

Belarus and its Neighbors: Historical Perceptions and Political Constructs

International Conference Papers

EDITED BY

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WARSAW 2013

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Papers of the conference “Belarus and its Neighbors:
Historical Perceptions and Political Constructs”.

The conference was held on 9–11 of December 2011 in Warsaw, Poland.
The conference was sponsored by Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung Belarus Country Office,
National Endowment for Democracy and Open Society Institute.

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Adrianna Stansbury (English)

Cover design: Małgorzata Butkiewicz

Publication of this volume was made possible by National Endowment for Democracy.

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02-662 Warszawa

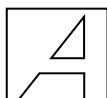
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ISBN: 978-83-60694-49-7



**Konrad
Adenauer
Stiftung**



**OPEN SOCIETY
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Implementation of publishing:

Dom Wydawniczy ELIPSA

ul. Inflancka 15/198, 00-189 Warszawa

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e-mail: elipsa@elipsa.pl, www.elipsa.pl

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Gudas as a Historical Name of Belarusians in the Lithuanian Language: 'Goths' or 'Barbarians'?

In the contemporary Lithuanian language the archaic word *gudai* is again in active use to designate Belarusians. Yet in the XVI century one of the founders of the Lithuanian written language Mikalojus Daukša used this term to refer to the Slavic population of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.¹ This tradition continued in the XVII–XVIII centuries.² Also in the XIX century the term *gudai* could apply both to Russians and Eastern Slavs.³

Vasily Tatishchev was not hiding his surprise when referring to other authors he wrote: «What have we done to old Lithuanians that they name Russians as *gudai*? ... Why are they called the Goths?»⁴ In the first case, the Russian historian referred to the source: “Albert Molnár in *Dictionarium ungaricum*, entry *Russija*” and in the second, to *Konstantinas Širvydas* in *Dictionarium lituanicae*, entry *Rus*. As we can see here, Tatishchev opted for an expanded understanding of the ethnonym “Ruthenian”, by covering also the inhabitants of Muscovy Ruś, although in those cases it was meant to be Lithuanian Ruś (Ruthenia). In his next comments, Tatishchev further developed this topic: “Lithuanians

¹ Zinkevičius Z. Lietuvių kalbos istorija. T.III: Senujų raštų kalba. Vilnius, 1988. P. 194.

² Lebedys J. Lietuvių kalba XVII–XVIII a. viešajame gyvenime. Vilnius, 1976. P. 50.

³ Baranauskas A. Kelionė Petaburkan // Baranauskas A. Rinktinė. Vilnius, 1994. P. 47, 50, 57.

⁴ Татищев В.Н. История российская. Т. 1. Москва, Ленинград, 1962. С. 299.

name Ruthenians as *gudai*. I do not find this name either in Polish or Russian, but Srykowski indicates that they call Russians *Krewe*, i.e., those from upper reaches, also including the Smolensk region for its location at the upper reaches of main rivers in Rus, the Volga, the Dvina and the Dnieper, hence for Sarmatians, Russians are *krevi*, being in the Slavic upper reaches while Slavs were called *krevichi*, Part II, n/ 21, 22 and 191”.⁵ On the territory of the Lithuanian Republic there are 115 registered names related to the form *Gudeliai* (in Mažeikiai, Raseiniai, Kelmė and Pagėgiai district counties). In this relation, considering that the Lithuanian form of *Gudeliai* was used to designate “Ruthenian” (Eastern Slavic) settlements, Jerzy Ochmiański noted, that they can hardly be attributed to the extra-territorial names – that is those that emerge at a distance from one’s own ethnic territory in a completely alien environment.⁶ Names like *Gudeliai* were a manifestation of Eastern Slavs’ penetration through the Baltic ethnic territories. Sporadically names like *Gudeliai* are found in Samogitia where they already have a clearly extraterritorial nature (there are 16 of this kind). At least, part of the settlements with names like *Gudeliai*, as evidenced by historical sources, exist since the XV century: “*gaium dictum Gudow*” (grove called Gudow) near Bijuciški (1478),⁷ “field or oak forest” near “*Gwdoyczow*”⁸ in Vilnia region (1480).⁹

