittikh, *Obizhennyi krai* (St. Petersburg: Elektro-Tipografiia N. Ia. Stoikovni, 1911), 399.

Figure 29. Rittikh's *Ethnographic Map of the Slavic World* (1885)

Source: Aleksandr Rittikh, "Etnograficheskaia karta slavianskago mira," *Slavianskii mir: Istoriko-geograficheskoe i etnograficheskoe issledovanie* (Warsaw: Izdanie V. M. Istomina, 1885), 34

Figure 30. Rittikh's statistical map depicting the percentage of Germans across East Central Europe

Source: Aleksandr Rittikh, *Slavianskii mir: Istoriko-geograficheskoe i etnograficheskoe issledovanie* (Warsaw: Izdanie V. M. Istomina, 1885), 189.

НѢМЕЦКІЯ ВПАДИНЫ ВЪ СЛАВЯНСКІЯ ЗЕМЛИ.

Figure 31. Rittikh's map of German 'depressions' (*vpadiny*) in the Slavic lands.

Source: Aleksandr Rittikh, *Slavianskii mir: Istoriko-geograficheskoe i etnograficheskoe issledovanie* (Warsaw: Izdanie V. M. Istomina, 1885), 36.

Examining the Slavic-Germanic division of Europe through the medium of cartography enabled Rittikh to draw attention to two 'tribes' which, from a geographical perspective, prevented the territorial unification of the Slavic peoples. The territories inhabited by Romanians and Lithuanians (meaning here Lithuanians and Latvians) appeared as two anomalies floating within Slavic and Germanic spaces (Figure 31). Rittikh pointed out to his readers that 'Litva', like Romania, the latter in the broadest sense of the word, are a 'regular round-elliptical shape, which as a nucleus, do not allow fragments to penetrate into the alien body'.[118] Rittikh argued that the enclaves inhabited by Romanians and Lithuanians also put the Slavic peoples at a strategic disadvantage as they restricted access to the sea in the north and the south. Rittikh perceived the Baltic provinces as playing an important strategic role in the Empire for trade and shipping and the whole of European Russia 'gravitates towards the Baltic Sea' due to the railway lines connecting the Empire's interior to the ice-free ports of Riga, Revel, and Libava.[119] At the same time, although Rittikh regarded Romanians and Lithuanians as distinct tribes, he argued that the centuries of close contact with Slavs and the mixing of Slavic blood had brought them very close to Slavs, especially those who professed the Orthodox faith.[120] He juxtaposed the positive Russian influence on these peoples with the German *Drang nach Ost* characterised by 'violent seizure and war'.[121]

Rittikh's view of the Baltic provinces in the 1880s as a space of encounter between Slavic and Germanic influence in Europe was also echoed in ethnographic maps produced in the newly-founded German Reich, where the German-speaking Balts were increasingly perceived as a legitimate object of concern. As Jason Hansen has shown, in the late nineteenth century, nationalist newspapers, travel literature, and images were used to develop a sense of connection between Germany, Austria (that is, Cisleithania within the Dual Monarchy), and other more abstractly defined German-speaking spaces, such as the Saxons of Transylvania and Balkan German-speakers (Donauschwaben).[122] The Justus Perthes Geographic-Cartographic Institute in Gotha produced ethnographic maps to engage with ideas about pan-Germanism and to define the extent and borders of *Deutschtum*. The Institute published ethnographic maps of Germans in Europe and framed German-speaking settlements in the Baltic provinces as 'German colonies' (*Deutsche Kolonien*). In 1877 Augustus Heinrich

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[118] Rittikh, *Slaviansiii mir*, 17.
[119] A. F. Rittikh, *Russkaia torgovlia i morekhodstvo na Baltiiskom more* (St. Petersburg: Leshtukovskaia Parovaia Skoropechatnaia P. O. Iablonskago, 1896), 3.
[120] Rittikh, *Slavianskii mir*, 18.
[121] Rittikh, *Slavianskii mir*, 190.
[122] Hansen, *Mapping the Germans*.

Petermann (1822-1878) published a German-language ethnographic map of the European part of the Russian Empire, *Ethnographic Map of the Russian Empire* (1878), which was based on the map produced by Rittikh in 1875 for the IRGO (Figure 32 & Figure 33). On Petermann's edition, ethnic Germans were shaded in red to visually highlight the presence of Germans 'colonies' in the Baltic provinces, on the Volga, along the Black Sea shore, Volhynia, and other areas of the Empire. These red areas on the map corresponded to the area identified by Terry Martin as pertaining to the 'German Questions' in the Russian Empire.[123] A close examination of Petermann's adaptation of Rittikh's map reveals that he added many more pockets of ethnic Germans in the Baltic provinces than had been present in Rittikh's original.

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[123] Martin, "The German Question."

Figure 32. Detail of the Baltic provinces from Rittikh's *Ethnographic Map of European Russia* (1875)

Germans are marked in pale blue.

Source: Aleksandr Rittikh, *Etnograficheskaia karta evropeiskoi Rossii* (St. Petersburg: Kartograficheskoe Zavedenie A. Il'ina, 1875). Credit: National Library of Finland.
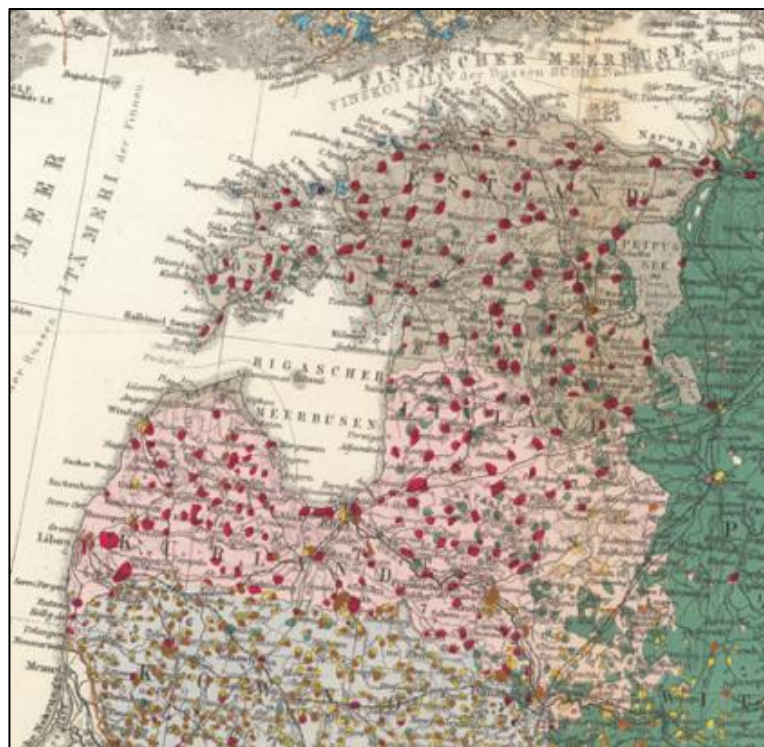
Figure 33. Detail of the Baltic provinces from Petermann's *Ethnographic Map of Russia* (1878)

Germans are depicted in red.

Source: A. Petermann, *Ethnographische Karte von Russland (Nordlisches Blatt)* (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1878). Credit: David Rumsey Historical Map Collection.

Map-makers such as Petermann increasingly framed the Baltic Germans in ethnographic maps published in Germany after 1871 as a German diaspora that had been cut off from the German heartlands. The geographical proximity of the Baltic provinces to East Prussia turned the so-called Baltic Germans into pawns in the foreign political dreams of ideologists hoping to create an expanded German nation-state, especially after 1914. However, the images of a collective German-speaking community that these maps created often presented a radically different way of understanding the world to the forms of self-identification expressed by German-speakers themselves living in the Baltic provinces. As recent scholarship has emphasised, concepts of Germanness among German-speaking communities living outside of the German state – the so-called *Auslandsdeutsche* - were more complex, hybrid, and situational than externally-ascribed identities often gave credit for.[124] As Pieter Judson has argued in the case of various German-speaking communities in the Habsburg Empire, these communities often had very little sense of connection with one another. While these people often subscribed to Germanness as a marker of cultural superiority, the way in which they expressed Germanness was strongly particularist. As will be examined in the next chapter, even those living in the Baltic provinces who claimed a sense of cultural belonging to the German *Volk* often felt little association with the German nation-state founded in 1871.[125]

Conclusions

During the 1870s and 1880s, map-makers used ethnographic cartography to engage in debates about the Baltic Question and the relationship of the Baltic provinces and their inhabitants to the wider imperial space. Under Rittikh's hand, ethnographic cartography assumed different meanings and uses. Whereas the earlier ethnographic maps made by Keppen and the Provincial Statistical Committees had mainly concentrated on cataloguing the Empire's ethnographic diversity, Rittikh's maps sought to gather ethnographic groups into larger macro-civilisational spaces, tribal families, and pan-movements. Rittikh's maps constructed a bird's-eye-view of a Europe divided into Slavic and Germanic spaces, with the Baltic provinces falling on the fault line. In the context of the public debate among intellectuals in the Russian Empire on the Baltic

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[124] Alexander Maxwell and Sacha E. Davis, "Germanness beyond Germany: Collective Identity in German Diaspora Communities," *German Studies Review* 39 (2016), 1–15.
[125] Judson, "When Is a Diaspora Not a Diaspora?".

Question, Rittikh used ethnographic cartography as an 'evidence-generating tool' to advance his argument about the need to bring Baltic provinces closer into the fold of the Russian Empire.[126] For Rittikh, maps were not only a method to visualise the Baltic Question, but also highlighted the underlying historical, social, economic, and political causes of what were – in his view – some of the most pressing and troublesome issues facing the Empire.

The development of the commercial cartographical printing and publishing trade, particularly the St. Petersburg-based A. Il'in's Cartographical Publishing Establishment, meant that Rittikh's ethnographic maps were published in large print runs and widely circulated. Whereas Keppen's ethnographic maps had primarily been discussed by fellow academicians, Rittikh's maps reached a far wider audience and were the subject of debates in the local press in the Baltic provinces.

The anti-German sentiment generated by the writings of Slavophile thinkers such as Samarin and Aksakov, and conservative Russian nationalist thinkers such as Katkov and Rittikh, resonated with intellectuals in the Baltic provinces who advocated on behalf of the local Estonian- and Latvian-speaking inhabitants and their cultural particularism. This current, which would burgeon over the course of the last decades of the nineteenth century into increasingly self-conscious Estonian and Latvian political nationalism, led to a wave of interest in mapping the ethnographic territories of Estonian- and Latvian-speakers in and of themselves. The desire to counter the macro-perspective of Rittikh's maps of Slavic and Germanic "worlds" inspired interest in researching and mapping Estonians and Latvians, peoples who had literally retreated into the background of many ethnographic maps since the publication of Rittikh's work on the Baltic provinces in 1873. As a counterweight to the framework of a civilisational clash between Germandom and Slavdom, ethnographers and map-makers living in the Baltic provinces turned their gaze to the local and the particular. By shifting away from mapping the macro-perspective of ethnographic families and civilisations to the micro-scale of single regional ethnolinguistic groups, map-makers illuminated new distinctions, such as the presence of different dialects within languages, details that had been previously overlooked in ethnographic maps. As will be examined in the following chapter, this invigoration of ethnographic research led to a wave of ethnographic map production from within the Baltic provinces in the late imperial period. Moreover, by the turn of the twentieth century, and especially after 1905, the 'Baltic Question' began to take on new meanings and was

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[126] This phrase is borrowed from Güttler, "Scaling the Period Eye", 19.

increasingly seen through the lens of the rights and autonomy of the region's Estonian- and Latvian-speakers.[127]

The use of ethnographic cartography by members of the IRGO to grapple with questions about the Empire did not end with Rittikh's 1875 *Ethnographic Map of European Russia*. In the early twentieth century, many of the concerns raised by Rittikh were taken up in the context of the whole Empire and not just its western 'European' part. In December 1903, the IRGO established a special Cartographical Commission led by the geographer and oceanographer Iulii Mikhailovich Shokal'skii (1856-1940), who later served as head of the RGO during the early Soviet period between 1917-1931.[128] The Commission was established to coordinate issues of geographical nomenclature and the transcription of place names, as well as to create an updated version of the 40-versts (1:1,680,000) map of European Russian published in 1862. The considerable costs involved in producing maps led to the creation of a special Subcommission for the Transcription of Geographical Names in 1904, which sought to devise standards for transcribing multiple languages and scripts into Russian Cyrillic, as well as to take steps to develop Russian Cyrillic as a language of scientific communication.[129] Furthermore, in 1910 a separate Sub-commission was established to make an ethnographic map of Russia. The map was to be based on the ethnographic data collected in 1897 during the first All-Russian census and was conceived as a successor to the other two large-format ethnographic maps published by the IRGO in the nineteenth century by Keppen (1851) and Rittikh (1875). The availability of census data allowed the IRGO to be more ambitious in its plans for the map's scope. In a crucial departure from the nineteenth-century maps of Keppen and Rittikh, the third large-format ethnographic map produced by the IRGO would cover the whole empire, not just its western so-called 'European' part. For this reason, the work of the Sub-commission had a strong geographical focus on the eastern and Eurasian parts of the Empire.[130] Ultimately, however, the turmoil of World War I, lack of state support, and the Bolshevik revolutions of 1917 meant that the map was never completed.

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[127] Toomas Karjahärm, "Balti küsimus Vene poliitikas monarhia kokkuvarisemise eel," *Looming* 10 (1996), 1372−1383.

[128] Known as the Russian Geographical Society from 1917 and as the State Geographical Society from 1926.

[129] SPBF ARAN F.178, op.1, d.188, l.18ob; NA RGO f.44, op.3, d.3, l.5-6.

[130] S. K. Patkanov, "Proekt sostavleniia plemennoi karty Rossii," *Zhivaia Starina* 3 (1915), 217-244; Komissiia po izucheniiu plemennogo sostava naseleniia Rossii, *Instruktsiia k sostavleniiu plemennykh kart* (Petrograd: Tipografiia Rossiiskoi Akademii Nauk, 1917). The ethnographic map-making projects of the early twentieth century are discussed in detail in: Francine Hirsch, *Empire of Nations: Ethnographic Knowledge and the Making of the Soviet Union* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2005), 49-61; Aibulat V. Psianchin, *Komissiia po izucheniiu plemennogo sostava naseleniia: ot etnokartografii k perepisi naseleniia* (Ufa: Ufimskii nauchnyi tsentr RAN, 2010).

Mapping Latvians from Local to Global Scales

Between August and September 1896, the city of Riga hosted the Latvian Ethnographic Exhibition. The exhibition was organised by the Riga Latvian Society, a local learned society, and during the six-week run it had more than 45,000 visitors, equivalent to one sixth of Riga's population at the time.[1] Meandering through the pavilions, visitors encountered mannequins dressed in folk costumes, traditional artefacts, full-scale replicas of traditional peasant dwellings, and theatrical and musical performances. Maps by two prominent map-makers from Kurliand province, August Bielenstein and Matīss Siliņš, were also exhibited. The maps encouraged visitors to situate the diverse items on display into an overarching narrative of the long history of a collective Latvian people. Enveloping the ethnographic artefacts collected from across Kurliand, Liflamd, and Vitebsk province, the maps – along with the exhibition itself – imposed a unifying logic and promoted the concept of a Latvian ethnographic territory that transcended imperial administrative borders. After the exhibition closed many of the items were transferred to the collections of the Riga Latvian Society museum, the precursor of today's National Historical Museum of Latvia.[2]

While the Latvian Ethnographic Exhibition promoted ideas about Latvians as a historically and culturally distinctive people, the exhibition was also nested within another overarching narrative about empire. The Latvian Ethnographic Exhibition ran in parallel to the Tenth All-Russian Archaeological Congress that was also held in Riga that summer and organised by the Society for Antiquity and History of the Baltic provinces of Russia.[3] The Archaeological Congress rotated around different cities in the Empire and this was the first time it had come to the Baltic provinces. These orchestrated celebrations of imperial Russia, as Joseph Bradley argues, occurred as a result of collaboration between state initiatives and civil society to realise common aims: popularising science, fostering civic and national pride,

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[1] The population of Riga was 282,000 according to the 1897 All-Russian census.
[2] Sanita Stinkule, Toms Ķikuts, and Jānis Ciglis, *Latviešu etnogrāfiskā izstāde 1896 / Latvian Ethnographic Exhibition 1896* (Riga: Neptuns, 2016); Sanita Stinkule, ed. *Indivīds. Vēsture. Nācija. Latviešu etnogrāfiskajai izstādei - 120: rakstu krājums* (Riga: Latvijas Nacionālais Vēstures Muzejs, 2017).
[3] As Suzanne Pourchier-Plasseraud points out, archaeology was understood in this context as all things historical, including ethnography. Suzanne Pourchier-Plasseraud, *Arts and a Nation. The Role of Visual Arts and Artists in the Making of the Latvian Identity, 1905-1940* (Leiden: Brill Rodopi, 2015), 53.

showcasing the vast expanses of the Empire, and inventorying the inhabitants.[4] The organisers of these events sought to present a coherent and overarching image of the Empire as a whole, while retaining a sense of local specificities. Deborah Coen describes this 'technical challenge of visualizing "unity in diversity"' as a delicate balancing act of moving between different scales, which she argues was a defining characteristics of nineteenth-century empires.[5]

This chapter examines the interweaving narratives about the Latvian ethnographic territory and its relationship to the wider Empire in late imperial Russia. On the one hand, the concurrent All-Russian Archaeological Congress embedded the Latvian Ethnographic Exhibition within space of the Empire. Delegates to Archaeological Congress were able to visit the Latvian Ethnographic Exhibition, which showcased the local to the Empire and wider world. At the same time, the Latvian Ethnographic Exhibition focused on local particularism and the territory inhabited by a single ethnographic group. In this respect, Bielenstein's and Siliņš's maps departed in striking ways from earlier cartographical renderings of the Latvian ethnographic space. Instead of portraying a multitude of different ethnolinguistic groups living in Lifliand, Kurliand, and western Vitebsk province, their maps communicated the area where a single language – Latvian – was spoken by the majority of the population. However, the process of defining the Latvian ethnographic territory replicated many of the imperialistic themes and tendencies of the All-Empire exhibitions. Populations from Kurliand, Lifliand, and Vitebsk provinces were subsumed into a larger historical and cultural narrative about a singular Latvian people. Rather than seeing Empire and national spaces as contradictory, nationalising projects could end up replicating the same imperialistic and colonising tendencies, integrating populations who might see themselves as different from one another, consolidating territories, and developing ideas and symbols of positive shared identification.[6]

Spatial concepts of the Latvian ethnographic territory were not without controversy. While many contemporaries in Lifliand and Kurliand recognised the importance of constructing a unifying narrative about the history and culture of the Latvian people, there was no clear consensus about the form that the narrative should take. Despite the fact that Bielenstein's and Siliņš's maps were displayed side-by-side at the exhibition, the two map-

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[4] Joseph Bradley, "Pictures at an Exhibition: Science, Patriotism, and Civil Society in Imperial Russia," *Slavic Review* 67, no. 4 (2008), 934-966.

[5] Deborah R. Coen, *Climate in Motion: Science, Empire, and the Problem of Scale* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018), 123.

[6] This point resonates with Matthew Edney's argument that when it comes to cartography, there are no differences between mapping practices of empires and modern states. Matthew H. Edney, "The Irony of Imperial Mapping," in *The Imperial Map: Cartography and the Mastery of Empire*, ed. James R. Akerman (Chicago: 2009), 11–45.

makers were perceived by contemporaries as emblematic of two different trends in Latvian ethnographic research. Bielenstein was a Lutheran pastor from Kurliand province and long-standing president of the Latvian Literary Society. Bielenstein published his maps in German and was perceived by many as the embodiment of the so-called 'Baltic German' approach to Latvian ethnography, whereby German-speaking Lutheran pastors described and documented the culture, language, and traditions of the 'autochthonous' Latvian-speaking peasantry. On the other hand, Siliņš was a member of the Riga Latvian Society, whose membership mainly comprised educated and upwardly socially-mobile Latvian-speakers. The Society was regarded in the late nineteenth century as representing a burgeoning Latvian nationalist consciousness.

Although Bielenstein and Siliņš were contemporaries, the tendency to separate and ethnicise these two map-makers persists in the historiography to this day. Siliņš is regarded in Latvian historiography as the 'first Latvian cartographer'.[7] Bielenstein, by contrast, is more widely known internationally for his contributions to comparative Indo-European linguistics through his research on Latvian and for coining the term 'isogloss' to refer to lines drawn on maps to represent the geographical boundaries of different linguistic features. By examining these two map-makers in parallel, this chapter seeks to broaden our understanding of spatial concepts of the Latvian ethnographic area as conceived by map-makers living and working in the Baltic provinces themselves. By analysing German- and Latvian-language maps that sought to define the Latvian space within the Empire from a comparative perspective, this chapter also challenges conventional monolingual understandings of nationalist movements. As Susan Gal has argued in the case of Hungary, many '*multilingualist* nationalisms' were proposed and enacted in the nineteenth century, to which we have often become blinded due to the hegemony of the idea of nationalisms as monolingual.[8] This chapter examines how various efforts to construct a Latvian ethnolingusitic territory were carried out in the Baltic provinces through the medium of both German- and Latvian-language cartography.

Learned Societies and *Heimatkunde* in the Baltic Provinces

Since the late eighteenth century, educated elites in the Baltic provinces had published studies about the language and folk culture of the Estonian- and Latvian-speaking peasantry. The work

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[7] Jānis Štrauhmanis, *Matīss Siliņš: Pirmais latviešu kartogrāfs* (Riga: Latvijas Universitātē; Latvijas Kultūras fonds, 1994); Jānis Štrauhmanis, "Matīsa Siliņa ietekme uz Latvijas nacionālās kartogrāfijas veidošanos," *Scientific Journal of Riga Technical University* 9 (2012), 16–19.
[8] Susan Gal, "Polyglot Nationalism. Alternative Perspectives on Language in 19th Century Hungary," *Langage et Société* 136 (2011), 31-54, 31.

of Johann Gottfried Herder (1744-1803) had a particular resonance in the Baltic provinces as he had worked as an adjunct pastor and schoolmaster at the *Domkirche* (Cathedral) school in Riga between 1764-69. Although the region's German-speaking Lutheran pastors had a long tradition of conducting ethnographic observation of their parishioners, Herder's work collecting folksongs and other cultural artefacts inspired a generation of pastors in the Baltic provinces.[9] For many, interest in the Estonian- and Latvian-speaking inhabitants of the Baltic provinces was tied to debates about the abolition of serfdom. Advocates of abolition, such as Garlieb Merkel (1769-1850), described the historical contributions and ethnographical distinctiveness of the Latvian-speaking inhabitants of the Baltic littoral as an argument for social and agrarian reform. Driven by Enlightenment ideas of social progress, writers such as Merkel perceived the act of describing society as a first step to changing it.[10]

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, language was politicised with a new intensity in intellectual circles. The French Revolution and Napoleonic wars suffused language with symbolic importance as an essential component of selfhood.[11] Following the abolition of serfdom in the Baltic provinces between 1816-19, the study of the language, folklore, and culture of the Estonian- and Latvian-speaking populations gradually became more organised with the founding of numerous learned societies.[12] The most active were the Kurland Society for Literature and Art (est. 1817), the Latvian Literary Society (est. 1824), and the Estland Literary Society (est. 1842). The German-speaking pastors, educated elites, and nobles who were members of these societies in the first half of the nineteenth century fashioned themselves as Estophiles and Lettophiles. These learned societies brought together members from different administrative provinces of the Empire with common interests. As the statute of the Latvian Literary Society emphasised, the river Duna/Dvina running between Kurliand and Lifliand province 'is no border' (*die Duna keine Grenze ist*).[13] Motivated by Enlightenment ideas of

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[9] Kristina Jaremko-Porter, "The Latvian Era of Folk Awakening: From Johann Gottfried Herder's Volkslieder to the Voice of An Emergent Nation," *The Voice of the People: Writing the European Folk Revival, 1760–1914*, eds. Matthew Campbell and Michael Perraudin (London: Anthem Press, 2013), 141–56. On the role of folklore in cultural nationalism, see: Timothy Baycroft and David Hopkin, *Folklore and Nationalism in Europe During the Long Nineteenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2012).

[10] Garlieb Merkel, *Die Letten, vorzüglich in Liefland, am Ende des philosophischen Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig: 1796). See also Andrew James Blumbergs, *The Nationalization of Latvians and the Issue of Serfdom: The Baltic German Literary Contribution in the 1780s and 1790s* (Amherst; New York: Cambria Press, 2008), 167-196.

[11] Stewart McCain, *The Language Question under Napoleon* (Cham: Springer International Publishing; Palgrave Macmillan, 2017).

[12] Jörg Hackmann, ed. *Vereinskultur und Zivilgesellschaft in Nordosteuropa: Regionale Spezifik und europäische Zusammenhänge / Associational Culture and Civil Society in North Eastern Europe: Regional Features and the European Context* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2012).

[13] August Bielenstein, *Ein glückliches Leben: Autobiographie, 1826-1907* (Michelstadt: Neuthor Verlag, 2002), 228.

progress, these German-speaking Estophiles and Lettophiles understood their activities as a mixture of personal interest and public service.[14] Most of these learned societies had a literary orientation, building on the ideas of Herder and Fichte about the importance of language as a powerful way of proving the authentic existence and cultural worth of the common people. As well as elaborating the written Estonian and Latvian languages through the proliferation of grammars, dictionaries, and literary materials (songs, poetry etc.), these learned societies were hubs for a wide range of other activities and events. Notably, from the 1850s members of these societies organised choral singing societies and festivals, a tradition originating in the Romantic nationalism of the German-speaking lands.[15] Moreover, in addition to publishing literary works and organising cultural events, the members of these learned societies published thematic maps. Although German-speaking landowners had a long tradition of making maps of their estates, learned societies in the second half of the nineteenth century began to actively support the publication of various kinds of thematic maps, especially archaeological and hypsometrical maps.[16]

August Bielenstein: Pastor and Lettophile

August Bielenstein played a key role in the development of Latvian linguistic research and ethnolinguistic cartography in the second half of the nineteenth century.[17] Bielenstein was born in Mitau (Jelgava) in Kurland province in 1826.[18] He spent his childhood in Neu-Autz (Jaunauce), near the border with Kovna province, where his father was a pastor. Although Bielenstein was sent abroad to Saxony for schooling, he returned to the Baltic provinces in 1846 to study theology at Dorpat University. Following his father's death in 1851, Bielenstein

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[14] Celia Applegate makes the same observation about German *Heimatkunde*. Celia Applegate, *A Nation of Provincials: The German Idea of Heimat* (Berkeley; Los Angeles; Oxfor: University of California Press, 1990), 3.

[15] The Vanemuise Society, established in Dorpat in 1865 to promote Estonian culture, organised the first All-Estonian Song Festival in Dorpat between 18-20 June 1869. Several years later, in 1873 the First General Latvian Singing Festival was held in Riga, with over a thousand participants and 50 choirs. On the transnational phenomenon of singing festicals, see: Kriztina Lajosi and Andreas Stynen, *Choral Societies and Nationalism in Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2015).

[16] For example, in 1861 the Naturalist Society in Dorpat covered the publication costs of Constantin Grewingk's *Geognostische map der Ostseeprovinzen Liv-, Est- und Kurland* (Dorpat: Naturforscher Gesellschaft zu Dorpat, 1861); the Livland Economic and Charitable Society published Seidlitz Meiershof's *Hypsometrische Karte Ehstland's and Nord Livland's* (Livländischen ökonomischen und gemeinnützigen Societät, 1876); the learned Estonian Society supported the publication of Jaan Sitska's *Archäologische Karte von Liv, Est- und Kurland* (Jurjew/Dorpat: H. Laakmann, 1896).

[17] Bielenstein is known in Latvia today as Augusts Bīlenšteins. However, Bielenstein himself never used this Latvianised version of his name.

[18] Place names in this section are given in their German-language forms to reflect Bielenstein's outlook.

succeeded him as pastor of Neu-Autz. In 1867 he moved 50 km westward to the larger town of Doblen (Dobele). During the revolutionary violence that erupted in the Baltic provinces in 1905, the parsonage in Doblen was looted and much of the Bielenstein family archive and library was destroyed.[19] After these events, the family moved to an apartment in Mitau, where August lived until his death in 1907.[20]

Bielenstein served as president of the Latvian Literary Society (*Lettisch-Literärische Gesellschaft*) for thirty years, from 1864 until ill health forced him to step down in 1895. Between 1867-1903 he edited the most widely circulated Latvian-language newspaper, *Latvian Newspapers* (*Latweeschu Awises*; contemporary Latvian orthography: *Latviešu Avīzes*), which had been founded in Mitau in 1822. He was also involved in organising many different cultural events to promote Latvian language and culture, including the first Latvian song festival in Kurland at Doblen castle in 1870 and the 1896 Latvian Ethnographic Exhibition.[21] Bielenstein was however staunchly opposed to the politicisation of Latvian culture and regarded nationalism as a dangerous and destabilising current in the region. Politically conservative, he fiercely defended Baltic German traditions. Instead, Bielenstein explicitly identified himself as a Lettophile (*Lettenfreund*), a friend, devotee, and lover of the Latvian people.[22]

Bielenstein's activities as a Lettophile developed as a result of the intersection of practical and sentimental interests. Bielenstein perceived that it was his duty to learn the local vernacular as part of his pastoral work and reminisced about the enthusiasm among the network of Lutheran pastors for studying Latvian:

> We pastors of German nationality were the only men in the country who had the opportunity and the desire to get acquainted with the Latvian people in their whole external and spiritual life and to work on it daily, especially through the Word. The sanctity of the matter that we pastors have to represent among the peasantry requires

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[19] On the revolution of 1905 in the Baltic provinces, see: Tovio U. Raun, "The Revolution of 1905 in the Baltic Provinces and Finland," *Slavic Review* 43, no. 3 (1984), 453-467; Tovio U Raun, "Violence and Activism in the Baltic Provinces during the Revolution of 1905," *Acta Historica Tallinnensia* 10 (2006), 48-59. Bielenstein's autobiography was published in 1904 and therefore does not document these events. On the destruction of material from the Doblen parsonage, see Aina Štrāle, "Dobeles apkārtnes mācītājmuižu bibliotēku un arhīvu liktenis 1905.gada revolūcijā: Augusta Bīlenšteina liecība Dobeles evaņģēliski luteriskās baznīcas grāmatā," in *Latvijas Nacionālās Bibliotēkas Konferenču, Semināru, Sanāksmju Materiāli* (2005), 76–82. The August Bielenstein fond in the Latvian State Historical Archives contains only a handful of surviving materials. LVVA f.3946, ap.1, l.1-9.

[20] Details of Bielenstein's life are taken from his autobiography, *Ein glückliches Leben: Selbstbiographie von Ddr. A. Bielenstein. Pastor zu Doblen in Kurland* (Riga: Jonck u. Poliewsky, 1904). References in the text correspond to the following published edition: August Bielenstein, *Ein glückliches Leben: Autobiographie, 1826-1907* (Michelstadt: Neuthor Verlag, 2002).

[21] The first Latvian song festival in Lifliand took place in 1864 in Dickeln (Dikļi), the first Estonian Song festival was held in Dorpat in 1869, and the first All-Latvian Song Festival was organised in Riga in 1873.

[22] Bielenstein, *Ein glückliches Leben*, 287.

that the vernacular be known to us most accurately and cultivated in the most accurate manner.[23]

Bielenstein improved his knowledge of Latvian during his first years as a pastor in Neu-Autz in order to be able to confidently deliver sermons.[24] He established a Latvian-language loaning library at the parsonage and worked on revised Latvian translations of the Bible, catechisms, and hymnbooks. His pastoral duties also provided him with ample opportunities to study the Latvian language and peasant traditions during his visits to households to perform baptisms, marriage ceremonies, and funerals, during which he collected thousands of folksongs and ethnographic observations.[25]

Bielenstein's passion for studying the language and culture of the local Latvian-speaking population was also closely tied to his self-identification as a '*Kurländer*'. Bielenstein felt a strong sense of attachment to Kurland province as his 'fatherland' (*Vaterland*) and 'native homeland' (*Heimat*).[26] As student at Dorpat University in the 1840s, he felt himself closest to the other 'Cours' (*Kuronen*) among the study body.[27] He presented his research on the Latvian language and folklore as 'a testimony to my warm love for the *Heimatlande*'.[28] Bielenstein's strong identification with his province indicates how the administrative division of the Baltic littoral continued to exert a powerful influence over geographical imagination and shape individual feelings of selfhood and belonging.

Over the course of his lifetime, Bielenstein published numerous works on Latvian language and culture. His earliest publications concentrated on Latvian linguistics, including an updated version of Hesselberg's Latvian grammar and several Latvian grammars for use in schools.[29] His monumental study *The Latvian Language According to its Sounds and Forms* (1863) was instigated by the Latvian Literary Society and awarded the prestigious Demidov Prize by the Imperial Academy of Science.[30] In later decades, Bielenstein moved away from a strict focus on language and wrote more broadly on archaeology, ethnography, mythology, and

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[23] Bielenstein, *Ein glückliches Leben*, 230.

[24] *Ibid.*, 77. Due to the scarcity of books for learning Latvian at this time, August explains that acquiring fluency in Latvian was only possible 'by ear' (*Ibid.*, 205).

[25] *Ibid.*, 87; 209.

[26] *Ibid.*, 75; 128.

[27] *Ibid.*, 55.

[28] August Bielenstein, *Die Grenzen des lettischen Volkstammes und der lettischen Sprache in der Gegenwart und im 13. Jahrhundert. Ein Beitrag zur ethnologischen Geographie und Geschichte Russlands* (St. Petersburg: Eggers; Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1892), vii.

[29] August Bielenstein, *Handbuch der lettischen Sprache* (Mitau: Fr. Lucas' Buchhandlung, 1863); *Die Elemente der lettischen Sprache* (Mitau: J.F. Steffenhagen und Sohn, 1866).

[30] August Bielenstein *Die lettische Sprache: nach ihren Lauten und Formen erklärend und vergleichend dargestellt* (Berlin: Ferd. Dümmler's Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1863).

cultural history.[31] As will be examined below, it was also at this point that he began experimenting with cartography as a tool for exploring spatial dimensions of languages.

Delineating the Latvian Language Area and Dialects

From the 1870s, linguists across East Central Europe began experimenting with using cartography as a tool for analysing the territory of a single language. They developed a new type of thematic map to demarcate a single 'language area' (*Sprachgebiet*), with little or no reference to other neighbouring or coexisting languages. This trend was exemplified by the map of the Lithuanian language area published in 1876 by Friedrich Kurschat (1806-1884), a Prussian-Lithuanian theologian and director of the Lithuanian Seminary at the University of Königsberg. Kurschat's map was likely an important influence on Bielenstein's decision to map the Latvian language area, as the two men maintained a regular correspondence.[32] In contrast to the ethnographic maps discussed in previous chapters, which presented different language areas as homogenous spaces based on external differentiation with other languages, these new kinds of linguistic maps concentrated on mapping internal dialectal variations within language areas. Another well-known example is the map of the Belarusian ethnic group published by Slavicist Efim Fedorovich Karskii / Yefim Fiodaravich Karskii (1861-1931) in 1903, which subdivided the territory inhabited by Belarusian-speakers into six dialectal areas.[33] Bielenstein's maps not only contributed to the definition of the Latvian language area and its dialects, but also made important theoretical contributions to the wider genre of linguistic cartography.

In the early 1880s Bielenstein collaborated with the Mitau-based artist Julius Döring (1818-1898) to produce two ethnolinguistic maps of the Latvian-speaking territory.[34] In

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[31] Bielenstein, *Die Grenzen des lettischen Volkstammes*; August Bielenstein, Emil Bielenstein, and Hans Bielenstein, *Studien aus dem Gebiete der lettischen Archäologie, Ethnographie und Mythologie* (Riga: Hoerschelmann, 1896); August Bielenstein, *Die Holzbauten und Holzgeräte der Letten. Ein Beitrag zur Ethnographie, Culturgeschichte und Archaeologie der Völker Russlands im Westgebiet*, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg: Kaiserliche Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1907).

[32] The map was published as part of Kurschat's Lithuanian grammar, see: Friedrich Kurschat, *Grammatik der littauischen Sprache* (Halle: Verlag der Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1876). For a discussion of Kurschat's linguistic mapping, see Safronovas, *The Creation of National Spaces*, 84-85.

[33] Slavicist, ethnographer, and founder of Belarusian linguistics and literary studies. On the preparation of the map, see E. F. Karskii, *K voprosy ob etnograficheskoi karte belorusskago plemeni* (St. Petersburg: Tipografiia Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, 1902). For a discussion of Karskii's map, see: Petronis, *Constructing Lithuania*, 167-170.

[34] Döring was originally from Dresden and had moved to Kurland in 1845 to work as a drawing teacher at the Mitau gymnasium. He was librarian and later secretary of the Kurland Literary and Artistic Society, editor of its journal, and director of the Kurland Provincial Museum between 1865-93. Today, however, Döring is best

February 1881, Döring gave a lecture to the Latvian Literary Society on the 'Origins of the Kurland Latvians', where he discussed the link between the 'indigenous' (*Ureinwohner*) inhabitants of Kurland in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and present-day Latvians.[35] Two maps were published to accompanying the expanded published version of his lecture.[36] The first was a map of the 'Latvian language area' (*lettisches Sprachgebiet*) around 1860, which was 'mostly based on' Bielenstein's research (*meist nach Bielenstein*) (Figure 34). The second map depicted the proto-ethnic groups or 'tribes' (*Stämme*) inhabiting the East-Baltic lands between 1170 and 1300 based on archaeological findings (Figure 35). While the precise nature of the collaboration between Bielenstein and Döring is hard to pin down, Döring extensively referenced Bielenstein's work and claimed that the language map was based on a sketch Bielenstein had given him and permitted him to use.[37] Matīss Siliņš referred to the maps' authors as 'Bielenstein and Döring' (*Bielenstein un Döring*), a practise I follow here in order to highlight the collaborative nature of cartographical production.[38] The two maps only became widely known to Latvian scholars in the last decade and have subsequently received attention as the first dialect maps of the Latvian language area.[39] Considering the maps in the broader context of developments of cartographical thinking, I argue that the maps also marked a crucial shift in how Latvians were mapped. Map-makers scaled up their maps and instead of shading whole language communities, they applied the same cartographical principles to internally subdivide languages into constituent dialects.

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remembered as a portrait painter. Julius Döring, *Was ich nicht gern vergessen möchte oder Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben* (Riga: Lettisches Nationalarchiv, 2016).

[35] Julius Döring, "Über die Herkunft der kurländischen Letten," *Sitzungs-Berichte der kurländischen Gesellschaft für Literatur und Kunst nebst Veröffentlichungen des kurländischen Provinzial-Museums, aus dem Jahre 1880. Mit 2 Karten* (Mitau: J. F. Steffenhagen und Sohn, 1881), 47-118.

[36] The record of the lecture does not indicate whether the maps were also presented to the audience as part of the talk.

[37] Döring, "Über die Herkunft der kurländischen Letten," 48.

[38] Matīss Siliņš, *Latwijas wispahriga (poiltiska un fiziska) un geoloģijas (Inflantijas jeb poļu Widsemes latweeschu etnografijas) karte* (Riga: M. Siliņš; A. Štāla Litogrāfija, 1891).

[39] Edmundas Trumpa, "'Karte des lettischen Sprachgebiets' (1881) – pirmā latviešu valodas dialektu karte," *Baltu filoloģija* 19, nos. 1-2 (2009), 79–102.

Figure 34. *Map of the Latvian Language Area* by Döring and Bielenstein (1881)

Source: Julius Döring, "Karte des lettischen Sprachgebietes ca. 1860 nach Bielenstein mit Dialektgrenzen und Nachbarsprachen," in "Über die Herkunft der kurländischen Letten," *Sitzungs-Berichte der kurländischen Gesellschaft für Literatur und Kunst nebst Veröffentlichungen des kurländischen Provinzial-Museums, aus dem Jahre 1880. Mit 2 Karten* (Mitau: J. F. Steffenhagen und Sohn, 1881), 47-118. Appendix.

Figure 35. *Map of the Eastern Baltic Lands from 1170-1300* by Döring and Bielenstein (1881)

Source: Julius Döring, "Die Ostbaltischen Länder von 1170 bis 1300," in "Über die Herkunft der kurländischen Letten," *Sitzungs-Berichte der kurländischen Gesellschaft für Literatur und Kunst nebst Veröffentlichungen des kurländischen Provinzial-Museums, aus dem Jahre 1880. Mit 2 Karten* (Mitau: J. F. Steffenhagen und Sohn, 1881), 47-118. Appendix.

