

Slavenko TERZIĆ
Institute of History
Belgrade

**ABOUT EASTERN AND WESTERN PANSLAVISM
(in the XIX-th and the beginning of the XX-th century)**

The teaching of the Slavophiles and Pan-Slavism are the ideas which for quite a long time have attracted the attention of scholars of the Russian and Slavic cultural, philosophical and political thought.¹ In the XIX-th century in lexicography, in West European journalism in particular and later on in science Pan-Slavism was given several meanings. It is, actually, a stratified research problem. Although the political aspect of this phenomenon cannot be denied, particularly in some periods, it should be born in mind that Pan-Slavism is actually a complex cultural and philosophical system, which, in addition to its political, also has its scientific, literary, social, philosophical and religious aspect.

Pan-Slavism as a phenomenon is also one of the big topics which could not avoid an ideological and political approach. Owing to the fact that there is no evident continuous interest of the scholars in Pan-Slavism and that the relevant literature reveals evident chronological oscillations it may be inferred that the interest in that topic was actually inspired by reasons outside the world of science. The same applies to the interpretation of Pan-Slavism. Often, this complex phenomenon is simplified

¹ A. Fischel, *Der Panlawismus bis zum Weltkrieg*, Stuttgart and Berlin 1919; H. Kohn, *Panslavism: Its History and Ideology*, New York 1960; M. B. Petrovich, *The Emergence at Russian Panslavism, 1856 – 1870*, New York 1956; N. V. Riasanovsky, *Russia and the West in the Teaching of the Slavophiles*, Cambridge 1952; D. MacKenzie, *The Serbs and Russian Pan-Slavism 1875 – 1878*, New York 1967; James H. Billington, *The Icon and the Axe An Interpretive History of Russian Culture*, New York 1966.

and limited to political Pan-Slavism of some political groups in the Russian Empire of the sixties and seventies of the XIX-the century, to some theoretical views of the seventies of the XIX-the century and some theoretical views of some Russian philosophers and thinkers like Nikolay Danilevsky and Rostislav Fadeev. The discussions about the eastern, actually Russian Pan-Slavism, as a rule, disregarded the western, in fact European Pan-Slavism, meant to counteract or completely eliminate the Russian influence in Central and South East Europe. In his very serious approach to this problem Samuel Huntington interprets it as a conflict of civilizations. The intention of this paper is to only briefly describe some elements of both Pan-Slavisms, their cultural, philosophical and cultural aspects and their impact on the developments in South East Europe in the XIX-th and at the beginning of the XX-th century.

It is a well known fact that Pan-Slavism stems from German philosophy, particularly from the idealism of Hegel, Schelling and other German philosophers. Moreover, the German national movement strongly influenced the development of national ideas among the Slavs. The Czech and Slovak romantics were the first to adopt Herder's idea that the Slavic mind will enlighten and restore the world and that the vital young Slavic race will replace the "exhausted Romans and Germans." Ian Kollar and Ludevít Shtur have the greatest merit for awakening Pan-Slavic ideas. Ian Kollar (1793-1852) was the first to develop the idea of universal Slavic mutuality. Already Tomash Masaryk noticed that to Herder's emphasis on the spiritual factors in history Kollar added his views on the Messianic role of the Slavs, stressing that due to their specific cultural and historical features they were predestined to restore the European civilization. In Kollar's well known text *About Slavic Mutuality (1834-1837)* Pan-Slavism and Universal – Slavism are synonyms, because they have absolutely the same meaning. The Pan-Slavic ideas were most loudly expressed at the Slavic Congress in Prague, in 1848. This was actually a Congress of the Slavs living in Austria, convened to define their common needs and interests.² Among

² *Slovanský sjezd v Praze roku 1848*. Sbirka dokumentu. K vydání připravil V. Žaček, Praha 1958; *Славянское движение XIX – XX веков: съезды, конгрессы, совещания, манифесты, обращения*, Москва 1998; Г. П. Мельников, *Первый славянский форум (к 150-летию Славянского съезда в Праге в 1848 г)*, Славянский альманах

other topics, the Congress also discussed the issue of harmony and mutuality among all Slavic tribes, regardless of their religion and political ideas, and about the need to establish a Slavic Federation.