Here are some of many names derived from “*gudai*” in Belarusian toponymy:

In the Harodnia region: *Hudahaj* (Astraviec district), *Hudaŭaŭka* (Ašmiany district), *Hudali*, *Hudališki* (Astraviec district), *Hudy* (Lida district), *Hudzievičy* (Masty district), *Hudzianiki* (Astraviec district), *Hudzianiata* (Ašmiany district), *Hudzieli* (Voranava district), *Hudziniški*

⁵ Татищев В.Н. История российская. Т. 1. С. 309, спас. 24.

⁶ Охманский Е. Иноземные поселения в Литве в XIII–XIV вв. в свете этнонимических местных названий // Балто-славянские исследования, 1980. Москва, 1981. С. 113, 115–116.

⁷ Fijalek J., Semkowicz W. Kodeks dyplomatyczny katedry i diecezji Wileńskiej, T. I, Kraków, 1948. Nr. 311, s. 367.

⁸ Such name is mentioned in the source. It meant *Gvdoyszow/Gudoyszow*.

⁹ Fijalek J., Semkowicz W. Kodeks dyplomatyczny... Nr. 347. S. 404.

(Voranava district), Hudziški (Ščučyn district), Hudzianiaty (Iŭje district), Hudeli (Voranava district);¹⁰

In the Minsk region: Hudy (Vałożyn district), Hudovičy (Červień district);

In the Viciebsk region: Hudava (Vierchniadźvinsk and Dubroŭna districts), Hudzieliški (Pastavy district).¹¹

Gudai as “Others”

A comprehensive analysis, including ethnographic material, allowed researchers of the «*gudai* issue» already in the XIX century to underline that the name «*gudai*» was not only used to refer to the Belarusian population of Belarusian-Lithuanian border region. The Polish anthropologist Jan Karol Sembrzycki (1856-1919) observed that “the Prussian Lithuanian calls residents of neighborhoods that are located in the south of him, by the name *gudai*, regardless of whether they are Poles, Lithuanians or Belarusians”.¹² Similar observations were also made by Aleksander Brückner (1856-1939), a Polish scholar of Slavic philology: “Lithuanians call their neighbors to the east, *gudai*, there is an interesting pattern: a Prussian Lithuanian calls *gudai* Samogitians while Samogitians call *gudai* Belarusians, i.e. each of these groups uses the ethnonym *gudai* for their eastern neighbors”.¹³ Estonian anthropologist Yuri (Georgyi) Trusman (born 1857) noted that *gudai* could be a name for Polish Lithuanians, but also Belarusians.¹⁴ The Belarusian ethnographer Michail (Moses) Hrynbiat (1905-1983) brought another similar example

¹⁰ Жучкевич В.А. Краткий топонимический словарь Белоруссии. Мн., 1974. С. 88–89; Назвы населеных пунктаў Рэспублікі Беларусь: Гродзенская вобласць: Нарматыўны даведнік // Пад рэд. В.П. Лемцюговай. Мн., 2004. С. 64, 66, 78, 87, 103, 107, 147, 149, 220, 267, 278, 363.

¹¹ See also: Рогалев А.Ф. Этноним гуды на географической карте: поиски исторической мотивации // Советская этнография. 1989. № 6. С. 118–122.

¹² Sembrzycki J. Ziemie północne i zachodnie kraju zudwińskiego i ich granice // Wisła (Warszawa). 1891. T. V, № 4. S. 852.

¹³ Brückner A. Starożytna Litwa. Ludy i bogi. Szkice historyczne i mitologiczne. Olsztyn, 1985. S. 17.

