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## Pan-Slavism in Central and Southeastern Europe

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*In this article is analyzed so-called pan-slavism – politico-social and confessional-cultural movement in several countries of Central and Southeastern Europe in years 40th in 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century. The ideology of pan-slavism is inseparably connected with the history of western and eastern slavians, their emancipation movement and nation statehood construction. Exist several theories, that define pan-slavism as a cultural and political movement. In actual fact, pan-slavism – is discrepant and difficult-to-explain synthesis of political and geopolitical ideas, that evolved in the history and had several original authors' interpretation (Y. Kollar, L. Shtur, F. Palatskiy).*

*Keywords: Austro-slavism, Great Illyria, All-slavic convention, germanization, Illyrism, Y. Kollar, «literatural mutuality», Mad'yarization, Panideology, F.Palatskiy, Pan-slavism, «Slavonic Austria», «Slavonic idea», Slavonic unity, L. Shtur, Yugoslavism.*

**Point.** Growth of the influence of Russia in the system of international relations in the first half of the 19th century took place in the conditions of the foreign slavs movement for the national liberation. This time finally took shape stereotyped perception of so-called «Russian colossus» as an Evil force, that strive for annihilation (destruction) of German-Romanic civilization with the support of western and southern Slav fellow tribesman. This «Danger» was called «Pan-slavism» in West European social and political journalism. Later, this conception transformed and get another political and culturological meaning. Spectrum of the definition of this term varied from Slavonic «Literary mutuality» (confessional-cultural aspects) to political projects of foundation of «Slavonic Austria» (Austro-slavism), Great Illyria (Illyrism), All-slavic «Limited» Monarchy or Federation as a part of Russian Empire. Absence

of the integral paradigm in the meaning of in the main of Pan-Slavism called forth methodological and certain-historic discussions, that are still in progress. Divergences in interpretations of a definition «pan-slavism» in modern encyclopedic editions (the Oxford illustrated encyclopedia, T.4, 2000, 271 (428); Political science. The encyclopedic dictionary, 2003, 238) testify to it. Attempts to find scientific – methodological decisions of the given problem have been undertaken also in the newest politological and historical dissertational researches (Francuzova, 2005; Prokudin, 2007).

According the well-established tradition, in Pan-slavism generally is accepted to mark out two movements – «Literary» and «Political». But, in reality some «prophets» of the All-slavism, since the 17 century (Y. Kryghanich), discerned linguistic unity only as the one of several ways to

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resist German «Onslaught to the East» Honestly, divergences of views, as a method to keep Slavic ethno-cultural identity and achievement of the Slavic solidarity appeared in wide base only in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Liberation of the foreign supremacy and use of Russia as the sponsor of some cultural and political liberties their content and meaning didn't coincide) invariably was the main idea of «Foreign brothers». In Russian and foreign historiography) repeatedly tried to mark up the «reactionary» and «democratic» movements in Pan-Slavism. The first one can be bring to correlation ideas and views of Decembrists, members of Kirill-and-Mehpodyus society, Petrashev society, second one can be compared with orthodox ideas of M. Bakunin, the essence of this ideas came to the Overthrow of Tsar reign with the support of «half-brother» nations and Y. Fritch, that offered «Common Slavic revolution» without getting Russia to take part in. Demonstrative, both movements get the political revolution as the most effective way to solve all national-state and other problems.

There is one more question, from the social-political point of view, the question about relation of «All-Slavism» of Austro-slavism and Illyrism. Great majority of domestic researchers accepted this ideas as interim «stages», that lead to the political unity of all Slavic nations under the aegis of Russia, or almost independent movements. Foreign historians sometimes identified the «true» Pan-slavism as the union of southern and western Slavonic, that resisted «enlightened» colonizers.

Soviet period the representatives of intelligent and social-political élite either escaped from the use of the definition of «Pan-Slavism» or paid great attention only for these conceptions of Slavic integration that «it in» with limits of national ideology, or characterized the ideas of Slavic solidarity as «reactionary» («autocratic»).

In the years 1960s in The Slovak Soviet Republic took place different international conferences of Slavacists. But all the participants and researchers preferred to ignore and not to use some terms, such as «an idea of Slavic mutuality» and «Pan-slavism» replacing these terms by a word «slovanství», that meant the whole set of historical-changing notions about Slavic community: the ideology, politic action, social movements oriented to the different forms of national-regional and common-Slavic unity. Dominating idea of internationalism made the pan-Slavism «short» and «uncomfortable» meaning from the point of view of Marxism-Leninism. After that time in Marxism historiography almost changed the attitude to Pan-Slavism. Henceforth, «was stabled positively define the idea of Slavic mutuality and mark the reactionary character of Pan-Slavism». This installation get more uncertainty to all «Slavic researches. All the authors couldn't pay attention to well-established definition of various conceptions of Slavic community and Pan-Slavism, stabled in Slavistic of 19th century, often used to define the same phenomenon» (Rokina, 2005, 14).