Map I of the Latvian language area (Figure 34) depicted the linguistic landscape from around 1860 and subdivided the Latvian language into three 'main dialects' (*Hauptdialekt*). Map II (Figure 35) depicted the proto-ethnic groups or 'tribes' (*Stämme*) that lived in the region in the twelfth century before the arrival of the Teutonic Order. When examined together, the two maps constructed a narrative of the history of the Latvian language, compressing seven hundred years of language change into a series of still images.[40] They portrayed continuities in the ethnographic composition of the territory's inhabitants over time and provided a historical explanation for dialectal differences occurring across the contemporary Latvian language area. In doing so, the maps made a strong statement about the autochthonous nature of the Latvian-speaking population and their historical rights to the territory. However, by depicting Latvians as part of the natural landscape, the maps also conveyed the impression that Latvians existed outside of contemporary political history. In keeping with Bielenstein's political views, the historical rights of Latvians to the territory were formulated in ethnographic rather than political terms.[41]

The map of the Latvian language area also included a further layer of subclassification within the dialects, indicated by the indentations in the map's legend. The map shaded areas where 'pure Latvian' (*rein Lettisch*) and 'only' (*eigentliches*) Northwest Kurlandish and Upper Latvian were spoken, which were then juxtaposed with regions with an 'impure dialect' (*unreine Mundart*), such as the Latvian-Livonian area on the Livland coast.[42] Similar to Keppen's ethnographic map from 1851 (Figure 14), Döring used numbers to highlight 'language islands' (*Sprachinseln*) among other dialectal areas and suggest regions of 'transitions from one dialect to another' (*Ubergange von einem Dialekt in den andern*).[43] The distinctions Bielenstein and Döring drew between pure and impure dialects reflect the emergence of value judgements and a hierarchy among the dialects. Although all the various dialects were shaded on the map, the map and accompanying article communicated ideas about which dialects formed the gravitational centre of the standard Latvian language and which dialects should be perceived as peripheral curiosities. Döring's text gave no indication as to the

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[40] Walter Goffart, *Historical Atlases: The First Three Hundred Years, 1570-1870* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 8.
[41] Susan Schulten observes a similar tendency to map Native Americans as part of the natural landscape rather than as actors in political history. Schulten, *Mapping the Nation*, 24.
[42] Döring, "Über die Herkunft der kurländischen Letten," 49.
[43] *Ibid.,* 48-9.

linguistic reasoning behind how the boundaries between the dialects were determined and instead the map delineated dialects based on perceptions of difference.[44]

Both maps situated the Latvian-speaking area in relation to the neighbouring Estonian, Livonian, Lithuanian, and Russian areas, as well as a mixed Latvian-Livonian dialectal area on the Livland coast.[45] The use of colour suggested the relative proximity and distance between different dialects and languages, with the orange-coloured Upper or High Latvian in the east bearing the closest to the red of the Russian-speaking territory and the turquoise Livonian-Latvian area acting as a bridge between the yellow Middle or Written Latvian and the blue Estonian-speaking area to the north.

Aside from dialectal taxonomisation, the Latvian language area map bears further signs of its close relationship to Bielenstein's body of work. In addition to marking major provincial and district cities, the map also includes the names of places where Bielenstein conducted his fieldwork, including the small village of Neu-Autz where he held his first appointment as pastor. Place names in Livland and Kurland are given in their Germanic form, with place names in Polish Livonia appear in both German and Polish forms. The density of place names noticeably decreases the further eastward one travels across the Latvian language area, with only the major towns and cities marked in former Polish Livonia. Writing about his trip to Polish Livonia, Bielenstein described it as a terra incognita: 'a departure into regions, some of them completely unknown, into an area that was not visited by tourists, who have endowed history and legend, even the youngest, with all the horrors of insecurity and ineffability.'[46] The eastern extent of the Upper or High Latvian dialectal area is abruptly truncated by a straight line at the map's right-hand edge, a practise resembling the colonial practise of drawing straight-line borders drawn on maps of the Middle East and Africa where obvious geographic and ethnographic borders could not be identified.

The Bielenstein-Döring map of the Latvian language area in 1860 differed in crucial ways from the ethnographic maps by Keppen, Sementovskii, and Rittikh discussed in previous chapters. Firstly, the map eschewed imperial administrative borders as the main frame of reference for thinking about the spatial distribution of ethnolinguistic groups. Instead, the

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[44] On the concept of 'perceptual dialectology', see: Dennis Richard Preston, *Perceptual Dialectology: Nonlinguists' Views of Areal Linguistics* (Dordrecht; Providence, R. I.: Foris, 1989); Gabriele Iannàccaro and Vittorio Dell'Aquila, "Mapping Languages from Inside: Notes on Perceptual Dialectology," *Social & Cultural Geography* 2 (2001), 265–80.

[45] Notably, the map of the twelfth century did not include *Russen* as one of the categories of 'tribe' inhabiting the Baltic littoral at this time. Their presence is only indicated by the word *Russen* which appears twice alongside *Letten* and *Selen* on the right-hand side of the map.

[46] Bielenstein, *Reiseskizzen*, 570.

Latvian language area determined the map's framing, with the result that the top half of Livland province was cut off to the north and the map extended eastward to encompass a large part of western Vitebsk province. Secondly, the Bielenstein-Döring map presented the Latvian language area as homogenous; no other languages were depicted as being nestled inside the Latvian language area. Thirdly, the Latvian language area was portrayed as having clearly defined borders. For instance, whereas western Vitebsk province had been depicted on previous ethnographic maps as a mosaic of different ethnolinguistic groups with no clearly definable border between them, on the Bielenstein-Döring map the eastern extent of the Upper (*oberländische*) or High Latvian (*Hochlettische*) in western Vitebsk province is indicated with a hard line representing the maximum reach of the Latvian language area. Finally, the Latvian language area and its borders were drawn based on the furthest extremes where dialects of the Latvian language were spoken. This deviated methodologically from the other ethnographic maps analysed, which defined language areas based on an absolute majority of speakers. As a result, the Bielenstein-Döring map presented an aggrandised image of the Latvian language area that extended well past Ljudsin (Ludza) and Kreslaw (Krāslava) - much further eastward than previous ethnographic maps. The Bielenstein-Döring map left no doubt in viewers' minds that Latvian-speakers in western 'Weissrussland' were Latvians.

Gender, Home, and Family: Domestic Sites of Cartographical Production

The 1881 Bielenstein-Döring maps have been overshadowed by Bielenstein's most famous cartographical work, the *Atlas of the Ethnological Geography of Present-Day and Ancient Latvians* (1892), which was published alongside his monumental work on Latvian ethnography and language, *The Borders of the Latvian Volksstammes and the Latvian Language in the Present and in the 13th Century* (1892).[47] August embarked on the project to make a Latvian linguistic atlas following his research expedition through eastern Kurland and western Vitebsk province in 1882.[48] He also gathered data to make the maps using a questionnaire he sent to

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[47] August Bielenstein, *Die Grenzen des lettischen Volksstammes*; August Bielenstein, *Atlas der ethnologischen Geographie des heutigen und des praehistorischen Lettenlandes. Beilage zu den Grenzen des lettischen Volkstammes und der lettischen Sprache in der Gegenwart und im 13. Jahrhundert* (St. Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Science; Eggers & Co und J. Glasunof [St. Petersburg]; N. Kymmel [Riga]; and Voss' Sortiment G. Haessel [Leipzig], 1892).
[48] August Bielenstein, "Reizeskizzen aus dem Oberlande," *Baltische Monatsschrift* 29, iss. 7-9 (1882), 569-743.

Lutheran pastors 'south and north of the Duna' to collect information about the dialectal characteristics of every locality.[49]

The work of preparing and drawing the atlas was completed in the Doblen parsonage in the second half of the 1880s (Figure 36). There were no formal higher educational establishments in Kurland province at this time and the closest institutions of higher education were located in Livland province to the north, namely the Riga Polytechnic Institute (est. 1862) and the prestigious University of Dorpat (officially renamed Iur'ev between 1893-1918). For the Bielenstein family, the home functioned as an important site for map-making and the production of scientific knowledge in the late nineteenth century.[50] Examining the cartouches of the maps reveals the involvement of different family members in the map-making process. August is attributed as designing (*entw.)* the maps, yet six of the maps credit Martha Luise Sophie (1861-1938), the third eldest of the Bielenstein family's nine children, as drawing (*gez.*) the maps.[51] The isogloss map was drawn by her older brother, Emil Louis Johann (1858-1943), a pastor. The inclusion of Martha's name (or rather her initial) on the map cartouches, acknowledging her involvement in the drawing of the maps, is unique in the history of Russian imperial cartography; there are no other known examples of pre-twentieth century maps that attribute the involvement of a woman in this way. Nevertheless, the participation of different members of the Bielenstein family in the production of the *Atlas* has been overlooked by scholars, who attribute sole authorship to August.[52]

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[49] The process of data collection through questionnaires and correspondence is described in: Bielenstein, *Ein Glucklich Leben*, 293. The questionnaire and correspondence on Latvian dialects do not appear to have survived. Nevertheless, we can get an idea of Bielenstein's research methods by examining the questionnaire Bielenstein prepared to collect information about archaeological sites and the letters he received in response. See: LVVA f.3946, ap.1, l.7.

[50] Alice Cooper, "Homes and Households", in *The Cambridge History of Science, Volume 3: Early Modern Science*, eds. Katharine Park and Lorraine Daston (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 224–23; Alice Cooper, "Afterword: Science and the Domestic Sphere in the Longue Durée," *Domesticity in the Making of Modern Science*, eds. Donald L Opitz, Staffan Bergwik, and Brigitte Van Tiggelen (Basingstoke; New York; Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 281–287.

[51] Inara Korsaka, "Martha Bielenstein: Ein bedeutendes Mitglied der Familie Bielenstein," *Jahrbuch des baltischen Deutschtums* (2005), 79–84.

[52] Sarma Kļaviņa, "Die Werke von August Bielenstein - eine bedeutende Quelle der Indoeuropäistik des 19. Jahrhunderts," *Res Balticae* 8 (2002), 151–168; Trumpa, "Karte des lettischen Sprachgebiets".

Figure 36. The Doblen parsonage in Kurliand province

The Bielenstein family lived in the parsonage between 1867-1905.

Source: M. Sahm, *Heimatkunde von Kurland* (Breslau/Wrocław: Ferdinand Hirt, 1917), 16.

In the foreword to his monograph published alongside the *Atlas,* Bielenstein acknowledged the important role played by his daughter and son in drawing the maps:

> I must not pass over with silence the faithful care of my daughter Martha who, according to my instructions, worked on the maps of the accompanying atlas, with the exception of Map VI (Sheet VII), which was mainly worked on by my eldest son, Pastor E. B. in Sahten [Latvian: Sāti], and thereby contributed in an essential way to the scientific usefulness of my work.[53]

August's description of the map-making process reinforced a strong sense of authorial hierarchy and patriarchy, with August as the author and his daughter and son presented as assistants who drew the maps 'according to my instructions' and 'under my guidance'.[54] While August mentioned his son's professional occupation as a pastor, he framed Martha as a 'faithful' and dutiful daughter helping her father with his scientific work. The 'care' with which August described Martha's devotion to the task resonated with contemporary ideas about women's delicate hands and aptitude for doing detailed and repetitive work, such as needlework. At the same time, August regarded the maps as more than just aesthetically pleasing illustrations or accompaniments to his monograph, and rather as graphical methods

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[53] Bielenstein, *Die Grenzen des lettischen Volksstammes*, vi.

[54] Bielenstein, *Ein glückliches Leben*, 325.

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for visualising and analysing bigger patterns in linguistic data. He underscored that the *Atlas* was an 'essential' component of the 'the scientific usefulness of my work'.

Martha contributed key technical skills to the process of making the *Atlas*. She was adept at drawing, like her brother Siegfried, who was a famous artist in interwar Latvia. By working with her father, she was able to apply skills traditionally taught to girls as part of their education to cartographical and scientific drawing.[55] Only one manuscript of the *Atlas* survives, the map of language areas of different ethnic groups living in the region in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries prepared by Martha in 1886 (Figure 37). Traces of a pencil grid on the manuscript reveal how Martha drew the map in square sections to maintain accurate scale and proportions, thereby demonstrating her technical knowledge of cartographical draughting methods. Comparing Martha's manuscript with the published version of the map from 1892 (Figure 38) reveals how the engravers at A. Il'in's Cartographical Establishment, the firm that published the *Atlas,* almost exactly reproduced her original design, from the colours and hatching used to denote the different ethnic groups to the style and positioning of the text. Although some slight aesthetic modifications were made to her design to tidy up the published map, such as in cases where Martha had run out of space and a place name ran onto two lines or was very cramped, the close resemblance between the manuscript and published version of the map indicates the important influence of Martha's draughtsmanship on the final visual appearance of the maps in the *Atlas*. Many scholars have noted how technical scientific drawing, especially in the field of botany, was often done by women as it allowed them to apply skills they were traditionally taught as part of their education to scientific labour.[56] For Martha – a pastor's daughter from a small provincial town – the home provided her with informal ways to be involved in map-making at a time when opportunities for women to pursue scientific knowledge in formal educational settings were limited. Martha's involvement extended beyond merely assisting her father and she actively contributed to the process of making the atlas in the capacity of a research associate.[57]

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[55] Martha also produced over 1,000 detailed drawings of wooden buildings and ethnographic objects for her father's final publication, *Die Holzbauten und Holzgeräte der Letten* (1907).

[56] For example, Nils Robert Güttler notes how Lydia Drude, the wife of the botanist Oscar Drude, produced botanical drawings and drew and coloured maps for her husband's publications. Güttler, "Scaling the Period Eye," 14.

[57] Donald L. Opitz, Staffan Bergwick, and Brigitte van Tiggelen, eds. *Domesticity in the Making of Modern Science* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 6. The linguist Izmail Ivanovich Serznevskii (see Chapter 2) trained his daughter Olga Izmailova Sreznevskaia (1845-1930) to be his scientific secretary and she extensively contributed to her father's research and publications. See: Olga Valkova, "The Conquest of Science: Women and Science in Russia, 1860-1940," *Osiris* 23 (2008), 136–65, 142-3.
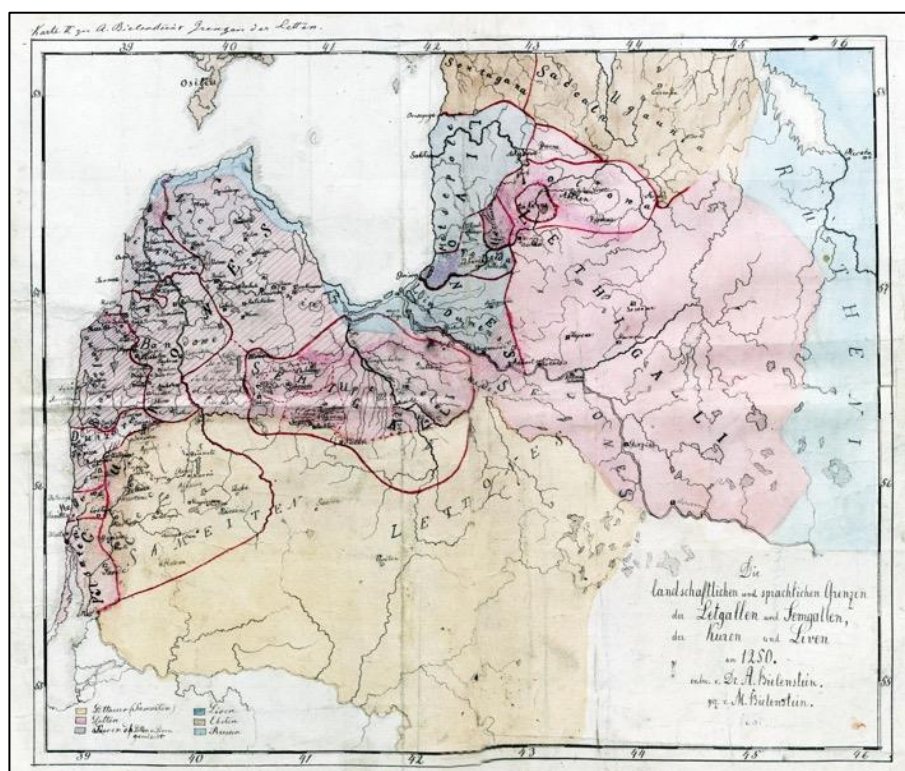
Figure 37. Manuscript map drawn by Martha Bielenstein (1886)

Source: LVVA f.3946, ap.1, l.2., l.1.

Figure 38. Published version of the map of *The Landscape and Language Borders of the Letgallians and Semgalliens, the Cours and Livs in 1250* (1892)

Source: August Bielenstein, *Atlas der ethnologischen Geographie des heutigen und des praehistorischen Lettenlandes. Beilage zu den Grenzen des lettischen Volkstammes und der lettischen Sprache in der Gegenwart und im 13. Jahrhundert* (St. Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Science; Eggers & Co und J. Glasunof [St. Petersburg]; N. Kymmel [Riga]; Voss' Sortiment G. Haessel [Leipzig], 1892).

The *Atlas* manuscript was completed in the late 1880s, but Bielenstein struggled to find a publisher in the Baltic provinces or Germany willing to take on the project as it was unlikely to be commercially profitable. August conceded that, unlike popular novels, the *Atlas* was not the sort of publication that would be widely bought as a Christmas gift.[58] Instead, in April 1890 Bielenstein decided to send the atlas to his contact at the Imperial Academy of Science, historian Ernst-Eduard Kunick / Arist Aristovich Kunik (1814-1899). Bielenstein hoped that Kunick would vouch for the academic value of the work and help secure financial support for publication. In his memoire, August recounts the thrilling tale of how his precious manuscript travelled from Kurland to St. Petersburg:

> In the middle of April 1890, I gave my manuscript to the post office and insured it for 1000 roubles, because I did not even possess a rough draft of the manuscript. The postmaster was startled; he had never had such a precious package pass through his hands. On the platform of our station that day it was said to have been a humorous sight, as the postman of the post waggon stood with his drawn weapon in one hand and my parcel in the other.[59]

August's investment paid off and the *Atlas* was published in 500 copies with the support of the Academy of Science. As a work of science, the Academy permitted the *Atlas* and monograph to be published in German rather than the official language of Russian.

The *Atlas* developed many of the ideas present in the Bielenstein-Döring maps from a decade earlier, including the strong historical emphasis and narrative about the development of the Latvian people from the twelfth century to the present. However, comparing the language area maps from 1881 and 1892 highlights some important differences (compare Figure 34 & Figure 39). Firstly, whereas the 1881 map depicted the Latvian language area divided into its constituent dialects, the 1892 map depicted the Latvian language area as a homogenous pink territory. The map concentrated on depicting the space inhabited by Latvian-speakers and defining the borders in relation to other languages, rather than reflecting on its internal composition. Secondly, whereas the 1882 map had depicted the distribution of different language- and dialect-speakers, the 1892 map implied that there was a congruence between language areas and ethnographic groups. The coloured areas in the legend were labelled as nouns (*Letten, Littauer, Liven, Ehsten,* and *Weissrussen*) rather than as adjectives denoting languages.

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[58] Bielenstein, *Ein glückliches Leben*, 325

[59] *Ibid*. It is not known how a manuscript of Map II came to be preserved in the Latvian State Historical Archive or the fate of the rest of the atlas manuscript.

Figure 39. *Map of the Latvian Language Area* by August and Martha Bielenstein (1892)

Source: August Bielenstein and Martha Bielenstein, "Das Lettische Sprachgebiet," in *Atlas der ethnologischen Geographie des heutigen und des praehistorischen Lettenlandes. Beilage zu den Grenzen des lettischen Volkstammes und der lettischen Sprache in der Gegenwart und im 13. Jahrhundert* (St. Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Science; Eggers & Co und J. Glasunof [St. Petersburg]; N. Kymmel [Riga]; Voss' Sortiment G. Haessel [Leipzig], 1892).

The *Atlas* dealt with the internal subdivision of Latvian language area into dialects separately on Map VI, 'Isogloss-Map of Latvian Dialects in the Present-Day' (Figure 40). Bielenstein coined the term isogloss to refer to the technique of using lines to mark the geographical boundaries of certain linguistic features, such as grammatical case endings and vowel and consonant changes. The technique continues to be used on linguistic maps today. Bielenstein based this technique on the isotherms on maps of climatic conditions. However, he also used lines in a slightly different way: whereas isotherms denote gradations of a continuum on weather maps, isoglosses describe the limit of a certain linguistic feature. Elucidating his analogy between botanical isotherms and linguistic isoglosses, Bielenstein explained how:

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The cultural work of man or special favourable natural conditions make it, that plants, especially crops, often occur, are grown and thrive relatively well far beyond their natural limit. Likewise, our isoglosses give only the borders of the shape of a sound (*Lautegestalt*), a form, of one or other of the prevailing dialectic expression. In particular, nuances and shades of vowel sounds […] make it impossible to fix with geographically accuracy. [60]

The data Bielenstein accumulated was based on heterogenous material gathered from correspondence with local pastors, monographs, and oral reports of travellers, rather than pacing the border along these lines. By drawing attention to the 'cultural work of man', what we would today call sociolinguistics, Bielenstein emphasised that these lines were approximations that created the illusion of a seemingly continuous and standardised line of observations. The accumulation of lines illuminated bigger patterns and explained complex ideas to a non-specialised audience.
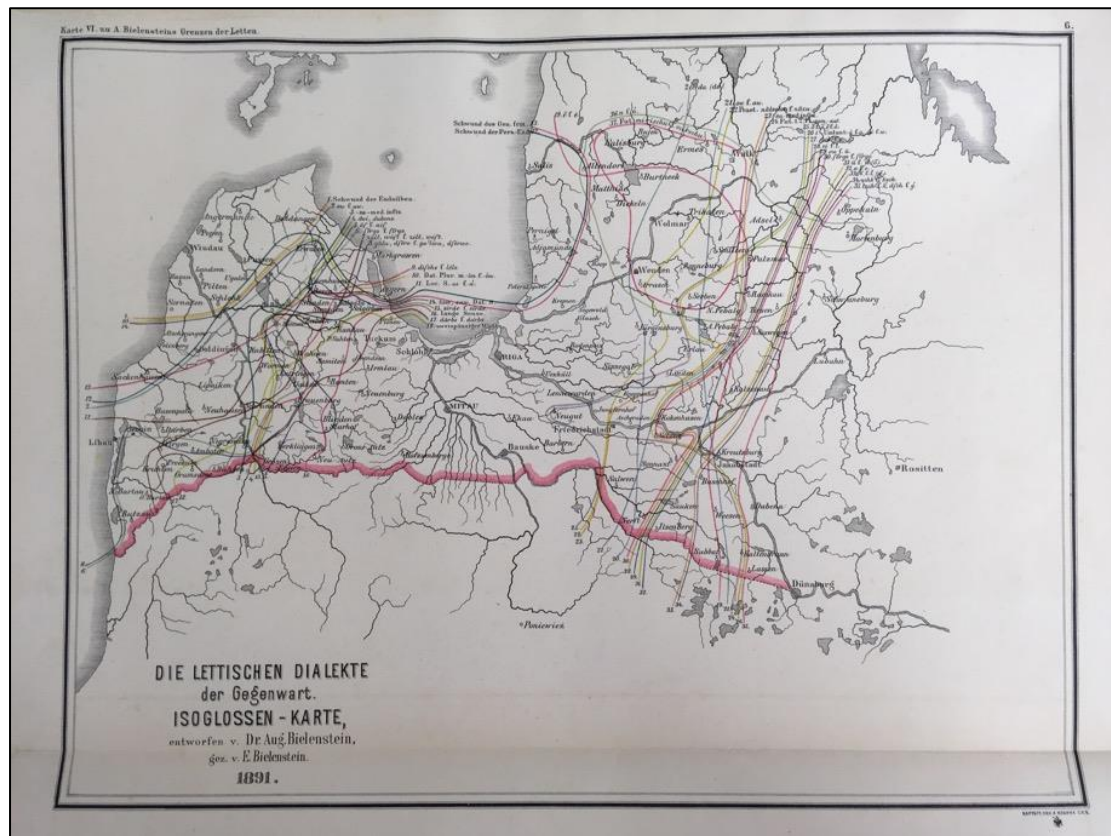
Figure 40. *Latvian Dialects in the Present: Isogloss Map,* by August and Emil Bielenstein (1892)

Source: August Bielenstein and Emil Bielenstein, "Die Lettischen Dialekte der Gegenwart. Isoglossen-Karte," *Atlas der ethnologischen Geographie des heutigen und des praehistorischen Lettenlandes. Beilage zu den Grenzen des lettischen Volkstammes und der lettischen Sprache in der Gegenwart und im 13. Jahrhundert* (St. Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Science; Eggers & Co und J. Glasunof [St. Petersburg]; N. Kymmel [Riga]; Voss' Sortiment G. Haessel [Leipzig], 1892).

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[60] Bielenstein, *Die Grenzen des lettischen Volksstammes*, 391-2.

Although Bielenstein prioritised language for defining the internal composition and the borders of the Latvian ethnic territory, this did not mean that he viewed language as supplanting all other ways of grouping the population. Notably, Map Ia consisted of a more detailed ethno-confessional map of the area around Posiń (Pasiene) and Sybelin in western Vitebsk province, on the former eastern border of Polish Livonia (Figure 41). The map was designed and drafted by Felix (Feliks) von Ciechanowiecki, a local nobleman who Bielenstein had met during his travels through the region in 1882. The map contained a combination of symbols indicating the location of religious buildings (Catholic and Russian Orthodox parish churches, Catholic chapels of ease [*Filialkirche*], and Catholic chapels) and shaded areas showing the ethnolinguistic-cum-confessional composition of the territory (Roman Catholic White Russians, Greek Orthodox White Russians, mixed Latvians and White Russians, Latvians, and settled Latvians from Kurland). In the case of the 'eastern border' (*Ostgrenze*) of the Latvian language area, an understanding of both religious and linguistic groupings was paramount for understanding the ethnographic composition of the region. Rather than replacing earlier forms of dividing and classifying the population, the map suggested that in the case of certain multi-lingual and multi-confessional regions, language still needed to be considered in conjunction with other variables, notably religion.
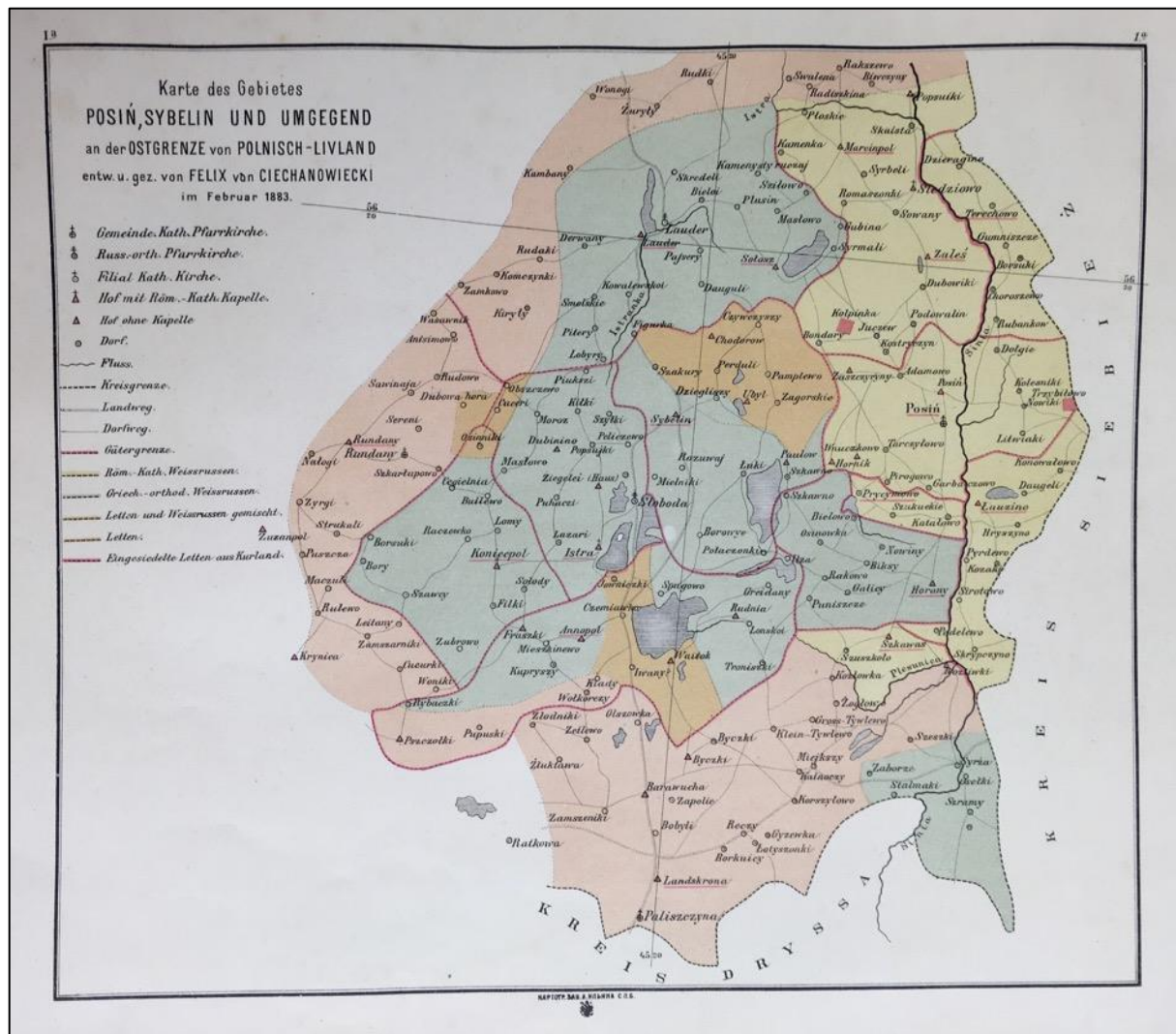
Figure 41. Von Ciechanowiecki's map of the eastern border of Polish Livonia by (1892)

Source: Felix von Ciechanowiecki, "Karte des Gebietes Posiń, Sybelin und Umgegend an der Ostgrenze von Polnisch-Livland," in *Atlas der ethnologischen Geographie des heutigen und des praehistorischen Lettenlandes. Beilage zu den Grenzen des lettischen Volkstammes und der lettischen Sprache in der Gegenwart und im 13. Jahrhundert*, ed. August Bielenstein (St. Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Science; Eggers & Co und J. Glasunof [St. Petersburg]; N. Kymmel [Riga]; Voss' Sortiment G. Haessel [Leipzig], 1892).

Bielenstein is relatively well known for his theoretical contribution to linguistic mapping and for coining of the term 'isogloss'. However, thus far very few studies have historicised Bielenstein's role as a map-maker working within the Russian Empire. Although Bielenstein's most important publications were all published by the Academy of Science in St. Petersburg, the fact that he lived in Kurland province and published in German meant that his work in the context of the Russian Empire was regarded as pertaining to the local. Bielenstein described his *Atlas* as a 'testimony to my warm love for the home country (*Heimatlande*)'. However, the fact that he also conceived of his work in a much broader theoretical context, 'as

a small building block to the comprehensive science of ethnological geography and history', has been overlooked.[61]

Focusing on the process of making the *Atlas* also forces us to rethink hierarchies and centres of knowledge production in the Russian Empire. Bielenstein presented himself as 'only a dilettante' (*nur ein Dilettant*) who dabbled in various areas of research alongside his day job as a pastor.[62] From his vantage point in the parsonage on the outskirts of the small town of Doblen, August described himself as working 'in the rural seclusion' far away from important libraries and the 'scientific centre', which he variously identified as the Kurland's provincial capital of Mitau, Riga, or further afield in Königsberg (today's Kaliningrad) and St. Petersburg.[63] However, it was precisely the Bielenstein family members' proximity and immersion in the Latvian-speaking communities that they wrote about and mapped that gave their publications credibility and authority. The scientific activities of the Bielenstein household affirm the continued importance of cottage industry – or perhaps more accurately in the case of the Bielenstein household, "parsonage industry" – map-making in an era that has traditionally been characterised by the gradual professionalisation and institutionalisation of scientific disciplines.

Bielenstein's maps were met with a mixed reception from the Latvian-speaking intellectual community in Kurland and Livland. Bielenstein perceived his research on Latvian language as a civic duty linked to his Lutheran ministry and as an expression of his heartfelt love for his 'native homeland' (*Heimat*). Yet, for many Latvian-speaking intellectuals, Bielenstein represented a key pillar of a conservative German-speaking community in the region. The members of the Riga Latvian Society were outspoken in their criticisms of Bielenstein and began to search for alternative ways of using cartography to visualise the Latvian ethnographic territory.[64] In the following section, I turn to examine these developments through the work of the most prolific Latvian-language cartographer in late imperial Russia, Matīss Siliņš.

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[61] Bielenstein, *Die Grenzen des lettischen Volksstammes*, vii.
[62] *Ibid.*, ix.
[63] *Ibid.*, vi.
[64] Toms Ķikuts, "1896. gada Latviešu etnogrāfiskā izstāde – laikmeta lieciniece / The Latvian Ethnographic Exhibition of 1896 – Witness to an Era," in *Latviešu etnogrāfiskā izstāde 1896 / Latvian Ethnographic Exhibition 1896*, eds. Sanita Stinkule, Toms Ķikuts, and Jānis Ciglis (Riga: Neptuns, 2016), 17-87, 47.

Matīss Siliņš: Popular Enlightenment and Cartographical Print Culture in Late Imperial Riga

Matīss Siliņš (Siliņsch) (1861–1942) played a key role in shaping the idea of 'Latvia' (*Latwija*) as a separate ethno-cultural territory within the Russian Empire. Siliņš was born in Strutele parish in western Kurland province.[65] He trained at the teaching seminary in Irlava and at a pedagogical institute in Halberstadt in Saxony, before working as a teacher in Kurland and Moscow. Upon his return to the Baltic provinces in 1888, he became an active member of the Riga Latvian Society.[66] Between 1902-1921 he was the sole employee of the Riga Latvian Museum, organised by the Riga Latvian Society, acting as the museum's director, curator, and tour guide.[67] In addition, Siliņš conducted numerous ethnographic expeditions to gather artefacts for the museum, for which he gained a reputation as a magpie-like scavenger of Latvian material and oral culture (Figure 42). Alongside his work at the museum, Siliņš regularly contributed to the Latvian-language *Riga Newspaper* (*Rigas Awise* or *Rīgas Avīze*), wrote poetry, produced numerous translations of classical literature into Latvian, and published a Latvian-language popular science calendar almanac, *Echo Calendar* (*Atbalss kalendārs*, 1889-1898). Over the course of his lifetime Siliņš also published 19 large and medium scale maps, and over 50 inset maps.

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[65] Details of Siliņš's biography are taken from: Ādolfs Karnups, "Matīss Siliņš," *Senatne un Māksla*, no.1 (1936), 151-3; Konstantīns Karulis, 'Matīss Siliņš (1861-1942) atmiņās', *Latvijas Zinātņu Akadēmijas Vēstis* 50, no. 6 (1996), 73–74; Štrauhmanis, *Matīss Siliņš: Pirmais Latviešu Kartogrāfs*; Štrauhmanis, "Matīsa Siliņa ietekme,"; Sanita Stinkule, "Skolotājam, literātam un tulkotājam, grāmatizdevējam, kartogrāfam un etnogrāfam Matīsam Siliņam — 150," *Latvijas Zinātņu Akadēmijas Vēstis* 68, nos. 5-6 (2014), 34–52.

[66] Kristine Wohlfart, *Der Rigaer Letten Verein und die lettische Nationalbewegung von 1868 bis 1905* (Marburg: Herder-Institut, 2006).

[67] The maps prepared the the exhibition were: Matīss Siliņš, *Rīga līdz ar apvidu* (Riga: M. Siliņš; A. Štāla litogrāfijā, 1896); Matīss Siliņš, *Latvijas skolu karte* (Riga: M. Siliņš; A. Štāla litogrāfijā, 1896).

Figure 42. Caricature of Matīss Siliņš

Siliņš was perceived by his contemporaries as a prolific collector of Latvian ethnographic artefacts in his role as director of the Latvian Ethnographic Museum in Riga.

Source: *Lietuvēns*, no. 9, February 27, 1915.

Before examining Siliņš's cartographical activities in detail, it is important to first situate him within the wider context of developments in vernacular pedagogical cartography in the Baltic provinces. Scholars have traced the beginnings of Estonian and Latvian vernacular cartography to the marking of place names in these languages on seventeenth-century maps of Sweden.[68] At the end of the eighteenth century, Ludwig August von Mellin (1754-1835) published a 14-page atlas of Livland province between 1781-1810, which marked place names in Estonian and Latvian vernaculars.[69] However, it was only from the mid-nineteenth century that maps fully in Estonian and Latvian began to be published, usually as components of

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[68] Mardiste et al., "The Development of Estonian National Cartography", 108.
[69] Mellin, *Atlas von Liefland*. On Mellin as an Estophile, see: Indrek Jürjo, "Ludwig August Krahv Mellin kui talurahva sõber ja estofiil," *Tuna* 4 (2003), 50–66.

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geography textbooks or as school atlases. The first map published fully in Estonian, *Europe and Palestine* (*Eüropa ja Palästina*), appeared as an appendix to a geography textbook in 1854.[70] The subject of the map, which positioned Europe in relation to Palestine and the Holy Land, highlights the close relationship between Lutheran religious teaching and these early vernacular geographical maps. Several Estonian-language geographical school atlases were published in the following years, starting with *Geographic Map Book* (*Maa kaardi-ramat*) in 1859.[71] The earliest Latvian-language maps developed closely alongside their Estonian counterparts.[72] In 1859, the first Latvian-language geography textbook, *Our Self-Description of the Land,* was published by Krišjānis Barons, then a student at Dorpat University.[73] The map included within the textbook was the first map to explicitly depict a territory defined as the 'Latvian lands' (*Latweeschu semmes*), comprising the administrative districts of Kurliand and southern Lifliand provinces inhabited by 'Latvians' (*Latweeschi*). Notably, western Vitebsk province was not included within Baron's conceptualisation of the 'Latvian lands'.[74] The first full Latvian-language geographical atlas published in Mitau 1861 by Ernests Dinsbergs (1816-1902) was almost identical to the Estonian-language atlas published two years before – *Maa kaardi-ramat* (1859).[75]

The development of maps and atlases for pedagogical purposes was part of a wider trend in the Russian Empire to use geography and maps for enlightened public education.[76] A. Il'in's Cartographical Establishment printed hundreds of maps and atlases for school textbooks. Unlike Lithuanian-language geography textbooks and maps to the south, which circulated

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[70] *Keograhwi, ehk õppetus Ma-ilma surussest ja Ma-ilma madest* (1854). The map was published in Dorpat and was paid for by the nobleman Karl Eduard Liphart (1808-1891), an avid art collector and founding president of the Estonian Naturalists' Society (*Eesti Looduseuurijate Selts*, est. 1853). Mardiste et al., "The Development of Estonian National Cartography", 109.

[71] Other notable examples of Estonian-language geographical atlases for schools include: Carl Robert Jakobson, *Kooli atlas ehk maa kaardi-raamat* (1876) and Woldemar Friedrich Kentmann, *Geograahwia Kaardid. Kooliaste Geograahwia-raamatu lilkas* (Reval: Estonian Synod, 1884).

[72] On the development of early Latvian-language geography textbooks, see Art Apīnis, "Latviešu valodā sarakstīto ģeogrāfijas mācības grāmatu un ģeogrāfijas karšu attīstība līdz ar viņu nozīmi no 1854.-1918. gadam," *Izglītības Ministrijas Mēnešraksts,* no. 7 (July 1, 1935), 13-25.

[73] Krišjānis Barons, *Mūsu tēvzemes aprakstīšana un daži pielikumi īsumā saņemti: grāmatiņa priekš skolām un mājām* (Tērbata: G. A. Reyhers; Jelgava: C. Schulz, 1859); M. Dzlyuma, "Vklad absolventov Tartuskogo Universiteta v razvitie latyshkoi geografii v xix veke (K. Valdemar, K. Baron, Iu. Alunan', in *Tartuskii Gosudarstvennyi Universitet: Istoriia razvitiia, podgotovka kadrov, nauchnye issledovaniia. Tochnye i estestvennye nauki.*, vol. 2.1 (Tartu: Tartu gosudarstvennyi universitet, 1982), 86–90.

[74] *Lantkharte po Latweeschu semmes* (Tehrbatā: G. A. Reyhers; Mitau: C. Schulz, 1859).

[75] The maps were printed in Dorpat by the same firm and using the same stones. On Latvian-language geographical and popular science publishing in the mid-nineteenth century, see: Guna Krūmiņa, "Zinātniskas un populārzinātniskās grāmatas," in *Grāmata Latviešu Sabiedrībā 1856-1870*, ed. Aleksejs Apīnis (Rīga: Avots, 1987), 9–25; Tenu Karma and Vello Pātsi, 'Kā tapis pirmais ģeogrāfiskais atlants latviešu valoda', in *Grāmata Latviešu Sabiedrībā 1856-1870*, ed. Aleksejs Apīnis (Rīga: Avots, 1987), 27–36.

[76] N. N. Baranskii, *Istoricheskii obzor uchebnikov geografii (1876-1934)* (Moscow: Geografgiz, 1954).

illegally due to the ban on printing in Latin letters between 1864-1904, Estonian- and Latvian-language maps were freely published within the Empire.[77] Commercial lithographic printing firms in Reval, Dorpat, Riga, and Mitau began to specialise in publishing maps.[78] Until the 1860s map production in the Baltic provinces was subject to a centralised system of censorship by the Military Topographical Corps in St. Petersburg.[79] Thereafter, cartographical materials were dealt with by the local provincial Censorship Committees.