¹⁴ Трусман Ю.Ю. Этимология местных названий Витебской губернии. Ревель, 1897. С. 82.

– Lithuanians living on the left bank of the Nioman (Nemunas) near Druskininkai also called Lithuanians living on the right bank of the river *gudai*.¹⁵

Perhaps, it is the difference between communities that results in certain groups being listed as “*gudai*”, and very often the distance in language, this has led to contextually skeptical connotations about the name “*gudai*”. For example, Lithuanian wildings (wild apples) are called *gudobelė*, and their fruits *gudobelės vasius* (-iai) or *gudobelės uoga* (-os). This pejorative qualification of “inferior” fruit trees, probably, was transferred from the term *gudų*. In this regard, we can recall the words of Yuri Trusman, who once remarked that “[traditional] names of people usually derive from indecent nicknames”.¹⁶

Discussions about the Etymology

Thus, it can be argued that the ethnonym *gudai* was not historically associated with a particular ethnic group. This is an example of a »wandering« ethnonym. But it is possible to define the region where the ethnonym »traveled«: the Belarusian-Lithuanian border area, and the former Prussian ethnic territory.

Already in Polish historiography, there was an idea of the relationship of the ethnonym *gudai* with Yotvingians. The word *gudai* derives from the Old Prussian name *Gudwa*, which, in turn, is related to the form *Žudwa*, which is a distorted version of *Sudwa*, *Sudovia*.¹⁷ *Sudovia*, in its turn, is one of the names of Yotvingians. The area covered by the ethnonym *gudai* partly coincides with the territory of Yatvingians, as emphasized by the Belarusian philologist Alaksandr Rohaleŭ¹⁸ (born in 1956).

Yet already in the XIX century Aleksander Brückner argued for a link between the ethnonym *gudai* and the Lithuanian *gūdas*, -jis and Prussian *gudde* (timber, wood), which literally means “people living in the

¹⁵ Гринблат М.Я. Белорусы. Очерки происхождения и этнической истории. Мн., 1968. С. 162.

¹⁶ Трусман Ю.Ю. Этимология местных названий Витебской губернии. С. 82.

¹⁷ Kamiński A. Jaćwież. Terytorium, ludność, stosunki gospodarcze i społeczne. Łódź, 1953. S. 31–32.

¹⁸ Рогалев А.Ф. Этноним гуды на географической карте... С. 119.

woods”.¹⁹ And this interestingly is connected to the Latin designation of Yatvingians in the old Polish tradition as *Pollexiani*, which is interpreted as *Polesianie*, «the inhabitants of forests and woodlands».²⁰

Michail Hrynblat was also inclined to the «Yatvingian» version of the *gudai* name origin. He raised the question whether the ethnonym *gudai* could not belong to a local group of ancient Balts. And, further continuing his thought, he noted that some of the data suggest that the ethnonym *gudai* was one of the ancient names of Yatvingians, as some of them converge with *gudai* and *gudas*. Ruthenian chronicles call Yatvingians *jatviezie*, Polish written sources – *jacwezi* and *jacwing*, German – *Jetwesen*. But also in Polish and German sources of Yatvingians are mentioned under the names of *sudwy* and *sydziny* (Polish), *Sudovita*, *Sudus*, *Sudiny* (German). In Polish tradition, the north-west Harodnia region is called Sudowija or Żudwa while popes in their bullas designated Yatvingians as *gotveziani*. Grynblat concludes that one can not ignore the proximity between the names «sudawy» – «sudus» – «żudwa» – «gotveziani» and «gudai» – «gudas».²¹

But Lithuanian *gudai* has meanings, an invariant of which is «the one who does not know our common language».²² Moreover, the root *-gud* could be used to describe an ethnically other, socially lower layer.²³ The same root has to do with the designation of forest, bush and swamp.

Furthermore, some linguists share the view that originally the Lithuanian *gudai* comes from the ethnonym *Goths* (*gutani*). This version reveals the most archaic layers of popular consciousness.