The Russian approach to universal Slavism is a particularly complex and stratified problem. It is actually part of a wider problem of the relations between Russia and Europe and Russia's approach to the Eastern question. In the forties of the XIX-the century the Russian government became suspicious of the feelings of sympathy for other Slavs, and in 1847 it was prohibited to disseminate any aspect of the idea of Slavic mutuality. The Russian Emperor Nicolas I supported the preservation of status quo in Europe and his chancellor Neselrode pursued a pro Austrian policy. The Crimean War (1853-1856) and Russia's defeat in that war against Turkey and the coalition of western countries was a turning point in Russia's history and the history of Orthodox Slavs. It was a mile stone in Russian history which also aroused ample discussions about numerous social issues. After the Crimean War the Slavophile circles shifted their main emphasis to the relations between Russia and other Slavs, the Orthodox ones in particular. This idea materialized in the establishment of Slavic Committees in Russian. Thus the Moscow Slavic Committee was founded in 1858, by Ivan Sergeevich Aksakov and A. Homiakov. The Pan-Slavic interest in the Balkans was increasing and the Bulgarians came to the focus of Russia's attention.³

The defeat in the Crimean war alerted the national awareness of the Russians and made them apprehensive of Europe as a constant threat to Russia. The uprising in Poland (1863-1864) was another reason for such approach to Europe. The ideology of the Dekabrists (Decembtists), the program of the Petersburg Circle (the Petrashevtzy) and the articles by Chernishevsky and Gerzen, all of which place emphasis on a uniform development of humanity and believe that only through close integration

1998, Москва 1999, 58 – 69; В. Матула, «Славянство и мир будущего» Людовита Штура, (у) Професор Сергей Александрович Никитин и его историческая школа, Москва 2004, 177 – 196.

³ С. А. Никитин, *Славянские комитеты в России в 1858 – 1876 годах*, Москва 1960; *Славянская идея: история и современность*, Москва 1998; Професор Сергей Александрович Никитин и его историческая школа, Москва 2004.

with the European nations will the Slavs achieve the status of full equality with them had only minor support. Actually, in the Russian society of the mid XIX-the century the idea prevailed that Russia and Europe are two historically antagonistic civilizations due to the religious factor. This idea was actually the corner stone of the teaching of the Slavophiles.⁴

The teaching of the Slavophiles was not a political doctrine and it greatly differs from the later approach to Pan-Slavism of the sixties and seventies of the XIX- the century. Already in the thirties and forties the Russian intellectuals were engaged in the discussions about Slavism in the world and the Slavic idea. They published their articles in the magazines *Маяк* and *Москвичанин* and later in *Русская беседа* and the papers *День* and *Москва*. The Slavophiles fostered a wide spectrum of different ideas – ranging from the specific, philosophical and religious to those with the elements of cultural and political Pan-Slavism expressed by A.S. Homiakov, R. S. Aksakov, I. S. Aksakov, I. V. Kireevsky and P.V. Kireevsky to M. P. Pogodin, O. M. Bodiatsky, I.V. Samarin, A. S. Guilferding, F.I. Kiutchev, V.I. Lamansky and others. All of them share the same fundamental ideas: all of them insist on the specific features of Russian culture and religion (*Orthodoxy, Opshina, Sabornost*), all of them believe in the messianic role of Russia and all of them believe in the crucial role of the Greco - Slavic civilization in the development of the global civilization. Most of these views stem from Schelling's romantic national theory, according to which every nation fosters given national ideas, thus fulfilling its historical mission. Undoubtedly, for the Slavophiles the idea of the Slavic spiritual and cultural mutuality was of primary importance and after the Crimean War the political aspect of the Pan-Slavic idea was strengthening in view of uniting all Slavs under the auspices of Russia. In their approach to the internal sphere, the Slavophiles place the main emphasis on the idea of moral self improvement of the Russian society. "These individuals had a free spirit for whom the issue of internal freedom was much more important than

⁴ М. Ю. Досталь, *Славянский мир и славянская идея в философских построениях и «практике» ранних славянофилов*, Славянский альманах 2000, Москва 2001, 85 – 95; Džejms Bilington, *Ikona i sekira. Istorija ruske kulture, jedno tumačenje*, Beograd 1988.

