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Herder's '*Frieden Frau*' and Simonas Daukantas's Concept of the 'Lithuanian Wife'

Herdera '*Frieden Frau*' un Simona Daukanta "lietuviešu sievas" jēdziens

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This article is dedicated to the 280th anniversary of the birth of Herder and the 160th anniversary of the death of Daukantas

Summary

The article posits that Simonas Daukantas (Polish: Szymon Dowkont, 1793–1864), the first Lithuanian national historian, conceptualised the paradigm of the 'Lithuanian Wife' in his work on the history of the Lithuanian national culture by following the construct of the '*Indische Frau*' / '*Frieden Frau*' ('Indian Woman' / 'Peace-Woman'), created by Johann Gotfried Herder.

The article first demonstrates that Daukantas, while living in Riga, had the opportunity to get acquainted with Herder's works, which he read and summarised and/or quoted in his notebooks.

It is believed that Daukantas, mainly adhering to Herder's ideas and his own mother's example, conceptualised the 'Lithuanian Wife' as assiduous, fair, wise, courageous, freedom-loving and responsible for instilling humanity in children, the family and the community. A woman's close kinship with the environment, according to Daukantas, determines common sense, creativity and the ability to orientate oneself in life. This article postulates that Herder's metaphor of the '*Indische Frau*' / '*Frieden Frau*', which he utilised to examine the question of eternal peace (*pax sempiterna*) and outline seven principles of intellectual, moral and legal development, influenced Daukantas when conceptualising the paradigm of the 'Lithuanian Wife'.

Kopsavilkums

Rakstā tiek izvirzīta tēze, ka Simons Daukants (lietuviešu: *Simonas Daukantas*; poļu: *Szymon Dowkont*, 1793–1864), pirmais lietuviešu vēsturnieks, savā darbā par lietuviešu nacionālās kultūras vēsturi konceptualizēja "lietuviešu sievas" paradigmu, sekojot Johana Gotfrīda Herdera (*Johann Gotfried Herder*) radītajam "*Indische Frau*" / "*Frieden Frau*" (indiešu sievietē / Miera Sieva) jēdzienam.

Rakstā vispirms parādīts, ka Daukantam, dzīvojot Rīgā, bija iespēja iepazīties ar Herdera darbiem, kurus viņš lasīja, apkopoja un/vai citēja savās piezīmju kladēs.

Domājams, ka Daukants, galvenokārt sekojot Herdera idejām un savas mātes piemēram, konceptualizēja "lietuviešu sievu" kā centīgu, taisnīgu, gudru, drosmīgu, brīvību mīlošu un atbildīgu par cilvēciņas ieaudzinašanu bērnos, ģimenē un sabiedrībā. Sievietes ciešā radniecība ar apkārtējo vidi, pēc Daukanta domām, nosaka veselo saprātu, radošumu un spēju orientēties dzīvē. Šajā rakstā postulēts, ka Herdera indiešu sievietes / Miera Sievas metafora, ko viņš izmantoja, lai aplūkotu jautājumu par mūžīgo mieru (*pax sempiterna*) un izklāstītu septiņus intelektuālās, morālās un tiesiskās attīstības principus, ietekmēja Daukantu, konceptualizējot "lietuviešu sievas" paradigmu.

Introduction

Similarly to Homer, who created *areté* (Greek: ἀρετή) for the Greek aristocracy, Simonas Daukantas, the first Lithuanian national historian, established the image of a free Lithuanian for Lithuanians. This image was embraced and promoted by the Lithuanian intelligentsia of the late 1800s–early 1900s, which in 1918 succeeded to put Lithuania back on the European map. Lithuanian national identity, constructed by Daukantas, was once again actualised at the end of the 20th century, when Lithuania sought to restore its independence after an approximately 50-year long occupation by the USSR.

Daukantas, although he was an exhausted servant of the Russian Empire, managed to utilise his limited leisure-time to write textbooks and dictionaries, collect and publish Lithuanian folklore, as well as to conduct research on Lithuanian history and translations of various types of texts by ancient Latin and contemporary authors. He wrote three versions of Lithuanian history, which remained in manuscript form. However, he was able to publish the cultural history of the Lithuanian nation in at the beginning of 1846 (although dated 1845) *BUDAŲ Senovės–Lėtuvių Kalnienų and Žemaitių* (1845; hereafter *Būdas*). In *Būdas*, Daukantas employed the “genetic method” of Johann Gotfried Herder (1744–1803) (See Forster 2020: 25), thereby delving into the ancient Lithuanian historical legends and determining that various authors compared the proto-Lithuanian language, culture and religion to Indian, Greek and Roman societies. In his work, Daukantas considered language to be the most important source of a nation’s history, therefore along with written sources he used folklore material. The originality and novelty of Daukantas’s work are notable, as he was the first to attempt to convey the Lithuanian national culture via its own language, notable for being one of the oldest languages in Europe. In *Būdas*, same as in Herder’s works (See Adler 2009: 93), the concept of national culture is closely linked to the concept of humanity. The paradigm of the ‘Lithuanian Wife’, formulated by Daukantas, demonstrates that he relied not only on folk tales, but also on the Western European tradition, ostensibly declaring that, regarding women, Lithuania, at that time the western province of the Russian Empire, remained a part of the Western Europe.