Trajectory of the Goths

It is worth recalling that Goth is the Latin name (*Gothi*) which comes from self-naming as *Gutans* and *Gytos*. German lithuanist Fraenkel argues

¹⁹ Brückner A. Starożytna Litwa. S. 197.

²⁰ Kamiński A. Jaćwież. S. 19–22.

²¹ Гринблат М.Я. Белорусы. Очерки происхождения и этнической истории. Мн., 1968. С. 163.

²² Иванов В.В., Топоров В.Н. О древних славянских этнонимах (основные проблемы и перспективы) // Славянские древности. Киев, 1980. С. 18–19.

²³ Топоров В.Н. Прусский язык. Словарь. [Вып. 2:] Е–Н. М., 1979. С. 327.

that the word “*gudai*” comes from the name of the Goths: “The word originally referred to Goths and later to the Belarusians”.²⁴ This same version was supported by the Lithuanian linguist Zigmas Zinkevičius.²⁵ However, Mirra Guchman believes that it is very difficult to prove the relationship between the “*Goths*” and “*Gudai*” because the word *gudas* is only recorded from the XVI century.²⁶ But this is a Germanic point of view which studies the ancient monuments of the Gothic language and is not specifically dealing with Baltic languages studies. Although Guchman’s remark about the time of the word’s written fixation is true.

For the ancient Baltic tribes, the Goths were neighbors from the South.²⁷ Rather, as noted by Oleg Trubachev, we are dealing with re-appropriation by Lithuanians of a ready name for the Goths to other neighbors to the south, the Slavs. For the Russian linguist, this example seemed «to be scholarly under-valued as an indicator of secondary areal background of the Balto-Slavic contacts».²⁸

Trubachev also proposed a reconstruction of the name “the Goths” in Slavic Languages: **gъdъ*. Similar forms are absent across the contemporary Belarusian territory, but its derivatives surround Belarus and Polesie by a semicircle – the Polish *Gdzew* (a forest’s name in Mozovia, early XV century),²⁹ Ukrainian Gdov (Гдов, a name in the Lviv region), Russian Gdov and Ruthenian (Гдов and Гдовъ, a town on the

²⁴ Fraenkel E. Litauisches etimologisches Wörterbuch. Bd. 1. Heidelberg; Göttingen, 1962. S. 174; Frenkelis E. Baltų kalbos // Vertė S. Karaliūnas. Vilnius, 1969. P. 26.

²⁵ See also: Зинкявичюс З. Восточная Литва в прошлом и настоящем // Пер. с лит. О. Дундайте. Vilnius, 1996. С. 78; Zinkevičius Z. Krikščionybės ištakos Lietuvoje: Rytų krikščionybė vardyno duomenimis. Vilnius, 2005; Дзярновіч А. Да разнастайнасьці імёнаў [Рэцэнзія:] Zinkevičius, Zigmas. Krikščionybės ištakos Lietuvoje: Rytų krikščionybė vardyno duomenimis. Vilnius: Katalikų akademijos leidykla, 2005. 112 p., 7 il. [Зінкявічус, Зігмас. Вытокі хрысьціянства ў Літве: Хрысьціянства ўсходняга абраду паводле зьвестак анамастыкі. Вільня: Выдавецтва Католіцкай Акадэміі, 2005. 112 с., 7 іл.] // Наша Ніва. 2006, 3 сакавіка, № 9. С. 44–45.

²⁶ Гухман М.М. Готский язык. С. 7.

²⁷ In archaeological terms, Goths tribes are associated with Wielbark culture. See the latest publication: Белявец В. Насельніцтва вельбарскай культуры на тэрыторыі Беларусі // Беларускі гістарычны часопіс. 2009. № 5. С. 25–32.

²⁸ Трубачев О.Н. В поисках единства. Взгляд филолога на проблему истоков Руси. Москва, 2005. С. 77.