social and political freedom, which depend on the nature of the social order.”⁵

At first for Slavophiles the increased Russian awareness did not imply antagonism towards Europe, e.g. in the works of Ivan Kireevsky who speaks about the need to remove the boundaries and obstacles between Russia and Europe and encourage an as rich as possible streaming of life between these two worlds. For them the dilemma *Russia or Europe* did not exist, nor did they challenge European values. They only denied absolute supremacy of European values and absolute supremacy of Europe, denying it the exclusive right to the future. Actually, the overall approach of the Slavophiles to history and culture was developed with regard to Europe and stemmed from Europe, without which it could not be explained. Actually, they shifted the focus of their attention on European spiritual values. By contrasting Russia and Orthodoxy to Europe the Slavophiles were actually trying to present Russia as a new, autonomous historical factor which, in their view Europe did not recognize as such. The western Slavophiles were also aware that Russia was different from Europe and were eager to Europeanize it. According to the Slavophiles Russia’s main task was to assert itself as an autonomous spiritual universe. According to D. Sojanovitch, “the teaching of the Slavophiles in the period under review reflects a Russian concept of the philosophy of history based on the belief in Russia and the apotheosis of Orthodoxy as a Russian religion of integral spirituality.”⁶

Interest in the Slavs, including the Balkan Slavs, was gradually increasing. The Russians did not know much about the culture of the South Slavs, nor about the boundaries of their states. Opening of Slavic Departments at four Russian universities, in Moscow, Petersburg, Kazan and Harkov, in 1835, was very important in that respect. It was for the first time that Russian Slavists, A. N. Popov, D. A. Valueev, V. A.

⁵ Стојановић, Душан, Религијска основа словенофилства (*The Religious Basis of the Slavophile idea*), Српски књижевни гласник LXII, Београд 1941, 145 –151; В. Н. Греков, «Славянская самобытность» и «выбор судьбы» в теории ранних славянофилов (к вопросу о выявлении архетипа), Славянская идея..., Москва 1998, 78 – 92.

⁶ Idem, pp. 149-150.

Panov , F. V. Chizov , N. A. Rigelman and others, had the opportunity to stay longer in Slavic countries. They informed the Russian scientific community and the general public about the history, culture and ethnography of the Slavic world and sincerely believed in cultural integration of all Slavs. On the other hand, their approach offered a rather one sided and simplified picture of “the brothers of the same blood”. They believed that all Slavs adored Russia, that they were unconditionally devoted to Russia, that the aim of their struggle in history against foreign invaders was actually their craving to restore the perennial values of Orthodoxy and establish close links with Russia and that the Slavic world which fostered the idea of mutuality was ready for a spiritual and moral consolidation.

M.P. Pogodin (1800- 1875), professor at the Moscow University, is actually the founder of all Pan- Slavic institutions. His travels in Slavic countries in the thirties and forties of the XIX-th century helped him tackle “the Slavic question” from his own angle of vision, within the triangle Russia – Slavism – the West. Pogodin also believed in the Messianic role of Russia. His idea that all Slavs have only one option- alliance with Russia based on their unconditional recognition of its leading role- had become the corner stone of Pan-Slavism in Russia. All ideas about independence were interpreted as a result of a harmful influence of the “Western spirit”. Pogodin’s book *Political letters*, published in the period 1853-1856, created a real sensation in Russian society. He strongly believes in historical antagonism between Russia and the West, which is his basic premise. According to him the defeat in the Crimean War and isolation of Russia are evident proofs of the aggression of the West against Russia. Therefor, Russia should turn to its natural allies – the Slavic peoples. In his *Letters* Pogodin says: ”Our duty as Russians is to take Constantinople, for security reasons, and as Slavs it is our duty to liberate millions of Slavs.”⁷ The Slavophiles defined their views in detail in their well known *Epistle to the Serbs*, in 1860.

⁷ Н. И. Цимбаев, *Славянофильство*. Из истории русской общественно-политической мысли XIX века, Москва 1986, 18 – 234; О. В. Лебедева, *Концепция славянской взаимности в Чехии и в России в 60-е – начале 70-их годов XIX века* (канд. дисерт), Москва 1991, 73 – 76.