Daukantas broached the topic of marauding wars in all of his Lithuanian history manuscripts, including *Būdas*, wondering how Lithuanians managed to retain their humanity while defending themselves against the Crusaders for 300 years. Daukantas believed that a vital role was played by the Lithuanian women, who were not only traditionally responsible for housework and child-rearing, but also for the development of humanity within the family and the dissemination of these humanistic virtues within the community and beyond. From this point of view, we can recognise the kernel of Herder’s “*Friedensfrau*” within Daukantas’ paradigm of the ‘Lithuanian Wife’. As Mark Johannes van der Laan observed, “Indeed, Herder defined *Humanität*

in the same, essential terms he uses for his Peace-Women, *allgemeine Billigkeit, Menschlichkeit, thätige Vernunft*" (2009: 343).

It is assumed that Daukantas was influenced by Herder's authoritative approach to the conquest of the Balts. In various works, Herder mentions the ancient battles of the Prussians, Latvians and Lithuanians against the Crusaders, whom he regards as predatory marauders. In volume 10 of *Briefe zu Beförderung der Humanität* (1797), Herder questions the legitimacy of war and considers the possibility of eternal peace, and in letter 114, he inquires what benefits the Crusaders brought to the ancient Prussians, Livonians, Estonians and Latvians, who continued to curse their subjugators ("*Unterjochern*") for their misery (Herder 1797: 8).

In letters 118–119, Herder (1797: 111–142), based on the book *Geschichte der Mission der Evangelischen Brüder unter den Indianern in Nordamerika* (1789) by Georg Heinrich Loskiel (1740–1814), the Latvian-born Bishop of the Northern District of the American Province of the Moravian Church (1802–1811), created the metaphor of the "*große Friedensfrau*" (Herder 1797: 127), which helped him discuss the universal principles of peaceful coexistence. In letter 119, Herder states that the corn stalk ("*Kornstengel*") in the hands of the Indian woman ("*der Indischen Frau*") is a weapon against the sword (Herder 1797: 139).

According to Karla Lydia Schultz, Herder, by conceiving the metaphor of the Native American "*Friedensfrau*", presented a resilient and wise sisterly figure who spreads the idea of peace to the masses (Schultz 1989: 419–420). Herder advocated a grassroots process that is primarily contingent on the moral education of the populace and the mobilisation of their benevolent inner nature. According to Herder, the key to lasting peace is upbringing and education, which would fundamentally change people's attitudes toward war and foreign nations (Spencer 2016: 151).

Daukantas's researchers have yet to concentrate on his idea of peace in relation to the concept of humanity. However, they have often referred to the Lithuanian national revival strategy that was preferred and promoted by the historian, who advocated to induce this rebirth not through revolution, but through the education and cultural development of the nation. Some associate Daukantas's pacifist approach with his peasant roots (Kubilius 1993: 34; Žukas 1988: 119–126), others with the reception of the natural law theory and the European philosophical thought (Merkys 1991: 116–120; Pivoras 2022). Andreas Roepstorff and Aušra Simoniukštytė, while discussing the features of Daukantas's national mythology, which later became the elements of national consciousness, state that his attitude towards the Lithuanian language and nation was shaped by Herder (Roepstorff, Simoniukštytė 2001: 145–166). Other researchers of Daukantas reiterate that he was influenced by Herder's ideas (Merkys 1991: 104; Baār 2010: 112, 119; Pivoras 2022: 18), but have

not conducted specific research. The author of this article has written about the connection between culture and the concept of humanity that Daukantas adopted from Herder (Bončkutė 2019: 174–180; Bončkutė 2021: 31–38).

The aim of this article is to discuss the similarities between Daukantas's concept of the 'Lithuanian Wife' and Herder's metaphor of '*Friedensfrau* / *Indische Frau*'. In terms of methodology, the article applies hermeneutic principles: Daukantas's texts and his lectures are used to trace the origins of his reasoning regarding women's role within the history of the nation.

The first part of the article emphasises the fact that Daukantas became acquainted with Herder's works while living in Riga, the city, where, in the words of Kurt Stavenhagen, "the Herderian in Herder emerged" (Piirimäe 2012: 80). The second part of the article discusses Herder's concept of the Indian woman of peace, the seven principles of peace he proposed, and their possible reception in Daukantas's work.