«Decoding» all-slavic ideas, not so successful but not deprived the certain logic, is given by sociologist R. Collins: «The pan-slavism was ideology which not only approved cultural independence and the superiority of Russia, but also legitimated connection to it of the weak states of a slavic zone». The American scientist started in his conclusions with that parcel, that «the geopolitic prestige of power» serves «as a source of the Pan-ethnic movements for association inside the greatest possible ethnic borders». It influences «on tendencies of identification in megapolitic groups» (Collins, 2005, 36). In this case the linguistic context «dropped out», leaving only political and geopolitic dominant.

This way, according our information, the classification and definition of «Politic pan-

slavism» as a specific phenomenon, that have an independent meaning are not reasonable. That's because it doesn't take into account several important nuances of points of view of the scientists, politicians and cultural workers. Another interpretation of political Pan-Slavism would be more logical. It shows Pan-Slavism as ideology and movement for Slavic people unity (within Gabsbursk (Austria) and Russian empire) on the ethno-confessional base for actual social, political and economic problems' solution. Therefore, Austro-Slavism and Illyrism just represent some national and regional ways of ideology of Slavic solidarity.

That means, that absent the integral paradigm of Pan-slavism in its national, regional, culturological and politological (political) meaning, and the problem of definition just represent methodological uncertainty and discussions.

**Example.** Political life of Central and East southern Europe in 40<sup>th</sup> of 19 century (the beginning of 20<sup>y</sup>) traditionally connect with the activity of national liberation movements in Balkans and internal crisis of Gabsburgs Monarch.

In 30-40<sup>th</sup> of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in ruling tops of Hungry actively developed an idea of common welfare of magyarization. Hungarian language got an official status and it was one of the most important problems of St. Stefan's crown. Let's mark ultra-nationalist band, headed by «Slovak renegade» L. Koshut, that became a deputy of the Sejm. Together with his supporters he offered the program of reforms that provide for legislation installation, responsible for cultural and political aspirations of Magyar. This request displeased a lot of people, including Slavic countries and empires.

The new idea of ethnic solidarity became an ideological base on national liberate movement of Slavic nation of the Central and Southern-Eastern

Europe. This idea sometimes get the form of Slavic literary mutuality, Avstro-slavism, «Russian» Pan-Slavism and Illyrism (Yugoslavism).

The main point of Theory of Slavic Literary Mutuality framed by famous Slovak public character, professor of the University of Vienna – Y.Kollar consists of the idea that Slavic unity achievement is possible only in the spiritual sphere. It was assumed that it would appear an organization of book exchange for representatives of Slavic intelligence, some private Slavic libraries and slasic philological departments in the Universities. Also popularization of Slavic literature and establishment of private contacts for Slavic figures in Scientifics and culture were assumed. Y. Kollar's theory issued from the idea that, cultural approximation would be conducive to «cleaning of structure and system of dialects, political tranquility and internal conciliation of the Slavic nations» (Budilovich, 1892, 299-234).

The feasibility of mutual study of Slavic languages and «reading essays published in all Slavic dialects», Y. Kollar explained that the «homeland, we can find it easily, even though we lost it, but the nation and language – nowhere and never» (Anthology of Czech and Slovak philosophy, 1982, 234). Therefore, Y.Kollar think that Slavic peoples would receive and notable political benefits, the essence of which was to establish internal order, an end to inter-ethnic faction, as in the Austrian monarchy, and in the rest of Slavic world: «Slavic Grumble against the foreign masters with the support of mutuality will be stopped and aspiration for unity with other Slavic nations. Anyway, it will be weakened... They will stop play with other nations and dialects' self-respect; one nation's not going to honor itself with rites and songs. Encroachments will be stopped, and love of encroachment too» (Kollar, 1840, 78-79). The need of knowledge of Slavic languages and dialects, as well as their differentiation in the «major» and «secondary»

reflected just political relations. Y. Kollar thought that languages and dialects of Russia, Illyria, Poland, the Czech Republic are «major», «maloruskie» and Bulgarian are «secondarily».

Problem internal political situation in the empire of Gabsburgov, caused a lot by a sharpness of Slavic problems, had as a result convocation by Slovaks in May, 1848 of congress in Liptovsky committee. Here was formulated the petition turned to the emperor, to the Sejm and the government, with requirements to organize a general the Sejm of the «brother» nations, that stayed under the power of the Hungarian crown and to allow Slovaks to have their own army, schools and other national establishments. Next day at the secret meeting the given resolution has been proclaimed as a national program. But it wasn't possible to realise it. Liptovsky assembly and government declared revolt. The strip of reprisals has begun. A lot of participants of congress, also some famous pan-slavist – Shtur, Gurban and Godzha – ran to Vienna and Prague.