The population of the Baltic provinces was highly literate.[80] Protestant belief held that peasants needed a minimal level of literacy in order to achieve salvation and the Lutheran elementary school system provided education in Estonian and Latvian. The maps and textbooks produced for these schools were priced cheaply so as to achieve maximum dissemination. The publisher of the first Estonian-language geographical atlas advertised that the price of the map had been set 'as cheap as possible' (1 silver rouble and 20 kopeks) and he distributed free copies to schools.[81] The initially selling price, however, was still prohibitive and several months later the published halved the price to 60 kopeks.[82] Cartographical literacy was incorporated into the school curriculum. In 1869 Gustav Blumberg (1834-1892), director of the German-language Dorpat gymnasium, published a schoolbook for teaching *Heimatkunde*. He included three maps conveying different spatial frames of reference: a map of the three Baltic provinces (*Ostseeprovinzen*), a map of the surroundings (*Umgegend*) of Dorpat, and a city plan of Dorpat divided into three districts (*Stadttheil*). The maps situated the students' everyday lived experiences of Dorpat and its immediate surroundings within the larger region of the Baltic provinces. Moreover, Blumberg instructed teachers to encourage the students to make their own maps as a pedagogical exercise to develop pupils' geographical outlook on the world. Blumberg noted how 'especially through their drawing and the related discussions, the youth learns a lot.'[83] The spread of maps in school textbooks and the introduction of mapping as an educational method in schools in the Baltic provinces in the second half of the nineteenth

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[77] Petronis, *Constructing Lithuania*, 229.

[78] *Ausgewählte Werke aus dem Verlage von Franz Kluge in Reval* (Reval: Aug. Mickwis, 1918), 3.

[79] For example, see the report from 24 March 1859 by the Military Topographical Corps granting permission for the publication of *Maa kaardi-ramat,* the first Estonian-language geographical map. EAA.321.1.228.75.

[80] According to the 1897 All-Russian census, the percentage of the total population aged ten or older who could read was 95 per cent in Estland, 92 per cent in Lifliand, and 85 per cent in Kurliand. By contrast, average literacy for the Empire as a whole was 28 per cent. Raun, "Literacy in the Russian Empire", 66.

[81] *Pernausches Wochenblatt*, no. 21, May 23, 1859, 9

[82] *Perno Postimees ehk Näddalileht*, no. 46, November 17, 1865, 374.

[83] Gustav Blumberg, *Heimathskunde: Stofflich begrenzt und methodisch bearbeitet von G. Blumberg. Mit einem Plan und zwei Charten* (Dorpat: W. Glasers Verlag, 1869), 21.

century set the stage for widespread cartographical literacy among the general population (I return to this point in Chapter 7).

Siliņš's maps exemplified these trends in the late nineteenth century towards the vernacularisation of cartography and the increasing use of maps as pedagogical tools in elementary schooling. He wanted to create cartographical products that would become an accessible form of geographic information for the wider Latvian reading public. Siliņš started making maps following his move from Moscow to Riga in 1888, when he began publishing a Latvian-language popular science calendar almanac, *Echo Calendar* (*Atbalss kalendārs*, 1889-1898). Calendars were one of the most popular literary genres aimed at lower-class readers and could be found in households throughout the Russian Empire.[84] Like many other nineteenth-century calendars, *Atbalss kalendārs* not only included calendar tables and lists of important dates, but also fiction and popular science articles about a wide range of different practical topics, such as how to make butter, trim hedges, grow tobacco, and cook apples and pears for winter.[85] From 1893, Siliņš incorporated a series of articles entitled 'Collection of patriotic descriptions' (*Tēvijas aprakstu krājums*), which covered Latvian history, natural history, ethnography, and geography.

Unusually for the time, Siliņš published his calendar with supplementary maps. By doing so, Siliņš was seeking to fill an important gap in the literary marketplace for vernacular cartographical materials. Developments in printing technology, such as chromolithography, had led to a booming market for cheap paper products in late imperial Russia.[86] While Latvian-language newspapers and book publishing proliferated in the 1880s, Siliņš felt that cartographical publishing still lagged behind. As Siliņš noted, 'So far, we had a complete German-language map about our homeland, or Russian […] but it is, of course, not useful for Latvians: the names of places are in a foreign language, but they sound very different in the

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[84] For a discussion of Estonian calendars, see: Endel Annus, *Eesti kalendrikirjandus 1720–1900* (Tallinn: Eesti Akadeemiline Raamatukogu, 2000); Mait Talts, "The Role of Popular Science Literature in Shaping Estonians' World Outlook," *Istoriko-Biologicheskie Issledovaniia* 5, no. 2 (2013), 59-83, 64-65. On popular print culture in imperial Russia, see: Jeffrey Brooks, *When Russian Learned to Read: Literacy and Popular Literature 1861-1917* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 2003).

[85] Stinkule, "Skolotājam, literātam un tulkotājam", 39. *Atbalss kalendārs*' readership primarily consisted of Latvian-speakers in Lifliand and Kurliand. Between 1865-1904 Vitebsk province was subject to the ban on printing in Latin script imposed in the western borderlands of the Russian Empire for writing in Lithuanian, as well as Latvian (Latgalian). Moreover, Siliņš's calendars and maps were published in the German-based orthography and Gothic script used to write Latvian in Lifliand and Kurliand. Conversely, Latvian-speakers (or rather Latgalian) in western Vitebsk wrote their language using a Polish orthographic system and in the Antiqua Latin script.

[86] On the growing market for cheap paper products in late imperial Russia, see: Alison Rowley, *Open Letters: Russian Popular Culture and the Picture Postcard 1880-1922* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2013).

Latvian language'.[87] Siliņš wanted to encourage Latvian-speakers to explore their homeland in all its human and physical dimensions. By incorporating information about hydrology, geography, geology, and ethnography, he conceived of the calendar and maps as popular science literature and as instruments of public enlightenment. Siliņš regarded the high quality of his maps as a symbolic resource for nationalistic discourse, noting that 'the publisher of the map has spared neither time, nor effort, nor success to achieve something worthwhile'.[88]

Like many of those involved in the book trade in late imperial Russia, Siliņš was both the publisher and primary author of the calendar. Reviewers frequently characterised Siliņš as 'a local cartographer' (*ein einheimischer Kartograph*) and praised the 'self-made' (*selbstgefertigt*) nature of the maps.[89] Siliņš contracted the printing of the calendar and maps to the A. Stahl Printing House, one of several printing houses located on Domplatz (today's *Doma laukums*) in the Riga old town. Although A. Stahl was one of the largest printing houses in Riga at the time, it was still a fairly small operation with 33 employees in 1888.[90]

While the maps discussed in earlier chapters, as well as the Bielenstein family's 1892 *Atlas*, were all supported, subsidised, or even fully paid for by the IRGO, Imperial Academy of Science, Ministry of Internal Affairs, or local learned societies, Siliņš was a private entrepreneur and so his maps had to be commercially viable.[91] He had a strong business acumen and sought to combine excellent and innovative content with low prices. Whereas the Bielenstein *Atlas* sold for 2 roubles in 1892, Siliņš's 1890 issue of *Atbalss kalendārs,* including the supplementary *Map of Latvia,* was less than half the price at 75 kopeks. The map alone cost just 30 kopeks. Nevertheless, maps were still expensive purchases for working-class Latvian-speakers. For comparison, Dinsbergs' abovementioned 1861 Latvian-language atlas sold for 1 rouble and 20 kopeks, which was equivalent at the time to either one- or two-week's wages for a servant, two pairs of boots, or three pairs of trousers.[92] Yet, as the Latvian-language newspaper *Voice* (*Balss*) proclaimed in 1895, Siliņš's calendar and maps were excellent value for money: 'It is really a small price! If you notice the price of the publisher's tireless work and diligence, with which he tries to introduce Latvians to Latvia, then we can wish for the calendar a lot of buyers and a lot of admirers'.[93]

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[87] Matīss Siliņš, "Pie kartes," *Altbass kalendārs,* 1890, 89-90.
[88] *Ibid.*
[89] *Libauische Zeitung*, no. 288, December 18, 1893.
[90] Buchholtz, *Geschichte der Buchdruckerkunst in Riga,* 249
[91] Siliņš's 1890 map of *Latwija* was dedicated to Baron Ludwig von Reke (Recke), for whom Siliņš had worked as a family tutor in the early 1880s.
[92] Karma and Pātsi, 'Kā tapis pirmais ģeogrāfiskais atlants latviešu valoda', 35.
[93] *Balss*, no.6, February 8, 1895, 4.

As a consumer product that was not vital for everyday life, Siliņš heavily relied on advertising. In the 1890s, all the major Latvian-language newspapers in Lifliand and Kurliand featured advertisements for *Atbalss kalendārs*. The advertisements promoted the map supplements as one of the calendars' unique selling-points, which made Siliņš's product superior to his competitors. In 1889, the Latvian-language daily *Baltic Reporter* (*Baltijas Wehstnesis)* announced that the calendar came 'with a full map of Latvia', including the Latvian-speaking part of Vitebsk province.[94] Siliņš attempted to seduce potential buyers by providing detailed descriptions of the maps, seeking to cultivate a cartographic sensibility among Latvian-speaking newspaper readers by informing them of the national importance of maps. The maps condensed vast amounts of knowledge into a synoptic view and instilled a sense of national consciousness by presenting geography and history in an accessible visual format where the details could be situated and remembered. The advertisements educated customers about how to judge the quality of a map by emphasising factors such as the newness of the data and the credentials of the map-makers. Siliņš's maps were regularly reviewed in the periodical press. In contrast to the reviews that appeared in scientific periodicals of ethnographic maps discussed in earlier chapters, which usually concentrated their comments on questions of data and methodology, Siliņš's customers were more concerned with the maps' aesthetic qualities. His customers had no way to determine the scientific accuracy of the maps themselves but instead valued maps that were legible, well-engraved, beautifully coloured, and reasonably priced. An anonymous review in the German-language *Libauische Zeitung* praised the beauty of the Siliņš's *Map of Latvia*, but also pointed out that the inclusion of so much information about political, human, and physical geography compromised the map's 'readability'.[95]

Matīss Siliņš and the Construction of *Latwija*

The first issue of the calendar published in 1889 contained a roadmap of Kurliand province, which was followed in 1890 by a *Map of Latvia* (*Latwijas karte*). According to Siliņš, 'Latvia' comprised Kurliand, Lifliand, and western Vitebsk provinces. In doing so, Siliņš's map was the first cartographical depiction to unite the three separate imperial provinces under the geographical umbrella of 'Latvia'. Over the next decade, Siliņš published further maps of

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[94] *Baltijas Wehstnesis*, no. 261, November 17, 1889, 4.
[95] *Libauische Zeitung*, no. 209, September 14, 1891.

Latvian settlements, cities, and regions, as well as an overview map of the coastal lands of the Baltic Sea. The topics and appearance of Siliņš's maps reflect his broad interests and passion for collecting. The maps often cover multiple topics, contain numerous inset maps, and are crammed with tiny details that can be hard to decipher.[96] Siliņš incorporated the latest findings from scientific publications into his maps, such as the research by Dorpat University geologist Constantin von Grewingk (1819-1887), revealing how the boundaries between academia and popular science were becoming increasingly blurred.[97] Siliņš did not "dumb down" the scientific content for a popular audience, but rather presented the knowledge from academic-orientated publications in a more accessible visual form and in Latvian language. At the same time, Siliņš's maps assumed that the readers, teachers, and pupils viewing the map had a basic knowledge of physical geography. As Vytautas Petronis argues in the case of similar Lithuanian-language geographical maps, we can question the extent to which the intended audience would have fully comprehended their content.[98]

Siliņš only produced one map that was explicitly entitled an 'ethnographic map', which was published much later during the interwar period.[99] However, he incorporated ethnographic elements into almost all his maps. For example, he defined the borders of 'Latvia' based on the Latvian language border. On his 1890 *Map of Latvia*, Siliņš labelled the northern border of the Latvian territory as the 'extreme border of the Latvian language' (*latweeschu walodas galezas robezschas*) (Figure 43).[100] In 1891, Siliņš published his *General (Political and Physical) and Geological Map of Latvia*, which marked the 'borders of Latvia' (*Latwijas robezas*) in a thick red line that also snaked through Vitebsk province.[101] Siliņš's practice of marking the language border on maps of the region's physical geography was copied by other map-makers. A popular German-language map of the Baltic provinces published by the N. Kymmel printing house in

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[96] Štrauhmanis, "Matīsa Siliņa ietekme", 17.
[97] Angelīna Zabele, 'Latvijas ģeoloģiskas kartēšanas aizsākumi', *Zinātņu Vēsture un Muzejniecība* 780 (2012), 278-307.
[98] On the assumption of prior knowledge in Lithuanian geographical textbooks, see: Petronis, *Constructing Lithuania,* 233.
[99] Matīss Siliņš*, Latvija. Etnogrāfiski pēc tautisko uzvalku un rotaslietu līdz šim ievāktiem materiāliem* (Riga: Aleksandra Štāla litogrāfija, 1930). Siliņš's colleague Ādolfs Karnups, an ethnographer, archaeologist and head of the Department of Ethnography at the National Museum of History, described the work as 'a large map showing the distribution of the Latvian regions and the reciprocal cultural connection for the first time.' Karnups, "Matīss Siliņš", 151-3.
[100] Matīss Siliņš, *Latvijas karte (Kurseme lihdz ar Widsemes un Witepskas gub. latweeschu daļu)* (Riga: M. Siliņš; A. V. Grotusa litogrāfija, 1890).
[101] Matīss Siliņš, *Latvijas wispahriga (poiltiska un fiziska) un geoloģijas (Inflantijas jeb poļu Widsemes latweeschu etnografijas) karte* (Riga: M. Siliņš; A. Štāla litogrāfija, 1891).

Riga, and reprinted in nine editions between 1898-1914, replicated Siliņš's practice of marking the language border (*Sprachgrenze*) between Estonian- and Latvian-speakers in Lifliand.[102]

Figure 43. Siliņš's *Map of Latvia* (1890)

Below: Detail depicting the 'Latvian language extreme border' (*latweeschu walodas galezas robezschas*).

Source: Matīss Siliņš, *Latwijas karte (Kurseme lihdz ar Widsemes un Witepskas gub. latweeschu daļu)* (Riga: M. Siliņš; A. V. Grotusa litogrāfija, 1890). Credit: National Library of Latvia.

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[102] *Dr. Henry Lange's Karte von Liv-, Est- und Kurland. Nach den neuesten Quellen bearbeitet von K. v. Lowis of Menar und F. A. Brochkaus' Geographisch-Artistischer Anstalt in Leipzig. 9th edition* (Riga: N. Kymmel, 1914). The map was prepared by Henry Lange (Karl Julius Heinrich Lange) (1821-1893), a cartographer from Stettin (today's Szczecin) who worked as head of the geographical department at Berghaus publishing house, although the map was only published posthumously.

Figure 44. Siliņš's *General (Political and Physical) and Geological Map of Latvia* (1891)

Source: Matīss Siliņš, *Latwijas wispahriga (poiltiska un fiziska) un geoloģijas (Inflantijas jeb poļu Widsemes latweeschu etnografijas) karte* (Riga: M. Siliņš; A. Štāla litogrāfija, 1891). Credit: National Library of Latvia.

Siliņš sometimes included information about the areas inhabited by different ethnolinguistic groups on his maps. The 1890 *Map of Latvia* included an inset map of the 'Lithuanian-Latvian ethnic land' (*Leischu-Latweeschu zilts semes*), which marked the regions inhabited by Estonians, Poles, Gudi, and Belarusians.[103] His 1891 *General Map… of Latvia* incorporated colour-coded lines to indicate the settlement of 'Russian colonisers before the 18th century' (i.e. Old Believers), Poles, and Estonians (Figure 44). The same map also included an inset map of Latvian 'colonies' in central and eastern Vitebsk province (Figure 46). Similarly, his 1901 *Map of Latvia* or *Map of the Latvian Inhabited Lands* included hatched shading to show the distribution of German colonies in Kurliand, and Latvians, Belarusians (*Baltkreewi*), Great Russians (*Leelkreewi*), and Estonian 'colonists' (*kolonisti*) in western Vitebsk. Lithuanians and Poles were later added to the 1911 edition of the map.[104] By singling out the

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[103] *Gudi* is a Lithuanian-language term used in this context to refer to Belarusians or the Eastern Slavic population of the former Grand Duchy of Lithuania. For a full discussion of the complex history of this term, see: Aleh Dziarnovič, "Gudas as a Historical Name of Belarusians in the Lithuanian Language: 'Goths' or 'Barbarians'?," *Belarus and its Neighbors: Historical Perceptions and Political Constructs. International Conference Papers*, eds. Aleś Łahviniec and Taciana Čulickaja (Warsaw: Uczelnia Łazarskiego, 2013), 56—68.

[104] Matīss Siliņš, *Latwijas Karte/Latweeschu semes karte* (Riga: 1911).

areas inhabited by non-Latvians, Siliņš framed these populations as minorities living within a majority Latvian-inhabited territory.

While Siliņš positioned himself against Bielenstein and the Baltic German tradition of Latvian ethnography that he symbolised, Siliņš also borrowed extensively from and reworked previous cartographical publications. Often, the intertextuality of Siliņš's maps was very explicit. He included many inset maps in his cartographical works that reproduced or modified maps published by others. For instance, the 1890 *Map of Latvia* included an inset dialect map of the Latvian language area which was explicitly based on the 1881 map by 'Bielenstein and Döring' (Figure 45 & Figure 34). The same map also featured an inset map of Latvian 'colonies' in Vitebsk province, based on the *Ethnographic Map of Vitebsk Province* (1872) published by Aleksandr Sementovskii and the Vitebsk Statistical Committee (Figure 46 & Figure 18). Siliņš extracted information from Sementovskii's ethnographic map about the areas inhabited by Latvian 'colonies' (*kolonija*), pockets of Latvian-speakers living in predominantly non-Latvian territories, and ignored the other nationalities depicted by Sementovskii. The frame of Sementovskii's map was also cropped so that only central and eastern Vitebsk province was shown, the implication being that western Vitebsk was an integral part of the main 'Latvian' language area and not an area of Latvian 'colonies'. Siliņš's reworking of Sementovskii's map highlights how ethnographic data collected by the Vitebsk Statistical Committee in the late 1860s and early 1870s could be presented in a different cartographical form to create a very different picture of the ethnographic landscape. The way that Siliņš distilled previous maps and presented their findings in new contexts highlights the importance of reading his maps not only in a Latvian national context, but as part of the interconnected information space of the Russian Empire.

Figure 45. Detail of *Map of Latvian Dialects*

Siliņš's inset map based on the map by 'Bielenstein and Döring' (1881) (Figure 34).

Source: Matīss Siliņš, *Latwijas wispahriga (poiltiska un fiziska) un geoloģijas (Inflantijas jeb poļu Widsemes latweeschu etnografijas) karte* (Riga: M. Siliņš; A. Štāla litogrāfija, 1891). Credit: National Library of Latvia.
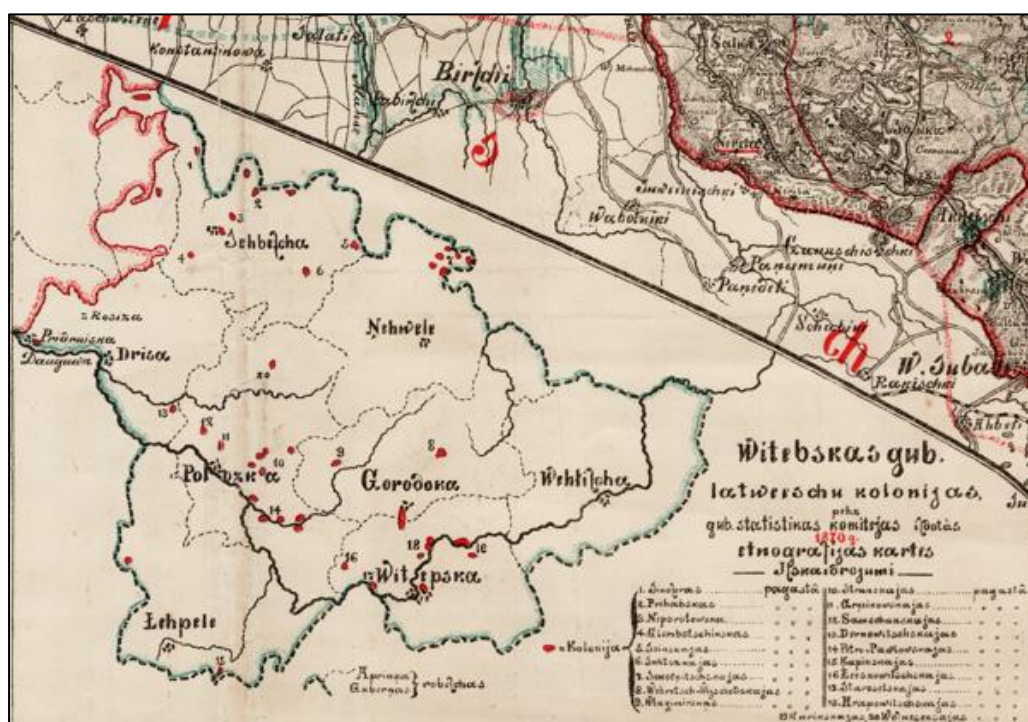
Figure 46. Detail of the map of *Latvian Colonies in Vitebsk Province*

Siliņš's inset map based on Aleksandr Sementovskii's *Ethnographic Map of Vitebsk Province* (1872) (Figure 18). Latvian 'colonies' are marked in red.

Source: Matīss Siliņš, *Latwijas wispahriga (poiltiska un fiziska) un geoloģijas (Inflantijas jeb poļu Widsemes latweeschu etnografijas) karte* (Riga: M. Siliņš; A. Štāla litogrāfija, 1891). Credit: National Library of Latvia.

War, Colonisation, and Emigration: Mapping Latvians in Global Contexts

In the months following the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war in February 1904, Siliņš departed from his usual repertoire of maps of 'Latvia' or plans of cities in Kurliand and Lifliand. Instead he published three maps of East Asia, depicting Manchuria, Korea, and a general wall map of Asia.[105] This third map, the *Map of Asia,* deserves special attention as an important landmark in geographical thinking in the Baltic provinces (Figure 47). Comprising 28 small insert thematic maps, the *Map of Asia* resembled a Latvian-language geographical atlas on one sheet. Although the map's title suggested that it was nominally about Asia, which was positioned at the centre of the map's frame, the inset maps all consisted of 'world maps' (*pasaules karte*) and provided the Latvian readership with a global overview of geographical phenomena. I focus here on the parts of the map dealing with nationalities, but the cartographical work as a whole merits extensive future research. Focusing on just the ethnographic aspects of the map, I argue that the *Map of Asia* tied together two important discourses in spatial thinking about Latvians during this period: imperial wars and global migration

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[105] Matīss Siliņš, *Mandžūrijas - Korejas karalauku speciālkarte* (Riga: Schnakenburg, 1904); Matīss Siliņš, *D-Mandžūrija un Koreja: Tālie Austrumi* (Riga: Schnakenburg, 1904); Matīss Siliņš, *Āzijas karte līdz ar visu Krieviju un latviešu kolonijām: skolām, avīžu lasītājiem* (Riga: Schnakenburg, 1904).
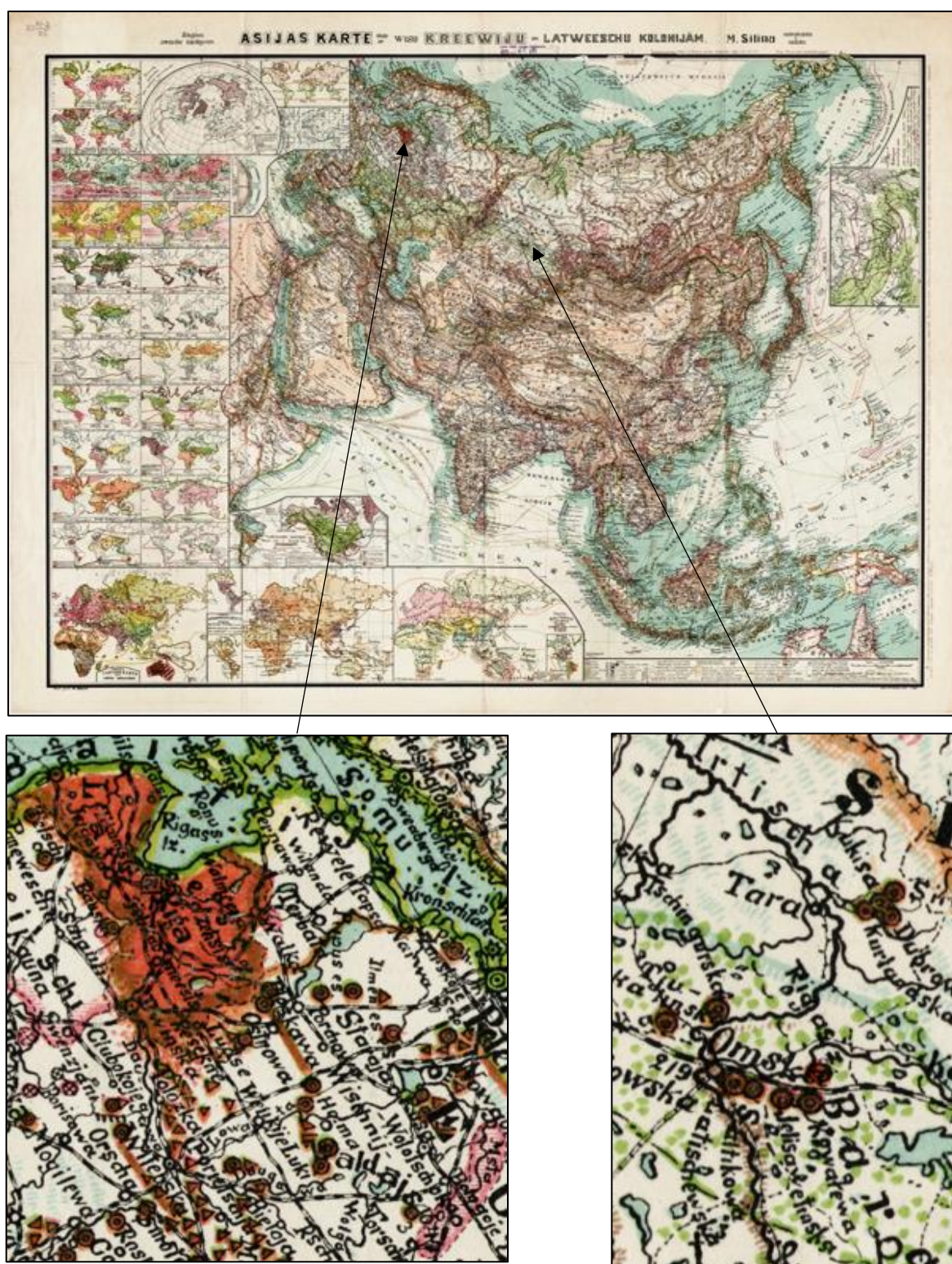
Figure 47. *Siliņš's Map of Asia* (1904)

Below: Detail of Latvians in the Baltic and neighbouring provinces (left); Detail of Latvian 'colonies' around Omsk (right).

Source: Matīss Siliņš, *Āzijas karte līdz ar visu Krieviju un latviešu kolonijām: skolām, avīžu lasītājiem* (Riga: Schnakenburg, 1904). Credit: Latvian National Library.

The timing of the publication of Siliņš's maps of Manchuria, Korea, and Asia in the months following the outbreak of the Russo-Japanese war situates them within a continuum of maps of Russian imperial theatres of war. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, map-makers in the Baltic provinces had produced maps in local vernaculars to inform the local population about the Empire's military activities.[106] Robert Schulz, a teacher from Mitau, had published a Latvian-language map of Crimea in 1855 during the Crimean War (1853-56).[107] At the time of the Russo-Turkish war (1877-78), an Estonian-language map of the Ottoman Empire had been published in Dorpat.[108] Maps that depicted theatres of war were specifically designed to educate and inform the inhabitants of the Baltic provinces about the military activities of the Empire. The 1904-5 Russo-Japanese war inspired a similar wave of maps of East Asia in Latvian and Estonian.[109] Although scholars have not extensively studied the involvement of soldiers from the Baltic provinces in the Russo-Japanese War, several thousand individuals from the Baltic region served in the Russian imperial army in East Asia.[110] Advertisements in local newspapers announced that Siliņš's map would enable school pupils and newspaper readers 'to better follow events that took place in the Far East'.[111] Siliņš's maps of the Empire's eastern borderlands indicate the broadening geographical horizons of the region's map-makers beyond their Baltic homeland and an increasing trend to think about the Baltic provinces in relation to the wider territory of the Russian Empire and the world.

Another major theme in geographical thinking is evident from the map's subtitle: 'Map of Asia *along with all Russian and Latvian colonies'*.[112] The term 'colony' (*kolonija*) in the Latvian context has primarily been discussed in relation to the territories purchased by the Duchy of Courland in the seventeenth century. Under the leadership of Duke Jakob von Kettler, the Duchy of Courland negotiated the rights to two overseas colonies in the Caribbean – the islands of Tobago and St. Andrews (later renamed James island) – and several islets and plots at the mouth of the River Gambia in West Africa. These overseas territories have been framed in contemporary national discourse in Latvia – and to a lesser extent also in Poland – as an

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[106] Mardiste et al., "The Development of Estonian National Cartography," 112.
[107] Rudolf Schulz, *Krimas landkarte* (Mitau: Schubert, 1855).
[108] *Suur Wene-Türgi sõjapidamise kohtade kaart* (Dorpat: Heinrich Laakmann, 1877).
[109] In addition to Siliņš's three maps, Schnakenburg published the following Estonian-language map: *Uus suure Wene-Jaapani sõja kaart* (Riga: Schnakenburg, 1904).
[110] The participation of inhabitants from the Baltic provinces in the Russo-Japanese war has not been extensively researched. For a short article on the topic, see Ēriks Jēkabsons, "Latviešu piedalīšanās Krievijas-Japānas karā 1904.-1905.gadā," *Tēvijas Sargs* 2 (2014), 26-27.
[111] *Latweeschu Awizes*, no. 22, March 16, 1904.
[112] My emphasis.

early modern colonial past.[113] However, Siliņš's use of the term 'colonies' (*kolonijas*) referred to settlements of Latvian-speakers scattered throughout the Russian Empire.

As discussed earlier, Siliņš had already taken some initial steps to map Latvians outside of the Baltic provinces and western provinces in his 1891 map, which had included an inset map of 'Latvian colonies' in central and eastern Vitebsk (Figure 46). However, his 1904 *Map of Asia* broadened the scope of this concept and drew viewers' attention to the migration of ethnic Latvians to more far-flung areas of the Russian Empire. The internal migration and the establishment of Latvian 'colonies' in Siberia had occurred in waves throughout the course of the second half of the nineteenth century.[114] Siliņš's use of the term 'Latvian colonies' grouped together settlements of Latvian-speakers who had migrated during different times, to different places, and for different reasons. The overarching message of the map was to consolidate the idea of an ethnic Latvian heartland or metropole spanning Kurland, southern Lifliand, and western Vitebsk province, from which waves of ethnic Latvians had spread out over the centuries.

The turn of the nineteenth century was a period of growing public awareness and interest in Estonian- and Latvian-speaking settlements in the Russian Empire outside of the Baltic provinces.[115] In addition to the aforementioned research expeditions by Bielenstein and Siliņš to study 'Vitebsk Latvians' or Latgalians, folklorists, linguists, and ethnographers carried out numerous studies of Estonian-speakers in Pskov and Vitebsk provinces. In 1893 Oskar Kallas (1868-1946), a linguist from Ezel'/Ösel (Saaremaa), conducted the first in-depth research into the 'Lutsi country-people' (*Lutsi maarahvas*) living in the district of Liutsin (Ludza) in Vitebsk province.[116] These people had been marked on Sementovskii's *Ethnographic Map of Vitebsk Province* (1872) as 'Estonians' (or *Chuzhna*[117]) and 'Estonians

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[113] On the significance of the Duchy of Courland's overseas colonies in Latvian history and collective memory, see: Imbi Sooman et al., "From the Port of Ventspils to Great Courland Bay: The Couronian Colony on Tobago in Past and Present," *Journal of Baltic Studies* 44, no. 4 (2013), 503–526; Harry C. Merritt, "The Colony of the Colonized: The Duchy of Courland's Tobago Colony and Contemporary Latvian National Identity," *Nationalities Papers* 38, no. 4 (2010), 491–508.

[114] Toivo U. Raun, "Estonian emigration within the Russian empire, 1860–1917", *Journal of Baltic Studies* 17, no. 4 (1986), 350-363; D. G. Korovushkin, *Latyshi i estontsy v zapadnoi Sibiri: rasselenie i chislennost' v kontse XIX – nachale XXI vv.* (Novosibirsk: Institut arkheologii i etnografii SO RAN, 2008); Kadri Tooming, "Nälg ja ränne: 1868.–1869. aasta väljarändeliikumine Eestimaa kubermangus," *Ajalooline Ajakiri* 156, no. 2 (2016), 185–214.

[115] Jüri Meomuttel, *Eesti asunikud laialises Wene riigis: Esimene katse sõnumid kõikide Eesti asunduste üle tuua* (Jurjew: "Postimehe" trükikoja kirjastus ja trükk, 1900).

[116] Jääts,"Üks kuulus välitöö ja selle pikk vari", 15; Marjo Mela, *Läti eestlased: Ajalugu, keel ja kultuur* (Tallinn: Eesti Keele Sihtasutus, 2007). Kallas' published his findings as: Oskar Kallas, *Lutsi maarahvas* (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seura, 1894); Oskar Kallas, *Kaheksakümmend Lutsi Maarahva muinasjuttu* (Jurjev: 1900).

[117] A Russian-language ethnonym for western Finnic peoples. See: Leskinen, *Poliaki i finny,*166.

mixed with other nationalities'.[118] Contemporary discourse in the Estonian-language press presented these so-called 'Vitebsk Estonians' as a 'forgotten tribe of the Estonian people' and Kallas' research was met with considerable public interest.[119] Similarly, Jakob Hurt (1839-1907), a folklorist and pastor of St. John's Estonian Church in St. Petersburg (1880-1901), carried out a research expedition in 1903 to study the Seto-Estonians (known in German as Setukesen and in Russian as Setuktsy-Esty) living in western Pskov province. Hurt' s research was supported by the Ethnographic Section of the IRGO and he also produced a map of the distribution of Seto folksongs, which was essentially an ethnolinguistic map of the Seto-inhabited area.[120]

Siliņš's *Map of Asia* gave graphical representation to the growing spatial awareness and public interest of Latvian-speakers in Siberia by marking settlements of Russians (green) and Latvians (red) scattered throughout the Empire. In addition to drawing readers' attention to the location of Latvian-speaking populations spread across the Russian Empire, the *Map of Asia* also included an inset map in the lower left-hand corner depicting 'Latvian colonies' in North and South America (Figure 48). In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, inhabitants from the Baltic provinces sought out new lives in the USA and Canada, part of a wider mass emigration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries from Central and Eastern Europe.[121] Brazil was another popular destination, where Latvian migrants settled from the 1890s in rural agricultural communities.[122] Reports about migration and Latvian-speaking communities around the world regularly featured in the press.[123] Siliņš's map however was the

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[118] M. Weske, "Über die Witebskischen Esten," *Verhandlungen der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft zu Dorpat* 8, no. 4 (1877), 29-33.

[119] "Eestirahwa unustatud suguharu," *Postimees*, no. 202, September 10, 1892, 1. Cited in Jääts, "Üks kuulus välitöö ja selle pikk vari", 16. Kallas spread awareness of the Lutsi-speakers among the broader Estonian-speaking public in an extended 13-instalment summary of his research published in *Postimees*. Kallas, "Üks surew eesti rahwa oks," *Postimees*, nos. 206–223, September 15 –October 5, 1895.

[120] *Izvestiia IRGO za 1903* (1904), 653. Hurt presented his findings and map to the Ethnographic Section in November 1903. NA RGO f.83, op.1, d.180, l.1-29.

[121] Tara Zahra, *The Great Departure: Mass Migration from Eastern Europe and the Making of the Free World* (New York; London: W. W. Norton & Company, 2016).

[122] Statistics on the number of Latvians who migrated to Brazil in the imperial period vary widely. For a comparison of migration statistics, see: Ieva Mara Megnis Cornford, *Latvian Immigration to São Paulo, Brazil: 1890-1970. Immigration and Assimilation* (PhD diss., University of British Columbia, 1973), 45-48. More recent assessments suggest that in the 1890s, between 600-800 Latvians migrated to Brazil and established farming colonies. The first colony was established in 1890, when 25 families travelled to Santa Catarina state under the leadership of Lutheran pastor Kārlis Baložs. Another wave of 400-600 Latvian-speakers followed in 1906. See: Valdis Tēraudkalns, "Latviešu izceļošana uz Brazīliju: cēloņi un ideoloģija," *Religiski-filozofiski raksti* 9, no. 1 (2005), 167-184.

[123] Jānis Gūtmanis, *Kolonistu dzīve São Paulo valstī Brazilijā* (1906). For an overview of the discourse in the Latvian-language press on migration in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, see: Toms Ķikuts, "Diskusijas par migrācijas jautājumiem latviešu sabiedrībā 19. gs. 2. pusē-20. gs. sākumā: Viedokļi, argumenti, emocijas," *Daugavpils Universitātes 53.starptautiskās zinātniskās konferences materiāli/ Proceedings of the*

first to present readers with a visual overview of all these different 'colonies'. The map also distinguished between types of Latvian colonies. Siliņš depicted farming colonies in the Canadian states of Saskatchewan and Manitoba, and in Wisconsin, Michigan, Virginia, and North and South Dakota in the USA. 'Latvian colonial towns' (*Latweeschu kolonija pilschta*s) of Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Chicago were underlined in red. Information about some of these destinations was still vague. For example, at the time of the publication of the map in 1904, Siliņš was uncertain about whether Latvian farming colonies had been established in Sao Paulo (São Paulo), indicated by the question mark placed after the name of the city.

53rd International Scientific Conference of Daugavpils University, ed. D. Oļehnovičs and I. Zuģicka (Daugavpils: Daugavpils Universitātes Akadēmiskais apgāds „Saule", 2014).
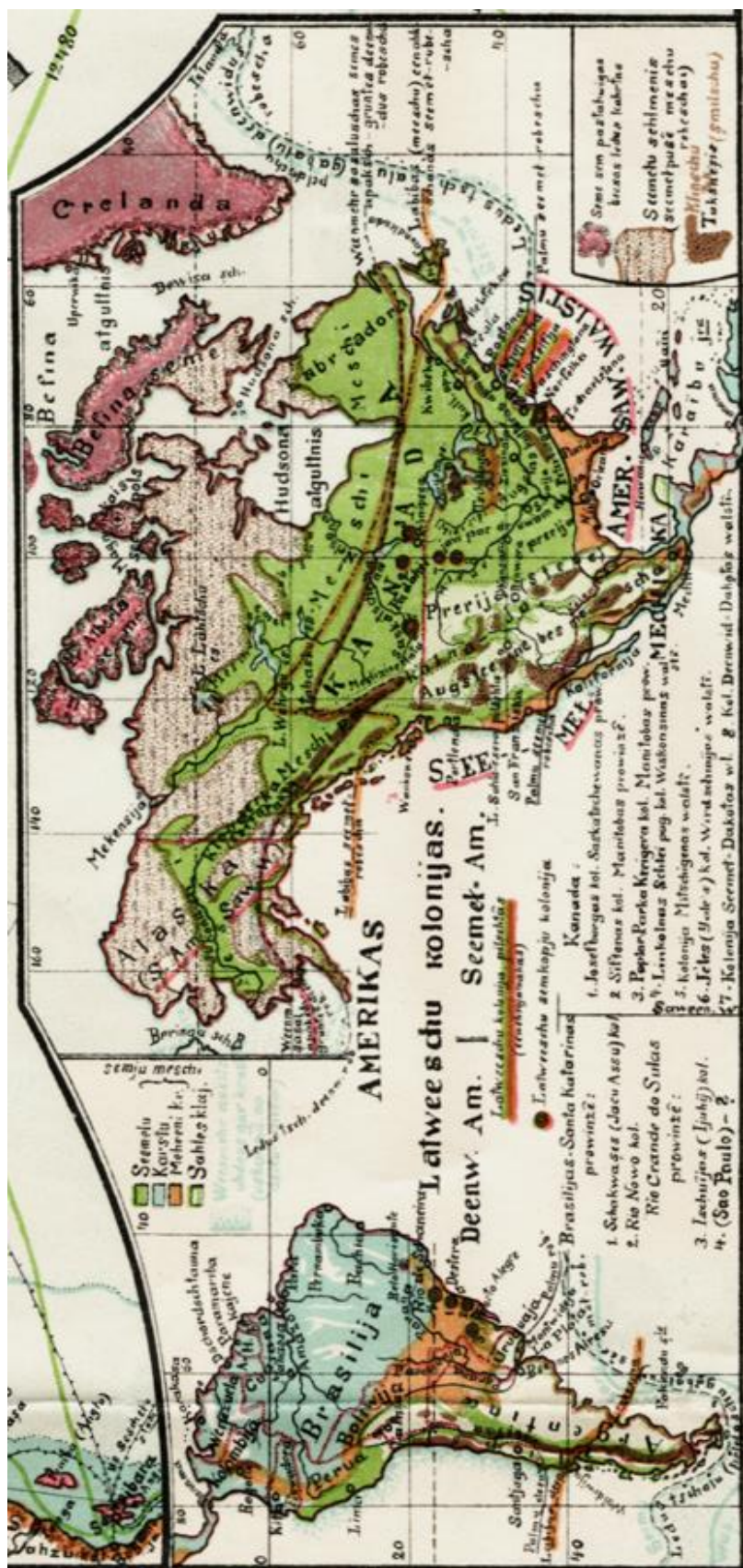
Figure 48. Siliņš's map of Latvian Colonies in North and South America (1904)

Source: Matīss Siliņš, *Āzijas karte līdz ar visu Krieviju un latviešu kolonijām: skolām, avīžu lasītājiem* (Riga: Schnakenburg, 1904).