Riga – *genius loci* of Herder and Daukantas

Herder's letters and essays written in Riga demonstrate his encyclopaedic curiosity, his passionate thinking and his disregard for the language rules and norms that constrain thought (Bollacher 1994: 80). In Riga, he highlighted the culture of colonised nations and observed that national poetry is a treasured part of their collective consciousness (Bollacher 1994: 89). Because of his critiques and contentious ideas that had been published, Herder quickly became a persona non grata, as his freethinking was abhorred by the entire local clergy (Prusinowska 2019: 36).

Daukantas lived and worked in Riga from 1825 to 1834. As evidenced by the sources recorded in his Lithuanian history manuscript *ISTORYJE ZEMAYTYSZKA* (c. 1831–1834) as well as his notebooks, being in Riga created favourable conditions to familiarise himself with the works of Herder and German contemporaries, especially Baltic Germans (German: *Deutsch-Balten* or *Deutschbalten*, later *Balten-deutsche*) (see Pivoras 2019).

Daukantas was born and raised in the north of Samogitia, very close to the then Curonian Governorate (western province of present-day Latvia). It is possible that is why he, in 1823, after defending his work *De patria potestate secundum leges naturales, romanas et patrias* (On the authority of the father according to natural, Roman and country law) and obtaining his master's degree in both Roman and country law, looked for a job in Riga, near his family and relatives.

During his Riga period, Daukantas observes in his notebook that in *Abhandlung über den Ursprung der Sprache* (1769) Herder deploys convincing examples in his dialectics about language, allowing the conclusion that there can be no living

language that can be expressed in twenty letters (quotes cited from Daukantas' notebooks are presented as they appear in the source text, even when grammatically incorrect):

Gruntownie Herder dowiódł naprzykładach w swoiey rozprawie o ięzyku, iż niema żadney żyjącej mowy którą można było dostatecznie wyrazić na dwudziestu kilka literach wyrazić można by było, albowiem żadną z żyjących niedaie się przetać w literymia nowicie na dwadzieście. (Daukantas 1828: 21v)

In Riga, Daukantas, influenced by Herder's linguistic ideas, changed the previously used spelling and created more letters with diacritics, which were not used in Lithuanian Catholic religious publications of that time, and began to rely on the use of the living language.

In Riga, Daukantas read a lot of Herder's works, which is known because of the various comments found in his notes. For example, Daukantas emphasised that in order to write about religion, one must read Herder ("*Naypotrzebniejsza i naylepsza mająg o religij, chcąc pisać o religij d. L. nieodbycie trzeba czytać*") (Daukantas 1828: 23v). Daukantas also transcribed extracts from the first volume of Herder's *Sämtliche Werke* (1820). For example, Daukantas opined that Herder's works are refreshing and bring joy ("*trudy zdrowie i radości*"; Daukantas 1828: 21r). In another part of his notebook, Daukantas noted in German that the "clever" Herder already suspected that Lithuanians and Latvians had an undetermined origin and that their languages, although containing loanwords and features from other languages, still maintained their own individual characteristics, likely inherited from an ancient language that originated in remote regions ("*Der geistvolle Herder hat es bereits geahnet*") and, abbreviating, quotes:

die Lithauen und Letten seien von ungewissen Ursprunge, und un geachtet der Mischung ihrer Sprache mit anderen, habe sie doch einen eigenen charakter, sei wahrscheinlich die Tochter einer uralten Mutter, vielleicht aus fernen Gegenden her. – Herders Werke Bd. VI. s. 20. (Daukantas 1828: 29r)

For comparison, the original extract appears in the 1820 edition *J.G. v. Herders Sämtliche Werke*, Volume Four, Part VI:

Die Lithauer, Kuren und Letten an der Oftfee find von ungewiffem Ursprunge; aller Wahrscheinlichkeit nach indeffen auch dahin gedrängt, bis sie nicht weiter gedrängt werden konnten. Ungeachtet der Mischung ihrer Sprache mit andern, hat sie doch einen eignen Charakter und ift wahrscheinlich die Tochter einer uralten Mutter, die vielleicht aus fernen Gegenden her ift." (Herder 1820: 20)

Daukantas wrote down this extract on the same page as his commentary about Wilhelm von Humboldt's 1828 published lecture *Ueber den Dualis* (Humboldt 1828). Next to these notes is a Russian transcription dated 1833. This demonstrates that Daukantas read Herder intensively around 1828–1833.

Herder's philosophical approach to language fundamentally changed Daukantas's approach to Lithuanian religious texts. In Daukantas's opinion, Lithuanian religious texts do not reflect the nature of the Lithuanian language because they were not written by Lithuanians, but by the Christian clergy who learned Lithuanian later in life. He adopted Herder's arguments, including the assertion about the importance of the native language for preserving a nation's history and its authentic consciousness, and the need to nurture and implement the native language in all areas of life. In his work *Būdas*, Daukantas emphasised that the Lithuanian language was preserved by Lithuanian mothers in their tiny, moss-covered, woodland homes (*"iszmintingas Kalniènû ir Ziamajtiû motinas sawo apkerpiejus tarp gĩrriû numelusi"*; *Būdas*, "Pratarme": 8). Daukantas assimilated Herder's theory of translation and translated both Ancient and Late Latin texts, taking into account the addressee and applying the principle of domestication.