Fedor Ivanovich Tiutchev (1803-1873), a poet and diplomat, in his work *Russia and Germany* (1844) and his unfinished treatise *Russia and the West* (1850) first anonymously published in the West, aroused hot discussions. Tiutchev supported a peaceful dialogue between Russia and the West and its spiritual relations with Europe, but in spite of this approach he believed that the contrasts between Russia and the West were insurmountable. In his view the western countries have no vitality, because “the revolution is a disease eating them up”, meaning the revolution of 1848-1849. For Tiutchev the Slavic question should be discussed only within its broader historical, philosophical and political context. *Orthodox tradition* is his fundamental principle, because for him Russia is in the first place an Orthodox and only then a Slavic country. Fedor Ivanovich Tiutchev distinguished three kinds of Pan-Slavism: Pan-Slavism as part of the revolutionary vocabulary, (he probably had in mind Bakunin); Pan-Slavism in literature, developed by German theoreticians and ideologists and genuine Pan-Slavism adopted by the masses, evident in contacts of Russian soldiers with Slavic peasants. In the sixties Tiutchev used to increasingly emphasize the insurmountable antagonism between Russia and the West. The Austria –Prussian War of 1866 was for him an even more convincing proof of the pending clash between the European coalition and Russia. For Tiutchev Slavic people simply could not exist outside Russia. It is only Russia that can save them from foreign assimilation by incorporating them in its state.”⁸

Alexander Fiodorovich Guilferding (1831-1872), the first consul in Sarajevo, in 1957, belonged to the second generation of Russian scholars in Slavic languages and was a Slavophile. Among other works his *Travel in Bosnia, Herzegovina and Old Serbia* (1859) is particularly interesting. For Guilferding, like for most Slavophiles, Orthodoxy is “a symbol of unity of Slavic peoples and of Slavic self awareness.” For him religion represents the main dividing line between the Greco- Slavic and Roman (Latin) world whose values were absolutely incompatible. More than other Slavophiles, e.g. Aksakov, Guilferding emphasized the importance of Orthodox religion, believing that the Greco- Slavic world should be recognized as a global historical reality.”⁹

⁸ Вадим Кожин, *Тютчев*, Москва 1988; О. В. Лебедева, *Idem*, 78 – 132.

⁹ Л. П. Лаптева, *Славянофильство как основа мировоззрения и научных концепций А. Ф. Гильфердинга*, Славянский альманах 2000, Москва 2001, 96 – 105.

Vladimir Ivanovich Lamansky (1833-1914), professor at the university of Petersburg and founder of an important Slavic School, has a special place in the history of Russian Pan-Slavism. He studied the historical processes in different “worlds”, actually different civilizations, determined not only by their respective ethnographic features, but in the first place determined by their internal structure developed under the influence of a given religion. In line with this approach, in his lecture *Slavism and Russian national awareness* (1866) he gives proofs for big differences between the “West European” and “the Slavic-Russian” world, primarily due to different religions they profess. After his two year stay in Slavic countries (1862-1864) Lamansky wrote a study entitled *Serbia and South Slavic provinces in Austria* (1864). According to his conclusion “Slavism” is a term used in books only and it actually encompasses nine separate national groups. Like many Orthodox ideologist Lamansky had more respect for the Slavs of the same religion than the West Slavs exposed to “foreign “influence. Like Nil Popov, Lamansky supported the idea that all Slavs should adopt, as official, a single Slavic language which, in his opinion, should be Russian “as a language of learning and high education and a language of diplomacy and continue to foster their respective dialects for local use. Only in this way will the Slavs be able to preserve their genuine being. A common literary language is a prerequisite for the establishment of a Slavic federation.”¹⁰ In his *Writer’s Diary* Dostoevsky has some additional ideas about Russia’s mission. He was the first to mention that Russia should link its future with Asia, not Europe. Actually, in addition to its political mission among the Slavs under foreign domination Dostoevsky had in mind Russia’s global mission in the sphere of spiritual values. According to Dostoevsky Russia’s mission is to be the protagonist of new values, the revealer of new secrets, the promoter of a new approach to religion. (“the Russian Christ”).