Post-colonial scholarship has intensely debated the agency of local subjects in the production of knowledge about colonial domains. Vera Tolz, in her study of 'native informants' in Russian imperial Orientology, shows how 'natives' were actively encouraged to participate in ethnographic research.[124] The above discussion of Siliņš demonstrates how Tolz's argument can be extended – and arguably works even more effectively – in the case of the Baltic provinces, where map-makers worked to shape new understandings of the relationship between nationhood and empire. These maps indicate how interest in the eastern part of the Empire was not confined to Orientalists within the IRGO and Academy of Science in St. Petersburg, but also powerfully impacted spatial thinking among map-makers and the general public in the Baltic provinces.

Global emigration in the second half of the nineteenth century sparked debates about who should be seen as still belonging to the imagined boundaries of the nation, as Sebastian Conrad argues in the case of German emigration to Brazil.[125] In the Latvian case, Siliņš's *Map of Asia* consolidated the idea of a compact and ethnolinguistically homogenous Latvian homeland spanning the provinces of Kurliand, southern Lifliand, and western Vitebsk. At the same time, the map encouraged viewers to connect this territory and its inhabitants with the far-flung satellite settlements – or 'colonies' – in Siberia and the Americas located on the 'peripheries' of the map. According to Siliņš, Latvian-speakers who had physically departed at some point in history from the Baltic "homeland" were indisputably still part of the Latvian nation. Siliņš's map thus broadened the concept of Latvian ethnographic territory beyond the north-western Russian Empire to '*all* Latvian colonies' around the globe. In doing so, Siliņš's *Map of Asia* disrupted earlier cartographical narratives, which had predominately portrayed ethnic Latvians as colonised peoples living under German, Polish, or Russian yoke (depending on the map-maker's perspective) since the fourteenth century. By visualising the spread of ethnic Latvians across the globe, Siliņš complicated the power relationship between coloniser and colonised peoples. Siliņš's map was a symbol of something larger than itself, portraying Latvians as an advanced nation, a historical actor, and undeniable through its sheer global presence.

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[124] Vera Tolz, *Russia's Own Orient: The Politics of Identity and Oriental Studies in the Late Imperial and Early Soviet Periods* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

[125] Sebastian Conrad, *Globalisation and the Nation in Imperial Germany,* trans. Sorcha O'Hagan (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 275.

Alternative Mental Maps: Polish Livonia as a Distinct Historical-Cultural Space

Map-makers not only used cartography as an instrument to promote local studies (*Heimatkunde*) of areas defined by nationalities speaking the same language. In western Vitebsk province, several Livonophiles made a concerted effort to consolidate the idea of 'Polish Livonia' (*Inflanty Polskie*) as a distinct territorial unit defined by historical rather than linguistic heritage. In doing so they used maps to argue that the multi-ethnic region constituted a unique historical and cultural space. Even though the formal administrative borders of this Voivodship of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had been formally erased in 1772 when the territory had been incorporated into the Russian Empire, the name 'Polish Livonia' continued to be widely used to distinguish the region. Bielenstein used this name during his research expedition to the region in 1882.[126] In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, ideas about Polish Livonia as a distinctive spatial unit and geographical imaginary developed alongside attempts to define a Latvian ethnolinguistic region within the Empire.[127]

The most influential proponent of the idea of Polish Livonia as a distinctive historical and cultural space was Gustaw Manteuffel (Gustav von Manteuffel, 1832-1916).[128] Manteuffel was from a Polonised Baltic German family who had moved to Inflanty in the eighteenth century. Manteuffel grew up on the family estate in Dritsany (Dricāni) to the north of Rezhitsa (Rēzekne).[129] He attended a German-language gymnasium in Mitau/Mitava and studied law at the University of Dorpat between 1852-56, where he was a member of the Polish student society *Konwent Polonia*.[130] From 1863 he worked as a local official in Lifliand province and was a member of the Kurland Literary and Cultural Society. Throughout his lifetime, Manteuffel published many works on Polish Livonia. Despite having grown-up speaking German and Polish, Manteuffel had a keen interest in the Baltic speech of the peasants

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[126] Bielenstein, "Reizeskizzen."

[127] Angelika Juško-Štekele, *Folkloristika Latgalē 19. gadsimta otrajā pusē* (Rēzekne: RA izdevniecība, 2002); Pēteris Zeile, *Latgales periodika, 1862-2013* (Rēzekne: Latgales Kultūras centra izdevniecība, 2013).

[128] In Latvia he is known by the Latvianised or Latgalianised versions of his name, Gustavs Manteifelis/Gustavs Manteifelis, but the man himself did not use these forms of his name. Another key figure was Stefania Ulanowska, however as she did not produce any maps I focus my discussion here on Manteuffel. See: Stefania Ulanowska, *Łotysze Inflant polskich a w szczególności gminy Wielońskiej, powiatu Rzeżyckiego: Obraz etnograficzny*, 3 vols. (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1891-95).

[129] I refer to the place names in their official Russian forms. Details of Manteuffel's biography are taken from the introduction by Krzysztof Zajas to his edition of Manteuffel's *Sketches*. See: Gustaw Manteuffel, *Zarys z dziejów krain dawnych inflanckich czyli Inflant właściwych (tak szwedzkich jako i polskich), Estonii z Ozylią, Kurlandii i Ziemi Piltyńskiej,* ed. Kryzsztof Zajas (Kraków: Universitas, 2007), viii-xiv.

[130] *Korporacja akademicka Konwent Polonia*, a Polish student society founded at the University of Dorpat in 1828. 'Polish' here referred to all the former territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

surrounding his family's estate. During his time as a student, he collected and published folklore, prayers, and religious songs, thereby playing an active role in codification of the spoken dialects of his home region as the written language of Latgalian.[131] Between 1862-1871 he published a calendar in Latgalian, the only regular publication in this language in the nineteenth century. Manteuffel also translated parts of the Bible and the tsarist edict of 1862 on the abolition of serfdom into Latgalian.

In the late 1860s, Manteuffel's interests shifted from ethnography and folklore to history. In 1869 Manteuffel published a small German-language book in Riga, *Polish Livona* (*Polnisch Livland*), covering the history of the region from the twelfth century, topography, and the region's social and ethnic composition.[132] Manteuffel was driven by the desire to inform Poles far away in the Kingdom of Poland about a part of their historical territory which they had all but forgotten. As Krzysztof Zajas has argued, Polish Livonia had become an 'absence' in the historical awareness of the lands and peoples of the dismembered Commonwealth.[133] Manteuffel famously lamented in a letter to his friend Józef Ignacy Kraszewski in 1877 that 'About Livonia we [the Poles] know less than of Sumatra and Borneo.'[134] Ten years later, an expanded Polish-language version of Manteuffel's book was published in Pozen (Poznań), which included additional sections on genealogy, heraldry, a list of all the towns, estates, and churches, and the names of their current and former owners.[135] Both the German and Polish versions of Manteuffel's book included maps (Figure 49). Mantueffel depicted Polish Livonia as a distinct triangle of territory sandwiched between the provinces of Lifliand and Kurliand to the west, Pskov and Vitebsk to the east, and Vil'na to the south.[136]

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[131] Lidija Leikuma, "Par dažiem Latgales latviešu folkloras pieraksta jautājumiem: *Lettische Volkslieder* (1869)," *Baltu Filoloģija* 19 (2010), 53–70.

[132] Gustaw Manteuffel, *Polnisch-Livland* (Riga, 1869).

[133] Krzysztof Zajas, *Absent Culture: The Case of Polish* Livonia (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2013).

[134] *Ibid.*, 238.

[135] Gustaw Manteuffel, *Inflanty Polskie poprzedzone ogólnymrzutem oka na siedmiowiekową przeszłość całych Inflant* (Poznań: Księgarnia Jana Konstantego Żupańskiego, 1879).

[136] In the German edition of the map, Manteuffel erroneously labels the province to the south of Polish Livonia as Kovna instead of Vil'na. This was corrected in the Polish edition.
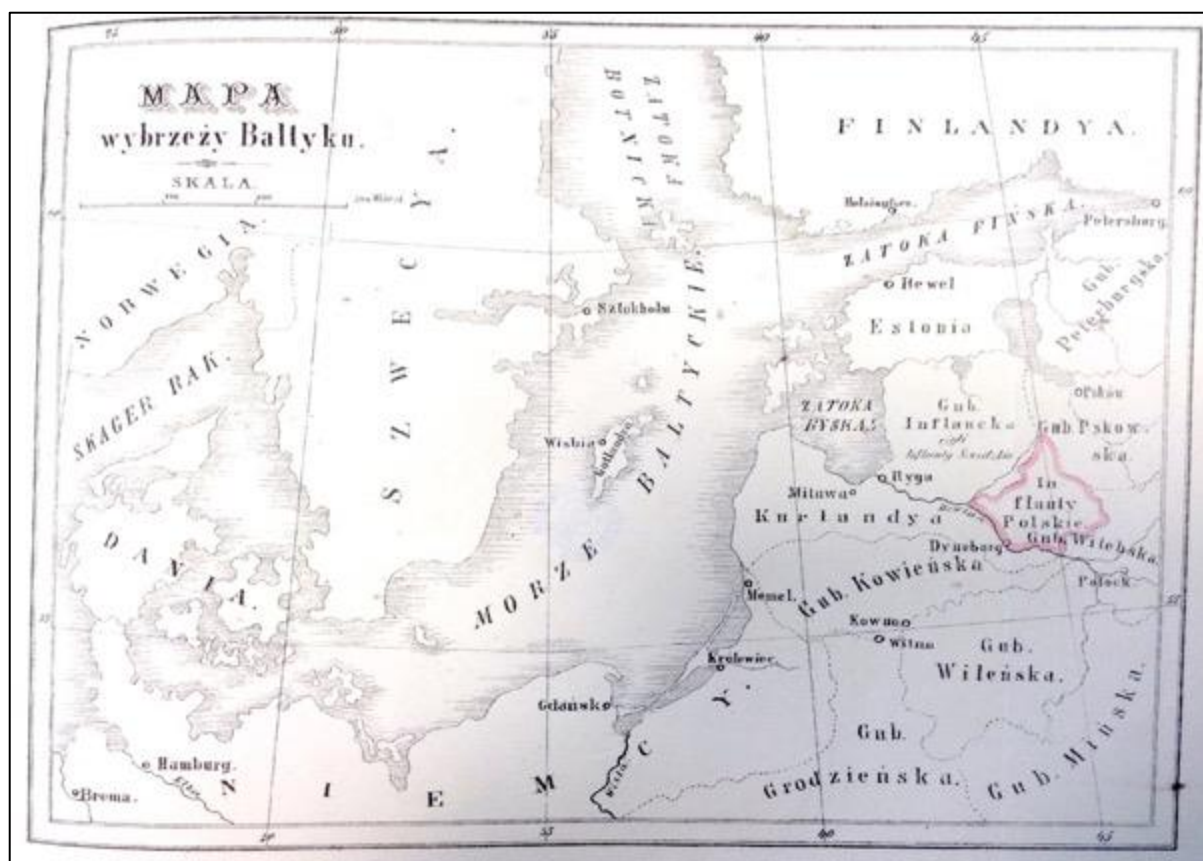
Figure 49. Manteuffel's map of Polish Livonia (1879)

Source: Gustaw Manteuffel, *Inflanty Polskie poprzedzone ogólnym rzutem oka na siedmiowiekową przeszłość całych Inflant* (Poznań: Księgarnia Jana Konstantego Żupańskiego, 1879).

Running through Manteuffel's writings was the idea, on the one hand, of Polish Livonia as part of historical territories of the former Commonwealth, sharing a common history, culture, and political influences. On the other hand, Manteuffel made it clear that the Polish Livonian nobility were not Poles, but rather Polonised Teutonic knights, who distinguished themselves from both Poles and Baltic Germans. Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, Manuteffel published numerous other works on Polish Livonia, transporting his readers to a fairy-tale world of crumbling Teutonic castles, Roman Catholic churches, Polish Livonian nobles with their estates and their heraldry, and the natural landscape of lakes which characterised the region. Manteuffel expressed no expectation that Poland might one day become independent and reclaim Livonia. He viewed Livonia as a region of Polish heritage which had been 'lost' to public consciousness and needed to be brought back into collective memory. Manteuffel's work provided an important foundation for a growing Latgalian regional consciousness among intellectuals in the region that challenged the ideas put forward by Bielenstein and Siliņš of Latvians as a singular ethnic group with a common language.

Conclusions

Bielenstein's and Siliņš's maps shaped a field of study which was later taken up by nationalist activists in the early decades of the twentieth century as the scientific basis for the construction and dissemination of the idea of a collective Latvian nation forged from inhabitants spread across three imperial provinces. They both perceived ethnography as being closely linked to history and archaeology, as indicated by the scopes of the All-Russian Archaeological Congress and Latvian Ethnographic Exhibition held in Riga in the summer of 1896. As Toms Ķikuts argues, the process of collecting and analysing ethnographic material in preparation for the exhibition, as well as its organisation and display during the exhibition itself, stimulated a powerful retrospective on the history of the Latvian people and their cultural distinctiveness.[137] The process of mapping the Latvian language area and ethnographic territory actively shaped and helped to solidify emerging ideas about Latvian nationhood in the late nineteenth century. It is however important to stress that the construction of a Latvian national space was never the intended goal of Bielenstein's and Siliņš's cartographical activities, but rather a by-product of their regional studies of the language, culture, and history of the Latvian-speaking inhabitants of the Empire. Moreover, in their maps, Bielenstein and Siliņš highlighted differing notions of how a Latvian space within the Empire should be defined and on what scale, echoing wider societal debates over *who* should be doing the work of culturally defining the Latvian people and in what language. Bielenstein's and Siliņš's maps defy any straightforward classification as either 'imperial' and 'national', drawing our attention instead to how discourses about empire and nation were closely intertwined.

Whereas the IRGO, Academy of Science, and Provincial Statistical Committees dominated the production of ethnographic maps in the Russian Empire in the middle of the nineteenth century, towards the end of the nineteenth century map-making gradually became a more widespread activity in the provinces. Educated elites and lithographic firms in the provincial capitals and major cities began to publish maps to address the growing demand among literate Latvian-speakers for vernacular cartographical materials. Learned societies located in the provinces played a key role in organising expeditions, supporting publications, and popularising the collection of knowledge about local history, geography, language, and folklore. Nevertheless, map-makers heavily borrowed from earlier maps. They preferred to adapt and tweak previously published maps rather than starting from scratch and mapping

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[137] Ķikuts, "1896. gada Latviešu etnogrāfiskā izstāde", 47.

ethic statistics that they themselves had collected. In this way, ethnographic map-making carried out by map-makers living and working in the Baltic provinces also remained closely connected to wider imperial projects. Not least, Bielenstein relied on the Imperial Academy of Science to finance the publication of the *Atlas* and many of his other publications.

Comparing the process of constructing a Latvian ethnolinguistic space with the development of ideas about a Lithuanian ethnic territory in the lands to the south highlights some crucial similarities and differences. In both cases, map-makers carved out ethnic territories for Latvians and Lithuanians without challenging Russian imperial rule. As Petronis argues, cartography was used by Lithuanian-speaking intelligentsia in the late nineteenth century to promote the idea of a '"Lithuania" *in/and* "the Russian Empire", rather than "Lithuania" *under* "the Russian Empire"'.[138] Moreover, Lithuanian intellectuals similarly debated how to conceptualise ethnolinguistic spaces that spanned administrative borders. Whereas ethnographers and linguists in the Baltic provinces use cartography to unify the predominantly Protestant Latvian-speaking inhabitants of Kurliand and Lifliand with Catholic Latvian-speakers in Vitebsk province, intellectuals conceptualising a common Lithuanian ethnolinguistic space in the early twentieth century shifted to mapping Catholic Lithuanian-speakers in the Russian Empire together with the Protestant Lithuanian-speaking inhabitants in Prussia, in the territory known as Prussian Lithuania or Lithuanian Minor.[139] However, developments in Latvian geographical thinking also differed in crucial ways from the discussions taking place among Lithuanian-speaking intellectuals. Lithuanian national activists struggled to reconcile two competing visions of a 'Lithuanian' space – a historical Lithuania based on the former territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and an ethnographic Lithuania corresponding to the lands inhabited by Lithuanian-speakers.[140] For map-makers conceptualising a 'Latvia' within the Empire, there was no such unifying historical tradition of prior statehood on which to base the borders and from which to claim continuity.[141] The

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[138] Petronis, *Constructing Lithuania*, 238.

[139] Safronovas, *The Creation of National Spaces in a Pluricultural Region*.

[140] The competing visions of 'Lithuania' in the nineteenth and early twentieth-century have been the subject of numerous publications over the past decade: Snyder, *The Reconstruction of Nations*; Petronis, *Constructing Lithuania*; Staliūnas, *Spatial Concepts of Lithuania*; Theodore R. Weeks, *Vilnius Between Nations* (DeKalb: Northern Illinois University Press, 2015); Dangiras Mačiulis and Darius Staliūnas, eds. *Lithuanian Nationalism and the Vilnius Question* (Marburg: Herder Institut, 2015); Nenartovič, *Kaiserlich-russische*.

[141] Suzanne Pourchier-Plasseraud similarly argues that: 'Latvia is worthy of closer examination for various reasons that set this State apart: it gained its independence after the First World War, with no background of national history, and so could not lay claim to a national heritage. One could almost suggest that the nation suffered a "national shortcoming" in the form of an absence of history and shared past. Thus, there was no national "rebirth", as in the case of other states emerging from the end-of-war treaties, who then "recovered" the values of their past, but instead a veritable "birth".' However, Pourchier-Plasseraud's argument could be strengthened by further

heritage of Medieval Livonia was shared with cultural promoters and national activists constructing a narrative of 'Estonian' history to the north. In contrast to the Lithuanian case, the individual provinces that were in the process of being integrated into a wider overarching notion of Latvia had much stronger and developed historiographies as distinct territories.

Finally, examining Bielenstein's and Siliņš's maps enables us to reconsider the second half of the 1880s and 1890s as a period in the history of the Baltic provinces that has traditionally been characterised as an era of "Russification".[142] During this period, the imperial government implemented policies to erode the traditional autonomy of the region and to politically and culturally integrate the Baltic provinces more closely into the Empire. Bielenstein's maps reinforce the recent historiographical trend to see these policies as less one-dimensional than historians previously suggested. Bielenstein's maps were published and financially supported by the Imperial Academy of Science, yet he continued to publish in German and use German-language toponyms for place names. His maps reinforced a strong sense of the influence of the Baltic Province's German-speaking elite on the social, economic, and cultural life in the region, an image which, as demonstrated in Chapter 4, was viewed by some in St. Petersburg as highly problematic. Moreover, Bielenstein and Siliņš created images of the ethnographic landscape of the Baltic provinces that starkly contrasted with Rittikh's vision. Where Rittikh depicted the Russian presence in the region to emphasise the close historical contacts between Balts and Great Russians as a counter-narrative to the "Germanic" influence, Bielenstein and Siliņš did not mark Russians in the Baltic provinces at all.

elucidation. I disagree, for example, that the Latvian national movement and state-building project struggled with an 'absence of history and shared past'. As the discussion of Bielenstein's and Siliņš's work in this chapter reveals, ethnographers found an abundance of cultural and linguistic heritage to draw upon that provided a link with the past. Instead, I argue that those involved in conceptualisation of a Latvian ethnolinguistic territory had to confront the absence of shared history of statehood. Pourchier-Plasseraud, *Arts and a Nation,* 1

[142] Thaden, *Russification in the Baltic Provinces.*

Mapping "Phantom Borders" during the First World War

The multiple military conflicts fought on the territory of the Baltic provinces between 1914-1920 produced new concepts of populations, borders, and regions. Between July and September 1915, German forces took control of Kurliand province. For the next two years the stabilised front line ran from Riga, where the Russian imperial army retained positions on the west bank, along the river Daugava following the boundary between Kurliand and Lifliand provinces, before running south from Dvinsk to Pinsk. Kurliand was integrated into the German semi-colonial polity of *Ober Ost*, while Estliand and Lifliand remained under the control of the Russian imperial troops.[1] In the second half of 1917, the German military began to push northwards, capturing Riga in August, the islands of Saaremaa, Hiiumaa, and Muhu in October, and Reval/Revel/Tallinn in February 1918. By the time the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk was signed in March 1918, the whole territory of the former Baltic provinces was under German control. Between 1918-1920, the region became embroiled in the Russian Civil War, Polish-Soviet War, and the Estonian and Latvian wars of independence. As Ēriks Jēkabsons notes, fourteen different armies fought on the territory of present-day Latvia during the War of Independence alone.[2]

These years of conflict dramatically transformed both the region's populations and the cartographic strategies for representing them.[3] On 2 February 1915, the tsarist government issued an imperial decree establishing a 160 km-wide and 6,000 km-long border zone along the western frontier of the Russian Empire. Entire ethnic and religious groups were branded as unreliable and dangerous. Ethnic Germans, as well as Austrians, Hungarians, and German

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[1] Shorthand for the 'Supreme Commander of All German Forces in the East' (*Oberbefehlshaber der gesamten Deutschen Streitkräfte im Osten*). Vejas Gabriel Liulevicius, *War Land on the Eastern Front: Culture, National Identity, and German Occupation in World War I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

[2] "Atklāt nezināmo par Latvijas Neatkarības karu. Intervija ar vēsturnieku Ēriku Jēkabsonu." Radio "Naba", 12 November 2018; Taavi Minnik, "The Cycle of Terror in Estonia, 1917–1919: On its Preconditions and Major Stages, *Journal of Baltic Studies* 46, no. 1 (2015), 35-47.

[3] Mark von Hagen, "The Entangled Eastern Front in the First World War" in *The Empire and Nationalism at War*, eds. Eric Lohr, Vera Tolz, Alexander Semyonov, and Mark von Hagen (Bloomington: Slavica Publishers, 2014), 9-48, 9-11.

subjects, were forced to register and sell their properties and then displaced to the Russian interior. Many Latvians and Jews with German-sounding surnames were mistaken for Germans and faced the same suspicion and discrimination.[4] The front also absorbed the Pale of Settlement and in spring 1915, military commanders ordered the expulsion of Jews from Kovna and Kurliand provinces, as well as the Military District of Dvinsk.[5] Over the course of the conflict, the army deported between half a million and one million Jews and 250,000 ethnic German subjects from areas under military rule.[6] More than a million forcibly displaced people and refugees (*bezhentsy*) fled the western borderlands and were evacuated to the Empire's heartlands.[7] In the process, Kurliand lost 54.4 per cent of its pre-war population.[8] Eric Lohr has argued that this wartime purging of "enemy aliens" helped to nationalise border regions, setting the stage for both the national movements and Soviet nationalities policy.[9] The experience of World War I was as much about shattering social identity boundaries as it was about breaking down state borders.[10]

The ethnographic maps made during these turbulent war years were mostly based on Russian imperial statistical data from before the war, especially the 1897 All-Russian census. Many map-makers commented on the unreliability of this data and the disparities between the nineteenth-century data and the demographic reality on the ground during the war years, which they used as a justification for providing alternations and corrections. All demographic maps present a static snapshot and are generally unable to depict nomadic or itinerant populations. However, the dissonance between the available statistical data and actual population settlement patterns became particularly pronounced during the war. As the historian Peter Gatrell has shown, the experience of refugeedom 'made nonsense of official attempts to maintain the fiction of social stability in wartime [...] established taxonomies of social description - whether

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[4] Peter Gatrell, *A Whole Empire Walking: Refugees in Russia During World War I* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 149, 159.
[5] Eric Lohr, "The Russian Army and the Jews: Mass Deportation, Hostages and Violence during World War I," *Russian Review* 60, no. 3 (2001), 404–419, 410–11.
[6] *Ibid.,* 404-406.
[7] Aldis Purs, "Orphaned Testimonies: The Place of Displaced Children in Independent Latvia, 1918–26," in *Displaced Children in Russia and Eastern Europe, 1915-1953,* ed. Nick Baron (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 40-69; Aldis Purs, "Working Towards 'An Unforeseen Miracle' Redux: Latvian Refugees in Vladivostok, 1918-1920, and in Latvia, 1943-1944," *Contemporary European History* 16, no. 4 (2007), 479-494; Tomas Balkelis, "Nation-Building and World War I Refugees in Lithuania, 1918 – 1924," *Journal of Baltic Studies* 34, no. 4 (2003), 432–456.
[8] Liulevicius, *War Land on the Eastern Front,* 30.
[9] Eric Lohr, *Nationalizing the Russian Empire: The Campaign Against Enemy Aliens During World War I* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).
[10] von Hagen, "The Entangled Eastern Front."

ascribed "estate" (*soslovie*) or class - were subverted and redefined'.[11] These maps projected ghostly vanished spaces and were often completely out of sync with the dramatic demographic upheavals taking place on the ground.

The experiences of war led to a rethinking of the relationship between people and territory within the administrative structure of the Russian Empire. Between February and October 1917, the Provisional Government implemented a series of administrative border revisions in the Baltic provinces to create two more homogenously Estonian and Latvian ethnic provinces.[12] In May, the Provisional Government passed the resolution to transfer the districts with an Estonian majority in Lifliand province to Estliand. The precise border between the redrawn Estliand and Lifliand provinces was determined by a special commission, comprising representatives from both provinces.[13]

The change to the administrative borders between Estliand and Lifliand inspired a wave of popular action aimed at redrawing administrative borders that reverberated from south to north along the former eastern boundary of the Baltic provinces. On 12 March 1917, the Latgalian War Victims Relief Society in St. Petersburg organised a meeting of Latgalian intellectuals, workers, and soldiers to discuss the idea of separating the districts of Dvinsk (Daugavpils), Liutsin (Ludza), and Rezhitsa (Rēzekne) from Vitebsk province and joining them to the other 'Latvian' provinces of Lifliand and Kurliand. This meeting was swiftly followed by the organisation of the First Latvian Congress of Latgale held in Rezhitsa on 26-27 April, where local representatives voted in favour of joining Lifliand and Kurliand in becoming a single autonomous unit. At this time, the representatives did not envisage that they would become part of an independent Latvian state, but rather a Latvian ethnic region within a reformed and federalist Russia. Moreover, the decision was not unanimous. A minority of those present at the meeting in Rezhitsa opposed the idea of an outright unification of Latvians and Latgalians, coalescing around the Latgalian writer, political figure, and publisher Francis (Franҫs) Kemps (1876-1952). In 1916, Kemps had written a polemical article in the Latgalian-language newspaper *Drywa* on 'Latgalia's Future', published under the pseudonym F. Skoborga, where he criticised the so-called 'Baltic Latvians' (Latvian-speakers living in

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[11] Gatrell, *A Whole Empire Walking*, 3-4.

[12] The proposal to create a separate South Estonian province with its provincial capital in Iur'ev/Tartu was also considered, but the idea was dismissed. On the administrative restructuring of the Baltic provinces, see Aleksandra Iur'evna Bakhturina, "Izmenenie administrativnykh granits pribaltiiskikh gubernii vesnoi-letom 1917 g.," *Vestnik RGGU. Seriia "Politologiia. Istoriia. Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniia. Zarubezhnoe regionovedenie. Vostokovedenie"* 10, nos. 2-4 (2017), 177-185.

[13] *Ibid.,* 179.

Lifliand and Kurliand) and feared that they would try to assimilate the Latgalians. He purposefully used the Russified version of the region's name, 'Latgalia', as opposed to the Latvian 'Latgale' or Latgalian 'Latgola', to emphasise the region's connections with Russia. Kemps envisaged a kind of Lithuanian, Latvian, and Latgalian federation within the Russian Empire, but with autonomy over internal affairs.[14] The idea of Latgalians as a separate nation was reflected in the map of nationalities published in 1919 by Lithuanian politician Juozas Gabrys (1880-1951), which depicted Latgalians as a third Baltic nation.[15]

Two months later, on 1 July 1917, in the western border region of Pskov province, Seto representatives petitioned the authorites in Revel (Tallinn) to ask for their parishes to be transferred to Estliand province.[16] The next day, on 2 July 1917, the Narva Public Committee in St. Petersburg province similarly issued a proclamation to join Estliand province, which was followed by a plebiscite on 17 December 1917 where the residents voted in favour of joining Estliand (7,355 votes to 2,537).[17] The following year, on 10 December 1918 a referendum was held in Narva and on 21 December the city was transferred to Estliand province.[18] Just as ethnographic maps were based on out-dated ethnographic data which did not reflect the demographic composition during the war, the maps often did not take into account these changes to administrative borders in the Baltic provinces and harked back instead to the pre-war provincial boundary lines.

This chapter seeks to broaden the way we think about wartime ethnographic cartography by examining how the Baltic littoral functioned as a space for projecting different territorial revisionisms and annexationist agendas. Three main arguments will be developed. Firstly, this chapter examines how German and Polish nationalists used ethnographic cartography to articulate arguments about spheres of influence and the need to regather or recolonise lands and peoples which had historically been "theirs". I build on recent research that has emphasised how World War I was not only fought between empires as a 'decolonisation' process, but also catalysed imperial or colonial aspirations and provided opportunities for these claims to be revived and publicly articulated. This chapter explores how

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[14] F. Skoborga [Kemps], "Latgalijas nokutne," *Drywa,* no. 30, iss. 327*,* October 12, 1916, 1-3.

[15] Juozas Gabrys, *Carte ethnographique de l'Europe* (Lausanne: Librarie Centrale des Nationalités, 1919).

[16] Nikolai Maratovich Mezhevich, "Rossiisko-Estonskaia granitsa: istoriia formirovaniia i sovremennoe znachenie dlia razvitiia severo-zapada Rossii," *Pskovskii regionologicheskii zhurnal* 4 (2007), 131-145, 139

[17] Only one third of the city's population (around 27,500) participated in the vote. Anton Veiss-Vendt (Weiss-Wendt), "Komu prinadlezhit Narva? K voprosu o territorial'no-administrativnoi prinadlezhnosti goroda 1858-1917 gg.," in *Baltiiskii Arkhiv: Russkaia Kul'tura v Pribaltike*, ed. Irina Belovrovtseva (Tallinn: Avenarius, 1997), 22–47. On the results of the referendum, see p.39.

[18] Mezhevich, "Rossiisko-Estonskaia granitsa", 139

maps manipulated available statistical data and bent it in time and space to show how administrative, socio-economic, and cultural boundaries from the past continued to have a lasting legacy on structuring society in the Baltic littoral.[19] From their bird's-eye-view, ethnographic maps made these patterns clearly visible. These 'phantom borders' (*Phantomgrenzen*) of German and Polish influence were used as a legitimising basis for making claims about the relative Germanness and Polishness of territories.[20] Just as in other heightened periods of political tension, modes of classifying people along ethnic lines during World War I were constructed in specific social, political, and economic contexts. I argue that the explosion of ethnographic maps published during the war was less a reflection of the inherent hegemony of the ethnolinguistic national paradigm as a way of thinking about the spatial ordering of Europe, but rather the flexibility of the ethnographic map as a medium which could be made to serve different ends.

Secondly, while the German occupation of Kurliand during World War I has been extensively studied by scholars, this chapter seeks to contribute new insights to German *Ostpolitik* by focusing on cartographical strategies of appropriation.[21] Additionally, while there has been extensive scholarship on the territorial struggles in the lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, such as how the city of Wilno/Vilnius/Vil'na/Viln'ia was situated at the nexus of Polish, Lithuanian, and Belarusian imagined geographies, the multiple claims to the territories of present-day Estonia and Latvia have been curiously absent from this wider discussion.[22] This chapter examines how parts of the territory claimed by Latvia also formed part of the geography of a reimagined Polish space.

The third driving argument in this chapter is that the Baltic provinces provide us with an important counter-example to challenge traditional narratives about ethnographic map-

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[19] On the dynamics of decolonisation and colonisation during World War I, see: Joshua Sanborn, "War of Decolonization: The Russian Empire in the Great War," in *The Empire and Nationalism at War*, eds. Eric Lohr, Vera Tolz, Alexander Semyonov, and Mark von Hagen (Bloomington: Slavica, 2014), 49-72; Joshua Sanborn, *Imperial Apocalypse: The Great War and the Destruction of the Russian* Empire (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); Robert L. Nelson, "The Baltics as Colonial Playground: Germany in the East, 1914–1918," *Journal of Baltic Studies* 42, no. 1 (2011), 9-19.

[20] The metaphor of 'phantom borders' is one of the most recent contributions to the theoretical poetry surrounding maps and borders. This term was coined by the interdisciplinary research network 'Phantom Borders in Eastern Central Europe', building on the work of Karl Schlögel on the relationship between time and place. For a more detailed discussion of this concept, see: Béatrice von Hirschhausen, Hannes Grandits, Claudia Kraft, Dietmar Müller, and Tomas Serrier, eds. *Phantomgrenzen. Räume und Akteure in der Zeit neu denken* (Göttingen: Wallstein, 2015). See also: Karl Schlögel, *Im Raume lesen wir die Zeit: Über Zivilisationsgeschichte und Geopolitik* (München: Carl Hanser, 2003).

[21] Liulevicius, *War Land on the Eastern Front*.

[22] Mačiulis and Staliūnas, eds. *Lithuanian nationalism and the Vilnius question*; Weeks, *Vilnius Between Nations*; Nenartovič, *Kaiserlich-russische*; Staliūnas, *Spatial Concepts of Lithuania in the Long Nineteenth Century*.

making during the war. Our understanding of the uses of ethnographic cartography during World War I has revolved around the use of maps by various national activists and delegations to blueprint a myriad of different post-war territorial designs based on the construction of ethnolinguistic or national borders.[23] As Volker Prott argues in his study of the politics of self-determination, at the end of World War I ethnicity was reduced to an objective factor that served both border drawing and collective political mobilisation.[24] As persuasive as this argument is, it does not work for the Baltic provinces. The Estonian and Latvian national movements, and later national governments, did not have a 'map man' such as Eugeniusz Romer, Pál Teleki, Jovan Cvijić, or Stepan Rudnyts'kyi to produce large-format pseudo-scientific ethnographic maps of their states and to champion their cause on the international stage.[25] The maps produced in the preceding decades by August Bielenstein and Matīss Siliņš were not used by the Latvian government in their efforts to win international recognition for Latvian independence. Bielenstein died in 1907 and during the war Siliņš remained in Riga as director of the National Museum and did not participate in the independence movement as a politically-orientated geographer. The Estonian national movement likewise lacked a renowned cartographer to champion their cause. Until 1917, nationally-minded Estonian and Latvian intellectuals limited their demands to establishing autonomous national provinces within the wider framework of the Russian Empire and did not produce ethnographic maps to make claims on territories. Instead, during World War I ethnographic maps of the Baltic littoral were created and published primarily by individuals living outside of the region who envisaged the peripheries of "their" states as impinging on the Baltic provinces.

The maps discussed in this chapter belong to a particular genre of 'popular cartography' that developed in the early twentieth century and was created for dissemination through mass media for widespread public consumption, both domestically and internationally.[26] Following the outbreak of the war in 1914, there was an avalanche of short books, small pamphlets, and brochures describing the ethnic groups of East Central Europe. These publications followed a

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[23] Jeremy W. Crampton, "The Cartographic Calculation of Space: Race Mapping and the Balkans at the Paris Peace Conference of 1919," *Social & Cultural Geography* 7, no. 5 (2006), 731-752; Gilles Palsky, "Emmanuel de Martonne and the Ethnographical Cartography of Central Europe (1917-1920)," *Imago Mundi* 54 (2002), 111-119; Maciej Górny, "'Futuristic Geography': The Role of Geographers in Shaping the Borders of East Central and South-Eastern Europe, 1914-1920," *Studia z Dziejów Rosji i Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej* 48 (2013), 79–102.
[24] Volker Prott, *The Politics of Self-Determination: Remaking Territories and National Identities in Europe, 1917-1923* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 7.
[25] Seegel, *Map Men.*
[26] Katariina Kosonen, "Making Maps and Mental Images: Finnish Press Cartography in Nation-Building, 1899–1942," *National Identities* 10, no.1 (2008), 21–47, 22.

similar format and usually consisted of several dozen pages of text outlining the history, geography, economy, language, culture, and religion of a particular nationality. Very often these publications included an ethnographic map, either printed within the body of the text or, when the maps were larger than the format of the book, as a fold-out sheet appended to the back of the publication. To keep production costs down, the publications and maps were printed cheaply on thin, low-quality paper and in black and white for dissemination to a wide audience. Where colour was used, it was often monochrome or only applied to certain sections of the map to draw the reader's attention to the most important details. The maps, and the publications they formed part of, were usually published in multiple translations to extend the reach of their audience.

A huge number of different territorial designs for the Empire's Baltic provinces were proposed during World War I and in the subsequent years, from the Baltic German-backed United Baltic Duchy to the idea to create a Latvian-Lithuanian confederation.[27] Many of these projects were ephemeral states or 'invisible countries', that lacked international recognition and existed predominately on maps and in the minds of their proponents.[28] The sheer number of maps published during the war to promote these different imagined geographies means that a comprehensive survey of all the maps of the Baltic region published between 1914-19 is beyond the scope of a single chapter. Instead, I focus here on two case studies of German and Polish maps to explore different dimensions of the entanglements between imperialism and nationalism, and between colonialism and decolonialisation in the Baltic region. These case studies bring maps that are often well-known in their separate national historiographical contexts into dialogue with one another.

Claiming the Baltics for *Deutschtum*

At the end of the nineteenth century, the Baltic provinces were included in several maps depicting the spread of Germans in Europe, such as Heinrich Kiepert's *Overview Map of the Spread of Germans in Europe* (1887) and Paul Langhan's *German Colonial Atlas* (1897).[29] The latter contained an insert map specifically on *Germandom in the Baltic Provinces*, depicting the relative density of ethnic Germans (Figure 50). Langhans' map illustrates how

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[27] On the concept of a Lithuanian-Latvian joint state, see: John Szlupas, *Lithuania in Retrospect and Prospect* (New York: Lithuanian Press Association of America, 1915).
[28] Joshua Keating, *Invisible Countries: Journeys to the Edge of Nationhood* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2018).
[29] Heinrich Kiepert, *Übersichtskarte der Verbreitung der Deutschen in Europa* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1887).

German geographers 'paid surprisingly scarce attention to *actually* marking the demographic presence of Germans and the *actual* bounding (e.g. constructing) of German ethnonational territory to the east'.[30] Instead, by portraying the German influence in the Baltic provinces in terms of degrees of density, Langhans' map conveyed the impression that the frontiers of German space in the east gradually petered out, rather than forming a definite border. Moreover, by not depicting other ethnic groups, the map made a powerful visual statement about how almost the whole territory of the Baltic provinces was German to a degree. Following the occupation of Kurland in 1915, German claims to the region were strengthened within the institutional and administrative structure of *Ober Ost*. During the war, discourse about the Germanness of the Baltic provinces spread to popular travelogues and reports published in scientific journals.[31] These publications were part of a vast genre which provided readers with information about different 'diasporic' German communities and about what kind of Germans lived in these regions.[32]

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[30] Seegel, *Mapping Europe's Borderlands,* 248.

[31] Paul Rohrback, *Das Baltenbuch: die baltischen Provinzen und ihre deutsche Kultur; mit Beiträgen hervorragender Balten und vielen Bildern* (Dachau: Der Gelbe Verl. Blumtritt, 1916); H. Rosen, "Die etnographischen Verhältnissen den baltischen Provinzen und in Litauen," *Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen,* September 1, 1915.