Similarly to Herder, who rehabilitated the use of the word 'nation' in the respectable definition of *demos* (citizens/city-state) and not *ethnos* (tribe/flock/herd) (*Pöbel*) (Bollacher 1994: 90), Daukantas also patiently introduced this Greek concept. Thus, both of them, although highly educated and in communication with contemporary intellectuals, could be distinguished by having "made a social contract" with the populace, or more accurately, with the "living masses", instead of the theoretical, written representations of people. Herder's attention as a teacher and his Christian love for the individual led to his formation of the humanist philosophy and the conceptualisation of humanity (*"Menschenheit"* and *"Humanität"*) popularised in Riga, where the most important texts on this topic were first published. While living in Riga, Daukantas became well versed in a considerable number of these works. In his *ISTORYJE ZEMAYTYSZKA* manuscript, Daukantas describes the Lithuanian nation according to Herder's work *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (1784–1791). First, the reader is introduced to the characteristics pertaining to the Lithuanian region (Herder: *Klima*) and familiarised with the *modus vivendi* of ancient Lithuanians, including their appearance, apparel, customs, holidays, funeral rites, religion, warfare, trade, societal structure and systems of governance. This extensive context is followed with the chronologically outlined discussion of the battles against the Crusaders. Herder was one of the first to critically evaluate the role of the Crusaders and Christian missionaries (Löchte 2005: 70–71). The German philosopher consistently condemns enslavement, conquest, inequality, violence and intolerance in his work, whether it occurs within a particular society or is directed against a foreign community (Sikka 2011: 18).

Herder's tolerance for different foreign nations and cultures came from Christian Neoplatonism. The diversity of nature, epochs and cultures, according to

the philosopher, stems from the Creator, and the ultimate goal of human existence on this earth is reaching universal humanity (Buntfuss 2012: 154–155). Herder justifies only defensive wars. According to him, a person's main purpose is to develop humanity, leading to eternal peace (*pax sempiterna*) among culturally different societies (Herder 1797: 128–129). Daukantas quotes medieval chronicles that name the Prussians and Samogitians as *homines humanissimi*, who are only lacking a christening. Notably, during his Riga period Daukantas already employed his constructed Lithuanian equivalents for Herder's term *Humanität*: *žmonysta*, *žmonybė*.

At the end of 1834, Daukantas moved from Riga to St Petersburg, both of these cities were notable for their significant German-speaking population, thus this atmosphere created favourable conditions for Daukantas to research Herder and his followers, such as Wilhelm von Humboldt and Friedrich Schlegel. When Daukantas wrote *Būdas*, he presumably reread Herder, because in 1843, on June 23, when writing to Teodor Narbutt (1784–1864), he remembered the philosopher again and described him as famous:

[...] wyszły dwa tomy *Codex Diplomaticum Prusicum* zawierający akta do 1333 roku przez Vogta, może by cokolwiek do naszego kraju znalazło się, mianowicie układ Krzyżaków z Prusami 1232 jeśli się niemyłę dla pokazania stopnia Ciwilizacyi i obyczajów owczesnych tego narodu, znajduje się też Mendoga Króla darowania Litwy Mieczowym przywilej w *Rigaische Jahrbücher* pod tym tytułem jeśli się niemyłę które sławny Herder będąc nauczycielem w Rydze za czasów Katarzyny pisał [...]. (Griškaitė 1996: 373)

In *Būdas*, a relatively small book (*in octo* 252 pp.), Daukantas uses the words 'human' and 'people' on 69 pages. It is notable that Daukantas, even when translating texts from Latin, often, in accordance with egalitarianism, chooses the word 'human' instead of another, which, for example, denotes class (Bončkutė 2003: 46). Such abundant use of the word 'human' emphasises not only the impact of Herder's philosophy of humanity, or Daukantas's support of the notion that for a nation a united community is more important than how its populace is stratified by class, but also the concept of a human, as perceived by Samogitians. In the book *Žemaičio šnekos* (1961) by the Lithuanian ethnologist Ignas Končius (1886–1975), it is stated that "a Samogitian does not waste the word 'human', not every neighbour will be called human. Only the good ones, only the friends." Končius notes that Samogitians took care not to forget someone's name (Končius 1996: 79, 80). The Samogitians were an integral but very distinctive part of the ethnic Lithuanian nation and had their own identity, which Daukantas in *Būdas* applied when describing all Lithuanians. The Lithuanian language has a word *žmogiškas*, which refers to the human bodily form, the mode of speaking, the features, the acceptable norms, as well as the use of objects characteristic of humans and humanity (See Pažėraitė 2008: 197–210). Only Daukantas's contemporary Dionizas Poška (1764–1830), who wrote poetry in