²⁹ Wolff A., Rzetelska-Feleszko E. Mazowieckie nazwy terenowe do końca XVI wieku. Warszawa, 1982. S. 50.

Eastern shore of Chudskoye Lake).³⁰ Thus, the Lithuanian name *gudas* emerged at a stable ethnic frontier, «where peoples have changed, and the border remained».³¹

Trubachev believes that these names» reflect the Belarusian ethnic boundary as it were from the Lithuanian side.» One can rather say that these toponyms are scattered across the ancient Baltic territory and located in a long strip of the old border between Balts and Slavs in the late Middle Ages.

Such etymology claims intrigued the imagination of researchers.

For example, Fraenkel saw in the Lithuanian *gudas* a reflection of the times when “Belarusians, along with the Baltic Prussians were under the domination of the lower reaches of the Vistula”.³² Obviously, this view looks very modernistic.

As noted by Alaksandr Rohaleŭ, here we come across a feature of ancient ethnic names – the original ethnic content of the name became irrelevant, forgotten, but ethnonym derived meaning comes to the fore being fixed in the minds of the ethnonym bearers in relation to those peoples with whom this ethnic group is in the immediate neighborhood, and perceives them through the features of language, religion and culture which are not «ours», but «others».³³ When reassessing an ethnonym there is also a certain phonetic re-appropriation of the name, which may be done on the basis of its conscious or unconscious comparison as for its sounding with an *appellative* (common name) already exiting in the language. One version of how the ethnonym Goths changed in *Gudai* assumes the impact of the appellative *gūdas -jis* («sylvan»). The use of the ethnonym *Gudai* in the region from Prussia to the Belarusian-Lithuanian borderlands and the main direction of the ethnonym’s localization to the south-east can be explained by the movement of the Goths from the Vistula banks to the south-east and their long stay in the region. Baltic tribes from the outlined area felt the strong impact of the Goths tribal alliance. This can explain the why the Lithuanian language preserved the form *gudai* as a kind of conservation of the Goths’ ethnonym.

³⁰ Фасмер М. Этимологический словарь русского языка. Т. 1. С. 400.

³¹ Трубачев О.Н. В поисках единства. С. 78.

³² Fraenkel E. Litauisches etimologisches Wörterbuch. Bd. 1. S. 174.

³³ Рогалев А.Ф. Этноним гуды на географической карте... С. 120.

The Term's Adventures in the XX Century

It is worth noting that the Belarusians have never used the name *gudai* vis-à-vis themselves. Belarusian literature, which was published in the first half of the XX century in the interwar Kaunas – «temporary capital» of the newly born Lithuanian Republic, had subtitles in Lithuanian where the term *Gudija* was used referring to Belarus.³⁴ To denote the Belarusians the term *Baltgudžiai* could be used, as in a school atlas of 1923.³⁵

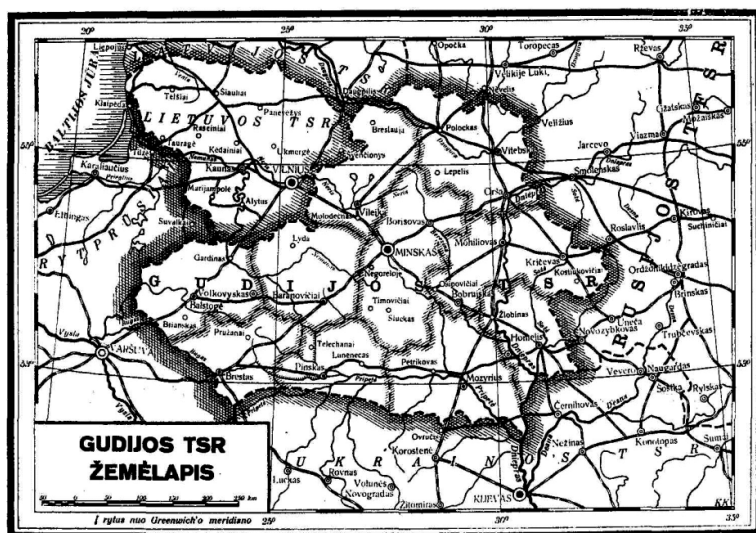


**Map of Lithuania with the name “Baltgudžiai” as a name for a people
(Debės E. Mažasis mokyklos atlasas. Mastelis 1 : 2000000.
Kaunas-Vilnius: Švyturys, 1923. Nr. 4)**