[32] Hansen, *Mapping the Germans*, 132. On how the German colonial imagination towards the Baltic provinces became increasingly radical during World War I, see: Nelson, "The Baltics as Colonial Playground,", 9-19.
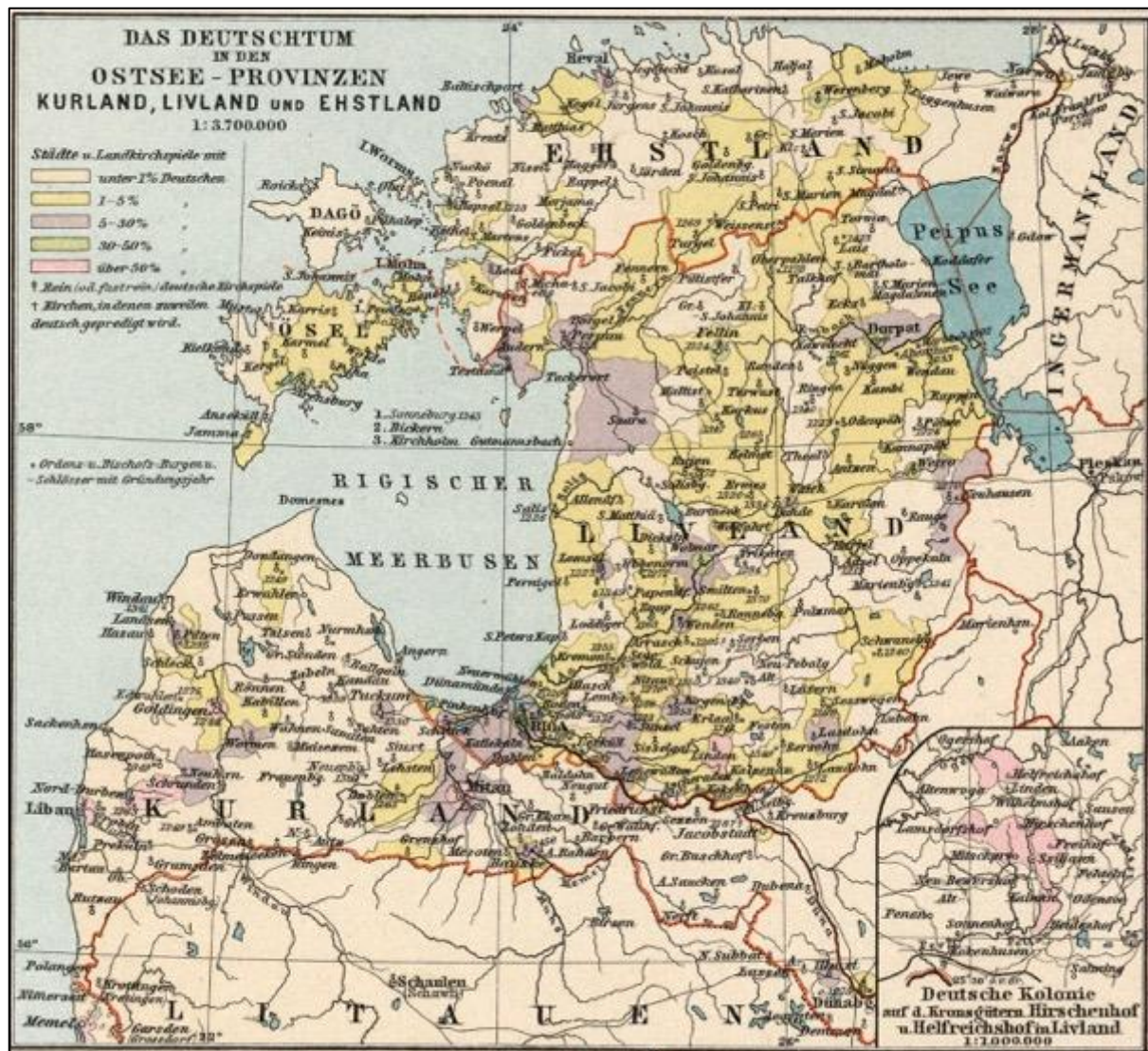
Figure 50. Langhans' inset map of *Germandom in the Baltic provinces* (1897)

Source: Paul Langhans, "No. 7. Deutsche Kolonisation im Osten. II. Auf Slavischen Boden," *Deutscher Kolonial-Atlas* (Gotha: Justus Perthes, 1897). Credit: David Rumsey Historical Map Collection.

One of the most outspoken proponents of the idea of the Baltic provinces as a part of a larger Germandom (*Deutschtum*) was Theodor Schiemann (1847-1921).[33] In April 1915, Schiemann prepared a confidential memorandum for the German government, where he argued that the Baltic provinces had been a German 'colony' for 700 years. Despite having successively been part of Poland, Sweden, and Russia, he alleged that the region had

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[33] Born in Grobin (Grobiņa) in Kurland province, Schiemann attended high school in Mitau and studied history at Dorpat University between 1867-1872, where Carl Schirren's strong anti-Russification stance made a great impression on him. After working as a teacher in Mitau and Fellin (Viljandi), and an archivist in Danzig (Gdańsk) and Reval (Tallinn), he moved to Berlin in 1887. In 1892, he was appointed as a professor of Eastern European History and Ethnology at Friedrich-Wilhelms University. He was a regular contributor to the conservative newspaper *Neue Preußische Zeitung* (*Kreuzzeitung*) and developed a reputation as an expert on Baltic affairs and for his hostility against Russian interests in the Baltic littoral.

maintained its strong connection to the 'German Motherland'. [34] Schiemann argued that German high culture, language, and the Protestant religion were all prevalent in Estland, Livland, and Kurland. In his view, Latvians and Estonians had no separate cultures of their own, only a common overarching German high culture and thus would be much better off living under German rule than under the destructive Russian influence. Moreover, he stressed the importance of the Baltic littoral for German trade interests in the Baltic Sea and for the security concerns of the German Reich, arguing that Lake Peipus and the swamplands to the east of Livland formed a natural geopolitical boundary between Germany and Russia. [35] Having been born in Kurland, Schiemann presented himself as an 'expert' (*Kenner*) and authoritative judge of the relative Germanness of the Baltic littoral. The upsurge of nationalist sentiment during World War I often pitted members of the same family against one another. [36] Schiemann's nephew, the journalist and politician Paul Schiemann (1876-1944) became a famous liberal defender of minority rights in interwar Latvia, whose ideas strongly diverged from his uncle's. As Katja Wezel argues, questions of loyalty and orientation were 'increasingly divisive', 'seldom clear-cut', and usually a 'matter of personal preference'. [37]

The geographer and cartographer Paul Langhans (1838-1922) played an important role in giving cartographical expression to the idea of the Baltic provinces as part of *Deutschtum*. From 1909-37 Langhans edited the internationally prominent German-language geographical periodical, *Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen*, which published a series of maps during the war on the ethnographic composition of key areas of German interest, such as northern Italy, Bukovina, and Bessarabia, as well as the Baltic provinces. Langhans' map of the Baltic provinces and Lithuania depicted the distribution and density of the ethnic groups (*Stämme*) inhabiting the Baltic provinces, divided into Latvians, Estonians, Lithuanians, Samogitians, Poles, Great Russians, White Russians, Finns, and Swedes (Figure 51). He used solid shading to indicate territories inhabited exclusively by a single ethnic group (90 to 100 per cent). Hatching and lighter shades denoted mixed areas inhabited by an 'absolute majority' that was

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[34] Theodor Schiemann, *Die Deutschen Ostseeprovinzen Rußlands: geschichtlich, kulturell und wirtschaftlich dargestellt von Kennern der Baltischen Provinzen.* Berlin 1915. DSHI 140 Balt 197. The memorandum was later published in 1918. Theodor Schiemann, *Die deutschen Ostseeprovinzen Rußlands: geschichtlich, kulturell und wirtschaftlich; dargestellt von Kennern der baltischen Provinzen* (Berlin: Elsner, 1918).
[35] *Ibid.*
[36] The history of Central and Eastern Europe is full of examples of family members who found themselves on different sides of national movements. A well-known example is the diverging opinions of the pro-Piłsudski and later Lithuanian nationalist Michał Romer / Mykolas Römeris (1880-1945) and his pro-Dmowski cousin, Eugeniusz Romer (1871-1954). See: Seegel, *Mapping Europe's Borderlands,* 243-53. Similarly, the Lithuanian-identifying writer Oskar Miłosz (1887-1839) was a distant cousin of Czesław Miłosz (1911-2004), who identified more as a Pole.
[37] Wezel, "Introduction: German community – German nationality?", 7.

'more than all the other peoples together' and a relative majority that was 'more than any other single ethnic group'. Coloured squares and triangles overlaying the shaded majority territories indicated the presence of minorities living alongside the majority, to which two additional groups were added, Germans and Jews, who did not have a majority anywhere, but lived in the region in concentrations of up to 30 per cent. Moreover, Langhans used a separate set of circle symbols of denote German city-dwellers. Langhans' map constructed an image of the Baltic provinces as an ethnographically mixed region inhabited by an Estonian and Latvian majority, but with a strong German urban presence in key cities such as Reval, Dorpat, Riga, and in almost all the major cities and towns in Kurland. The distinction drawn between the ethnicity of the region's urban and rural inhabitants was used to reinforce a powerful civilisational message about Estonians and Latvians as peasant peoples, and Germans as the region's *Kulturnation.*
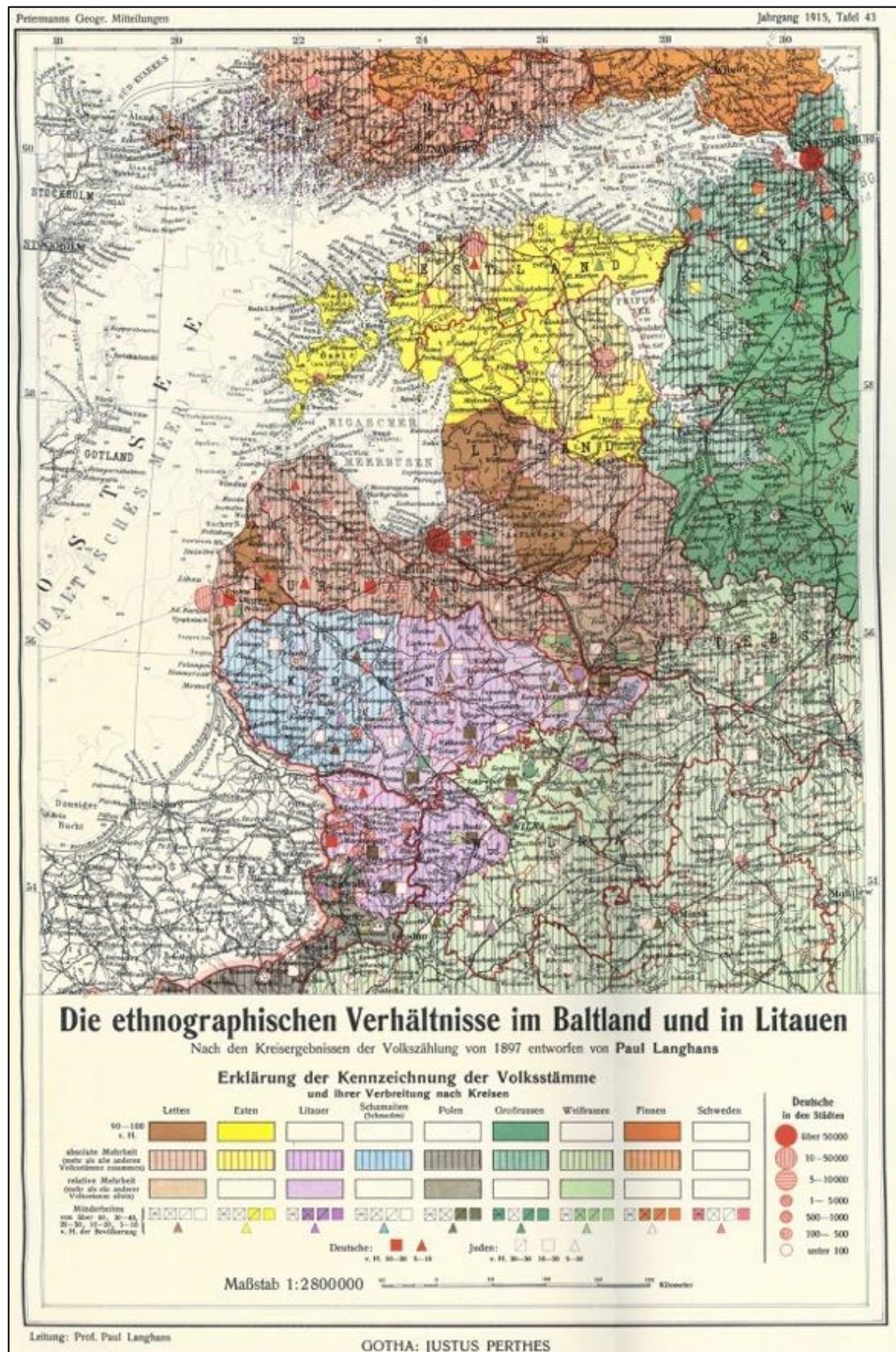
Figure 51. Langhans' *Map of the Ethnographic Conditions in the Baltic and Lithuania* (1915)

Source: Paul Langhans, "Die ethnographischen Verhältnisse in den baltischen Provinzen und in Litauen." *Petermanns Geographische Mitteilungen*, September 1, 1915.

Reclaiming Polish Livonia

Strikingly similar discursive strategies appeared in Polish-language publications examining visions of what a future independent Polish state might look like. Map-makers carved out a space for Poland among the partitioned territories of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Whereas in the nineteenth century these territories formerly belonging to the eastern half of the Commonwealth had been referred to in Polish as the 'western borderlands' (*zieme zabrane*) of the Russian Empire, a translation of the Russian term 'North-Western Territory' (*Severo-zapadnyi krai*), at the beginning of the twentieth century these lands were reframed in Polish national geographical imagination as the 'eastern borderlands' (*kresy*) of the Polish territory. Moreover, as in the case of the imagined geographies of *Deutschtum*, when map-makers began to blueprint their different ideas of Poland, the eastern borders were particularly fluid.[38] As Anne Applebaum argues, whereas the western borders (*pogranicze*) with Germany were relatively fixed in the Polish imagination, 'the *kresy*, to the Polish mind, had always been empty, like a blank page waiting to be inscribed; through valour and bravery, the Poles had put their mark on it'.[39]

In the early twentieth century, Polish socialists discussed Polish Livonia in the context of debates about the creation of a federation of peoples of the former Commonwealth. A key figure in this discussion was Bolesław Limanowski (1835-1935), a founding member of the Polish Socialist Party who had spent his childhood in Podgórz/Podgórze at his family's estate near Dyneburg (Daugavpils).[40] Limanowski never forgot his roots in Polish Livonia and referred to himself variously as a Pole, Lithuanian ('Litwin', in the historical-political sense rather than ethnographic), and 'one who rationalised about oneself as a Livonian' (*wyrozumowanym Inflantczykiem*). He wrote under a pseudonym, Janko Płakań: a combination

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[38] Eberhardt, *Polska i jej granice*; Alexandra Schweiger, *Polens Zukunft liegt im Osten: Polnische Ostkonzepte der späten Teilungszeit (1890-1918)* (Marburg: Verlag Herder-Institut, 2014).

[39] Anne Applebaum, *Between East and West: Across the Borderlands of Europe* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1994), 47.

[40] Only a handful of scholars have reflected on Limanowski's engagement with Polish Livonia. Kazimiera J. Cottam, "Bolesław Limanowski and the Nationality Problems of the Polish Eastern Borderlands," *The Polish Review* 17, no. 2 (1972), 38-55; Juliusz Bardach, "Inflanty, Litwa, Białoruś w twórczości Bolesława Limanowskiego: Studium z dziejów w kwestii narodowej," *Przegląd Historyczny* 65, no. 3 (1974), 479–503; Dorota Samborska-Kukuć, "Inflanty Polskie Bolesława Limanowskiego – wspomnienia i relacje," *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Litteraria Polonica* 4, no. 22 (2013), 73–86. Another famous activist in the PSP, Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz, also came from the former Polish Livonia. See: Timothy Snyder, *Nationalism, Marxism, and Modern Central Europe: A Biography of Kazimierz Kelles-Krauz 1872-1905* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997).

of typical Belarusian and Latvian peasant names.[41] Having grown up surrounded by Latvian/Latgalian-speaking peasants, Limanowski's vision of the eastern borderlands of a future Poland firmly included not only Lithuanians, Belarusians, and Ukrainians, but also Latvians/Latgalians. He advocated a revival of the Commonwealth based on the 1772 borders, inspired by the 1569 Union of Lublin and the contemporary Swiss Federation.[42] Writing in his diary, Limanowski noted how, 'As a Livonian [*jako Inflantczyk*], I developed the idea that in the reborn Polish-Lithuanian-Ruthenian Commonwealth we should include the whole of Latvian Inflanty with Riga and Mitawa'.[43] For Limanowski, Polish Livonia and the former Duchy of Courland and Semigallia were integral parts of the territory of the former Commonwealth.

Like fellow Polish-Livonian Gustaw Manteuffel, Limanowski was frustrated by the lack of attention in the Polish press given to Polish Livonia and felt that Poles had very limited knowledge about this region.[44] To spread knowledge about these former Polish-Lithuanian territories, Limanowski published numerous works on the 1830-1 and 1863-4 uprisings, including an account of the activities of revolutionary heroes Emilia Plater and Leon Plater, who were both biographically connected to Polish Livonia.[45] Limanowski was hostile towards the Russian Empire, arguing that during the nineteenth century the cities of Polish Livonia had become gradually less Polish. On the other hand, as an agnostic, he struggled with the idea of Catholicism as the main bond and common identification between the gentry and peasants, observing how "Polishness" could be found along the small country roads, in the mansions and estates of the local Catholic nobility, and among the Catholic clergy. Yet, until recently, the peasants had been the serfs of Polish landowners.[46] Fuelled by his hostility towards Russia, he understood Polish-Russian relations in black-and-white terms – oriental despotism versus western liberalism – and argued that an independent Polish state, rather than Russia, was the best guarantor of cultural-national autonomy. The attention paid to former Polish Livonia by Limanowski set the stage for the appropriation of the region into the imagined geography of Poland by map-makers in the early twentieth century.

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[41] Bardach, "Inflanty, Litwa, Białoruś", 480; 484; Samborska-Kukuć, "Inflanty Polskie Bolesława Limanowskiego", 80.
[42] The treatise uniting the Kingdom of Poland and Grand Duchy of Lithuania into a single state with an elective monarchy.
[43] Bolesław Limanowski, *Pamiętniki. Vol. 1. (1835—1870)* (Warszaw: 1956), 248.
[44] *Ibid.*, 53-54.
[45] Bolesław Limanowski, "Korespondencja z Inflant," *Przegląd Rzeczy Polskich*, December 15, 1860; Bolesław Limanowski, *Dzieje Litwy* (Kraków: Towarzystwo Wydawnicze, 1917).
[46] Cottam, "Boleslaw Limanowski", 44.

The way in which local intellectuals and nobles (*szlachta*) in Vitebsk province perceived their relationship to notions of Poland and Polishness was encapsulated in a collection of short essays published in 1912 entitled *From the Vicinity of the [river] Daugava.*[47] The publication was initiated by Wacław Fedorowicz (1848–1911), a prominent local collector of antiquities, and funded by the Polish Reading Room in the city of Vitebsk.[48] Gustaw Manteuffel, folklorist Stefania Ulanowska, and Bolesław Limanowski all contributed articles.[49] The title of Limanowski's article, 'What is Homeland?' (*Czem jest ojczyzna?*) set the tone for the contributions, which reflected on the relationship between their home province of Vitebsk and the lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The authors proudly asserted themselves as part of a common Polish 'high' (*szlachta*) culture. Writing in Polish language, or rather a regional variety of codified standard written Polish, the contributors sought to reach out to their perceived Polonophone Catholic kin and remind them that they too were part of the historical, social, cultural, and political space of the former Commonwealth. At the same time, the contributors also expressed a strong sense of self-identification with the lands on the shores of the river Dźwina/Dvina (Daugava). Their essays explored how their homeland had developed its own unique characteristics over time as a result of being on the geographical periphery of Polish cultural and political life within the Russian Empire.

Inflanty thus functioned as a sounding board for exploring several big ontological questions in Polish-speaking intellectual life during this period: What is Poland? Who are the Poles? What territories should a future Polish state include? Should Poland be, as the politician and future statesman Roman Dmowski (1864-1939) and the right-wing *Endecja* (National Democracy) movement argued, a state based on an ethnolinguistically Polish and Catholic demos? Or should Poland aim to be a restoration of the multicultural Commonwealth, as advocated by Marshall Józef Piłsudski (1867-1935) and the Polish Socialist Party? At both extremes of the political spectrum, the historical legacies of the pre-1772 territory of the Commonwealth persisted in structuring perceptions of space and ideas about belonging and loyalty.

During World War I, the debates about the relative Polishness of the territory of former Inflanty and the Duchy of Courland and Semigallia gained momentum. Eugeniusz Romer

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[47] *Z okolic Dźwiny. Księga zbiorowa na dochód Czytelni Polskiej w Witebsku* (Vitebsk: Zarząd Towarzystwa Dobroczynności w Witebsku; Odbito w drukarni Józefa Zawadzkiego, 1912).

[48] Fedorowicz died before the project was completed. For an account of Fedorowicz's activities to support Polish culture in Vitebsk, see: Konrad Ajewski, "Wacław Fedorowicz – zapomniany kolekcjoner z Witebska," *Muzealnictwo* 55 (2014), 118–30.

[49] For more on these figures, see Chapter 5.

(1871-1954), the most famous Polish cartographer of the early twentieth century, exercised great influence over formulating and popularising the idea of a far-reaching cultural sphere of Polish interests in the east. Romer was born in Galicia in the Habsburg Empire and was descended from a family of Lithuanian-Livonian magnates. He attended a Polish-language gymnasium, and studied and taught geography in Vienna, Kraków, and Lemberg/Lwów (Lviv). While in Vienna in 1916, Romer started work on his *Geographical and Statistical Atlas of Poland*, which was published in Lemberg/Lwów the same year.[50] The *Atlas*'s text was printed in German, Polish, and French in three columns across the page, indicating how Romer wanted to present his maps not only to Polish-speakers, but also to a broader international audience. While there is a vigorous literature on Romer and his *Atlas*, scholars have overlooked the significance of Romer's *Atlas* for promoting the extension of Polish interests to the north and the overlaps between Polish and Latvian territorial claims.[51]

Romer's *Atlas* contained plates covering many different aspects of physical geography, state organisation, economy, and social and demographic statistics to support his claims for the existence of a Polish territory in Central Europe. Romer asserted that Poland possessed both a "natural" geographical and socio-cultural unity.[52] Romer used the pre-partition borders of the Commonwealth as his reference point for producing his maps and presented the restoration of the Commonwealth's borders as the recreation of a single political, economic, and cultural unit which had been unnaturally fragmented by external powers.[53] The *Atlas* included an ethnographic map of 'Poles' (*Polacy*) (Figure 52). Using a similar approach to the German maps discussed above, Romer's ethnographic map depicted the density of Poles inhabiting the lands of the former Commonwealth and contoured East Central Europe in bright orange and yellow colour-coded intervals of 25, 50, and 75 per cent "Polish". Romer was thus able to present an aggrandised image of the Polish settled territories that included 'all the neighbouring countries who, by the proportion of Poles inhabiting them, also form part of the Polish question'.[54] Moreover, similar to Langhans' map of Germans in the Baltic provinces, Romer

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[50] Eugeniusz Romer, *Geograficzno-statystyczny atlas Polski* (Lwów: Książnicy Polskiej Towarzystwa Nauczycieli Szkół Wyższych; Zakład Kartograficzny Freytaga i Berndta, 1916).

[51] For recent literature on Romer's maps, see: Anna Osowska and Dariusz Przybytek, "Thematic maps in Eugeniusz Romer's Geographical and Statistical Atlas of Poland from 1916 – the historical and methodological perspective (on the 100-year anniversary of the publication)," *Polish Cartographical Review* 48, no. 2 (2016), 77–86; Morgane Labbé, "Eugene Romer's 1916 Atlas of Poland: Creating a New Nation State," *Imago Mundi* 70, no.1 (2018), 94-113. Romer is also extensively discussed in: Seegel, *Map Men*.

[52] Romer's discussions about the natural shape of Poland as a territorial entity echo many of Aleksandr Rittikh's arguments from the 1880s about the 'solid' and 'continuous' distribution of the Russian people and the abnormality of German 'enclaves' and 'depressions' in this mass.

[53] Eberhardt, "Zasięg terytorialny Polski," 8.

[54] Romer, *Geograficzno-statystyczny atlas Polski,* plate ix.

shaded territories inhabited by smaller proportions of Poles (1-5 per cent and less than 1 per cent) in muted blue hues, thereby creating an impression that the whole of the former Commonwealth's territories were "Polish" to a degree. The western part of Vitebsk province was rendered as part of a corridor of 5-25 per cent "Polishness" stretching northward from Wilno towards Dźwińsk, and to the administrative boundary with Estliand province.[55] Kurliand province was shaded blue, associating it with the East Prussian enclave around Königsberg, Silesia, the region south of Kiev, and north-east Vitebsk province as being the least "Polish" parts of the former Commonwealth.

Inset into the ethnographic map of Poles was a smaller map depicting the distribution of different languages on the territory of the former Commonwealth. In the introduction to the *Atlas*, Romer noted that 'Without a doubt, language is the principle marker of nationality'. However, he added a major qualification: that the legacy of historical borders needed to be considered when interpreting these 'language zones', as 'history often brings about alterations'.[56] Romer only depicted what he considered to be the majority language. As a result, German and Russian were not represented as Romer felt that their presence in the area was 'due to colonisation'. At the same time, Romer cautioned that these linguistic areas could not be taken as a reliable indicator of the spread of "Polishness" as '[i]n western White and Little Russia, the people there speak "vulgar language" (*langue vulgaire*), and in most cases they have never heard of White or Small Russians and they can be counted as Poles, as they are Catholics.'[57] Thus, Romer believed that language alone could not be reliably treated in isolation as the basis for determining borders. While Romer referred to his map as an 'ethnographic map', he saw ethnolinguistic factors as just one parameter among many different demographic variables which had to be mapped to assess, evaluate, and demarcate the sphere of "Polish" influence. A "Pole", according to Romer, could only be defined in relation to the complex intersection of political, social, economic, and cultural legacies of the former Commonwealth.

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[55] Romer uses the Polish version of names of the present-day cities of Vilnius and Daugavpils.
[56] Romer, *Geograficzno-statystyczny atlas Polski,* plate ix.
[57] *Ibid.*
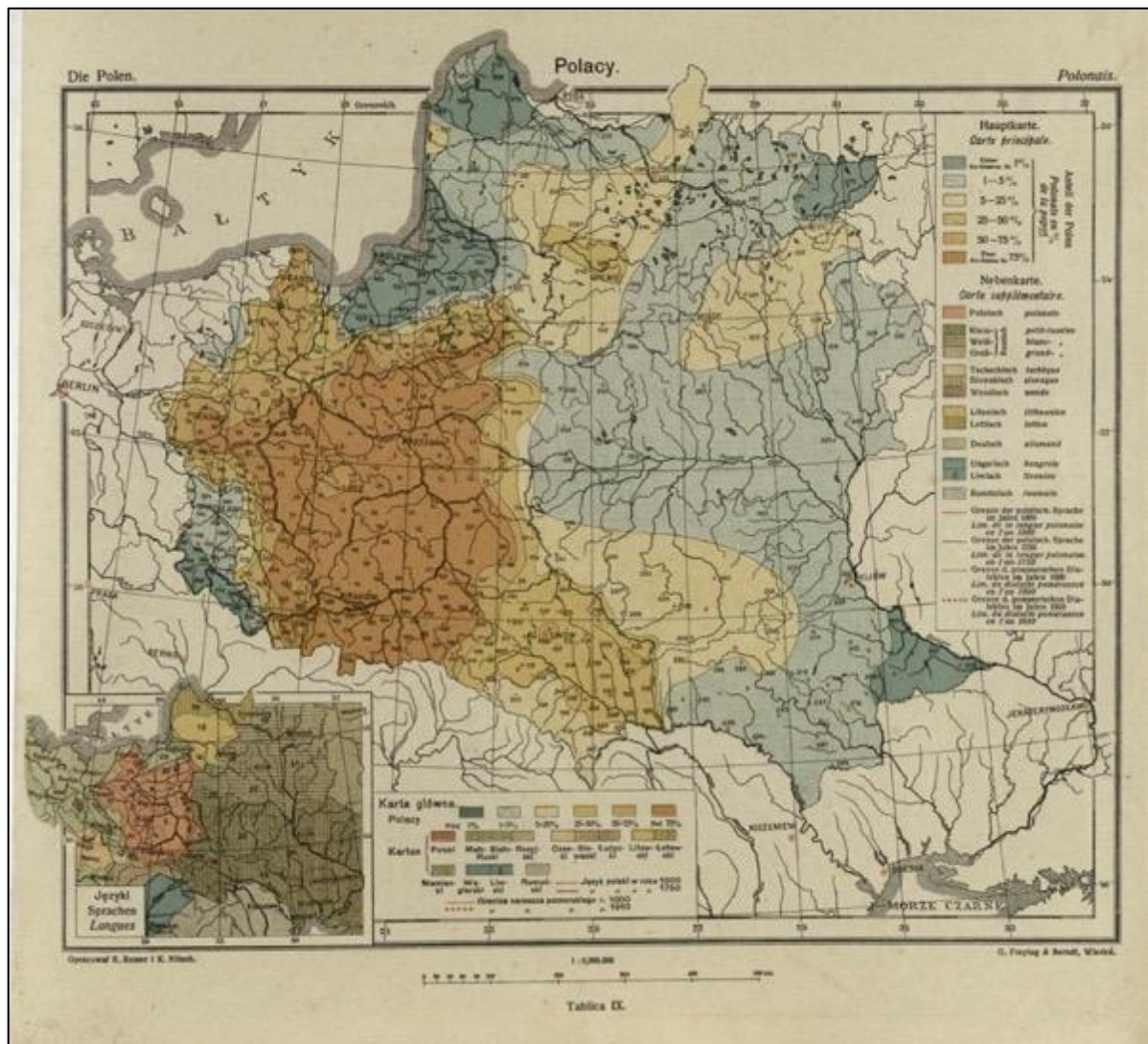
Figure 52. Ethnographic plate from Romer's *Geographical-Statistical Atlas of Poland* (1916)

Source: Eugeniusz Romer, *Geograficzno-statystyczny atlas Polski* (Lwów: Książnicy Polskiej Towarzystwa Nauczycieli Szkół Wyższych; Zakład Kartograficzny Freytaga i Berndta, 1916).
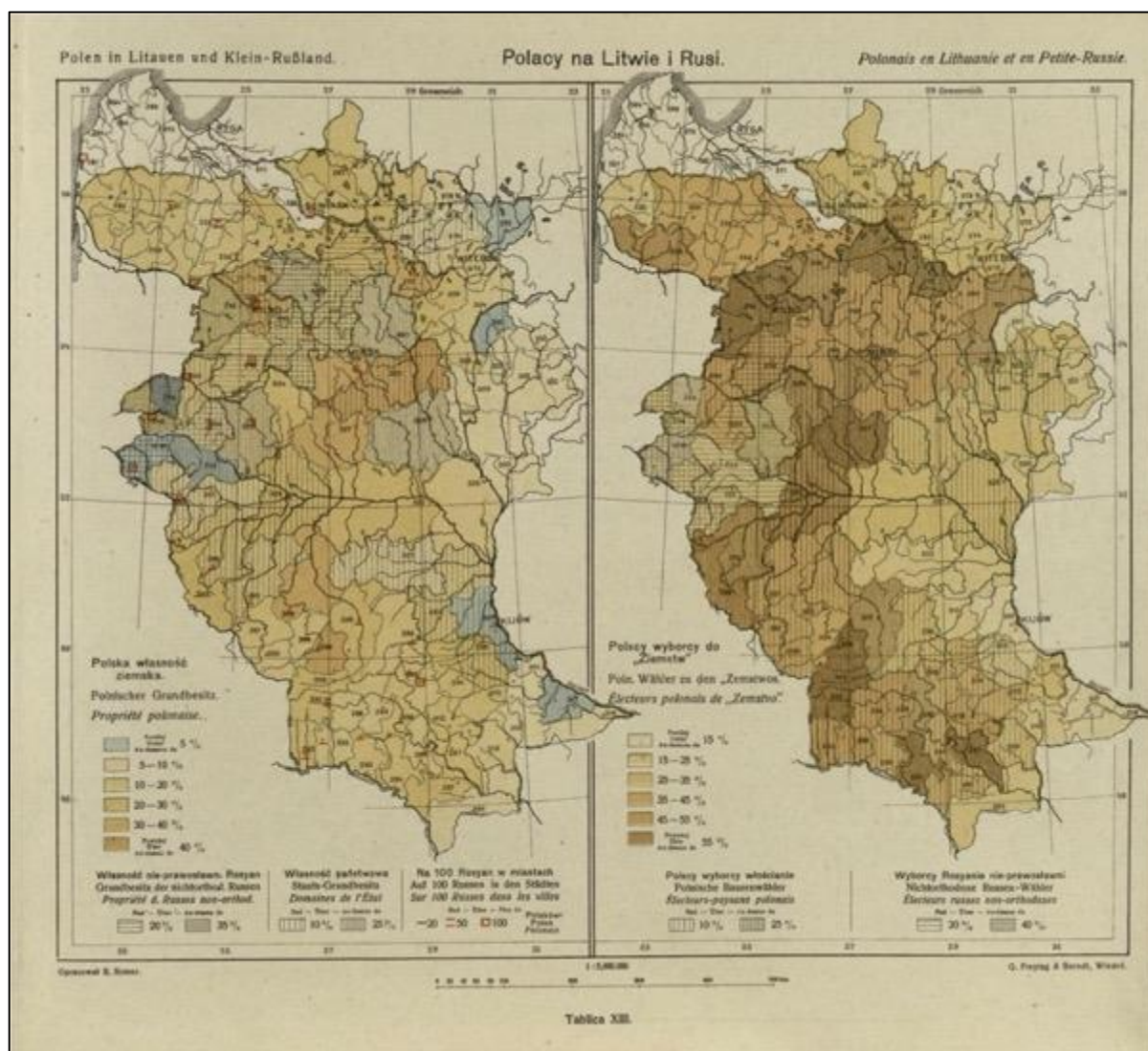
Figure 53. Romer's map of *Poles in Lithuania and Ruthenia* (1916)

Source: Eugeniusz Romer, *Geograficzno-statystyczny atlas* Polski (Lwów: Książnicy Polskiej Towarzystwa Nauczycieli Szkół Wyższych; Zakład Kartograficzny Freytaga i Berndta, 1916).

Romer's vision of Poland as a culmination of the Commonwealth's overlapping historical, cultural, and socio-economic legacies is clearly visible in his map of Poles in the so-called Lithuanian and Ruthenian provinces (Figure 53). According to the map's title, it depicted the distribution of Poles. However, a close examination of the parameters Romer used to define Polishness highlights how the map actually depicted the economic and political power of the Polish-speaking social elites in terms of the distribution of properties owned by Poles and the areas with elected Polish representatives in local governments. In the case of Vitebsk province, Romer offset the fact that the Polish-speaking population was relatively small by arguing that their socio-economic influence in the region was more important than their numerical presence. Romer's concept of the sphere of Polish interests was thus not related to ethnicity or language

per se, but rather attributed an importance to the economic, political and social power of the region's elites, whom he continued to associate with the Commonwealth despite the fact that they had lived their whole lives as Russian imperial subjects. Romer viewed Polish Livonia in terms of its "potential Polishness" and he regarded the local inhabitants as an 'ethnographic mass' (*masa etnograficzna*) of people with no clear ethnolinguistic or national identity. However, Romer felt that their Roman Catholic religion and sense of local belonging to their village could be shaped relatively easily into a Polish national mould. Local Baltic-speaking peasants could become "Poles" (*poļaki* or *pūļi*) through education and social advancement, just as in the Baltic provinces, upwardly mobile Estonians or Latvians could become "Germanised".[58] "Pole", for Romer, was an attribute that one could assume or lose, in varying degrees, not something that was absolute and indelibly fixed to a person from the moment of birth. In this respect, the arguments found in Polish-language publications about the 'Polishness' of parts western Vitebsk and Kurliand bear many similarities to the arguments found in German-language publications framing the Baltic littoral as part of *Deutschtum.*

While Romer's *Atlas* may be the most famous work of Polish-language cartography published during World War I, the idea that former Polish Livonia should be included within territorial definitions of "Poland" was corroborated by many of Romer's contemporaries. In 1917, Włodzimierz Wakar (1885-1933), then a professor at the Higher School of Economics in Warsaw, published a map depicting the whole of former Polish Livonia within the territory defined as 'predominantly Catholic' (*przewaga ludności katolickiej*). Dyneburg and Illukszta (in south-east Kurliand) were rendered as part of the 'predominantly Polish' (*przewaga ludności polskiej*) territory (Figure 54). Wakar envisaged a situation where the Latvian ethnographic territory would be split and 'some will be pulled by their Evangelical brothers to Latvia, others will merge with our Livonian colonisation.'[59] Despite being an economist by training, Wakar was sceptical about the ability of statistical data to capture the 'feeling' of being Polish, which he interpreted as a complex constellation of social, cultural, political, and religious forms of identification. He argued that the true measure of "Polishness" could not be based on arbitrary thresholds of quantitative data, but rather could only be measured according to the 'supremacy of the Polish culture'.[60] For Wakar, the power of maps lay in their ability to

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[58] Šuplinska, *Latgolys Lingvoteritorialuo Vuordneica,* 570. On the idea that that ethnic and national forms of collective identification were subsidiaries of social class, see Henriksson, *The Tsar's Loyal Germans,* 12.
[59] Włodzimierz Wakar, *Rozwój terytoryalny narodowości polskiej,* vol. 3 (Kielce: Drukarnia, Litografia, Introligatornia i skład materiałów piśmiennych St. Sięcki, 1917).
[60] *Ibid.* Wakar included three categories of "Polishness" in his map legend: the territory inhabited by a Polish majority, the Catholic Polish population, and the 'real or greater Polish population' *(ludność polska właściwie*

provide a 'visual synthesis of the distribution of the Polish population'. He claimed that 'the matter was not for me here, however, to illustrate their [the nationalities'] ethnographic mosaic or to show the islands of foreign tribes within the body of our nation (special maps of the various districts could serve for this purpose), but a general outline, that shall graphically capture above all the whole of the Polish population'.[61] Wakar nonetheless remained uncertain and stressed that ethnographic boundaries based on religion alone were difficult to determine precisely: 'Unfortunately, the subdued pace of national life there gives no testimony to the exact examination of our territorial borders and abundance - except approximately. The border post of our population, which here reaches far to the north, is located somewhere near Dvinsk'.[62]

Figure 54. Wakar's map of the Polish population in East Central Europe (1917)

Source: Włodzimierz Wakar, *Rozwój terytoryalny narodowości polskiej* 3 (Kielce: Drukarnia, Litografia, Introligatornia i skład materiałów piśmiennych St. Sięcki, 1917).

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wielka). The latter referred to the inhabitants of the *kresy*. The adjective 'Greater' here is used by analogy to the Russian term 'Greater Russians', comprising '(Greater, proper) Russians,' 'White Russians' (Belarusians), and 'Little Russians' (Ukrainians).

[61] *Ibid*, 25.

[62] *Ibid*, 25.

The idea of Polishness as a multi-layered phenomenon received one of its most explicit cartographical manifestations in the maps of Leon Wasilewski (1870-1936), a PPS activist and Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs (1918-9). Appended to his book *The Baltic Provinces of the Old Polish State* (1916), was a coloured ethnographic map that could be overlaid with a sheet of tracing paper depicting the distribution of Catholics, Orthodox, and Protestants (Figure 55). The maps were designed to be interactive, so that readers could either choose to view the ethnographic and confessional maps separately, or to combine both maps to get a sense of the intersections between ethnolinguistic and religious communities.

Figure 55. Wasilewski's interactive ethnographic map of East Central Europe (1916)

Ethnographic map (left) and confessional map (right) printed on tracing paper shown overlaying the ethnographic map.

Source: Leon Wasilewski, *Die Ostprovinzen des alten Polenreiches (Lithauen u. Weissruthenien, die Landschaft Chem - Ostgalizien - die Ukraina)* (Kraukau: Zentral Verlagsbureau des Polnischen Obersten Nationalkomitees, 1916).

Afterlife during the Interwar Years

Despite the discursive challenges to the idea of the Baltic provinces as ethnic Estonian and Latvian regions, the German and Polish imagined geographies discussed above failed to translate into practical designs for the post-war organisation of space. From a comparative perspective, the two independent republics of Estonia and Latvia were unusual in interwar Europe as their borders were an almost exact translation of the ethnographic regions demarcated on the maps by Keppen (1851) and Rittikh (1875). The high level of continuity between the imperial orderings of space and the allegedly national polities that emerged after World War I suggests that ideas about the location and shape of the Estonian and Latvian ethnolinguistic territory had already been largely embedded before the war.