Lithuanian, used the word *žmogiškas* to define 'humanity' (Pažėraitė 2008, 199). In the *Lithuanian Dictionary*, *žmoniškas* is defined as humanism, kindness, virtuousness, the qualities exemplary of a good person, and occasionally in commonfolk vernacular, even a pregnant woman (LKŽ). Daukantas, on the other hand, is original in that he conceptualised the Lithuanian equivalent for the word 'humanity' by creating a new term *žmonystė*, which is etymologically linked to the word 'wife' (*žmona*), and not the word 'human' (*žmogus*). In the Lithuanian language, as in other Indo-European languages, lexemes denoting 'land' and 'human' coincide. This means that 'human' is etymologically connected to the earth. The same root is repeated in Latin *humus*, *homo*. Therefore, the word 'humanity' in the Lithuanian language, like in Latin, possesses not only human, but also earthly connotations, which are further reiterated by the aforementioned construction of the Lithuanian equivalent term *žmonystė*, etymologically linked with the word *žmona* (wife), reflecting Daukantas's view that women are naturally closer to the earth, closer to reality, and better know the essence of all things.

Based on Daukantas's biography, one may argue that he modelled his largely generalised paradigm of the 'Lithuanian Wife' after the image of his mother Kotryna Odinaite-Daukantienė (born around 1757–1766, died 1847). Like Albert Welles, the author of the biography on the first USA President George Washington (1732–1799), who, in order to demonstrate that USA was created by the descendants of nobility, connected Washington with Odin, declaring that he was a 55th generation descendant (Welles 1879), Daukantas also had euhemeristic views and traced his own family origins to the descendants of the legendary apotheosised hero Odin (see Bončkutė 2022). Daukantas's mother was literate, had noble origins, and was not only a good and responsible moral educator of the younger generation, but also taught her children to love their motherland. During his infancy, Daukantas's mother, together with her husband and three of his brothers, participated in the 1794 uprising against Tsarist Russia, led by Tadeusz Kościuszko (Andrzej Tadeusz Bonawentura Kościuszko; 1746–1817), who also participated in the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783). According to family lore, Daukantienė provided food to the rebels in Latvia. Daukantas, when writing in *Būdas* about preparing horses for the winter campaigns, although without explicitly mentioning his mother, remarks on the participation of the Samogitian women in the uprising near Grobiņa and Liepāja. After his mother's death, Daukantas ordered a huge (186–86 cm) red granite tombstone in St Petersburg, which he had inscribed with his mother's maiden name "*Odinate*" and the description of the aforementioned venture to Liepāja with her husband and her husband's three brothers. The mother was buried in the churchyard of the Lenkimai Church, which indicates that she was highly respected in the parish

and among the clergy, as in the mid-19th century Lithuania, civilians were already being buried in separate cemeteries from distinguished priests who were laid to rest in churchyards.

Essentially, it can be said that Daukantas's individual cognitive structure, which consisted of general and national competences and knowledge of the German language, made it possible to quite adequately understand Herder's line of thinking, and determined his subsequent attention to the concept of humanity.

'Indische Frau / Friedensfrau' and the 'Lithuanian Wife'

In his previous works (which remained in manuscript form) (1822, 1834), Daukantas had already depicted female historical figures who rose to prominence during particularly turbulent times for the nation. Daukantas, using chronicles and the recorded lore of the oral tradition as sources, in his first works created memorable, romanticised images of women who led tragic fates living alongside men who were constantly fighting and dying.

Of the female historical figures who influenced Lithuanian history, Daukantas in *Būdas* mentions only Birutė (d. 1382), the second wife of Kęstutis, the Grand Duke of Lithuania (Latin: Kinstut, c. 1297–1382) and the mother of Vytautas the Great (Latin: Alexander Vitoldus, Old German: Wythaws or Wythawt; c. 1350 –1430), Živilė, the daughter of Karijotas (or Koriat), the Duke of Navahrudakthe, who was the son of Gediminas, the Grand Duke of Lithuania (Latin: Gedeminne, c. 1275–1341) and the Duchess Anastasia Olelkien (1473–1524; Belarusian: *Алелькавічы*, Lithuanian: *Olelkaičiai*, Polish: *Olelkowicze*, Ukrainian: *Олельковичі*), who, after her husband went to war, in 1504 organised the defence of the Sluck Castle (*Būdas*: 198).

Daukantas mentions Birutė and Živilė twice next to Mindaugas, the first known Grand Duke of Lithuania (German: *Myndowen*, Latin: *Mindowe*, c. 1203–1263), as well as Gediminas, noting that Lithuanians never forgot their heroes, he also documents the locations of Birutė and Živilė's graves (*Būdas*: 148 and 152). In *Būdas*, Daukantas does not flesh out his depictions of female historical figures, but based on the broad strokes of their lives he imparts a generalised image of the 'Lithuanian Wife'.