³⁴ The Belarusian flag = Gudų Vėliava: Штомесячнік (Коўна). 1922. № 1-4; Voronko J. Gudų klausimas. Kaunas, 1919.

³⁵ Debės E. Mažasis mokyklos atlasas. Mastelis 1 : 2000000. Kaunas-Vilnius: Švyturys, 1923. Nr. 4 (Lietuva). [online]. Available at: http://www.maps4u.lt/lt/includes/siuntiniai/Z/Debe_Atlasas_1923.htm (Accessed 15 January 2012).

In Soviet Lithuania in 1941 the term *Gudija* was also officially used to refer to Belarus, as evidenced, inter alia, by a book on Belarus as one of the Soviet republics published by the state publishing house of the Lithuanian SSR.³⁶ After the end of World War II, *Baltarusija* (exactly White Ruthenia/Russia) became the country's normative name in the Lithuanian language while, the term *Gudija* disappeared from Lithuania's geographical maps.³⁷ The return of the word occurred in the late 1980s and 1990s.



Map of the Belarusian SSR from the publication: *Gudija*. Kaunas, 1941

But the use of this word raised some ambiguity among the Belarusian public. In the early 1990s, Zianon Pažniak expressed his negative opinion to naming Belarusians as *gudai* in the Lithuanian language because this term can be a synonym for the word «retarded.» This statement of the Belarusian politician and artist has its own background.

³⁶ *Gudija*. Kaune: LTSR Valstybinė leidykla, 1941.

³⁷ There is another terminology problem: in Lithuanian *Rusija* stands for both Ruthenia and Russia. It means, *Baltarusija* can be apprehended as White Russia.

On October 22, 1991 during a visit to Minsk of Vytautas Landsbergis, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania, a number of arrangements were made for preparing documents that had to regulate the whole set of relations between the Lithuanian Republic and the Republic of Belarus.³⁸

During this no doubt important visit one remarkable incident took place. Landsbergis addressed the Supreme Soviet of Belarus, starting his speech in Belarusian, and then continuing in Russian. In his address, the Lithuanian leader qualified the proclamation of the state status of the Belarusian language as an «essential step of the Belarusian national revival.» Further the distinguished guest suddenly said: «Since we also care for the authenticity and purity of the Lithuanian language it is more and more often that your nation is called in Lithuanian by ancient the Lithuanian name “gudai”. Do not be surprised if perhaps we start using this name: *Gudijos* Respublikos, officially and again as in 1918 and 1940. Then we will be even more aware of our proximity. Since Lithuania is itself abundant with names of people: Gudas, Gudaitis, Gudinas, Gudavičius, Gudinskas, Gudžiūnas; and names of places: Gudeliai, Gudgalys, Gudakiemis; all of them testify to be signs of ancient life, common history and adjacent geography of our countries and people.”³⁹ Belarusian intellectuals did not like the idea and they strongly favored the option *Baltarusija*.⁴⁰

In contemporary Lithuanian society, the issue of using *Gudija* or *Baltarusija* is a matter of interest for certain circles. For example, answering readers' questions, the online school of the Lithuanian language “*Debesėlis*” explained the correlation between these two words in the following way:

“We also have nouns for the names baltarusis and gudas. Baltarusis is surely a Belarusian, but gudas has a wider meaning: it is a Belarusian, but it is also a native speaker of one of the Eastern Slavic languages (Russian, Ukrainian, etc, I suppose). As for the countries, I notice that *Baltarusija*

³⁸ Пасланцы янтарнага краю (Белта) // Звезда. 1991, 23 кастр. С. 1.