Nevertheless, the maps of the 'phantom borders' of German and Polish influence in the Baltic provinces did not remain in the discursive realm of imagined geographies, but their legacy continued to reverberate in the interwar years. As John Hiden has shown, Estonia and Latvia continued to occupy an important place in the minds of Weimar policy-makers in the spheres of foreign and economic policy, as well as the continued perception of Baltic Germans as 'Germans abroad' (*Auslandsdeutsche*).[63] In the second half of the 1930s, German annexationist thinking towards the region underwent a resurgence, when numerous statistical maps were published in Weimar Germany depicting the distribution of Germans in Estonia and Latvia.[64]

Conversely, the overlapping Polish and Latvian territorial claims had more short-term impacts on diplomatic relations between the two states. In 1919, the Polish government laid claim to several parishes of former southwest Kurliand and the town of Gryva/Griva, which had been rendered as Polish on the maps by Romer, Wakar, and Wasilewski. Although these territories had been controlled by Polish and Lithuanian forces in the summer of 1919, in July 1919 the encroaching Red Army forced the Polish army to retreat and Latvian forces occupied the territory. Polish claims to the region were however strengthened in the winter of 1919-20 when a joint military operation by Polish and Latvian forces captured Dvinsk/Daugavpils from

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[63] John Hiden, *The Baltic States and Weimar Ostpolitik* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987).
[64] H. Feudendorff, *Karte des Deutschtums in Lettland* (1928). HIK 46 III D 3; H. Handrack, *Karte der Deutschen in Lettland nach Städten und Gemeinden (nach Angaben der lettischen Volkszählung 1935, überprüft durch die Deutsche Volksgruppe in Lettland)* (Dorpat: Volksdeutsche Forschungsgemeinschaften, 1936); Kurt von Maydell, *Die Bevölkerung Estlands und Lettlands / Dargestellt in ihrem nationalen Gefüge nach dem Stande von 1934 (Estland) und 1935 (Lettland)* (Leipzig: Hirzel, 1940); Kurt von Maydell and G. von Bornkam, *Die Verbreitung der Deutschen in Estland und Lettland auf Grund der amtlichen Volkzählungen von 1934 (Estland) und 1935 (Lettland)* (Berlin: Leopold Kraatz, 1940).

the Red Army. In early 1920, the Polish-controlled districts to the south of the river, including the town of Gryva/Griva, were incorporated into the Braslaw (Braslau) district of the Polish state.

In December 1919, the Polish authorities collected data on the ethnic composition of former south-eastern Kurliand province, which showed 9,207 Poles living in Ilukszt/Ilūkste district (53 per cent of the population).[65] The Polish representative in Latvia at the time, Witold Kamieniecki, wrote to the chairman of the Latvian-Lithuanian Boundary Commission, James Young Simpson, in February and March 1921 about Poland's claims to Ilukszt. Kamieniecki argued that neither Latvia nor Lithuania had an ethnographic claim to the district, as the majority of the population were *'polono-blanc-ruthene'*.[66] Simpson dismissed these claims, arguing that there were considerable discrepancies in the statistics: data collected by the Latvian State Statistics Department put the Polish population at 6,121 (34.2 per cent). According to Simpson, the cause of the inconsistency was that 'a considerable number of those who registered as Poles do not speak Polish, but they confuse their religious beliefs, which are very dear to them, with a special country.'[67] Simpson also rejected Kamieniecki's proposed umbrella term for the region's Slavophone population – *'polono-blanc-ruthene'* – because it did not consider the interests of the local population and their self-identification as Poles or Belarusians.[68] Only in 1929 did Poland formally recognise the inclusion of these territories into Latvia and a Latvian-Polish commission began to survey the border region in 1933.[69]

Conclusions

The maps of pan-Germanic and pan-Polish spaces produced during World War I reveal how the concept of the ethnographic map developed in new directions during these years. During the war years, the ethnographic map genre was mobilised by German and Polish activists to make far-reaching territorial assertions about their historical claims to territories and peoples

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[65] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.243, l.172.
[66] *Ibid.*
[67] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.243, l.151.
[68] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.243, l.151r. Simpson based his judgement on a letter he received two weeks earlier from the Belarusian National Union (Belaruskaia Natsyianal'naia Suviaz') in Kaunas, an organisation representing Belarusian political parties and national-cultural organisations, advocating for Belarusian national interests in the district. LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.243, l.173.
[69] Ēriks Jēkabsons, "Sešu pagastu un Grīvas pilsētas problēma Latvijas un Polijas attiecībās 20.-30. gados," *Latvijas Vēstures Institūta Žurnāls*, no. 1 (1995), 80–101. On the idea that parts of the Latvian state should belong to Poland on ethnographic grounds, see: Edward Maliszewski, *Polacy na* Łotwie (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo T-wa Straży Kresowej, 1922); Edward Maliszewski, *La Pologne d'aujourd'hui* (Paris: Gebethner et Wolff, 1926), 52-3.

inhabiting areas traditionally considered to be on the fringes of the German and Polish ethnographic territories. Cartography was used to render parts of the Baltic littoral as German or Polish using a variety of different parameters: socio-economic arguments about the distribution of the numerically small, but socially and culturally influential landowners; the spread of German Protestant or Catholic Polish culture; and the German and Polish linguistic spheres of influence, encompassing territories inhabited by German- or Polish-speakers, multilingual areas where German and Polish were languages of social prestige and mobility, or in the case of White Russians (Belarusians), territories inhabited by potential Polish-speakers. Crucially, during World War I map-makers introduced population density as a new variable in ethnographic mapping. They applied choropleth mapping techniques to divide populations into shaded intervals and to create images of degrees of influence over territories in East Central Europe. While history, religion, and socio-economic factors had always shaped how nineteenth-century map-makers plotted ethnographic groups on their maps, during the war these aspects were given an elevated importance. Map-makers used this intersectional understanding of ethnicity and nationality to make bold arguments about the underlying Germanness or Polishness of the inhabitants living in the historical territories of the Teutonic Order and of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Baltic littoral, located at the periphery or fringes of the territories of German and Polish spheres of interest, functioned as an important testing ground for projecting different visions of "Germany" and "Poland", and for negotiating what it meant to be "German" or "Polish".

Meanwhile, the precise borders of these pan-Germanic and pan-Polish spaces remained vague. Studies of ethnographic cartography during and immediately after World War I have focused - almost to the point of obsession - on the question of the delimitation of ethnic-cum-national borders. The obsession with drawing lines on maps was reflected in the discourse surrounding the so-called Dmowski's Line (*Linia Dmowskiego*), the Polish borders proposed by the Polish delegation to the Paris Peace Conference, and the Curzon Line between Poland and Soviet proposed by the British Foreign Secretary as a possible armistice line during the Polish-Soviet war of 1919-1920. However, the maps published prior to the Paris Peace Conference focused instead on mobilising spaces rather than defining borders. Map-makers were less concerned with mobilising 'phantom borders' (*Phantomgrenzen*) than phantom territories. The borders of Germanness and Polishness marked on maps prior to the Paris Peace Conference remained loosely defined. As Wakar wrote, the northern border of Polishness was

located 'somewhere near Dvinsk'.[70] Their concept of territoriality was one of gradations, where the frontiers petered out, rather than forming a line on the map. As the political geographer Stuart Elden has demonstrated, the creation of territory involves more than just the demarcation of frontiers, but also the construction of spaces.[71] As will be explored in the following chapter, it was only when peace was imminent that map-makers turned their attention from defining the spaces inhabited by different ethnic or national groups to precisely demarcating the borders between ethnic groups as the basis for drawing state borders.

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[70] Wakar, *Ludność polska*, 25.
[71] Stuart Elden, *The Birth of Territory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

Boundary Mapping from Above and Below

On 16 November 1921 the Estonian-language newspaper *Postimees* published a cartoon encapsulating the experiences of the local inhabitants during the process of demarcating the state border between Estonia and Latvia (Figure 56).[1] The cartoon depicted Jüri (the Estonian version of the common name, George), an "everyman" Estonian-speaker getting out of bed one morning only to discover that the border fence separating the Estonian and Latvian state had been placed through the middle of his house. The haste with which the border markers had been put up meant that his trousers were left on the Latvian side of the border, now blocked by a barbed wire fence. In the space of just one night and without even leaving his house, Jüri went from living in the centre of the Baltic provinces to straddling the frontier between two states. British travel writer Owen Rutter (1889-1944) recounted a similar tale that he had heard when visiting the border town of Valga/Valka in the early 1920s:

> There is a story that in one place this frontier even bisects a house, in so exact a manner that when the owner of it goes to bed his feet are in one country and his head in the other. Considerable bickering arose as to where he should pay his taxes. The Letts claimed that, since his head rested in Latvia when he was asleep, he should pay taxes in Latvia; to which the gentlemen (whose sympathies were Estonian) responded by turning his bed round, so that his pillow would be in Estonia.[2]

These "everyman" experiences of Jüri and the Estonian-sympathiser from Rutter's story are presented as humorous tales. Yet these allegories about everyday life on the border reflected the practical difficulties faced by the local inhabitants in the course of establishing state borders. The construction of the border transformed the population of pre-war Lifliand province into borderland dwellers, when several years earlier few Liflianders would have identified the region as a borderland.[3] Jüri's separation from his trousers symbolised the

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[1] "Eesti-Läti piiri asi," *Postimees*, iss. 265, November 16, 1921, 5.

[2] Owen Rutter, *The New Baltic States and Their Future: An Account of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia* (London: Meuthuen & Co. Ltd, 1925), 178.

[3] On the wider phenomenon of how local populations in Central Eastern Europe 'wandered' between political units due to border shifts in the twentieth century, see Mathias Bös and Kerstin Zimmer, "Wenn Grenzen wandern: Zur Dynamik von Grenzverschiebungen im Osten Europas," in *Grenzsoziologie: Die politische Strukturierung des Raumes,* eds. Monika Eigmüller and Georg Vobruba (Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften, 2006), 157-184; Judy Batt, "Transcarpathia: Peripheral Region at the 'Centre of Europe'," *Regional and Federal Studies* 12, no. 2 (2002), 155–177.

problems encountered by individuals' whose land, property, or material possessions were now unreachable in another country. The cartoon's 'motto', cautioning the region's inhabitants to pay attention to the latest developments in the establishment of the border, resonated with the confusion over the new rules and regulations restricting mobility. The demarcation of the border with fences and barbed wire reinforced the sense that the frontier now had physical dimensions and limits. At the same time, while the border-inhabitant in Rutter's story became embroiled in a legal confrontation over which state he should pay taxes to, the protagonist also asserted his right to choose which state his 'sympathies' lay with and took measures into his own hands to act on this belief. Thus, while these stories parody the comedic elements of the border-dwellers' misfortunes, they also carry strong messages about the agency of the local population in their interactions with the newly-established state border.

Motto: Latvians are working constantly on the boundary markers.
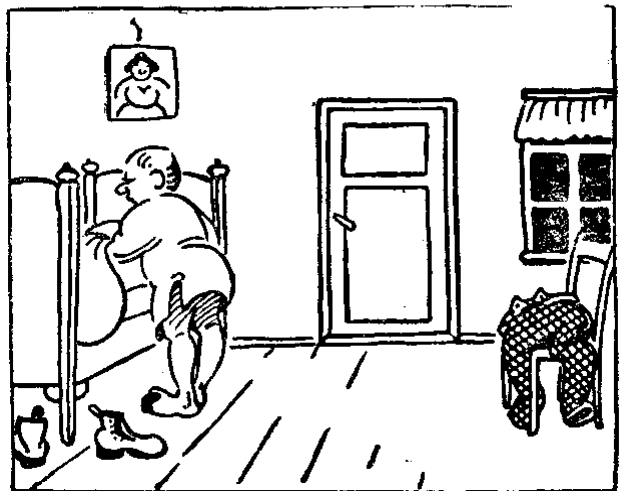
In Estonia the sun is warm.
Jüri suffers in a hot bed,
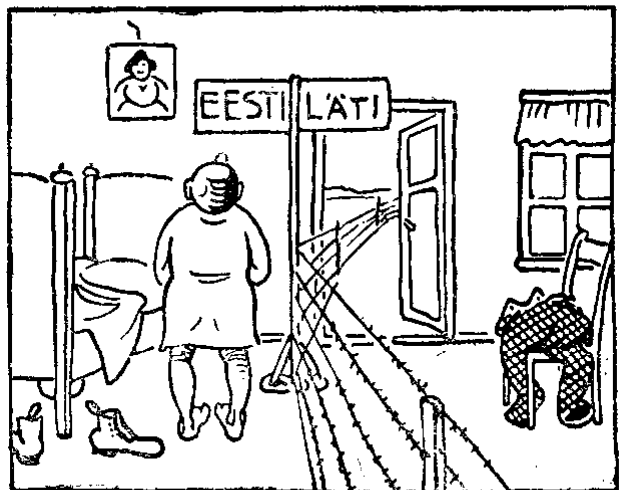
Next morning, when he wakes up,
Jüri startlingly notices,

He is in Estonia, but the trousers
Are beyond the Latvian border!
        Note:
                So as not to [need to] make
                more shirts,
                Stay tuned for boundary
                markers!

Figure 56. Caricature of the Estonian-Latvian border

Source: *Postimees*, iss. 265, November 16, 1921, 5.

In this final chapter, I examine the early phrase of drawing the borders between the new Estonian and Latvian states through the second half of 1919 and 1920. Existing research on the establishment of the borders of Estonia and Latvia after World War I has concentrated on the boundary drawing process from "above", focusing on the diplomatic negotiation of peace treaties and the interactions between governments and Allied representatives involved in the Boundary Commissions.[4] However, as Peter Haslinger argues in his study of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian Boundary Commission, we also need to consider a third stakeholder group – the local population.[5] By analysing the petitions sent to the Estonian-Latvian Boundary Commission by local inhabitants, as well as the discussion of the border in the press, this chapter uncovers the voices of the local inhabitants to understand how they experienced and intervened in the border drawing process. Taking a multi-level approach enables us to examine border drawing as a process of interactions between national governments, international actors, and the local population.[6]

The second major intervention this chapter makes is to focus on the use of ethnographic cartography in the border drawing process. While studies on the establishment of the borders of Estonia and Latvia mention boundary maps, the role of map-making – especially ethnographic cartography – as a tool used in the border negotiation process has not been

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[4] On the Latvian-Lithuanian border, see: Zenonas Butkus, "Great Britain's Mediation in Establishing the Lithuanian-Latvian Frontier, 1920–1921," *Journal of Baltic Studies* 24, no. 4 (1993), 359–368; Charlotte Alston, "James Young Simpson and the Latvian-Lithuanian Border Settlement 1920–1921: The Papers in the Archive of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society," *Scottish Geographical Journal* 118, no. 2 (2002), 87–100. On the Latvian-Polish border, see: Ēriks Jēkabsons, *Piesardzīgā draudzība: Latvijas un Polijas attiecības 1919. un 1920. gadā* (Riga: Latvijas Universitātes Akadēmiskais apgāds, 2007); Ēriks Jēkabsons, *Polijas ārējā politika 1918.–1937. gadā: vēstures avotu krājums* (Riga: Latvijas Universitātes Akadēmiskais apgāds, 2009); Ēriks Jēkabsons, "Polish-Latvian Border in the Years 1919-1939," in *Ziemie Łotwy między Wschodem a Zachodem Europy*, ed. Ēriks Jēkabsons (Lublin: Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2007). On the Latvian-Belarusian border, see: Vadim Golubev, "Stanovlenie Belorussko-Latviiskoi granitsy (1918-1926gg.)," *Latviia - Belarus', 1918-2018*, ed. M. Korolev (Minsk: Cheryre chetverti, 2018), 61-68. On the Estonian-Russian border, see: Edgar Mattisen, *Eesti-Vene piir* (Tallinn: Ilo, 1993); Vadim Ibragimovich Musaev, "Russko-estonskie pogranichnye problemy v 1917-1920 gg.," in *Istoriko-kulturnyi landshaft Severo-Zapada 1: Chetvertye mezhdunarodnye Shegrenovskie chiteniia: Sbornik statei* (St. Petersburg: Evropeiskii Dom, 2011), 121-127; Taavi Pae, "Eesti-Vene piir Vasknarvas — Euroopa Liit Narva jõe paremkaldal," *Akadeemia* 10 (2014), 1731–1746.

[5] Peter Haslinger, "Dilemmas of Security: The State, Local Agency, and the Czechoslovak-Hungarian Boundary Commission, 1921–25," *Austrian History Yearbook* 49 (2018), 187–206.

[6] This multi-scalar approach to understanding borders is rooted in the work of Peters Sahlins, see: Peter Sahlins, *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989). Also influential for shaping my approach to studying the history of the Estonian-Latvian are several anthropological studies of the region's borderlands that demonstrate how borders are enacted by a variety of stakeholders: Robert Kaiser and Elena Nikiforova, "Borderland Spaces of Identification and Dis/location: Multiscalar Narratives and Enactments of Seto Identity and Place in the Estonian-Russian Borderlands," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 29, no. 5 (2006), 928-958; Olga Cara, "Lives on the Border: Language and Culture in the Lives of Ethnic Russian Women in Baltinava, Latvia," *Nationalities Papers* 38, no. 1 (2010), 123-142.

extensively examined. This chapter investigates how ethnographic maps were used to settle border disputes, both within the scope of the official activities of the Estonian-Latvian Boundary Commission from "above" and by the local population to influence the border drawing process from "below". The hand drawn maps produced by the region's inhabitants to contest and correct the maps produced by the Boundary Commission give us valuable insights into how the local population perceived and sought to influence the relationship between ethnicity and territory during this period of dramatic historical change. The voices of the local population in the Estonian-Latvian borderlands are a powerful example of how, as Catherine Dunlop argues in the case of the French-German border, 'by the twentieth century, cartography had become a medium that had inserted itself powerfully into the public arena, helping borders to become a matter of public debate, not just government policy'.[7]

'Geographical Business Cards': Putting Estonia and Latvia on the Map

In early 1920, Johan Laidoner (1884-1953), Commander of the Estonian Army, described a map of Estonia published by the Estonian Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference in 1919 as 'the first geographic business card of the Republic of Estonia' (Figure 57).[8] The map was a more elaborate edition of the map produced by the Estonian delegation in the official *Memorandum on Estonian Independence* prepared in April 1919 for submission to the Peace Conference's Commission on Baltic Affairs, which was subsequently reprinted in many periodicals and pamphlets.[9] Laidoner explained that this particular large-format colour edition of the map was printed in 40 copies for distribution to foreign governments. Neither the Estonian nor Latvian delegations were invited to formally participate in the Peace Conference due to the Allies' uncertain policy towards Russia. Nevertheless, both governments sent representatives to Paris to lobby for recognition of their independence and to secure support in their ongoing armed struggle against the Bolsheviks.[10] In the original Estonian quotation,

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[7] Catherine T. Dunlop, "Mapping a New Kind of European Boundary: The Language Border between Modern France and Germany", *Imago Mundi* 65, no. 2, (2013), 253-267, 263.

[8] ERA.495.10.28.

[9] *Mémoire sur l'indépendance de l'Esthonie présenté a la Conférence de la Paix par la délégation Esthonienne* (April 1919); Mikhel Martna, *Estland, die Esten und die estnische Frage* (Olten: Trösch, 1919); *La Revue Baltique*, no.1 (13), September 15 – October 1, 1919.

[10] For an overview of the activities of the three Baltic delegations to the Paris Peace Conference, see Charlotte Alston, *Piip, Meierovics, Voldemaras: The Baltic States. Makers of the Modern World, the Peace Conferences 1919-23 and their Aftermath* (London: Haus, 2010), 61-81. A detailed account of the activities of the Latvian delegation is provided in: Lelde Zemberga, "Latvijas delegācijas darbībā Parīzes Miera konferencē 1919. gada," in *Latvija Parīzes Miera konferencē 1919. gadā: delegācijas sēžu protokoli*, ed. Ēriks Jēkabsons (Riga: Latvijas Nacionālais arhīvs; Latvijas Republikas ārlietu ministrija; Latvijas arhīvistu biedrība, 2017), 13-89.

Laidoner played on the pun of 'map' (*kaart*) and 'business card' (*visiit kaart*) to highlight the close relationship between the production and circulation of geographical knowledge and diplomacy in 1919. The image of the Estonian delegation handing out 'business cards' or 'maps' vividly conveys how the delegations used cartography to raise awareness of their claims to independent statehood.
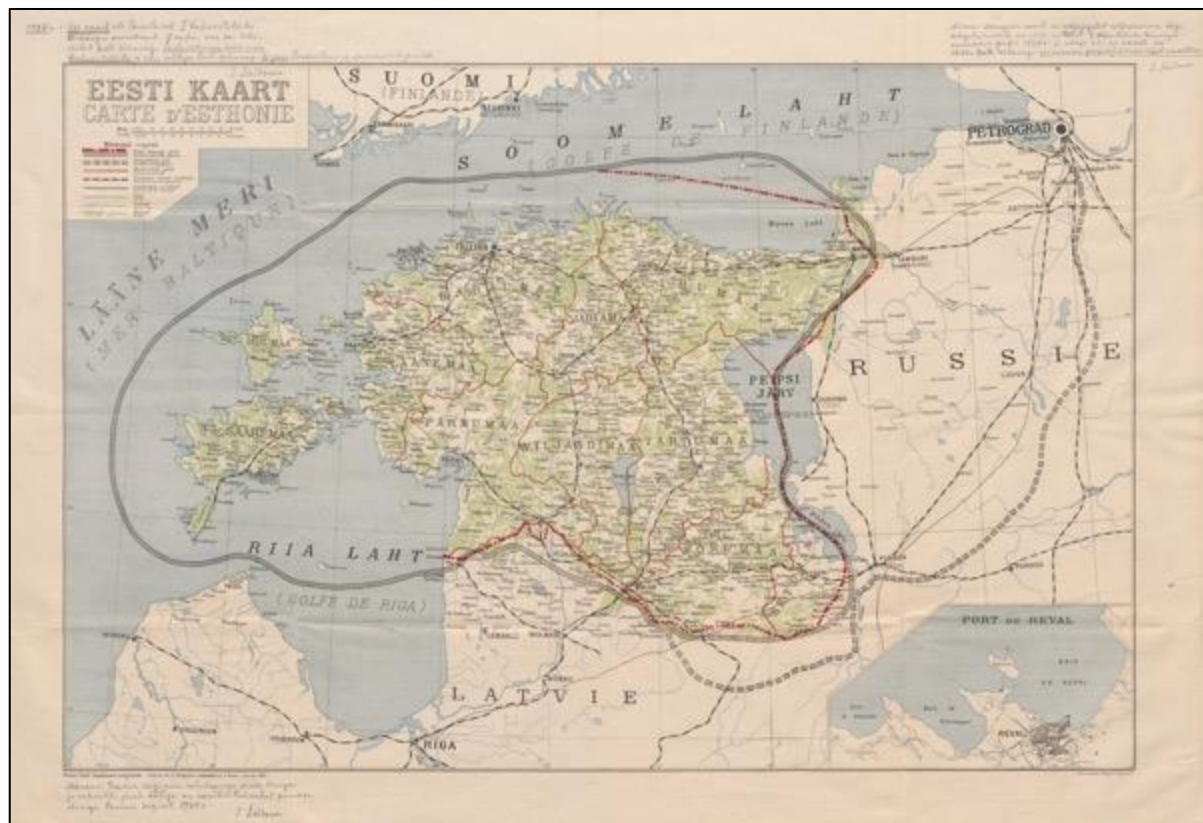
Figure 57. *Map of Estonia* (1920)

In the caption in the top right-hand corner, Johan Leidoner describes this map as 'the first geographic business card of the Republic of Estonia' (*Eesti Vabariigi esimeseks geograafiliseks visiit kaardiks*).

Source: *Eesti Kaart/Carte d'Estonie* (Estonian Embassy in Paris, 1920). ERA.495.10.28. Sheet 1.

The maps of Estonia and Latvia circulating in 1919 expose the considerable ambiguity surrounding the question of state borders. The aforementioned map of Estonia depicted the state borders based on the areas where 'Estonians - the autochthonous inhabitants of the country - constitute more than 90% of the total population', which was reaffirmed through the use of Estonian-language place names across the territory. However, a more maximalist version of 'ethnographic borders' was also indicated with a grey dashed line. In a throwback to Keppen's ethnographic map of St. Petersburg province from 1849, which had depicted the Finno-Ugric presence in this region (Figure 9), these 'ethnographic borders' included large swathes of St.

Petersburg and Pskov provinces within the greater Estonian ethnographic space. This notion of a greater Estonian ethnographic territory was echoed in the memoranda, which put the total number of Estonians worldwide at 2 million, a figure reached by 'correspondingly augmenting' the number of Estonian-language speakers that had been recorded in the 1897 All-Russian census to reflect the 'national renaissance' and 'increasing political influence', meaning those Estonians who formerly 'impersonated Germans or Russians'.[11]

The maps circulated by the Latvian delegation contained a similar plurality of possible borders. The *Map of Lines of Communication of Latvia*, published in the Latvian delegation's *Memorandum on Latvian Independence* for the Paris Peace Conference and subsequently widely reprinted, depicted three versions of the state borders: the administrative frontier, ethnographic frontier, and regions with mixed populations (Figure 58).[12] While the placement of these three borders broadly overlapped, they rarely coincided completely. Comparing the maps Estonia and Latvia reveal overlaps in the territories claimed by both governments, notably the town of Walk/Valka/Valga. Another conspicuous feature of both maps is the emphasis each placed on the railway networks criss-crossing their new states. Here the delegations used cartography to convince the Allies of the socio-economic and political viability of their state-building projects in the face of international scepticism. The map of Latvia even depicted the key ports and shipping channels, thereby presenting Latvia as a maritime state. In a throwback to the early modern trading network of the Hanseatic League, the map suggested Latvia's important role in Baltic Sea trade. The map of Latvia also tackled the perception – that still pertains today – of Latvia as a 'small' state, by comparing the surface area of Latvia with the established western-European countries of Switzerland, Denmark, the Netherlands, and Belgium.

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[11] Mémoire sur l'indépendance de l'Esthonie, 3.
[12] *La Revue Baltique*, no.10, June 1919, Appendix; Arved Berg, *Latvia & Russia: One Problem of World-Peace Considered* (London; Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons Ltd., 1920).
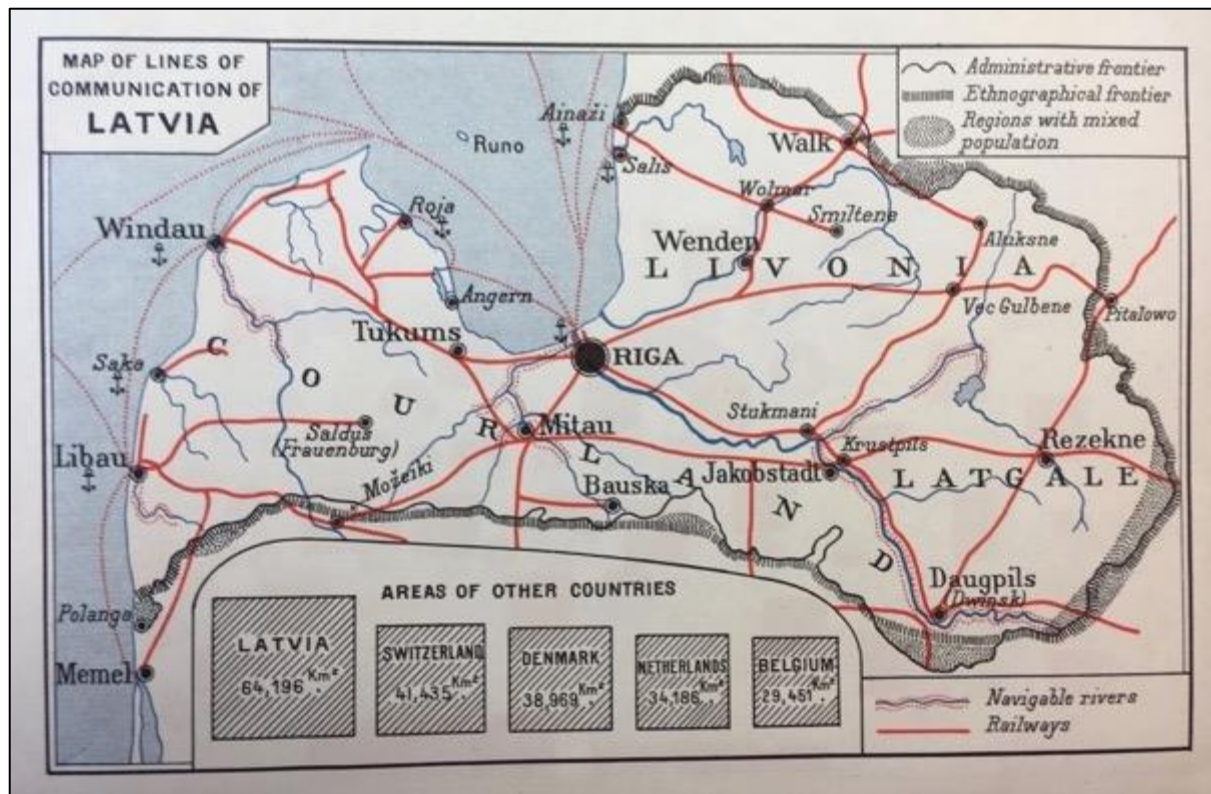
Figure 58. Map of Lines of Communication of Latvia (1919)

Source: *Memorandum on Latvia addressed to the Peace Conference by the Lettish Delegation* (Paris: 1919).

The Estonian and Latvian governments used cartography to present themselves internationally as nation-states that had a legitimate place on the future map of Europe. Passed out like business cards, these maps functioned as state logos and were designed to convey an impression of the shape of their states from a quick glance. They projected the illusion that the boundaries of the states were defined, solid, and fixed. The large scales of these maps, however, left the precise location of these boundaries suitably vague. Cartographical techniques, such as using shading to denote border 'regions with mixed populations' or using dashed lines to convey the different overlapping and permeable concepts of sovereignty, allowed the delegations to mask considerable uncertainty regarding the actual boundaries of their states as multiple political forces vied for control of the region. Meanwhile, behind closed doors, the delegations began preliminary negotiations to reconcile their multiple overlapping territorial claims. The border question was perceived as a crucial issue for the consolidation of national sovereignty and to win their de jure international recognition as independent states.

Preliminary Border Negotiations in 1919

The Mixed Esto-Latvian Boundary Commission (*Smeshanniia Esto-Latviiskaia Pogranichnaia Kommissiia*) was established in the summer of 1919 to delimit the new state border between Estonia and Latvia. Using Russian as their working language, the Boundary Commission agreed at a meeting in Valk[13] on 21 July 1919 that the 1917 administrative boundary between Estliand and Lifliand province be used as the 'source line' (*izkhodnaia liniia)* for the international border.[14] However, the agreement stipulated that the Boundary Commission could implement 'adjustments' (*korektivy*) and 'corrections' (*ispravelenie*) to the border in line with 'ethnographic principles', as well as to account for economic and political considerations.[15] Both sides idealised language as the only 'true' basis for their state borders and took maximalist stances when it came to drawing borders in regions inhabited by both Estonian- and Latvian-speakers. A map produced by the Estonian delegation of these conflicting interpretations (Figure 59), entitled 'National language-border' (*Rahvuse keele-piir*), reveals the close ideological overlap between linguistic and state borders. The map portrayed how the Estonian 'language border' (*keele piir*, thick blue line) deviated from the former imperial administrative boundaries at the district (*maakonna piir*, thick orange line orange) and county (*valdade piirid*, medium red line) level. The map classified land in the border region according to the nationality of the landowners: Estonian owners (*omanik estlane*, thin blue line), Latvian owners (*omanik lätlane,* thin red line), and rented land (*rentnik*, dotted blue line). Valk municipality, where land ownership was perceived as being unclear, was indicated by a thick dashed orange line. This method of ethnographic mapping based on the

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[13] The town was known in Russian as Valk, in German as Walk, in Estonian as Walga (contemporary orthography, Valga), and in Latvian as Walka (contemporary orthography, Valka). In English-language texts from this period, the German version – Walk – is used. Due to the political associations connected to each of these names, in this chapter I use the version of the place name that appears in the source in question to reflect different viewpoints. For example, as the minutes of the Estonian-Latvian Mixed Border Commission were recorded in Russian, I refer to the town here as Valk.

[14] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.42, l.4. It is important to note that this administrative border was only two years old. Following the February Revolution, in the spring of 1917 the Provisional Government transferred the districts of Lifliand province inhabited by an Estonian-speaking majority to Estliand province in order to create two more ethnically homogenous gubernias. See: Bakhturina, "Izmenenie administrativnykh granits pribaltiiskikh gubernii." The use of former Russian imperial administrative borders as the basis for drawing state borders was not always straightforward. For example, in the case of Latvia's southern border with Lithuania, the Latvian and Lithuanian delegations disputed which version of the historical administrative boundary should be used. While the Latvian delegation advocated using the pre-war southern border of Kurliand province, the Lithuanian delegation argued for the pre-1819 administrative border, which would grant the seaside town of Palanga to Lithuania. Palanga had been of Kovna province until 1819, when the administrative borders were redrawn to incorporate the town into Kurliand province so as to join the customs frontier of coastal Kurliand to Prussia. See: Butkus, "Great Britain's Mediation."; Alston, "James Young Simpson."

[15] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.42, l.4; 9.

nationality of landowners signalled a new development in ethnographic cartography in this era of border drawing. As will be explored in detail below, in the course of the negotiations over where the border should be drawn, ethnographic mapping was carried out on a much larger scale than ever before. The technology and principles of ethnographic cartography that had been developing over the course of the previous century were scaled up in the years after the war and applied to map individual municipalities to reveal the spatial distribution of farms owned by Estonian- and Latvian-speakers for the purposes of drawing state borders.

Figure 59. Detail of the map of Estonian national language-border (*Rahvuse keele-piir*) (1919)

The map was produced by the Estonian Military Topography in 1919. The English translations in pencil on the legend suggest that the map was later used by the British officers involved in the Estonian-Latvian Boundary Commission in the spring of 1920.

Source: ERA.T-6.1.173 sheet 1.

One of the major sticking points in the Estonian-Latvian border negotiations was Valk, a town which had been located in the centre of pre-1917 Lifliand province. Both sides agreed that for economic reasons Valk should belong to just one state, but both claimed the town as

rightfully theirs on ethnolinguistic grounds. The Estonian members of the Boundary Commission presented nationality statistics gathered by the Estonian government in August 1919, which claimed that the town's population comprised 'in excess' of 7,000 Estonians and 'not more than' 5,600 Latvians. The Estonian representatives explained that the number of Latvians also included 900 Latvian refugees (*bezhentsy*) who had never been citizens of Walk and thus, from the point of view of the Estonian delegation, should be excluded from the nationality calculations.[16] The report listed further supporting arguments, including information about the Estonian majority in the town before the war, property ownership (more than 400 of the 750 houses in Valk belong to Estonians, while the remaining 350 were owned by Latvians or other nationalities), how the economic and commercial life of Valk was 'organically' linked 'with pure-Estonian places' (*s chisto-estkonskimi mestnostiami*), and the importance of Valk as a railway 'node' (*uzel*) for the Estonian state. In addition, the report listed geographical and environmental arguments about how Valk was surrounded by forests and swamps to the south, and thus it 'merges with Estonia from a natural geographical position'. Finally, the Estonian delegation emphasised the historical importance of Valk for the Estonian state and the Estonian soldiers who perished there during the War of Independence.[17]

The Latvian representatives responded with diametrically opposed arguments. They challenged the ethnic statistics cited by the Estonians, claiming that it had not been verified, had been collected in 'unusual times', and therefore could not be taken as an accurate reflection of the composition of the population. They countered the claim that Valk was an Estonian town by arguing that Valk had a long history as a majority Latvian town, citing pre-war statistics indicating that the surroundings of the town were 'inhabitants of Latvian nationality'.[18] They repeated similar arguments concerning the importance of Valk as a railway link and economic centre, but within the context of the Latvian state.[19]

Throughout the autumn and winter of 1919, the border question was widely discussed in the press and both governments continued to publish maps depicting the town of Valk within the borders of their respective states. On 22 October 1919, shortly after the Valk town census, the front cover of *Estonian Review,* the weekly newspaper of the Estonian Foreign Office,

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[16] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.42, l.19. That the population of Walga had become noticeably more Latvian during the war due to the influx of refugees was echoed in the Estonian-language press. "Walga küsimus," *Tallinna Teataja*, nr. 163, August 5, 1919.

[17] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.42, l.19-20.

[18] The Latvian Delegation cited the following figures from nineteenth century censuses: in 1881 the town's population of 4,200 comprised 1,604 Latvians and 978 Estonians; in 1897 this had risen to 4,453 Latvians and 3,594 Estonians. LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.42, l.60.

[19] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.42, l.15.

contained a map of Estonia showing Walk within the Estonian 'language border' (*keelpiir*) and accompanied by an article on the development of the Estonian railway system.[20] The Latvian position on the 'Walka question' (*Walkas jautajums*) was outlined in the Latvian-language press.[21] A map of *The Population of Latvia According to Nationalities*, originally published by the Latvian delegation in Paris and subsequently widely circulated, made strong ethnolinguistic arguments about the Latvia's claims to Valk (Figure 60). Pie charts and squarified pie charts (or waffle charts) provided information about the ethnographic composition of towns and districts, which put the Latvian population of Valk at (40,8 per cent) and the surrounding district at over 90 per cent. The use of statistical diagrams on ethnographic maps was still a relatively unusual practice at the time as on most ethnographic maps the distinction between urban and rural population was lost.[22] Furthermore, a red circle symbol indicated 'Villages with Lettish majority' adjacent to the border region, reinforcing the message that Walk municipality had a majority Latvian population and thus rightly belonged within the future Latvian state. Looking at the map, one cannot help but notice the symbolism of shading Latvians in the dark red of the national flag. Moreover, the decision to depict Lithuanians and White Russians (Belarusians) in a similar shade meant that, at a quick glance, the map conveyed the impression that the whole territory of Latvia was inhabited by a majority Latvian population. We do not know who made these maps, but a possible contender is Marģers Skujenieks (1886-1941), a member of the Latvian delegation to Paris, future Prime Minister, and head the State Statistics Department (1919-1940), who was responsible for creating the first statistical atlas of Latvia in 1938.[23]

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[20] 'On the future development of the railway system in Estonia', *Estonian Review*, nr. 13, October 22, 1919, 1.

[21] For example: "Walkas jautajums," *Tautas Balss,* nr.128, September 28, 1919.

[22] Similarly, the graph in the map's top right-hand corner of population change in Riga between 1867 and 1917, depicting the declining proportion of Germans and Russians and rising proportion of Latvians, reinforced the argument of Latvians as industrialised city-dwellers and countering the negative stereotype of them as a predominantly peasant, rural-dwelling, and deindustrialised nation ruled over by Germans and Russians. Another contemporary example of the use of statistical diagrams in ethnographic mapping from the period is Emmanuel de Martonne's 1919 map of the nationalities of Romania. See: Palsky, "Emmanuel de Martonne."

[23] Margers Skuhenieks, *Latvijas Statistikas Atlass* (Riga: Valsts Statistika Pārvaldē, 1938). A similar map appeared in the first Estonian Statistical Atlas: "Rahvus ja usk = Nationalité et confession," *Statistiline album. Vihk I, Maa ja rahvas = Album statistique. Volume I, Territoire et population* (Riigi Statistika Keskbüroo, 1925). For an analysis of the interwar statistical atlases of the three Baltic states, see: Thomas Schulz, "The Statistical Atlases of the Baltic States 1918–1940: The First National Atlases of the Three Newly Independent Countries," *The Cartographic Journal* 55, no. 2 (2018), 187-195.
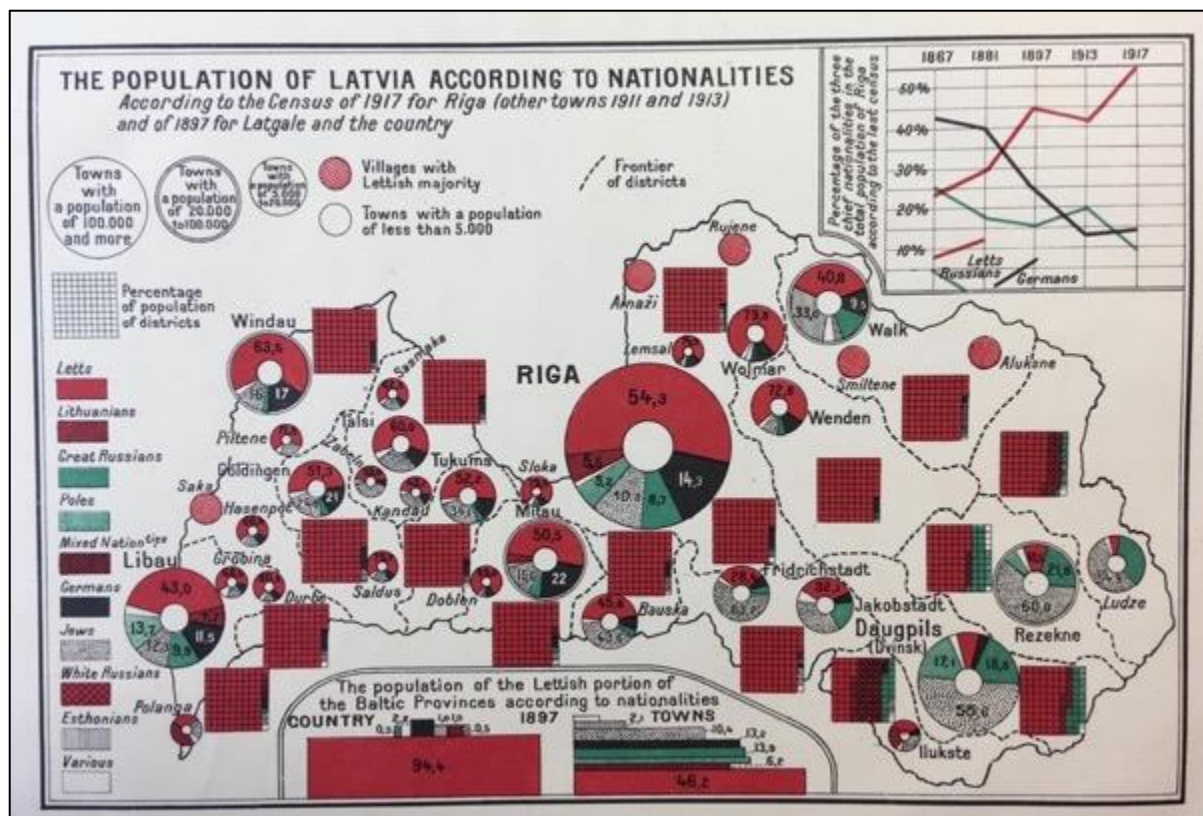
Figure 60. Map of *The Population of Latvia According to Nationalities* (1919)

Source: *Memorandum on Latvia addressed to the Peace Conference by the Lettish Delegation* (Paris: 1919).