It is possible Daukantas placed importance on the fact that Herder, when considering the possibility of eternal peace, instead of employing the narrative of the great European empires, used the story of the peace treaty reached by the American Indian tribes as an example. In letter 118, Herder (1797: 111–124) depicts the story of how the Delaware people repeatedly attacked the villages of another Native

American tribe, leading to many casualties¹. As Herder depicts in the letter, the Delaware people were stronger and the Cherokee realised they would be wiped out. The Cherokee sent messengers with a letter, stating that the tribes will annihilate themselves by continuing the infighting; therefore it was necessary for one tribe to assume the role of the woman ("*eine Nation die Frau seyn*") and for other tribes to assume the role of men and protect "her" from "her" enemies. They argued that if any male-designated tribe attacked the 'Woman-Nation' (Delaware), the others would ask "why do you abuse a woman?" and all join together to attack the abuser. And the 'Woman-Nation' could not start a war of "her" own volition, instead being expected to strive to maintain peace. And if "men" should start a war, "she" should find the strength to tell them to think of their wives and children who will perish if they do not stop fighting, and the "men" should listen to the "woman's" voice (Herder 1797: 113–114).

According to Herder's recounting of Loskiel, the Delaware tribe agreed to become the 'Woman-Nation'. Then the Native Americans held a feast, and clothed the Delaware in long skirts, and adorned them with jewels, declaring their first clause – that the Delaware would no longer take up arms. The second clause of their agreement was to give the 'Woman-Nation' vessels with oil and medicines so that they could "wash the eyes" of the other tribes, making them see good and not evil, thereby leading others to the path of truth and peace. And the third clause of the agreement stipulated that the 'Woman-Nation' should engage in agriculture, and thus received a cornstalk and a hoe ("*einen Welschkornstengel und eine Hacke*") (Herder 1797: 114–115). Furthermore, in his letter, Herder turns his focus back to Europe and observes that there did exist a similar metaphor of the 'Peace-Women', who claimed the role of the peacekeepers, i.e., the clergy. However, "she" (the clergy) did not make peace, but, on the contrary, incited wars. Here Herder, of course, contemplates the wars of plunder during the Middle Ages that used the propagation of Christianity as a pretext. Herder also asks whether any contemporary European nation should be clothed in women's clothing and made the justice of the peace (1797: 117).

However, he writes that in Europe, wars are fought in dark cabinets and any efforts by the 'Peace-Women' would be futile (1797: 118). Herder offers a reminder that the Indian woman of peace, when attacked by Europeans, was forced to take up arms anyway and defend "her" land. And so, according to Herder, it will always be until the tree of peace takes root in all nations (1797: 119). Before proposing his method of achieving eternal peace (*pax sempiterna*), Herder goes on to discuss the

1 Herder, using Loskiel as a source, names that other tribe as Cherokee; however, according to Jay Miller, it was a tributary of the Iroquois nation (Miller 1974: 507–514).

history of European wars, the unsuccessful defence efforts of nations, and writes that his concept of the Great 'Peace-Women' has another name, and "her" remedies are definitely effective though not immediate (1797: 120). And already in letter 119, Herder delineates his 'Peace-Women' (Herder, 1797: 125–142). He calls it the universal fairness, humanity, and active reason ("*allgemeine Billigkeit*", "*Menschlichkeit*", "*tätige Vernunft*"). Herder goes on to present seven principles of eternal peace that should be disseminated to all nations. First, hatred of war should be cultivated (Herder, 1797: 128–129). Herder declares that only defensive wars can be justified, as well as reminding us of the consequences of wars – diseases, hospitals, famine, pestilence, looting, rape, land degradation, the collapse of families, and the decline of traditions. Therefore, fathers and mothers should raise children who know the dreadfulness of war. The second principle of eternal peace, Herder states, is to avoid worshipping the heroes of the wars of plunder, and to destroy by all means the false halo of their glory (Herder, 1797: 129–131). The third principle is to expose the fraudulent policies of nations that seek to expand state borders under the guise of security needs. Herder says that children from a very young age ("with mother's milk") must get an understanding of the real political motives at play and learn to appreciate only the things promoted by the nation that better one's humanity (Herder, 1797: 131–132). The fourth principle, according to Herder, concerns how patriotism is misunderstood (Herder, 1797: 133–134). The philosopher asserts that one should not be proud of their ancestors, but try to do great, beautiful, noble things themselves. As part of this principle, it is necessary to cultivate love for one's country and not tolerate those who leave their homeland; to not support those who interfere in the affairs of other countries, pointlessly imitate other nations, and forget their duties to the well-being of their own nation. Herder expresses that hatred towards other nations cannot be tolerated. He believes that a person can self-actualise only in their birthplace. The philosopher's fifth principle of peace deals with justice towards other nations (Herder, 1797: 134–136). He proclaims that people need to develop a sense of solidarity and empathy. The sixth principle, as Herder explains, concerns the relationship between commerce and humanity (Herder, 1797: 136–138). He says that international trade must not be predatory; it must bring people together, not separate them, and the social and personal importance of trade must be explained from childhood. And when writing about the seventh principle of peace, Herder notes that the cornstalk in the hands of the Indian woman acts as a weapon against the sword (Herder, 1797: 139–142). This refers to the idea that the more people learn to reap the fruits of their productive labour, the more they will feel that nothing can be created with the carnage of the hatchet. The sooner the shameful superstitions of the war-born caste are forgotten, the more honourable it will be to