Till 1867 the supporters of imperial Pan-Slavism were not numerous in Russia. The Slavic Congress in Petersburg and Moscow in May and June 1867 and the Slavic Ethnographic Exhibition in Moscow were, actually, the first attempts to implement in practice the idea of Pan-

¹⁰ С. А. Никитин, *Idem*, 47 – 336; Н. И. Цимбаев, *Idem*, 38 – 89; О. В. Лебадева, *Idem*, 143 –147.

Slavism. The idea to organize a congress came from Lamansky in his letters to Nil Popov, in 1865. The official Russia endorsed these two events in order to impress Europe with its strong spiritual and moral influence on the Slavs. Even the Russian Empress Maria Aleksandrovna shared the views of Pan-Slavic circles, believing in Russia's historical mission to liberate all Slavs. The Slavic exhibition was a meeting place of all Slavs," the Slavic pilgrims" as the German press called them. Thirty three Serbs attended the exhibition ,among them Yovan Subotitch, Milan Dj. Militchevitch, Laza Kostitch, Mihailo Polit-Desanchitch, count Yankovitch from Dalmatia and many other outstanding personalities in Serbian culture and public life. At the banquet in the honor of the guests one Serbian speaker called on the Russian brothers not to forget Kosovo and use their best efforts to find soon a solution for the Slavic question in South East Europe. On that occasion Laza Kostitch wrote his well known poem Matushki Moskvi (to Moscow, our mother), calling it a "phoenix of the North". A similar gathering was organized in Prague, in 1868.¹¹

Pan-Slavism reflected the views and ideas of only one part of Russian society, or rather one part of the Russian intelligentsia. Quite a few did not share these views. Thus, e. g. Chernishevsky criticized Pan-Slavism emphasizing that the Russians should show their love for Slavic peoples just by wishing them all the best. In his article *The Question of Ethnic Groups and Pan-Slavism* (1864) A. N. Pipin says that Pan-Slavism interpreted as "a mystical" approach to the self-awareness process initiated in Russian society has actually encouraged " the development of Pan-Slavism and many other ways of pleasant political day dreaming". Pipin was against the idea of adopting one common Slavic language. The most outstanding intellectuals in Russia and the Russian education system were under the influence of European culture and education.¹² In Bakunin's opinion, an anarchist by ideology, Pan-Slavism was only a weapon in the hands of the secret policy of the Russian Empire

¹¹ Јован Скерлић, *Омладина и њена књижевност (1848-1871)*. Изучавања о националном и књижевном романтизму код Срба, Београд 1925, 145 – 146. (Skerlic, Jovan, *Youth and its Literature (1848-1871)*, Research about the National and Literary Romanticism among the Serbs)

¹² Е. П. Аксенова, *Славянская идея в интерпретации А. Н. Пытина*, Славянский альманах 1998, Москва 1999, 87 – 96.

In Europe Russian diplomacy was most interested in the Polish and Eastern question, but cautiously avoided to raise them both at once. General count Nikolay Ignatiev, at that time Head of the Asian desk (1861-1864) a later the Russian ambassador to Constantinople (1864-1877), was one of the most outstanding promoters of Pan- Slavic ideas. The Embassy in Constantinople covered the whole Balkans. Ignatiev promoted the idea of Russia's great historical mission .According to him Russia' a task is to liberate the Slavs under Austria and Turkey and on the territories of these former empires set up the states which would behave according to Russian political interests. At the same time he feared that catholic Slav states could establish a federation hostile to Russia, which would claim some Russian territories, like parts of Ukraine, parts of Byelorussia and some other regions. In his view Russia has to follow closely all development connected with all Slavic movements, work towards spreading and strengthening of the Orthodox religion and counteract separatist trends.¹³