³⁹ Прамова Старшыні Вярхоўнага Савета Літоўскай рэспублікі Вітаўтаса Ландсбергіса ў парламенце Рэспублікі Беларусь 22 кастрычніка 1991 года // Народная газета. 1991, 29 кастр. С. 1.

⁴⁰ Новікаў, Алег. Незалежнасць: пачатак // Новы час. 2011, 10 кастр., № 39. С. 14. Available at: <http://novychas.org/sites/default/files/NCH-39-2011.pdf> Accessed 14.01.2012.

is a more common word for saying Belarus. I guess that *Gudija* might mean the old historical territories of the Grand Duchy inhabited by the Slavs, but I'm not sure".⁴¹

Cultural printed outlets, such as the famous magazine »Kultūros barai«, make rather a frequent use of the word *Gudija* to denote the present-day Belarus. For example, the original title of Stasys Katauskas' article is "Gudija: Demokratijos lūkesčiai ir dvejonės dėl tautinės tapatybės".⁴² The English version translation is "Belarus: Hopes for democracy and doubts about national identity".⁴³ Also in the Lithuanian version of Wikipedia the term *Gudija* is quoted as a synonym to *Baltarusija* though *Baltarusija* remains the primary term: "Baltarusijos Respublika (Baltarusija arba Gudija) yra žemyninė valstybė Rytų Europoje, tarp Lenkijos, Ukrainos, Rusijos, Latvijos ir Lietuvos".⁴⁴



An example of using the term *Gudija* on contemporary Lithuanian maps

⁴¹ 'Gudija ar Baltarusija'. Debesėlis Online Lithuanian School. Available at: <http://debeselis.net/forum/viewtopic.php?t=169> (Accessed 15.01.2012).

⁴² Katauskas, Stasys. Gudija: Demokratijos lūkesčiai ir dvejonės dėl tautinės tapatybės // Kultūros barai. 2006. № 2.

⁴³ Katauskas S. (2006) 'Belarus: Hopes for democracy and doubts about national identity.' Eurozine: European Cultural Journals Network [online]. Available at: <http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2006-03-16-katauskas-en.html> (Accessed 15.01.2012).

⁴⁴ 'Baltarusija'. Vikipedija: Laisvoji enciklopedija. Available at: <http://lt.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baltarusija> (Accessed 15.01.2012).

Yet the negative connotations of the term *gudai* in modern Lithuanian language have contextual character. This word may sound neutral, but may indeed have old critical and skeptical content. There may be some grotesque meaning, as reflected on the pages of a satirico-anecdotal version of the Lithuanian Wikipedia, *Pipedija*. The article about Belarus, generally friendly, is written in a humorous manner. Below is the beginning of this article which reveals a rather sarcastic definition: “Baltarusija, o išties – Gudija – Sovietinės nostalgijos slaviskoji baltiškujų gudų žemė su lietuviškomis priemaišomis (pvz. Gervėčiuose), kurioje valdo Aleksandras Lukašenka” (Baltarusija, indeed Gudija, is a nostalgic vis-à-vis the Soviet times Slavie Baltic land of Baltic gudai blended with Lithuanians (for example, Hierviaty) under the rule of Alaksandr Lukašenka).⁴⁵

There is also a related terminology problem in humanities. In particular, problems have risen before the Lithuanian publishers of the GDL Metrica and Statutes. At some stage, in the academic community in Lithuania there was a tendency to designate the language of these written monuments as »bookkeeping« or »bookkeeping Slavonic«. One can take the example of changing trends of the GDL Metrics Trial books which are published by the Group of Lithuanian Statutes and Metrica of the Vilnius University. While in 1990s the publishers managed with the euphemism “the original language of the sources” („Šaltinių tekstas originalo kalba”),⁴⁶ in the 2000s they began adding the word *gudų* („Šaltinių tekstas originalo (gudų) kalba”).⁴⁷ Recently, an expression ‘old

⁴⁵ ‘Gudija’. Pipedija: Laisvoji enciklopedija. Available at: <http://www.pipedija.com/index.php/Gudija> (Accessed 15.01.2012).