adorn the head with a wreath of bellflowers, and apple and palm tree branches, instead of the sad laurel that grows by the gloomy cypress.

At the beginning of *Būdas*, Daukantas, following the structure of Herder's *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*, describes the ancient Lithuanian land, the people, their character, customs, and traditions. When writing about the ancient Lithuanian family, Daukantas states that Lithuanians had many concubines, but only one was called a wife, because she was responsible for humanity at home (*Būdas*: 51). Elsewhere in *Būdas*, Daukantas reiterates this statement and further specifies that in ancient times, out of three wives, only the noble one was responsible for humanity ("žmônysta") at home, and she was the only one called wife (*Būdas*: 163). Although Daukantas indicates that he is relying on *Preußens ältere Geschichte* by August von Kotzebue (1808: 39), through on comparing the texts it is evident that Daukantas departs from this German source. Kotzebue writes about Prussia's legendary times when the Cimbri relocated there. The priests of the colonisers, in order to equalise the rights of the natives with those of the newcomers, indicated that the first wife of a native man must be noble, i.e. of Cimbri origin. Daukantas makes no mention of the arrival of the Cimbri.

In another part of the work, Daukantas explains the backbone of humanity through the word 'courtesy' ("wiežlybum's"; *Būdas*: 35). He uses the word 'courtesy' synonymously with virtue, politeness and cleanliness ("Elgimos sô swietô wissados buo mândagôs ir swešnôs", *Būdas*: 64). Using the *Lithuanian Dictionary*, we can see that the dictionary also indicates more meanings relating to elegance: virtue, chastity, innocence, modesty, respectability, politeness, cultural refinement, cleanliness, orderliness (LKŽ). According to Herder in *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit*:

Ich wünschte, daß ich in das Wort Humanität alles fassen könnte, was ich bisher über des Menschen edle Bildung zur Vernunft und Freiheit, zu feinem Sinnen und Trieben, zur zartesten und stärksten Gesundheit, zur Erfüllung und Beherrschung der Erde gesagt habe; denn der Mensch hat kein edleres Wort für seine Bestimmung, als er selbst ist, in dem das Bild des Schöpfers unsrer Erde, wie es hier sichtbar werden konnte, abgedruckt lebet Um seine edelsten Pflichten zu entwickeln, dürfen wir nur seine Gestalt zeichnen. (Herder 1965: 152).

It can be assumed that Daukantas, following Herder, considered humanity to be the sum of the noblest human virtues, shared by all people, and that humanity is nurtured through consistent upbringing and education from an early age. As mentioned before, Herder suggests that the question of peace should be addressed from the grassroots, creating seven prerequisite features (Herder 1797: 128–142) that each of us must cultivate in order for mankind to voluntarily pursue peace by gradually abandoning war. Schultz interprets Herder's seven principles to be

necessary as antidotes to war and essential as conditions conducive to peace. She restates those "*sieben Gesinnungen*" to be a stance against brutality and destruction during war ("*Verrörung und Verwüstung durch Krieg*"), hero idolatry ("*Heldenidolatrie*"), deceitful politics ("*betrügerische Politik*"), arrogant patriotism ("*selbstfälliger Patriotismus*"), a demagogic image of the enemy ("*demagogische Feindbilder*"), and commercial imperialism ("*Handelsimperialismus*") (Schultz 1989: 421).

When describing the ancient Lithuanian wars against the Crusaders in his work, Daukantas also used Herder's principles against war, which could merit further examination. This article, however, focuses on the concept of the 'Lithuanian Wife' created by Daukantas, a paradigm likely inspired by Herder's Indian 'Woman-Nation' or the 'Indian Peace-Woman'. Herder allegorically "summed up" his "great woman of peace" to be the personification of justice, humanity, and an active mind. Just as Herder's 'Indian Peace-Woman' is not weak, but strong, wise and eloquent (Schultz 1989: 423), so is Daukantas's 'Lithuanian Wife'. Daukantas bestowed the woman with the role of the humanist educator, because she, being around children every day, should be able to inculcate awareness of the loftiest human goals, introduce universal principles of equality, freedom and morality, and teach children to communicate with family and community.