At the time of the Crete uprising (1866) Ignatiev submitted to the attention of Chancellor Gotchakov a rather detailed paper in which he explained the need to launch military and political campaigns in the Balkans, which would result in the establishment of a Balkan federation with Constantinople as its capital city and with the Russian imperial family at its head. On the other hand, Girchakov realized that all Slavic political ideas could not be incorporated in the concept of Russia's foreign policy. In the sixties of the XIX-th century most of the official circles in Russia did not support these Pan-Slavic plans, aware that for economic and political reasons Russia could not pretend to play a global role. These Pan- Slavic ideas prevailed later on, during the eastern crisis in 1875-1878.¹⁴ The book *Russia and Europe* by Danilovsky (published in installments in 1868 and as a book in 1871) and the book *An Opinion about The Eastern Question* by Rostislav Fadeev, strengthened the

¹³ Цонко Генов, *Славянските комитети в Русия и българското освободително дело (1858 – 1878)*, София 1986, В. М. Хевролина, *Россий дипломат граф Николай Павлович Игнатъев*, Москва 2004.

¹⁴ С. Л. Чернов, *Россия на завершающем этапе восточного кризиса 1875 – 1878 г.* Москва 1984; Н. П. Игнатъев, *Походные письма 1877. года*, Москва 1999, D. MacKenzie, *нав. дело*,

expansionist approach of Pan-Slavism based on the idea of an inevitable clash between the Slavic and the Roman- German world.¹⁵ However, these works cannot be analyzed outside the time frame when they were written. After the Big Eastern Crisis Pan-Slavism was relegated to the background and its influence on the Russian social thought only marginal. The new Slavophiles from the beginning of the XX-th century rejected all continuity with former Slavophiles.

Already in the forties of the XIX-th century, along with the activities of the first Slavophiles, Ian Kolar and Ludevít Shtur, who were mostly inspired by German philosophy, Herder and Fulke in the first place, Polish emigrants were also trying to develop the ideology of Western Slavism in West European countries. At the Sorbonne, thanks to the efforts of prince Adam Chartorisky, the Slavic Languages Department was open in 1840, with the idea of making it a pillar of “European Slavism”, based on enlightenment and freedom, equally opposed to “the Asiatic Pan-Slavism of Petersburg and the German Pan-Slavism of Vienna.” David Urquhart, a diplomatic agent of the British Foreign Office, published an article in magazine *Portfolio* in which he revealed that his main task was to separate the Serbs and other Balkan Slavs from Russia and its influence. In 1837 Urquhart developed his project of the Balkan Federation under the auspices of Austria (including Serbia, Bulgaria, Moldavia and Romania, with Serbia and Bosnia united).¹⁶ In 1847 Cyprien Roberts also speaks about the efforts of the western world to prevent Russia to under its auspices unite the Slavic world by promoting western Pan-Slavism as a counterbalance to Russian Pan-Slavism and Russian threat. Roberts developed a whole program of activities which boil down to the following: support to independence of different Slavic peoples, emancipation of their national elites, promotion of their national languages and recognition of their respective national literatures and through that the wakening of their national awareness.¹⁷

¹⁵ Н. Я. Данилевский, *Россия и Европа*, Москва 1991.

¹⁶ Милорад Екмечић, *Европска позадина «Начертанија» Илије Гарашанина 1844*, Дијалог прошлости и садашњости, Београд 2002, 101 – 114. (Ekmecic Milorad, *The European Background of NACHERTANIE by Ilia Garashanin, 1844*, Dialogue between the Past and Present).

¹⁷ Cyprien Roberts, *Der zweifache Panславismus Die gegenwärtige Lage der slawischen Völker gegenüber von Russland*, Leipzig 1847, 8 – 77.

In the middle of the XIX- the century in Central Europe, among the Slavs in Austria, the term AUSTROSLAV was promoted against the concept of Pan-Slavism. Karel Gavlichek Borovsky (1821-1856), a Czech politician is considered to be the father of Austroslavism. Criticizing Kolar's Pan-Slavism and the Russophile orientation of the Austrian Slavs, Gavlichek supported the idea of Slavic mutuality and a Slavic alliance within the Habsburg Empire. He called on Vienna to enable the "Malorussian peoples "actually the Ukrainians living in the Empire, in Galicia and Bukovina, to freely develop their own language and profess a uniate church. In this way, the believed, Austria would get a powerful ally and have on its side an enemy of "Greater Russia". During the 1848-1849 Revolution Austroslavism, as a political doctrine, became the corner stone of the Czech national program. Gavlichek was appointed Secretary to the Slavic Congress held in Prague, in 1848, convened to counteract the all German Frankfurt Parliament. For the ideologist of the Czech national movement, who had a rather great influence on the Slavs in South East Europe, the Slavic idea was a means of national integration, on the one hand, and an obstacle opposing the spreading of Pan-Germanism, on the other. Austroslavism was meant to be an alternative to both the Russian imperial Pan-Slavism and the near by and powerful Pan-Germanism.¹⁸ Slavic mutuality was to be instrumental in achieving federalization of Austria. Jan Palarik (1822-1870), an outstanding representative of the Slovak national movement, was also critical of "political Pan-Slavism".¹⁹