Attempting to settle the question of the ethnographic composition of Valk, the Boundary Commission organised a survey of the town's population between 12-17 October 1919.[24] Counters were sent to every household to record each individual's self-proclaimed 'nationality' and 'language spoken in the family'. The questionnaire was printed in Estonian and Russian, as the town was under the control of the Estonian authorities at the time.[25] The Latvian delegation later contested the survey, claiming that the results did not reflect 'true figures' about the Latvian population of Walk as they had been 'influenced by the administrative authority exercised by the Estonian occupation'.[26] The need to solicit the opinions of the local population about the border question was also discussed in the sessions of the Estonian-Latvian Boundary Commission on 26-29 February 1920, when the issue of organising a plebiscite to settle the border question was proposed. However, no agreement was

[24] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.42, l.53; 58.
[25] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.42, l.70.
[26] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.46, l.10.

reached about whether to organise a vote solely in Valk or to give the inhabitants of all the disputed border regions a vote.[27]

Ethnographic Mapping to Resolve Border Disputes

Over the course of autumn and winter 1919-20, it became evident to the members of the Boundary Commission that no border agreement could be reached without a mediator. The British Foreign Office stepped in to offer their services, led by the British Commissioner to the Baltic, Stephen Tallents (1884-1958).[28] On 22 March 1920 the Estonian and Latvian governments signed a convention approving the appointment of Tallents as chairman of the Estonian-Latvian Boundary Commission. In the event that an agreement could not be reached, Tallents would have the final say. Three other British officers were appointed to chair the various Sub-Commissions: Captain Bentley and Major Caledon chairing the Eastern and Western Sub-Commissions, respectively, while Colonel Rowan-Robinson served as chairman of the Central Walk Sub-Commission and overall president of the three Sub-Commissions. Above all, the British arbitrators wanted to ensure that the establishment of the border went as smoothly as possible.

As John W. Donaldson has observed about boundary commissions generally, much of the work of the Estonian-Latvian Boundary Commission was concerned with 'the devil in the detail'.[29] The Estonian-Latvian Boundary Convention stipulated that:

> In arriving at their decision the Commission will take into account ethnographical and historical principles and the state-political interests of each party (military, strategical, economic and communicational) and the interest of the local population.[30]

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[27] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.42, l.97.

[28] The British had maintained a strong presence in the region since 1918-19, when they had carried out a naval operation as part of the Allied intervention in the Russian Civil War and in support of the Estonian and Latvian forces in the Wars of Independence. The British intervention in the geopolitical affairs of the Baltic littoral was born out of a sympathy for the Estonian and Latvian independence movements and a desire to support the struggle against the Bolsheviks, but it was also embedded in wider geopolitical concerns. Russia was one of Britain's major competitors, especially in Eurasia, and would be considerably weakened if it lost the Baltic shore. The British government also wanted to strengthen its trade in the Baltic Sea. Britain therefore had multiple interests in the stability and mutual cordiality of the Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian governments. William A. Fletcher, "The British Navy in the Baltic, 1918-1920: Its Contribution to the Independence of the Baltic Nations," *Journal of Baltic Studies* 7, no. 2 (1976), 134–144; Butkus, "Great Britain's Mediation".

[29] John W. Donaldson, "Politics and Scale in Boundary-Making: The Work of Boundary Commissions," *Journal of Historical Geography* 34, no. 3 (2008), 393–396, 393

[30] LVVA f. 2574, ap.3, l.42, l.101.

In practise, economic and ethnographic arguments dominated the lively debates that ensued. As Tallents noted, 'Historical and Military factors have no great bearing on the case'.[31]

Between late March and June 1920, both sides laid out extensive evidence about the significance of Walk as a railway junction and market town for their respective states. The Estonian delegation argued that: 'The links connecting WALK with the surrounding Estonian country were so numerous that a separation would involve a great economic loss to the country, and was really impossible.'[32] The Estonian delegation also argued that Estonians had invested more in the infrastructure of the town, building the electric station, fire brigade, schools, large private houses, and had recently spent 25,000,000 Marks repairing the railways station after it was damaged by the Red Army.[33] On the other hand, the Latvian delegation stressed that:

> It was indisputable that RUSSIA had regarded WALK as belonging to the Latvian part of LIVLAND which was now part of Latvia. WALK was the agriculture centre of the surrounding district. If it was awarded to ESTONIA, it would form a wedge in Latvian territory, and from a strategical standpoint such a wedge should not exist. Without studying rows of figures, it was apparent to anybody regarding the map that it was impossible for ESTONIA to provide the town of WALK with food.[34]

The Latvian delegation argued that severing the railway connections between Walk and Riga would be tantamount to 'the destruction of an existing system or chain of transport [that] would harm RUSSIA, EUROPE and even the World.'[35]

Ethnographic arguments also played a prominent role in the deliberations and both delegations worked on the assumption that only a border based on ethnolinguistic principles would be satisfactory in the long term. Nationalistic rhetoric permeated the discussion and the Latvian representatives on one occasion stressed how 'LATVIA was bound… in honour to oppose a proposal to place Lettish subjects under the Estonian yoke. They did not, on principle, wish to make irredenta either on Estonian or on Latvian territory'.[36] In practical terms, however, ethnographic and economic factors were closely intertwined, and economic issues were discussed through the prism of ethnicity and nationality. For instance, national labels were used when discerning what proportion of the meat historically supplied to Walk was 'Purely

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[31] ERA.1604.1.3.7. A notable exception was the maritime border and the question of Runo island in the Gulf of Riga, which the Latvian Ministry of Foreign Affairs claimed was in a strategic position in relation the port of Riga and historically connected to the Duchy of Courland. Ethnographic factors were dismissed as irrelevant in this case as the island was inhabited by Swedes. ERA.957.11.440.13.
[32] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.46, l.11.
[33] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.46, l.12.
[34] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.46, l.13.
[35] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.46, l.14.
[36] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.46, l.13.

Estonian cattle', 'Purely Lettish cattle', or the ambiguous category of 'Mixed'.[37] The use of national terminology marked a stark change to the spatial logic of a decade earlier, where all the livestock arriving in Walk had been from Lifliand. The switch in geographical and spatial terminology indicates how quickly some critical and locally meaningful identifications disappeared with the empire.

To verify the claims made by the Estonian and Latvian delegations, the Sub-Commissions carried out local inspections of the disputed border regions. They collected data and made ethnographic maps of property ownership, ascribing a national affiliation to households and farmsteads located in disputed territories based on the self-proclaimed ethnicity of the owners and inhabitants. They hoped that plotting the data on the nationality of farm owners would help the delegates to illuminate the wider spatial logic of the whole problem. This approach, however, created numerous methodological problems and further disputes, not least concerning the question of whether hired labourers should be factored into the nationality count of the inhabitants of a particular farm. This is an example of how modern bureaucratic states prefer its people stationary and accounted for; the mobile lifestyles of seasonal labourers and renters did not fit into Boundary Commission's vision of the tightly overlapping relationship between territory and nationality.[38] The British arbitrators collaborated closely with local officials to gather data, although they were sometimes deeply mistrustful of the population statistics they were provided with. In his report on the coastal commune of Haynasch (Heinaste in Estonian, Ainaži in Latvian), Bentley described the Estonian mayor of the town as 'hopelessly incompetent and unfit for the position he occupied', having supplied him with 'erroneous' figures that exaggerated the number of Estonians.[39] He reported that 'the Estate HAYNASCH has been nationalised whilst under the occupation of Estonian troops'.[40] Based on his own assessment of the Latvian majority in the region, Bentley recommended that the commune be given to Latvia.

The largest and most detailed ethnographic map based on property ownership was made of the contested town of Walk. By shading individual households either in red (Latvian) or blue (Estonian), the Boundary Commission hoped that the map would shed light on the overall proportion and distribution of Latvians and Estonians living within the town based on the 'respective amount of ground and house property' (Figure 61). The data on nationality and the

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[37] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.46, l.11.
[38] James Scott, *Seeing Like a* State (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999).
[39] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.46, l.67.
[40] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.46, l.66.

spoken language in each household was taken from the October 1919 town survey. The ethnographic map of Walk examined ethnicity on the scale of individual streets and buildings in an unprecedented level of detail. This kind of ethnographic mapping on the scale of a single town and based on property ownership was a realisation of Sementovskii's vision in the 1870s to create ethnographic maps on the scale of a single town of city in the case of ethnolinguistically mixed urban spaces (see Chapter 3).

The ethnographic plan of Walk was not intended to accurately reflect the ethnic composition of the town. Like Aleksandr Rittikh's 'problem' focused maps of the Baltic Question from the second half of the nineteenth century (see Chapter 4), the plan of Walk was conceived as a tool to help answer a specific question, namely the distribution of Estonian and Latvian property ownership in the town. Although statistical data on 'foreigners' (*välismaalased*), that is non-Estonians and Latvians, had been gathered in the October 1919 town population survey, property owned by these nationalities was left unshaded on the map as they were deemed to have no bearing on the outcome of the Estonian-Latvian ethnolinguistic border.[41] Paying attention to what is left off from the map reveals the ideological dimensions of border mapping. The 'silencing' of certain ethnic groups from the map – and thus as a factor in the wider border debate – indicates how ethnolinguistic nationalism permeated the border discussion and how the governments sought new ways to define who belonged in the borderlands.[42]

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[41] ERA.1604.1.88.
[42] Harley, "Silences and secrecy."
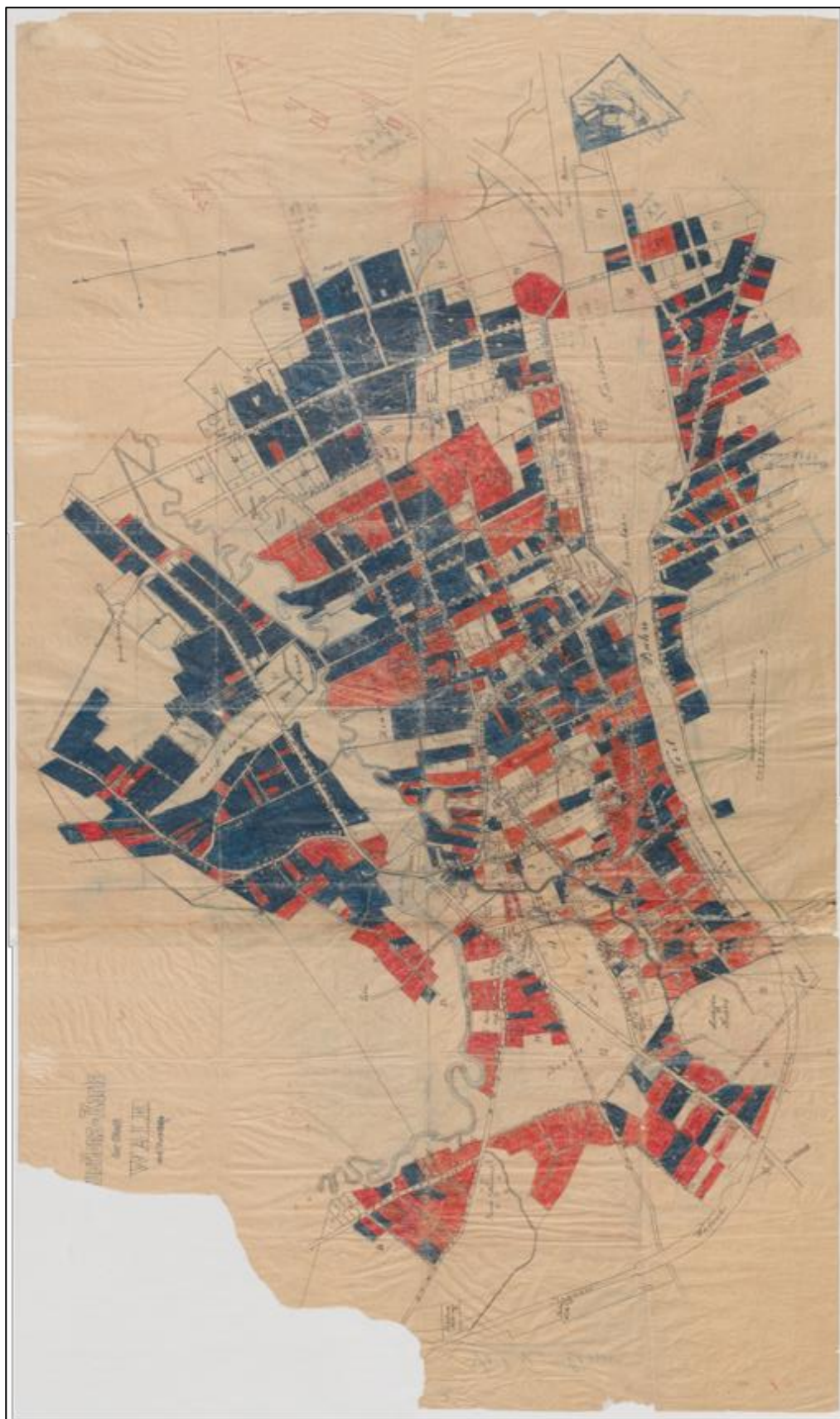
Figure 61. Map of Walk showing the distribution of property by nationality.

Estonian-owned property is indicated in blue and property owned by Latvians is shaded in red.

Source: ERA.1604.1.90 sheet 25.

The Walk Sub-Commission discussed the ethnographic town plan at a meeting on 7 May 1920, but it did little to help resolve the debate. Rowan-Robinson noted that:

> It was clear that both races and their properties are mixed up together in a way that renders a division of the town very difficult. It was found ~~im~~possible, however, to find a line West of which the population and property were mainly Lettish and East of which mainly Estonian. This line, however, is most inconvenient and it offers to the Letts considerably less than they have hitherto claimed.[43]

The slip in the minutes regarding the '~~im~~possibility' of finding an ethnographic boundary within the town suggests the mounting frustration that the British officers were beginning to feel by this point. The Estonian and Latvian members of the Boundary Commission levied a host of complaints against the map on methodological grounds. For one, it was revealed that data used to make the map 'was apparently not wholly reliable', and the Latvian delegation pertinently pointed out how 'exactly opposite conclusions could be arrived at from figures, according to the way in which they were arranged.'[44] The Boundary Commission reports also cite examples of people who had changed their nationality since the statistics had been collected, such as 'one woman who in October declared herself a German and now called herself Lettish'.[45] Objections were raised that shading the amount of ground covered by a house or property did not take account of the number of storeys a building had. The two-dimensional surface of the map did not incorporate the verticality of the urban space, where people lived in three-dimensional spaces stacked on top of one another.[46] The map also failed to convey what Richard Dennis calls 'the diurnal rhythms of society', and how 'The census enumerated where people *slept* on one particular night, not necessarily where they normally slept, and not where, or with whom, they spent their working or leisure time'.[47] As the evidence provided by the two delegation confirms, the map of property ownership in Walk conveyed little about the social uses of space in the town, which was much more complex that could be captured in the static snapshot of the map.[48] After much back and forth, Samuel proclaimed that 'Such combinations

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[43] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.46, l.138.

[44] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.46, l.16.

[45] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.46, l.11.

[46] On the importance of thinking about the vertical dimensions of territoriality, see Stuart Elden, "Secure the Volume: Vertical Geopolitics and the Depth of Power," *Political Geography* (2013), 1-17.

[47] Richard Dennis, *Cities in Modernity: Representations and Productions of Metropolitan Space, 1840-1930* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 69.

[48] The ethnographic map of Walk bears a strong resemblance to urban plans of nationalities produced in the late nineteenth century as tools of social inquiry to analyse ethnic clustering and segregation in large industrial cities. Laura Vaughan provides a detailed discussion of this type of map, including the *Official Map of Chinatown* (1885) of San Francisco, *Hull House Nationalities Maps* (1895) of Chicago, and *Jewish East London* (1899). She demonstrates how spatial integration was far more complex than suggested by the map of property ownership in San Francisco's Chinatown, which did not take into account people's presence on the street during the day and

of figures, however, were futile. The one clear fact was that the town was Esthonian and Latvian.'[49]

The Sub-Commission also produced maps of disputed areas along the length of the proposed border (Figure 62). Using maps of estates created before the war, the members of the Boundary Commission reworked these maps, tracing or shading the nationality of the owners of farmstead and plots of land based on interviews with proprietors and members of the local communities. Map-making was perceived as a crucial part of the investigatory work in the bordering process. The Walk Sub-Commission reported to Tallents on 17 May that:

> No satisfactory result can be obtained until a good map of Neu Rosen Commune is obtained. The original Commune map was taken by the Bolsheviks. A wire has been sent to Reval asking if another is available, and a draughtsman is being sent to the Commune to prepare a new map on the spot.[50]

Cartography enabled the Boundary Commission to get a bird's-eye-view of disputed territories, collate information, identify outlying farms, and make recommendations about where the boundary should be drawn. These maps are evidence of the huge effort undertaken by the Boundary Commission to fully explore the possibilities of using the 'ethnographic principle' as a basis for drawing state borders. The remarkable attention to detail on these maps, which sought to account for every individual plot of land and household, took ethnographic bordering to the extreme. Despite the great variety of shapes and sizes that these boundary maps came in, the use of colour was consistent and appears to have been symbolically connected to the colours of the state flags. Without exception, Estonian claims were depicted in blue and Latvian claims in red.

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changes in the use of urban space at different times during the week. See: Vaughan, *Mapping Society,* 129-167, 163.

[49] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.46, l.16.

[50] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.46, l.116.

Figure 62. Ethnographic map of Laatre municipality, Platere parish

The map was prepared by the Estonian-Latvian Boundary Commission. The thick red line marks the border. Estonian farmlands are shaded blue and Latvian-owned lands in red.

Source: ERA.1604.1.83 sheet 20.

The mutual mistrust of the two delegations also manifested itself around data collection and map-making. In June 1920, Estonian authorities complained that the registers of inhabitants and their properties submitted by the local pro-Latvian authorities 'contain evidently false statements' and accused the Latvian authorities of 'partiality… as well as a lawless and incorrect fulfilment of their duties.'[51] The Estonian authorities also resented the fact the archives of former Lifliand province were held in Riga, which they felt gave the Latvian delegation an unfair advantage when it came to gathering evidence for their border claims.[52] Moreover, after years of military conflict in the region, maps were perceived as a strategic resource and remained shrouded in secrecy. In their reports, Bentley, Caledon, and Rowan-Robinson often specified that the plans and maps they enclosed were confidential. On 30 May, Colonel Rowan-Robinson sent Tallents a map depicting the proposal for dividing the station: 'I attach a plan of VALK Station (for Mr. Tallents only) showing a Division suggested by the Lettish railway expert for the common working of the Station'.[53] Similarly, the Latvian delegation refused to allow the Estonian delegation to keep their maps 'for military reasons' and British officers had to supervise the Estonian delegates while they consulted the maps to appease both sides.[54] The Estonian representatives complained about Latvian maps of the 'border zone' (Latv. *robeschas josla*), which shaded 'occupied areas' (Latv. *okupetee apgabali*) under Estonian control.[55] They objected in the strongest terms to being designated as an 'occupation' power.

The Estonian-Latvian border delimitation process was remarkable for the lengths that were taken to fulfil the ideal of the ethnographic border. At the same time, the end result of the mapping process often only served to confirm doubts present from the beginning about possibility of applying the ethnographic principle in practice. Expressing his frustration to Tallents in a report on 2 May, Rowan-Robinson wrote that: 'There is no system in the distribution of Estonian and Lettish farms. It would, therefore, be impossible to find a line of division that would satisfy everyone. My opinion is that communications should be the main guide…'[56] By communications, Rowan-Robinson meant roads, rivers, and railways.

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[51] ERA.1604.1.82.30.
[52] Peeter Päts, *Eesti Vabariigi ja Läti Vabariigi vaheline piir* (Master's diss., University of Tartu, 1927). University of Tartu Library, R Diss.Tart.272079, 9.
[53] ERA.1604.1.21.5.
[54] Letter from Rowan-Robinson to Kirk, June 13, 1920. ERA.1604.1.82.18.
[55] Päts, *Eesti Vabariigi ja Läti Vabariigi vaheline piir,* Appendix 1.
[56] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.46, l.129.

Protests and Petition Maps: Public Participation in the Boundary Discussions

The Estonian-Latvian Boundary Commission received hundreds of petitions from local inhabitants seeking to insert themselves into the discussion of the border question and voice their objections and interests.[57] The local population learned about the work of the Boundary Commission and border proposals in the local newspapers, as well as through their encounters with members of the Boundary Commission gathering data in their municipalities. Petitioning was a long-established and widespread practice in the Russian Empire as a legitimate means to lay out individual or collective grievances.[58] The high literacy levels in the former Baltic provinces compared to the rest of the Russian Empire at the end of the nineteenth century meant that the inhabitants of these regions actively engaged in petition-writing.[59] The petitioners used the same methods and techniques of appealing to the tsarist authorities to communicate with the new state authorities. Historians working with petitions in the Russian Empire and Soviet Union have been attentive to their performative nature, such as how writers invoked official discourse and storytelling tropes. Examining these rhetorical techniques reveals the various strategies that the local population used to engage the Boundary Commission. The petitions give us an important insight into public opinion on the border issue, revealing the local inhabitants' emotional responses to the bordering process, as well as their personal problems and concerns about how the proposed frontier would impact their everyday lives.

Before turning to examine the petitions sent to the Estonian-Latvian Boundary Commission more closely, it is important to emphasise that all the authorities involved in demarcating the borders of the new states of Estonia and Latvia received petitions from the

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[57] The Boundary Commission received petitions in Estonian, Latvian, Russian, and German, respectively titled *palve* in Estonian, *lūgums* or *protests* in Latvian, *proshenie* in Russian, and *Bitte* in German.

[58] For an overview of petitions as a form of writing, see: Lex Heerma van Voss, ed. *Petitions in Social History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002). On petitions in the Russian historical context, see: Andrew Verner, "Discursive Strategies in the 1905 Revolution: Peasant Petitions from Vladimir Province," *The Russian Review* 54, no. 1 (1995), 65–90; Shelia Fitzpatrick, "Editor's Introduction: Petitions and Denunciations in Russian and Soviet History," *Russian History* 24, nos. 1-2 (1997), 1–9; Marianna Muravyeva, "The Culture of Complaint: Approaches to Complaining in Russia - An Overview," *Laboratorium* 6, no. 3 (2014), 93–104. For a discussion on petitioning in late imperial Riga, see Siobhán Hearne, "To Denounce or Defend? Public Participation in the Policing of Prostitution in Late Imperial Russia," *Kritika* 19, no. 4 (2018), 717–44.

[59] According to the 1897 census, reading levels in the Baltic provinces were 95 per cent for Estland, 92 per cent for Lifland, and 85 per cent for Kurland. These figures were far higher than the average for the Russian Empire as a whole – 28 per cent, and far outstripped the next highest region, St. Petersburg province – 62 per cent. The 1897 census did not collect information about ability to write, but separate information about the ability to read and write was collected in the 1881 census of the three Baltic provinces, which revealed that in Lifliand literacy in German was 87.2 per cent, while 44.6 per cent in Estonian and 39.8 per cent in Latvian. The Estonian and Latvian figures increased in the final decades of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Raun, "Literacy in the Russian Empire", 73.

local population. In 1917 the German occupation authorities in Estliand and Lifliand received petitions from the local population, mainly from Baltic Germans, requesting unification with Germany.[60] Following the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, in which Bolshevik Russia ceded rights to the Baltic provinces to Germany, the German occupation authorities received petitions from estate and business owners in Narva asking for their property to be included in Narva county.[61] On 25 February 1921, James Young Simpson, chairman of the Latvian-Lithuanian Boundary Commission, received a letter (in Russian) from the Belarusian National Union (Belaruskaia Natsyianal'naia Suviaz') in Kaunas, an organisation representing Belarusian political parties and national-cultural organisations, advocating on behalf of the 21,000 Catholic and Orthodox Belarusians living in the Ilukst district. The letter argued that Ilukst district was economically connected to the territories to the south and that the Belarusian inhabitants would have more prospects for national-cultural awakening and national independence by becoming part of the large culturally and politically active Belarusian community in Lithuania.[62]

However, what made the Estonian-Latvian border negotiations exceptional was the sheer number of petitions sent to the Boundary Commission and the fact that many of the petitions were send by local Estonian- and Latvian-speaking farm owners, rather than business owners or civil society organisations. Moreover, many petitioners living in the Estonian-Latvian border region submitted maps along with their letters.[63] These maps took two forms. Often, these maps consisted of 'schemes' or 'plans' of the property boundaries, which were enclosed with the petition as supporting evidence. As Valerie Kivelson has shown, the use of maps to settle property disputes was a standard element in lawsuits in Muscovy already in the seventeenth century.[64] In the case of the Estonian-Latvian border, many of the plans sent to the Boundary Commission were estate or commune maps that had been made before the war. For example, on 11 May 1920, landowners of Vaste-Roosa municipality enclosed maps with their petition to the Boundary Commission, noting: 'Here we add the maps of the farms, or the plans of the land, to support the fact that our request is reasonably justified!'[65] In such cases, the landowners sent maps as a means of informing the authorities and providing them with

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[60] Olavi Arens, "The Estonian Question at Brest-Litovsk," *Journal of Baltic Studies* 25, no. 4 (1994), 305–330.
[61] ERA.2536.1.39.40; 43.
[62] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.243, l.173. For a comparison with petitions sent to Boundary Commissions in other regions of Central Eastern Europe during this period, see Haslinger on the Czechoslovak-Hungarian Boundary Commission. Haslinger, "Dilemmas of Security."
[63] The inclusion of maps along with petitions was rare, but not unheard of in the Russian Empire. For example, Siobhán Hearne found maps submitted with petitions protesting against the location of brothels in Kishinev and Kursk in the early 1900s. I thank Siobhán for sharing these findings with me.
[64] Kivelson, "Early Mapping", 30-31.
[65] ERA.1604.1.81.7r.

information that they may have overlooked in the course of their investigations. In other cases, petitioners drew maps themselves to correct and challenge the authorities' decision on where the border was to be drawn. While the petitions frequently contain references to maps, only a small number of the maps have been preserved alongside the petitions in the archives due to the common practice of storing maps in separate cartographical collections. These petitions maps share some of the counter-cartographical tendencies of the maps examined in recent research on anti-colonial and creole cartography.[66] However, whereas research on decolonial mapping focuses primarily on work by colonial or formal colonial elites, the Estonian-Latvian border is an example of where 'indigenous' communities and lower-class farmers actively engaged in map-making.

On 9 May 1920 the community council members of Hummuli/Hummelshof, in Walk district, expressed their wish that the community remain undivided. They described how 'the inhabitants of the Hummuli community of Estonian as well as of Lettish nationality have till up to the present lived together in complete concord'. Dividing the community would leave some of the inhabitants without access to a mill. The petitioners used emotive language to elicit sympathy for their cause, describing this development as a 'calamity' that would cause many to 'suffer'. Economic uncertainty was more important than their sense of national belonging to a particular state, and thus they explicitly objected to a state border based on nationality: 'if the frontier will be fixed according to ethnographical principles it will be too sinuous, which is not suitable for a state frontier.'[67] The incorporation of official discourse and stereotypical formulations about borders based on 'ethnographic principles' demonstrates how the petitioners referenced wider public discussions when corresponding with the authorities. The petition was signed by members of the city council, suggesting a community consensus and cohesion that the petitioners wanted to convey to the Boundary Commission.

Petitioners frequently used the language of national self-identification to remind the authorities of their obligations towards their co-nationals. More often than not, they defined membership of a national community in terms of the performance of certain activities. This is evident in the petitions sent by Petrs Tilts, the parish elder of Neu Rosen commune in May and June 1920. Presenting himself as 'a representative of the Latvian people [and writing] in the name of the Latvian people'[68], he defined what it meant to be part of a Latvian community,

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[66] James R. Akerman, ed. *Decolonizing the Map: Cartography from Colony to Nation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018).
[67] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.46, l.96-7.
[68] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.46, l.85.

namely that the local population spoke Latvian and used Latvian-language in the parish court and church services. Tilts juxtaposed these visible demonstrations of Latvianess with the weak 'Estonian element', suggesting that the local performance of activities associated with being Estonian was much less prevalent.[69] A similar rhetorical formulation occurred in the petition by the farm-owner Jaan Karrm from Kööma, Volmar district, who asserted: 'I am also completely an Esthonian, have been to an Esthonian school and am registered in an Esthonian parish for which reason I am regarded by the Letts as a stranger'.[70] Jaan constructed himself as a loyal and morally good member of the Estonian national community by the performance of certain actions in his daily life, including his Estonian-language education and membership of an Estonian parish. The rhetorical technique of role-playing as 'completely an Esthonian', who was perceived as an "Other" by his Latvian neighbours, strengthened Jaan's appeal to the Estonian authorities to listen to his grievances. As a loyal member of the national populace, it was the duty of the state to listen to his concerns.[71] The petitions support Andrew Verner argument that the act of writing a petition was as much transformative as it was affirmative, in the sense that the petitioners had to define on paper what being Estonian or Latvian meant to them.[72]

The declarations of independence on behalf of the Estonian and Latvian nations created expectations on the part of the local population that they could have a voice in shaping the form this state took, including its borders. Notably, whereas petitioners requesting to be part of the Estonian state petitioned the Estonian-Latvian Boundary Commission, those wishing to be part of Latvia addressed their letters to the Latvian-Estonian Boundary Commission, an indication of which members of the Boundary Commission they were directing their appeal towards. Some authors displayed a linguistic flexibility and pragmatism by writing their petitions in different languages, evidently trying out different communication strategies to get their voices heard.[73]

While the majority of petitions contain forceful proclamations of national identification, this does not mean that all the inhabitants wanted the borders to be drawn along national lines. Among the 37 signatories of the petition from Heinaste municipality were two self-identified 'Latvians who wanted to stay in Estonia'.[74] Lists of the inhabitants of Vaste-

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[69] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.46, l.75.
[70] ERA.1604.1.52.40. This petition was also translated into English.
[71] Verner, "Discursive Strategies in the 1905 Revolution", 69.
[72] *Ibid*, 90.
[73] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.46, l.75-85.
[74] ERA.1604.1.53.4.

Roosa municipality similarly included a column for authorities to add notes, such as to indicate those 'Latvians who want to be in Estonia' (*Lätlane, soovib Eesti alle*).[75] These examples of Latvians who wanted to live in Estonia illustrate how most of the inhabitants of the Estonian-Latvian border region were not 'nationally indifferent' and articulated their identity to the authorities using national categories of self-description.[76] However, for some individuals, concerns for economic survival and risks to livelihood outweighed nationality when thinking about their future. They challenged the primacy of nationality as the defining logic for determining political territories. Instead, they asserted the importance of maintaining the territorial integrity of their local socio-economic community, as it was embedded within larger political polities.[77] The heads of 12 landowning families from Jaun Roses (Neu Rosen) municipality petitioned the Estonian authorities in Latvian for their commune to remain part of the Estonian state, 'as it was formerly'.[78] Likewise, petitions from business owners raised concerns about maintaining access to markets and transport routes, such as the letter from the head of the Baltic Paper-Cardboard Factory sent on 11 May 1920 requesting that the port of Gainash (Ainaži/Heinaste) be given to Latvia as it was crucial for transporting paper from the factory.[79]

Petitioners not only forcefully asserted their membership of the national community as a rhetorical device to get the authorities' attention, but also to demonstrate loyalty to the state. Leena Schults, a farm-owner from Terni, Volmar (Valmiera) district, asserted her nationality - 'I am […] an Esthonian' - but elaborated further by informing the authorities that 'my son Jaan Schults serves at present in the frontier guards' battalion and I and my children desire to belong with our farm to the Esthonian Republic.'[80] Military service performed during the recent wars was frequently used as proof of their family's allegiance and participation in the state, but also as a contract which required the state to fulfil certain obligations towards his citizens. Gustav Arskalu, leaseholder of the watermill in Hoppenhof/Ape, Neu-Rosen municipality, wrote to the Boundary Commission in May 1920 to claim compensation for the early termination of his contract on the watermill. Despite requesting permission to move to Latvia, Gustav tried to convince the authorities that he deserved financial compensation by describing how his only

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[75] ERA.1604.1.81.31.
[76] Zahra, "Imagined Noncommunities."
[77] Haslinger found similar instances in the Czechoslovak-Hungarian borderlands, where 'the population in the area alongside the demarcation line communicated concerns that did not exclusively follow a purely national patriotic logic'. Haslinger, "Dilemmas of Security", 194.
[78] ERA.1604.1.81.17.
[79] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.46, l.62.
[80] ERA.1604.1.52.40.

son, 17-year old Kaube, had volunteered to join the Estonian National Army and 'fought, on the front line, for one year and 3 months against the Bolsheviks. Also in this time ca. 4 months on Estonian territory'.[81] The petitions are evidence that many of the local inhabitants forcefully acted on these expectations that the state would fulfil its obligation to listen to the interests of the local population and adjust the border, even after a provisional decision on the border line had been announced.

Although the writers of the petitions mostly wrote about their individual situation and sought to redress their personal grievances, these local concerns were embedded within more broadly conceived political demands. Leena Schults wrote to the Estonian-Latvian Boundary Commission in February 1920:

> My farm, Kaktine in the community of Terai being situated very near the frontier of the Esthonian Republic, I cherished the hope that my farm at the fixing of the Esthonian-Latvian frontier line will remain within the frontiers of the Esthonian Republic, but I have now read in the newspaper that my farm has been left within the Lettish boundaries. This is not just, neither from the logical nor from the geographical point of view, for the fixed frontier line leaves my farm like in a sack – between the farms of Tolla and Kassi.[82]

Leena felt a strong sense of injustice about the threat to her livelihood if her farm was to remain on the Latvian side of the border. The petitioners employed various rhetorical strategies to express their sense of injustice. Some petitioners, such as the farm-owner Jaan Karrm chose to present themselves as supplicants. Framing himself as a helpless victim of high-power decision-makers, Jaan 'begged' the Boundary Commission to reconsider its decision, echoing the imperial practice of using religious language in petitions to appeal to the benevolence of the Tsar to grant their wishes. Others, such as Johann Mihkli, a farm-owner from Pajo municipality, near Valga/Valka, took a more forceful approach and opposed the border as an infringement of their rights. Titling his letter 'PROTEST', he objected that his 'farm, without my consent, is unexpectedly in the Latvian border'. Johann viewed the lack of consultation about the fate of his private property as a breach of his individual rights, and opposed it in the strongest terms.[83] The border thus became the focus of battles over political rights in the new state. In cases where the petitioners held grievances against the activities of state authorities, they deliberately appealed to the British mediators, perceived as a neutral and higher authority that could put pressure on the two governments to implement adjustments to the border. Gustav

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[81] ERA.1604.1.81.15r.
[82] ERA.1604.1.52.40. I quote from the English translation of the petition, which produced for the benefit of the British officers and submitted as evidence to the Boundary Commission.
[83] ERA.957.2.16.6.

Arskalu, the leaseholder of the Neu-Rosen watermill, addressed his petition 'To the English representatives of the Boundary Commission in Walk' to complain about his lack of compensation from the 'Estonian occupying power' for the early termination of his lease on the watermill and to request permission to move to Latvia.[84]

The demands for state action on behalf of co-nationals who had been left on the "wrong" side of the border – whether for national or economic reasons, or a combination thereof – were visually reinforced in the petition maps, which replicated the cartographical practices of the Boundary Commission by shading farms owned by Estonians and Latvians in blue and red. Map-making functioned as a means to inform the authorities and provide them with information about the nationality of farm-owners that they may have overlooked or mistaken in the course of their investigations. Maps were used to advocate on behalf of individual farm-owners whose lands had been assigned to the "wrong" state in the course of diplomatic compromises between the Estonian and Latvian delegations. The maps attempted to illustrate how these actions held very real consequences for the farmers themselves.

Mapping was mostly frequently used alongside petitions dealing with disputes of an economic or geographical nature and to bring the attention of the Boundary Commission to practical problems that needed to be solved in everyday life. A common theme in the petitions was that the proposed border divided lands owned by individual farmers. The abovementioned farm-owner Jaan Karrm complained that the proposed frontier states 'split' his household: his wife's farmlands had been assigned to Estonia, while the adjoining farmlands that he owned had been placed on the Latvian side of the border. Evoking compassion and drawing attention to their diminishing socio-economic prospects, they petitioned the Boundary Commissions to ask for help. Jaan explained how 'All my land products I have exported till up to the present to Esthonia, this ceases only in the last time owing to the new frontier line'.[85] Jaan not only protested the individual economic impact of the border severing him from the market for his produce, but also the economic shortfall for the future Estonian state as he can no longer contribute to its economic activity. Similarly, Leena embedded her personal grievances about isolation of her farm within a wider discussion of the border as a whole, arguing that it was not 'logical […] from a geographical point of view'.[86] As Siobhán Hearne demonstrates, petitioners frequently sought to manoeuvre their readers into a position where the burden of responsibility for the bad outcome (or the "illogicality" of the border, to use Leena's own

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[84] ERA.1604.1.81.15.
[85] ERA.1604.1.52.40. This petition was also translated into English from Estonian.
[86] ERA.1604.1.52.40.

words) fell on the addressee.[87] Petition-writing positioned the reader in an active role and attempted to persuade them that they had the power to enact change for the better.

Petitioners produced their own maps to "correct" the findings of the Boundary Commission, as well as to present a view of the border from the vantage of the local inhabitants. As in the written petitions, these petition maps incorporated various discursive tropes and techniques to persuade their readers. The inhabitants from Vastse-Roosa commune in Werro/Võro county submitted several maps along with their petitions to the Estonian-Latvian Boundary Commission to protest the proposed border, which separated them from woodlands that they owned to the south, now in Latvia (Figure 63 and Figure 64). They sent the Boundary Commission maps and plans of their land, using dotted lines to mark the proposed border and indicate how they desired the border to be changed based on the interests of the region's inhabitants (as outlined in the text of the petitions) and their local knowledge of land use. The farmers perceived these woods as crucial for their livelihood and topped the map with the inscription, 'If you do not change the border, it is impossible to live'.[88]

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[87] Hearne, "To Denounce or Defend?", 736.
[88] ERA.1604.1.81.50.
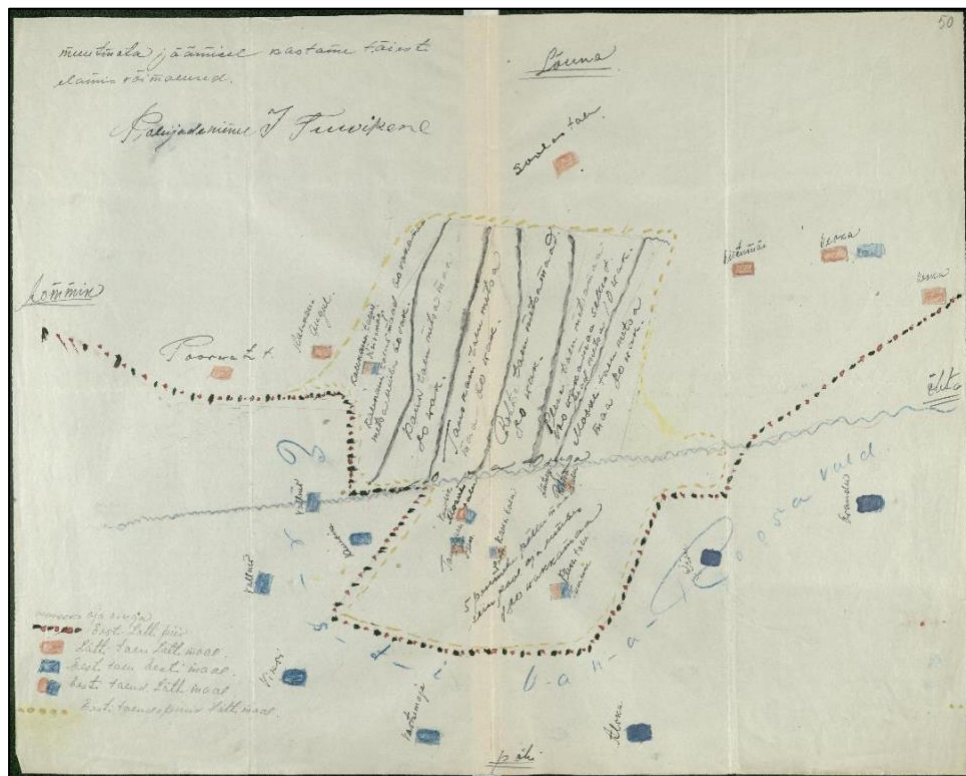
Figure 63. Petition map of Vastse-Roosa commune

The map depicts the Estonian-Latvian border (black and red dotted line) and contested area (yellow dotted line). The rectangles indicate Latvian farms in Latvia (red), Estonian farms in Estonia (blue), and Estonian farms in Latvia (red-blue). The map is undated, but it was sent to the Boundary Commission sometime between August 1920 and February 1922.