When describing ancient Lithuanian weddings, Daukantas provides examples of various rites, which illustrate how the bride was tested to see if she would be able to cope with wifely duties. According to the historian, a wife has to demonstrate her wisdom, cunning, politeness, gentleness and eloquence while performing the wedding ritual tasks and showcase her ability to successfully communicate with different people (*Būdas*: 54). It is within the context of wedding ceremonies that Daukantas provides the paradigm of the 'Lithuanian Wife'.

Daukantas, following the Greek concept of the 'statesman' (*aner politikos*), creates an analogous compound *ūkės vyras* ('farm man') ("*ukės wirajs*", "*lietos-wirajs*"; *Būdas*: 47) and reasons that when men were at war, women also had to do men's work, and since they had to try to replace men they sought to be called farmworkers / organizers ("*ukės wīlkie*"). Although Daukantas, through his sources, on multiple times in *Būdas* conveys a patriarchal attitude towards women, and indicates their obedience to men (*Būdas*: 139), he also emphasises that the most important thing for Lithuanians was to maintain a sense of decency and justice everywhere (see *Būdas* 36, 93, 125, 161, 163). Just treatment of women is described when detailing the state of widowhood, as Daukantas indicates that the wife received a third of the entire property upon her husband's death (*Būdas*: 179–180). Although Daukantas gives men the most important role in the fate of Lithuania, the historian demonstrates that wives were always there at the man's side to provide wise and intelligent

support, and they wanted to be equal to men and were able to make important decisions. During the war, women fought alongside men (*"kruvīno dījino motrīškosės stoję i karę ligė sō wirīškasejs kariautī"*; *Būdas*: 44). Daukantas further reflects upon the bravery and strength of the Lithuanian women by describing how, when the men were hesitant to defend the pagan sacred groves, the women did it without hesitation (*Būdas*: 120).

According to Daukantas, the dominant relationship in ancient Lithuanian society (cf. Hsu 1980: 144–164) was between the husband and wife, not between brothers and sisters, as recorded in traditional Lithuanian folk songs (Kavolis 1992: 28). Daukantas states that love marriages were typical for Lithuanians. When young people met, if they fell in love (*Būdas*: 51), they got married. During the wedding, the priest wished them a firm, strong and true love (*Būdas*: 58). The free decision of the husband and wife to marry led to the equality of the spouses. Daukantas rhetorically asks what would describe the great love of women for men (*"Kas apraszys dar dīdybę motrīškuiū meįęs, kōę rodę sawo wirīškėms"*; *Būdas*: 48). Daukantas, like Herder, understood marriage as life together until death. According to Herder, human love must be humane, and base instincts must be subordinated to a voluntary union that lasts a lifetime:

Auch die Liebe sollte bei dem Menschen human sein; dazu bestimmte die Natur, außer seiner Gestalt, auch die spätere Entwicklung, die Dauer und das Verhältnis des Triebes in beiden Geschlechtern, ja sie brachte diesen unter das Gesetz eines gemeinschaftlichen freiwilligen Bundes und der freundschaftlichsten Mitteilung zweier Wesen, die sich durchs ganze Leben zu einem vereint fühlen. (Herder 1965: 153)

Daukantas, when describing the functions of the mother and emphasising the endurance of women, states that sometimes women gave birth while working in the fields and brought back a new family member with them when they returned home from a gruelling day's work (*Būdas*: 101). They raised their children by setting an example, teaching them to observe the lives of animals and plants. According to Daukantas, the close connection of a person with their environment forms self-awareness, common sense, creativity and the ability to find direction in life. Daukantas also viewed women to be responsible for preserving traditional clothing. Perhaps following the history of the decline of ancient Rome, Daukantas considered the replacement of traditional Lithuanian clothing with the clothes of other countries to be a sign of the collapse of Lithuanian statehood, noting that the representatives of the highest (ruling) class were first to abandon their traditions, foreshadowing cultural decline.

Conclusion

When dealing with the question of *pax sempiterna*, Herder created the metaphor of the '*Indische Frau / Frieden Frau*' and outlined the seven principles of intellectual, moral and legal development.

Daukantas also explored the problem of personal morality in his historiosophical work *BUDAS Senowęs–Lėtuwiū Kalnienū Ir Žámajtiū* (1845) by seeking to explain how Lithuanians could have resisted the Crusader invasion for hundreds of years. He demonstrated that the personal morality of ancient Lithuanians, which manifested itself through hospitality, courtesy, and mercy, was fully aligned with the "Christian love" that was pretextually preached by Christian humanism but disseminated by sword, fire and carnage.

Daukantas, like Herder, believed that love through coercion and violence is impossible, thus they both only advocated for defensive wars. They believed that love for peace and intolerance towards violence are most often instilled by women, who function as the guardians of the hearth and home and the educators of the younger generation. Therefore, Daukantas, when conceiving the original Lithuanian version of the word *humanitas*, derived it from the Lithuanian word for 'wife' (*žmona*) and created the Lithuanian equivalent – *žmonystė*.

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