Following up on Karel Gavlichek's idea that Vienna should be active in developing a separate Ukrainian identity in Galicia and Bukovina, already in the sixties, seventies and eighties the idea of cultural differences was taking root in these regions, which in 1888, thanks to Polish political elite in Galicia, resulted in political organizing of the Ukrainians. In 1899 the National Democratic Party of Ukrainians was founded in Austria- Hungary. However, many Ukrainian politicians did not limit themselves only to the struggle against Russian influence in

¹⁸ О. В. Павленко, *Мечта не стввшая реальностью...*, Славянский альманах 1999, Москва 2000, 100 – 113.

¹⁹ Л. Н. Смирнов, *Ян Паларик о славянской взаимности*, Славянский альманах 1999, Москва 2000, 116 – 221.

Galicia and Bukovina. The most radical nationalist had plans to unite all Ukrainian lands under the Habsburgs. *Ukrainische Rundschau*, a magazine published in Vienna, in 1908, at the time of annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, published a map of Ukraine stretching from Krakov to Astrahan.²⁰ On the other hand, the Austria Hungarian authorities in the Balkans radically prevented all attempts of cultural cooperation between the Serbs in the Empire, particularly those from Bosnia and Herzegovina where they were majority population, accusing them of “agitating in favor of “greater Serbia” and “Pan-Slavism”.

The South Slavs were under the influence of both western and eastern Pan-Slavism. The Yugoslav idea of Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer, e.g., was on the verge of Austroslavism. Russian Pan-Slavism was widespread among Orthodox Slavs – Serbs and Bulgarians. It should be emphasized that in the XIX-th century there was still not a sign of equality between nationality and religion, so that some Serbs who were Catholics were still Serbs. For South Slavs under Ottoman rule the Slavic idea meant a chance to get support and help from Russia in their effort to liberate themselves from the several century long foreign occupation. They were not engaged in lofty historical and philosophical discussions as was the case between Russian Westerners and Slavophiles, although this problem was present among South Slavs and a small number of intellectuals they had at that time. The South Slavs were for centuries exposed to the influence of various cultural environments which affected the molding of their national and cultural identity. Metropolitan Mihailo and politician Nikola Pashitch were the most outstanding representatives of the Slavic idea among the Serbs, although Pashitch had a typically pragmatic approach to the concept of *Slavic Orthodox Civilization*. Otherwise, Pashitch was the most devoted follower of Nikolay Danilevsky and the ideas elaborated in his book *Russia and Europe*.²¹

²⁰ М. Э. Клопова, *Украинское движение Австро-Венгрии в оценке российских дипломатов*, Славянский альманах 1999, Москва 2000, 164 – 173.

²¹ Александар Погодин, *Михаило Полит-Десанчић у Русији и о Русији*, *Летопис Матице Српске*, књ. 337, Нови Сад 1933, 62 – 86; Славенко Терзић, *О словенофилству Николе Пашића*, Никола Пашић, Београд 1996, 131 – 144.