Source: ERA.1604.1.81 sheet 50.
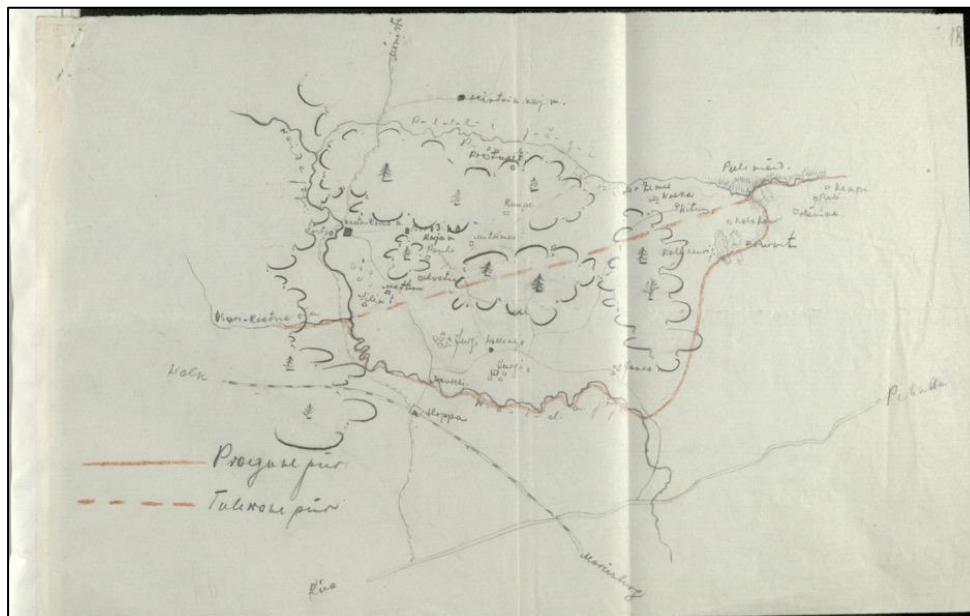
Figure 64. Petition map of Vastse-Roosa commune

The solid red line denotes the 'current border' delimited by the Estonian-Latvian Boundary Commission, while the dashed red line marks the 'future border' desired by the local farmers.

Source: ERA.1604.1.81 sheet 18r.

The maps produced by the local farmers give us an important alternative perspective on the boundary question and show how the inhabitants themselves perceived the relationship between nationality and territory. In some respects, these maps reveal how the local inhabitants were quick to adapt and adopt the new official toponyms and forms of administrative organisation when writing to the authorities. For instance, the vast majority of petitioners described the location of their farm using Estonian- or Latvian-language place names, and only rarely used the former imperial administrative names, such as Livland/Lifliand. On the other hand, the petitioners mapped their homeland from their local vantage point and incorporated points of local significance that they deemed necessary for orientation and navigation, including the names of individual farms, small streams, meadows, and copses, the type of road (whether or not it was a 'paved road' – *kivitee*), and where the road led to.[89] A local river and forests are marked using a curvy blue line and tree symbols, using pictorial vocabulary to convey environmental relationships to the land. Petition maps frequently featured annotations specifying the types of crops sewn in different fields.[90] These maps more closely resemble the early modern 'sketches' (*chertezhi*), where, as Valerie Kivelson notes, 'the expected cartographic formulae are distinctly lacking, replaced by colourful drawings of little houses, churches, and trees.'[91] Much of this rich local detail did not appear on the maps made by the Boundary Commissions, but resonated with same broader themes of national identification of property ownership, communication routes, and access to economic markets discussed in the official meetings and correspondence of the Boundary Commission. Moreover, as Kivelson argues, it was often precisely these small details about the local topography and land use that would determine a judge's ruling on a legal dispute or, in this case, the outcome of the border drawing process.[92]

Information was often presented on the petition maps so as to enable the viewer to see the problem from the perspective of the local inhabitants and provide a glimpse into local ways of life and mentalities. For example, the petition maps of Vastse-Roosa commune submitted by Estonian-speaking inhabitants were all orientated so that south was at the top of the map. The maps positioned the viewer as if they were standing on the Estonian side of the border and looking south towards Latvia, thereby deconstructing the standard Cartesian north-south

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[89] ERA.957.2.16.7.
[90] ERA.1604.1.81.47.
[91] Kivelson, "Early Mapping", 23.
[92] *Ibid*., 37.

bird's-eye-view that we are accustomed to on maps. On one map (Figure 63), further information was given about the direction of the rising run - 'morning' (*hommik*) – marked on the left-hand side of the map, while the setting sun - 'evening' (*õhtu*) – was indicated on the right-hand side. The petition map-makers disassembled cartographical conventions – whether this was a deliberate act or not, it is hard to say – to make the Boundary Commission understand the existential challenge they faced and to present their local knowledge to new audiences. A comparison of the maps produced by the various inhabitants of Vastse-Roosa, however, reveals the highly varied ways the maps were drawn in cases where disputes were brought to the attention of the authorities. The petitions and maps variously defined the contours and boundaries of communities and conveyed different notions of belonging. The local population were not a homogenous group and these maps, like the petitions, reflect the plurality of aims and opinions on the border question.

Moreover, in contrast to the maps made by trained surveyors and draughtsmen, the petition maps do not contain many of the technical features that were already common on professionally-drawn topographical maps of the time, such as a scale bar, latitude or longitude markers, and grid layouts, although it is worth pointing out that almost all the petition maps included a legend, suggesting a basic level of cartographical literacy among those that drew the maps. The petitioners sometimes explicitly acknowledged that their maps aimed to convey ideas about the relative relationship between different spatial objects rather than being a mathematically precise survey of the land. Jaan Karrm described the map he enclosed with his petition as an 'approximate scheme of the boundaries of my property'.[93]

The way in which the local farmers chose to communicate their opinions about border drawing through mapping testifies to the fact that the region's population was familiar with cartographical print culture, either through exposure to maps in school textbooks and atlases or in newspapers. The petition maps colour-coded farms using the same blue and red colour scheme to depict Estonian and Latvian property ownership as on the maps made by the Boundary Commission, which suggests that the local farmers knew about the maps being used by the Boundary Commission. They also used the same method of mapping ethnicity according to property ownership. On the one hand, these observations support Edoardo Boria's argument that efforts to use cartography to present alternative and potentially subversive ways of understanding political space tend to be 'innovative in their content but conservative in their

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[93] ERA.1604.1.52.43. It was not only the local population who described their maps as being approximations. On 4-5 May 1920, in Caledon's report on Neu Rosen commune, he noted how the enclosed map was 'roughly the shape of Neu Rosen commune'. LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.46, l.76.

expressive forms… thinkers with innovative outlooks on political space end up representing it using the language of the dominant view'.[94] On the other hand, by incorporating the same 'map language' into their own petition maps, the local farmers subverted hierarchies of knowledge to intervene meaningfully in the border debate. They challenged the Boundary Commission on its own terms, framing their traditional knowledge of space within the cartographical language that was acceptable in the context of the legal state system.

The maps also demonstrate how cartographical technologies used by the authorities did not necessarily develop prior to, or in isolation from, the mapping activities of the local population. The similarities between the maps produced by the Boundary Commission and the local population enables us to challenge ideas about the diffusion of cartographical techniques and knowledge from state authorities and elites to the local inhabitants. Instead, the relationship that emerges is one of interchange and reciprocal interaction. The petition maps made by the farmers of Vastse-Roosa commune highlight how boundary maps not only served as an instrument that enabled the state to categorise, rationalise, and control people and territory, but could also be appropriated as a dialogic tool for protest and popular resistance to the state. Petition-writing and map-making politically empowered disgruntled individuals to confront the state about their individual and societal concerns.

The Boundary Commission paid selective attention to the requests of local inhabitants, especially when they reinforced their own proposals of where to adjust the border. A handful of petitions were translated into English for the benefit of the British arbitrators and submitted as part of the evidence gathered by the Sub-Commissions.[95] In some cases, adjustments requested in the petitions were enacted in the following years. At the same time, the interactions between the multiple stakeholders on the border question were also characterised by power imbalances.[96] The British arbitrators were reluctant to place too much weight on statements and testimonies from the local population. Bentley cautioned that 'these petitions are not a reliable basis on which to work as the private and public feeling of the people vary to a considerable extent.'[97] Similarly, Tallents noted the impossibility of reconciling the multiple viewpoints: 'The case of Walk is the cardinal point in the whole frontier question… Apart from the national feeling which the dispute has evoked, the question is a really difficult problem in

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[94] Edoardo Boria, "Representing the Politics of Borders: Unorthodox Maps in Reclus, Mackinder and Others," *Geopolitics* 20, no. 1 (2015), 142-170, 165.
[95] Comparing the translations reveals that this was done reasonably faithfully.
[96] Haslinger, "Dilemmas of Security", 205.
[97] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.46, l.46.

which it is physically impossible to reach a completely just or satisfactory solution.[98] As Haslinger demonstrates in the case of the Czechoslovak-Hungarian border, officials were often wary of taking outpourings of national sentiment from the local population at face value and found it 'difficult to separate genuine patriotic enthusiasm and staged or orchestrated opinions from each other in the records of the local visits'.[99] This was certainly the case with the Estonian and Latvian representatives, who directly accused one another of manipulating the outpouring of testimonies from the local population for political ends. On 6 May 1920, the Latvian representatives accused Mr. Pommer, editor of a local Estonian newspaper and an Estonian member of the Boundary Commission, for publishing testimonies by the local population in his newspaper that were deliberately designed to 'embitter feelings between the two countries'. Pommer defended his actions by replying that 'some of the statements made by Lettish farmers to the Commission were so ridiculously untrue that he felt bound to report on them.' The Latvians later conceded that 'many of them were somewhat exaggerated but that was natural and not perhaps sufficient grounds for an article headed "Perversion of Truth".[100]

Towards the end of May, after several months of intensive work, the British officers began to lose patience. By now the 'Walk Question' had become synonymous with the whole border issue between Estonia and Latvia.[101] As Tallents noted in his memoire, 'I had known, when I first intervened in this dispute, that its solution was likely to be a disagreeable and difficult job; but I had not taken the full measure of its difficulties or of the bitter feeling which it would arouse.'[102] The everyday grind of the work of the Boundary Commission began to take its toll. Delays in receiving maps, motorcar breakdowns, illness, the repeated 'unwillingness' of the Estonian and Latvian delegates to cooperate, and the 'slow work as the last child is counted' wore down the patience of the British mediators.[103] References in the Boundary Commission minutes to discussions becoming 'rather heated', suggest that the British tactfully downplayed the strenuous negotiations in their reports and minutes.[104] However, Rowan-Robinson's exasperation is palpable in the report he sent to Tallents on 19 May 1920:

> In my opinion the whole frontier question has been thoroughly thrashed out and nothing is to be gained by further discussion. Except in the most obvious cases, agreement is

[98] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, 1.46, 1.33.
[99] Haslinger, "Dilemmas of Security," 194.
[100] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, 1.46, 1.132.
[101] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, 1.46, 1.27.
[102] Stephen Tallents, *Man and Boy* (London: Faber & Faber, 1943), 373.
[103] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, 1.46, 1.76; 111; 116.
[104] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, 1.46, 1.133.

impossible to obtain. It remains therefore for me as President of the Sub-Commissions to recommend a line, and that I am prepared to do.[105]

Ultimately, the inability of the Estonian and Latvian representatives to reach an agreement forced Tallents to intervene to make the final decision and draw the deliberations to a close. Based on recommendations by the Sub-Commissions, on 1 July 1920 Tallents awarded the majority of the town and the main railway station to Estonia. A smaller part of the town would belong to Latvia, along with the second railway station on the Marienburg-Walk-Pernau line. The northern half of the town henceforth was officially known by its Estonian-language name – Walga/Valga, while the southern half of the town went by its Latvian-language name – Walka/Valka. Economic factors played a decisive role in shaping Tallent's decision; he felt that to draw the border solely on ethnographic principles and 'run a frontier line through the main body of the town of Walk would cripple its activity and might endanger its life'.[106] He was mindful of 'similar cases in other parts of Europe where a strict ethnographical line had be drawn without regard to economic condition'.[107]

Tallent's recommendation to split the town and award the majority of the town to Estonia, while leaving a small part to Latvia, was met with objections from the two governments and was heavily criticised by the local press.[108] On 11 June, a cartoon of Tallents was published in one of the Russian-language newspapers in Riga portraying him as a Solomon-like figure dividing the town of Valka, depicted as a baby, in two with a sword (Figure 65). The Latvian representative Samuel was depicted as the true mother figure on the left, while on the right Birk, the Estonian delegation member, was represented as the false mother, sliding the baby away. Tallent's was offended by the portrayal of his actions in the press, describing the cartoon as a 'scurrilous attack by the gutter press of the Baltic.'[109]

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[105] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.46, l.120.
[106] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.46, l.33.
[107] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.46, l.36.
[108] Päts, *Eesti Vabariigi ja Läti Vabariigi vaheline piir,* Appendix 9.
[109] Tallents, *Man and Boy*, 378.

Figure 65. "Solomon of our days": a caricature of Tallent's dividing the town of Valka between Estonia and Latvia
The caption reads: Samuel: 'As for me, Tallents, give her the baby alive and do not destroy my town by death!'
Source: *Segodnia*, June 11, 1920, 1.

As a result of his experience arbitrating the Estonian-Latvian border negotiations, Tallents turned down the invitation to mediate the Latvian-Lithuanian Boundary Commission in the autumn of 1920, and instead the British Foreign Office appointed James Young Simpson, an a Scottish zoologist and theologian from the University of Edinburgh, who had worked in the Russian Section of the Foreign Office and had spent six weeks in Paris in 1919 with the British Delegation to the Peace Conference as an expert on Russia's borderlands.[110] In a twist of fate, Tallents later served as secretary to Ireland's Lord Lieutenant and then Imperial Secretary for Northern Ireland from 1922-26. Drawing on his experiences of diplomacy,

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[110] In the 1890s Simpson had befriended the Russian prince and last prime Minister of Imperial Russia, Nikolai Galitzin (1850-1925), and he travelled with him to Russia several times between the late 1890s and 1916. During the war, Simpson established himself as an expert on Russia and was part of the British Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference. James Young Simpson, *The Garment of the Living God* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1935); Alston, "James Young Simpson."

propaganda, and research gained during his Civil Service career, he became a pioneering figure in the emergence of the concept of public relations, first as secretary of the Empire Marketing Board (1926-33) and then later as Controller of Public Relations at the BBC and Deputy Director General. In 1948 he was appointed President of the newly-founded Institute of Public Relations.[111]

Demarcating the Frontier

Following Tallent's pronouncement, the members of the Estonian-Latvian Mixed Boundary Commission marked the 'Tallents line', along with the ongoing disputed regions, on an updated border map (Figure 66). In an explicit manifestation of the palimpsest-like layering of different forms of spatial organisation in the transition from Empire to nation-state, the Estonian-Latvian border map was made from a repurposed Russian imperial administrative map. The new Estonian-Latvian border was quite literally inscribed over the top of former imperial administrative borders.[112]

The border Tallents proposed in July 1920 – which became known as the 'Tallents boundary line' (*Tallensi piiri joon*) – did not bring an end to the border discussion.[113] In the following years, Estonian-Latvian Border Commission had to settle the matter of the maritime border, the question of Runo island, and the border to the east. In November 1923, the southern part of Laura district was transferred from Estonia to Latvia.[114] The technical commission began work on the lengthy process of surveying and physically constructing the border fences, guard posts, and crossing points along the frontier between Estonia and Latvia, which was only completed in April 1927.[115] Both states also had to pay remuneration to landowners whose land

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[111] Scott Anthony, *Public Relations and the Making of Modern Britain: Stephen Tallents and the Birth of a Progressive Media Profession* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018).

[112] It was a common practise to repurpose maps, especially in the postwar years when paper was in short supply. Famously, the first Latvian postage stamps were printed in 1918 on the back of military maps left behind by the German army.

[113] Individual sections of the border were also referred to according to the British officer who had chaired the Sub-Commission responsible for delimiting that part of the boundary, such as 'Bentley's line'. LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.46, l.102.

[114] Andres Tõnisson and Taavi Pae, "Geograaf Peeter Päts," *Eesti Geograafia Seltsi aastaraamat* 41 (2016), 106-123, 110. On the discourse in the Latvian press in the 1930s on Lauri as a 'Latvian colony' in Estonia, see: Valters Ščerbinskis, "Lauri Latvians: Between Latvia, Estonia, and Russia," in *Narva und die Ostseeregion / Narva and the Baltic Sea Region*, ed. Karsten Brüggemann (Narva: University of Tartu Narva College, 2004), 305-309.

[115] An important source for the activities of the Estonian-Latvian Boundary Commission in the 1920s is the Master's Thesis of Peeter Päts (1880-1942), which includes an extensive appendix of documents from the period. Päts, *Eesti Vabariigi ja Läti Vabariigi vaheline piir*. See the announcement of the completed frontier in the Estonian press: "Eesti-Läti uus piir astus eile jõusse," *Postimees*, no. 91, April 2, 1927.

was needed to create the border. The process of demarcating the other borders of Estonia and Latvia likewise occurred over the course of the 1920s.[116]
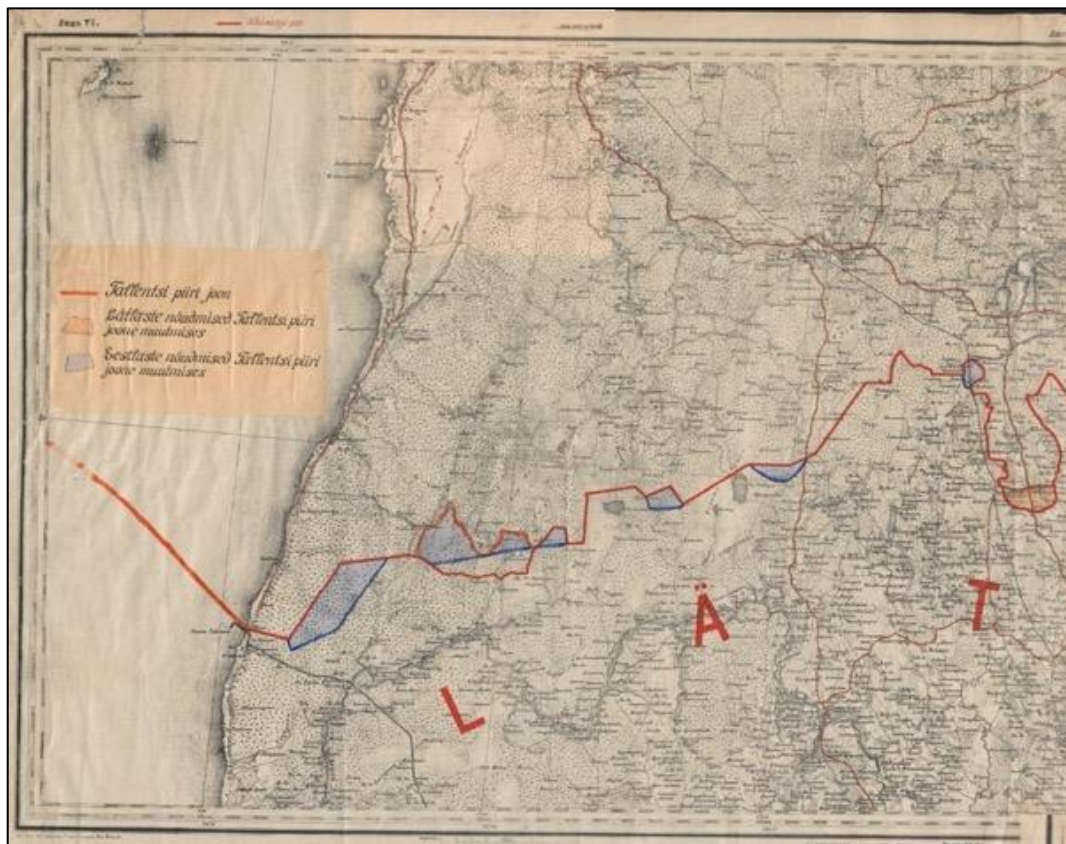
Figure 66. Detail of the Estonian-Latvian border map (1920)

The red line marks the so-called 'Tallents boundary line' (*Tallensi piiri joon*). The shading denotes disputed areas claimed by Estonia (blue) and Latvia (red).

Source: ERA.T-6.3.1142 sheet 1.

[116] Jēkabsons, "Polish-Latvian Border in the Years 1919-1939"; Golubev, "Stanovlenie Belorussko-Latviiskoi granitsy (1918-1926gg.)".

Figure 67. Tourist postcard of the Latvian-Estonian border in Valga/Valka (1927)

Source: Herder Institut Bildarchiv 68 897.

The border running through Valga/Valk was a sight to be marvelled at (Figure 67). Owen Rutter described Valga/Walk as 'a state of affairs… which is almost Gilbertian, for the frontier runs through a narrow street, the houses on one side of which are in Estonia and those on the other in Latvia.'[117] On his visit to the town in the early 1920s, he described how:

> I had walked some distance through the rather uninteresting town and was just beginning to think that the police station was a long way when, looking up to see what street I was in, I saw the strange word *tän* instead of the familiar Lettish *iela* – street. It seemed that I was in Estonia…. Standing in the middle of the cobbled roadway, with one foot in Latvia and the other in Estonia, I took a photograph of that crooked street and then hurried on, keeping to the Latvian pavement.[118]

The intervening months and years between the delimitation of the border and the materialisation of the border in the physical landscape was a period of uncertainty where people remained unsure of their rights. As reflected in the *Postimees* cartoon discussed in the opening of the chapter, everyday activities and mobilities that people had been accustomed to for decades now involved crossing a border. Frants Karlovich Petrichek, a Russian-speaking farmer from Kudepi on Estonia's eastern border with Latvia and the Soviet Union, wrote to the

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[117] Rutter, *The New Baltic States*, 178.

[118] *Ibid.*, 178-9.

Estonian Ministry of Affairs shortly after the border was agreed in July 1920 asking to be issued border-crossing documents to allow him to visit his many relatives now living in Latvia and to tend to his farmlands across the border. He also wanted to retrieve a horse he had given for safekeeping to a peasant in a neighbouring village. However, now that the village was in Latvia, he needed the permission of the police or local court to bring the horse across the border or risk being charged with smuggling.[119] For the inhabitants of the new border regions, the boundary was perceived as an obstacle that imposed numerous practical problems in their daily lives and was a source of personal grievance that separated families. As Petrichek explained, the high costs of obtaining a passport (2,000 Marks a year), and travel expenses to go to Tallinn to obtain a Latvian visa (1,000 Marks per visit), made border-crossing prohibitive for a farmer.[120] The thickening and hardening of borders over time disrupted the lives of those living on either side of them.

At the same time, opportunistic individuals sought to profit from these recently-imposed borders. Even with the demarcation of the border, the frontier retained a degree of fluidity and permeability. Residents living in the border region were able to take advantage of certain privileges. In the first half of the 1920s peasants operated market stalls 100-200 metres from the Estonian-Soviet and Latvian-Soviet border posts, without being persecuted by the border guards as smugglers.[121] Although the border appeared as a line on the map in the official boundary treatises, everyday interactions with the border meant that in practice the frontier was 'thick'.[122] Newspapers from the period are full of reports of criminal cross-border activities and smuggling. Instances of illicit cross-border activity were also reported to the local authorities in petitions, such as in July 1921 when Petrichek once again wrote to the Petseri/Pechory county administration to complain that an antagonistic neighbour was illegally crossing the border into Estonia with his cows to graze on Petrichek's meadows.[123]

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[119] ERA.1604.1.52.2-3.
[120] ERA.957.11.440.57r.
[121] Sabine Dullin, "L'entre-voisins en période de transition étatique (1917-1924)," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 69, no. 2 (2014), 383–414, 407.
[122] Sabine, Dullin, *La frontière épaisse: aux origines des politiques soviétiques, 1920-1940* (Paris: Éd. de l'École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2014).
[123] ERA.957.11.440.57.

Conclusions

This chapter has analysed the multiple forms of interaction and resistance between those above and below in the process of drawing the border between the new states of Estonia and Latvia between 1919-1920. The petitions and border maps reveal how the local inhabitants of border regions protested the disruption to their economic, social, and everyday life caused by the process of establishing state borders. The dialogue between the local inhabitants and Boundary Commissions demonstrates the complex ways in which the inhabitants of border regions communicated with the authorities. The residents actively sought engagement with the new Estonian and Latvian states using the same mechanisms that they had used to hold the Russian imperial state accountable.

At the same time, the petitions maps submitted by the local inhabitants of the border regions to protest and correct the borders drawn by the Boundary Commission reveal how tensions between mobility and territorial belonging, government control and local interests, and national and economic interests were encapsulated precisely in the question of the border as a line on a map. As Denis Wood argues: '*Draw the line:* it's not a figure of speech. This is precisely how territories are brought into being.'[124] The technology of ethnographic cartography was appropriated by local landowners to challenge the authorities, make their voices and interests heard, and draw their own border lines. Ethnographic map-making also took on new meanings and uses in the turbulent aftermath of World War I and the collapse of the Russian Empire. Ethnographic cartography more than ever before was used as an applied tool to address the very practical and pressing problem of resolving border disputes. The ethnographic maps produced by the Estonian-Latvian Boundary Commission were of a much larger scale that any of the maps encountered in previous chapters as they sought to map the nationality of landowners at the scale of individual farms. Ethnographic cartography underwent a methodological shift and property ownership became the key spatial scale for conceptualising the relationship between nationality and territory. The uses of petitioning and cartography to challenge the authorities on the border line were partially successful and some of the objections raised by the local inhabitants resulted in later modifications to the border in the 1920s. The process of tweaking the border line to create a line of 'best fit' according to 'ethnographic principle' resulted in a state border that was remarkable close to the ideal of a nation-state

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[124] Denis Wood, "How Maps Work," *Cartographica* 29, nos. 3-4 (1992), 66–74, 68.

border. The border line that was finalised in 1927 left very few Estonians and Latvians on the "wrong" side of the nation-state border.

Conclusion: Cartographic Legacies

In March 1924, during a routine inspection of Belarusian minority schools in eastern Latvia, the Daugavpils district school inspector discovered a map of the Belarusian People's Republic (BNR) on a classroom wall in the village of Dūdeļi that depicted parts of the territory of Latvia within its borders. The inspector later uncovered the same map in another school in the village of Stankeviči, as well as numerous other smaller postcards with maps of the BNR in school libraries and in the hands of schoolchildren throughout Latgale. He also learned that teachers in the region's Belarusian minority schools were using a Belarusian-language geography textbook published by Arkadz Smolich (1891-1938), the famous Belarusian soil scientist and first chair of geography in the BSSR, as supplementary teaching material.[125] The school teacher from Dūdeļi explained that the map had been sent to him by the Belarusian Education Department within the Latvian Ministry of Education, yet the book had not been approved by the Ministry. Eight Belarusian schoolteachers from Latgale were subsequently arrested. They were charged with inciting separatism among the Belarusian minority in Latvia by communicating with Belarusian organisations abroad and distributing geographical maps, textbooks, and periodicals among pupils that showed parts of Latvia incorporated within the Belarusian territory.

The trial, which ran from 2-5 April 1925, uncovered no evidence of undercover activity to promote secessionist ideas among the Belarusian-speaking community in Latgale. The court ruled that the offending maps merely depicted the ethnographic spread of Belarusians rather than the political borders of the BNR state, and accepted the arguments put forward by the defendants that the geography textbooks were being used to teach Belarusian language due to a lack of other pedagogical materials.[126] The eight teachers were acquitted in April 1925, yet the so-called 'Belarusian trial' (*Belaruski pratses*) had significant consequences. The map of the BNR was not the main object of contention in the whole affair, but it ignited a far-reaching public debate about political loyalty to the Latvian state, policies towards national minorities, and relations between the Latvian state and its neighbours.[127]

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[125] Arkadz Smolich, *Heagrafiia Belarusi* (Vilnius: Promen', 1919).
[126] On the investigation and trial of Belarusian schoolteachers in Latvia in 1924-25, see: K. Kazachenok, "'Belorusskii protsess' v Latvii: Obvinenie, opravdanie, nakazanie," *Latyshi i belorusy: vmeste skvoz' veka. Sbornik nauchnykh statei,* ed. M. G. Korolev (Minsk: RIVSh, 2012), 29-43.
[127] Ilga Apine, *Baltkrievi Latvijā* (Riga: Latvijas Zinātņu Akadēmijas Filozofijas un Socioloģijas Institūts, 1995); Ēriks Jēkabsons, "Baltkrievi Latvijā 1918. − 1940. gadā," *Latvijas Vēstures Institūta Žurnāls* 4 (2001), 104−133.

The political furore and subsequent investigations into the meaning of the circulation and public display of ethnographic maps in eastern Latvia also formed part of a much larger story that extended beyond internal Latvian politics, reverberating across borders in the region and spanning multiple political regime changes of the early twentieth century. The maps discovered by the Daugavpils district school inspector formed part of a long line of maps descending from the *Ethnographic Map of the Belarusian Tribe* published by the Slavist Efim Karskii in 1903.[128] That map had functioned as a Belarusian counterpart to the language area (*Sprachgebiet*) maps published in the late nineteenth century by Friedrich Kurschat for Lithuanian and by August Bielenstein and his collaborators for Latvian. Later, in spring 1917, Karskii had been appointed as an expert to the Russian Academy of Science's newly established Commission for Studying the Tribal Composition of the Population of Russia (*Komissiia po izucheniiu plemennogo sostava naseleniia Rossii*, or KIPS), where he produced an updated version of his map.[129] KIPS sought to use the expertise of linguists, ethnographers, and geographers to provide state intelligence on Russia's border regions. Notably, the 1917 edition of the map extended the borders of the Belarusian ethnographic area to include the city of Dzvinsk (the Belarusian name for Daugavpils). Fellow KIPS member Eduard Vol'ter, professor of Baltic linguistics at St. Petersburg University, partly disagreed with Karskii's delimitation of the Latvian-Belarusian-Russian ethnographic border in a report he prepared for KIPS in spring 1918, thereby placing Karkii's map at the centre of debates between liberal imperial-turned-Bolshevik experts about the future borders of the Soviet Union.[130]

Meanwhile, Karskii's original *Ethnographic Map of the Belarusian Tribe* from 1903 was put to work in other contexts by Belarusian nationalists. In March 1915, a reproduction of Karskii's map was printed on the front page of the Easter edition of the Viln'ia-based Belarusian-language newspaper *Nasha Niva*, as *Ethnographic Map of Belarus*.[131] Karkii's map

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[128] E. F. Karskii, *Belorusy* 1 (Warsaw: 1903). The second and third volumes were subsequently published as: *Belorusy* 2 (1908-1912); *Belorusy* 3 (Moscow; Petrograd: 1916-1922).

[129] E. F. Karskii, *Etnograficheskaia karta belorusskogo plemeni (s ob'iasnitel'noi zapiskoi)* (Petrograd: Tipografiia Rossiiskoi Academii Nauk, 1917). The workings of KIPS are discussed in detail in: Hirsch, *Empire of Nations,* 49-61; Psianchin, *Komissiia po izucheniiu plemennogo sostava naseleniia.*

[130] Eduard Vol'ters, "The Ethnographic Border of the Latvians with the Great Russians and White Russians." SPBF RAN f.135, op.2, d.85, l.1-8. A transcription of Volt'ers manuscript was published in: V. A. Galiona, "Etnicheskaia karta prigranichnogo regiona Pytalovo/Abrene: polevye issledovaniia 2006 goda i dannye E. A. Vol'tera 1918 goda," in *Etnokonfessional'naia karta Leningradskoi oblasti i sopredel'nykh territorii. Vtorye Shergenovskie chteniia: Sbornik statei* (St. Petersburg: Evropeiskii Dom, 2008), 199-233. On how Karskii's map sparked debates between members of the Belarusian national movement and liberal and Bolshevik ethnographers and statisticians, see p.200.

[131] *Nasha Niva,* no. 11, March 19, 1915, 1. *Nasha Niva* (literally *Our Field,* 1906-1915) was the first legal Belarusian-language newspaper founded by members of the Belarusian Social Union (*Hramada*) in Vil'nia

spawned another incarnation following the March 1918 Treaty of Brest Litovsk, when the leaders of the short-lived Belarusian People's Republic used Karskii's map as the basis for drawing maps of their state.[132] While the BNR failed to secure international recognition and collapsed at the end of 1918, members of the government-in-exile continued to widely circulate the map of the BNR and submitted it as part of their documentation at the Paris Peace Conference.[133] A version of the map also appeared in Smolich's Belarusian-language geography textbook, *Heahrafiia Belarusi,* published in Vil'nia (Vilnius) in 1919. Like Karskii's own edition of the map published for KIPS in 1917, the maps produced by BNR activists included the city of Dzwinsk/Dvinsk/Daugavpils within the borders of their imagined Belarusian nation-state. During discussions in June 1919 in Paris between the Latvian delegation and BNR government-in-exile, both sides agreed that 'the population in certain parts of the contested districts is very mixed' and that there was a lack of precise statistics on the matter on which to base a decision.[134]

Karskii's 1903 *Ethnographic Map of the Belarusian Tribe* thus underwent multiple reincarnations and recontextualisations in the decades following its original publication. Karskii, working within the institutional setting of KIPS in 1917-18, continued to frame his map as depicting a Belarusian ethnic region within the wider context of the Russian Empire-turned-Bolshevik state. BNR activists appropriated the map as a legitimising device to carve out the territory of their claimed nation-state. The legacies and multiple generations of Karskii's map not only permeated the political leadership of the Belarusian nationalist movement or experts appropriated into the service of the new Bolshevik state, but also reverberated into village classrooms in eastern Latvia in the mid-1920s where it was used as a

(Vilnius). The newspaper was published in two scripts, Lacinka and Cryillic. The newspaper was closed down shortly afterwards on 7 August 1915 by the tsarist authorities.

[132] The author of the BNR has been the subject of considerable debate in the historiography. While the map was traditionally attributed to Mitrafan Dounar-Zapol'ski (1867-1834), Dorota Michaluk has challenged this assumption and suggests instead that it was probably a collaborative effort. Dorota Michaluk, "Baltarusijos Liaudies Respublikos sienų koncepcijos formavimasis 1917-1918 metais," *Lietuvos Istorijos Metrašti / The Yearbook of Lithuanian History*, no. 1 (2005), 83-100, 84-5; Darota Mikhaliuk, *Belaruskaia Narodnaia Respublika, 1918-1920 gg.: Lia vytokau belaruskau dziarkhaunastsi* (Smalensk: Inbelkult', 2015).

[133] Between 1917-1920 there were in fact six attempts at declaring Belarusian statehood. For a detailed account of Belarusian state-building projects, see: Rudling, *The Rise and Fall of Belarusian Nationalism*. Publications circulating the BNR map included: Walter Jäger, *Weißruthenien: Land, Bewohner, Geschichte, Volkswirtschaft, Kultur, Dichtung* (Berlin: Curtius, 1919); Anton Lutskevitch, *Petition presented by the Delegation of the Gouvernment of the White Ruthenian Democratic Republic the Peace Conference* (Paris: 1919); Mitrofan Dounar-Zapolski, *Les bases de l'Etat de la Ruthénie Blanche. Mémoire publié par le ministère des affaires étrangères de la République Démocratique Blanche* Ruthénienne (Grodno: 1919).

[134] LVVA f.2574, ap.3, l.7, l.214. Iauhen Ladnou (Evgenii Ladnov), Minister of Foreign Affairs and chairman of the Belarusian delegation in Paris, was born in Dvinsk/Dwinsk and so the Belarusian connection to the city had a personal resonance for him.

pedagogical resource for teaching Belarusian minority children about their cultural heritage and language.[135] Finally, the turbulent geopolitical afterlife of ethnographic maps is not simply a phenomenon of the past. While researching this dissertation, yet another incarnation of Karskii's ethnographic map entered the public limelight in June 2017, when the Belarusian brewery Lidzkae used the map of the BNR in one of its marketing campaigns for a beer celebrating the 100th anniversary of the city of Minsk. Once again, the map provoked a political debate, this time among Belarusian society about the place of the BNR in the history of Belarus and the contemporary uses of historical maps.[136]

The question that has driven this dissertation is how geographical thinking gradually permeated, and eventually came to dominate, ways of thinking about ethnicity and nationality. And specifically, the role of cartography in embedding a particular map-based bird's-eye-view of nationality, which strongly links national groups with particular territories. Over the course of the nineteenth century, map-makers experimented with different geographical approaches, techniques, and scales to map people. They studied the distribution of populations through fieldwork and statistics, divided them into national "types", sorted them into taxonomies based on relative similarity and difference to one another, colour-coded them, and inscribed them onto the natural landscape. The reduction of the complex intersection of religious, linguistic, socio-economic forms of identification into a two-dimensional "rationalised" image evolved into a powerful way of perceiving the human world. Maps streamlined hybrid identities into tightly tessellating national spaces. With the collapse of empires in East Central Europe at the end of World War I, this territorialised way of thinking about nationality encouraged nationalists to declare independence on behalf of "nation-states", arguing that – in theory at least – the mapped spaces and borders of ethnolinguistically-defined national populaces should determine state sovereignty.

In the preceding seven chapters, I have shown how map-makers explored different cartographical techniques to map nationality in the Russian Empire's Baltic provinces and neighbouring regions. The case studies highlight the plurality of ideas, often conflicting, about how ethnicity or nationality should be represented in graphical form. Map-makers engaged in methodological discussions about best practices for collecting data, how to translate numbers or ethnographic descriptions into cartographical form, and the scales to which this space-based way of thinking about nationality should be applied. The nineteenth century witnessed an

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[135] Galiona, "Etnicheskaia karta prigranichnogo regiona Pytalovo/Abrene," 200.
[136] For a summary of the debate, see: Iury Drakakhrust, "Bohdan supats' Kviatkouskaha: mapa BNR na butel'tsy piva – za i suparts'," *Radiio Svaboda,* accesed June 22, 2017, https://www.svaboda.org/a/28582096.html.

exponential growth in the amount of statistical data collected about populations, necessitating new ways to process and manage information. Cartography provided a visual method to synthesise and abstract this unwieldy data and communicate it in a clear and accessible way. However, in doing so, maps profoundly impacted understandings of language use, ethnicity, and nationhood.

This dissertation has placed particular emphasis on maps as objects of material and visual culture. The broader discussion of ethnographic map-making not only encompassed different ideological viewpoints but was also shaped by technological and economic factors related to gathering data, printing, publishing, and selling maps. The process of making an ethnographic map was more often than not hampered by financial difficulties and wrought with logistical challenges. The available printing technology shaped how map-makers designed and created their maps, such as the number of colours, level of detail, and kinds of patterns that could be engraved. Nineteenth-century map-makers were very self-reflective about their role as craftsmen and viewed their work in the context of a broader period of experimentation with different methods of data visualisation in the second half of the nineteenth-century.

Finally, a major aim of this study has been to show how ethnographic map-making was a far more widespread activity than has previously been thought. Rather than being the sole purvey of states or intellectual elites located in places traditionally thought of as centres of scientific knowledge production, I highlight the wide range of actors who engaged in map-making in the course of their daily lives or everyday work and in locations often overlooked as "peripheral" to scientific activity in imperial Russia. Approaching map-making as a broader participatory activity that occurred across diverse sites and settings in the Empire, I argue that ethnographic cartography also had a strong subversive tendency. Maps were wielded by local populations as instruments of enlightened public education, to assert local agency, and even to directly protest and challenge the state. Taking this multi-level approach to the history of ethnographic cartography is crucial for explaining the permeation of ethnographic maps across multiple social and political spheres in the second half of the nineteenth century. It is only by considering the spread of cartographical literacy among the general population that we can understand how maps came to hold such a powerful sway over popular understandings of nationality.

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