⁴⁶ Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 225 (1528–1547): 6-oji Teismų bylų knyga (XVI a. pabaigos kopija) // Spaudai parengė S. Lazutka, I. Valikonytė ir kt. Vilnius, 1995. P. 338; Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 224 (1522–1530): 4-oji Teismų bylų knyga (XVI a. pabaigos kopija) // Spaudai parengė S. Lazutka, I. Valikonytė ir kt. Vilnius, 1997. P. 514; Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 227 (1533–1535): 8-oji Teismų bylų knyga (XVI a. pabaigos kopija) // Spaudai parengė I. Valikonytė, S. Lazutka, N. Šlimienė ir kt. Vilnius, 1999. P. 305.

⁴⁷ Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 230 (1542): 11-oji Teismų bylų knyga (XVI a. pabaigos kopija) // Spaudai parengė I. Valikonytė, S. Viskantaitė, L. Steponavičienė. Vilnius, 2001. P. 120; Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 229 (1540–1541): 10-oji Teismų bylų knyga (XVI a. pabaigos kopija) // Parengė S. Lazutka, I. Valikonytė, S. Viskantaitė-Saviščevienė, J. Karpavičienė. Vilnius, 2003. P. 264; Lietuvos Metrika. Knyga Nr. 231 (1540–1543): 12-oji Teismų bylų knyga (XVI a. pabaigos kopija) // Parengė

gudų language' has appeared ("Tekstas senaja gudų kalba"),⁴⁸ which is in fact a translation of the expression »old Belarusian language«. Stanislovas Lazutka, who argued for the justification of the expression »gudų kalba« and supported the very use of the term »Old Belarusian language,« noted, however, some grotesque character of the word »gudų«.⁴⁹ It is hard to think of examples of other words from other languages that would adequately illustrate a similar situation in the relationship between various shades of meaning of the ethnonym.

Can we make some practical recommendations from this ethnonym analysis? Given all the awkwardness of the calque construction, the term *Baltarusija* performs its official functions. The term *Gudija* is more original and archaic, but not without its negative connotations. It is true that the importance of these additional values gradually decreased in the modern Lithuanian consciousness and language. It may be worthwhile to discuss the Belarusian-Lithuanian dialogue of legitimizing the term *Gudija* at the official level. But here the arguments should be expressed by linguists and historians as well as politicians and diplomats from both countries.

I. Valikonytė, N. Šlimienė, S. Viskantaitė-Saviščevienė, L. Steponavičienė. Vilnius, 2007. P. 395.

⁴⁸ Lietuvos Metrika = Lithuanian Metrica = Литовская Метрика. Knyga Nr. 234 (1546–1548): 19-oji Teismų bylų knyga (XVI a. pabaigos – XVII a. pradžios kopija) // Parengė I. Valikonytė, S. Viskantaitė-Saviščevienė, L. Steponavičienė. Vilnius, 2009. P. 291; Lietuvos Metrika = Lithuanian Metrica = Метрыка Літэўска = Литовская Метрика. [Knyga Nr. 251]: (1555–1558): 37-oji Teismų bylų knyga (XVI a. pabaigos kopija) // Vilniaus universitetas; parengė Irena Valikonytė, Lirija Steponavičienė. Vilnius, 2010. P. 314.

⁴⁹ Лазутка С., Валиконите И., Гудавичюс Э. Первый Литовский Статут (1529 г.). Вильнюс, 2004. С. 65.