At the beginning of the XX-th century, after the revolution of 1905, the teaching of the Slavophiles appear under the name of Neo-Slavism. This time too the Czech were the main protagonists and ideologist, particularly Karl Kramarz (1860-1937), one of the first to develop the ideology of Neo-Slavism and one of the most influential members of this movement. He read law in Germany, got his Ph.D. in Prague and completed his professional and political education in Paris, England and the Scandinavian countries. During the 1907-1910 period of crisis one of the main tasks of the Neo-Slavic Movement was to try to bring all Slavic peoples closer together. The Slavic Congress held in Prague, in 1908 was very significant for the Movement.²² Tomash Garrick Masaryk, (1850-1937) an outstanding Czech, was at that time very much involved in the problem of unity and Slavic mutuality. After his stay in Russia, in 1887 and 1888 and after having studied Russian history, philosophy, social thought and particularly the heritage of the Slavophiles, Masaryk published *Slavic Studies* (The Slavophile ideas of J.V. Kireevsky) which was the source for his great book *Russia and Europe*, published in 1913. One chapter of this book is devoted to criticism of Russia's Messianic mission, Pan-Slavism and the Slavophiles and their teaching. His approach to the Slavic question is perceived as his criticism of the Russophile idea as such. The essence of his views can be summarized in the following conclusion: "Like Kollar in our country, the Slavophiles in Russia used to preach in favor of the Messianic role of Russia; the Poles preach in favor of the Messianic role of the Slavic, Russian and Polish culture which is expected to bring salvation not only to the Slavs, but to other peoples as well and the whole humanity." Masaryk emphasizes that the authors of all these theories did not have in mind politics. "This was a program of spiritual and cultural mutuality; it was not political Pan-Slavism. Later on, partly under the influence of German Pan-Germanism, to Pan-Slavism, at first meant to be only cultural, some philosophers of history and politicians have added a

²² З. С. Ненашева, *Масарик и Крамарж како идеологи славянског единства в воспријати руског консула в Праге*, Славјански алманах 1999, Москва 2000, 123 – 129; О. Heinz, *Der Neoslavismus*, Wien 1963; М. Екмечић, *Неославизам као идејна претпоставка уставног покрета у Црној Гори*, Дијалог прошлости и садашњости..., 287 –303.

political dimension.”²³ Masaryk’s European ideas reject “the romantic concept of Messianic roles and chauvinism” promoted by both sides. He only supports a cultural synthesis and mutuality. This was, undoubtedly, a sober approach.

Research into the Slavic idea and Pan-Slavism must reject simplification, clichés and prejudices. The historical context is crucial for proper understanding of these ideas. Anyway, Slavism and Pan-Slavism as a concept of Slavic spiritual and cultural mutuality is different from political Pan-Slavism. The expansionist aspirations of Russian Pan-Slavism were not incorporated in the vision of the Russian society as a steady, clear and long term strategy. The Saint Stephan Treaty of 1878 is the case in point.

The important role of Russia in the liberation process of the Christians in the Balkans should be separated from its occasional imperialist trends. On the other hand, it should be remembered that the myth of the invisible, powerful hand of the Pan-Slavists was created in the West and in Central Europe, and rather often used as a smokescreen for their aggressive plans with regard to the Balkan Slavs, the case in point being the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878.)

Translated by Ileana Ćosić, Ph.D.

²³ T. G. Masaryk, *Svetske revolucije*. Ratne uspomene i razmatranje, Beograd 1935, 493 – 494.

Славенко ТЕРЗИЋ

О ИСТОЧНОМ И ЗАПАДНОМ ПАНСЛАВИЗМУ
(У 19. И ПОЧЕТКОМ 20. ВЕКА)

Резиме

Истраживање словенофилства и панславизма треба ослободити поједностављивања и интерпретација са предрасудама. Историјски контекст је од суштинске важности за разумевање целог покрета. Словенофилство и културни панславизам као концепције словенске духовне и културне узајамности нису исто што и тенденције политичког панславизма. Аутор се у овом раду бави источним панславизмом али указује на чињеницу да је неоправдано запостављен феномен западног панславизма, као настојања да се словенски свет пре свега Средње а и затим и Југоисточне Европе политички организује против Русије. Мит о невидљивој и моћној руци источног панславизма створен на Западу и у Средњој Европи служио је, каткада, и као параван за прикривање сопствених агресивних планова према балканским Словенима, али и Русији. Руски панславизам и његови експанзионистички продори, о чему сведочи Сан Стефански уговор 1878, нису били уобличени у довољно чврсту, јасну и дугорочну политичку концепцију руског друштва. Рад доноси неколицину главних идеја о словенској културној узајамности из пера водећих и осталих словенских мислилаца.