Almost synchronous with Liptovsky assembly place the session of Croatian assembly, which expressed a steadfast desire to reorganize a Gabsburg monarchy on the federal beginnings with a support of «historical right» and «the natural law», according that every nation have the right for freedom and equality. The project of creation was offered within the Austrian empire, Illyria kingdom, which would include the lands of Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia and military confines.

This program, per se, had a little difference from Austro-slavism and also had an aim to strengthen the Danubian Empire by means of guaranteeing of privileged position of the Slavic population in the country. As the one of the first steps on a way to federalization, assembly considered the foundation of the Serbo-Croatian state union. At the same time, the forms of this union were unclear. One tended to a recognition

suprematia of the Croatian kingdom and called the Serbian population, as B.Shulek did, to rise «under the banners of our nice ban (definition)», the others, like L. Gay, agreed with domination of Serbs, but only if the independent South Slavic state will be formed.

By this time in Croatia already enough widely spread hearsays about the arrangements applied by the Hungarian authorities for suppression of Slovak movement. Therefore, besides the introduction of national language at schools, churches and for the state bureaucracy, Croatian assembly has made preliminary demands for the termination of prosecutions of Slavs and an unbinding «Slavic patriots» from the prisons.

Croatian assembly could not solve these actual problems. If theoretically the idea of the unity of southern Slavs, that was called «Illyrism» (later «Yugoslavism»), was represented as realizable and seemed to be clear, but actually this illusion broke-up of the Serbo-Croatian contradictions arising in religious and cultural sphere of the relations. All that constructed the problems of Slavic national self-identification, especially at the decision of territorially-political problems.

In 1906 Illyrism transformed to Yugoslavism, and the bishop I. Shtros Mayer was one of the followers of this idea. The Yugoslavian ideal, unlike the predecessor, not only propogandized the unity of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes under «Gabsburgs banners», and their achievement of full independence from Vienna. Objectively it could become an impulse to disintegration for almost impractical dualistic and poliethical monarchy in the national and cultural relation.

Thus both theories put forward as a priority of elimination of religious and territorially-political contradictions between the South Slavic nations. In practice, an aspiration of adherents of Illyrism and Yugoslavism have received a boomerang effect. First of all, in the absence of a

united sight in a choice of the political centre for the future of Great Illyria.

The external factor also had an important role in fomentation of Serbo-Croatian enmity. Since the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Serbia that represented actually the unique advanced post of Orthodoxy in the West, actively used the support of Russia, when its irreconcilable competitor – Croatia – sympathized with France.

In the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century the London intellectual elite looked after considerable interest to the Serbian principedom, disturbed more than the Chamber of Lords in the Parliament by fast escalating of military-economic potential of the German empire. Special attention of the Englishmen caused a ground plan of a railroad line developed by the German circles, called «Berlin-Bagdad» which realization would allow Germany easily to throw armies to Persian Gulf, and then to invade into the British India. Because of this fact, the part English intelligence supported formation of the South-Slavic unity the union on the Balkan zone, under the aegis of Serbia. This union supposed to be depended of London. According to the words of well-known English historian R. Seton-Watson, Serbo-Croatian association, was probable the unique obstacle further advancement of Germany to the East and reliable guarantee of the future world in the Adriatic and on Balkan peninsula (Seton-Watson, 1916).

The rate to Serbia and ideas of Pan-Slavism were not made not casually, there are two circumstances to prove is. The first of them consisted in the purpose of Berlin cabinet to lay a railroad to Bagdad directly through the Serbian earths. The second was reduced to another fact. After the «incident» in Sarajevo on the Serbian throne was found Peter The First Karageorgievich who was under the strong influence of the military agency among which representatives dominated the ideas of Great-

serbian nationalism, Yugoslavism and partly Russian Pan-slavism. It forced Austro-Hungary to concede in the lead positions on the Balkans to Russian empire and different ways supported the idea of a reconstruction of the «Great Serbia» with inclusion of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and also all South Slavic territories of the Gabsburgsk monarchy.

Reinforcement in the Near East of Russia, the same way as in Germany, was not included into plans of England, because it approached its contenders to the Indian colonies. Successful suppression of mutinies in its «overseas» possession serves as an example. However, the scientist admitted that «to inflict defeat ..., the invaded Russian army» «the British lion» will manage only in that case, if these events will not occur at the same time (Sili, Kramb, 2004, 309). This way, the creation of the South Slavic state, headed by Serbians, should relieve England simultaneously of two strong enemies – Russia and Germany.

The historical reality showed the whole specter of an inconsistency of this kind of hypotheses and projects. After the First World War termination southern Slavs have managed to reach an object in view, that, nevertheless, could not saturate «appetites» of Berlin and prevent undoing of the Second World War in 30-40th years of the 20th century.

Along with the theories set forth above, was extended also so-called. **Pro-russian Pan-Slavism**. The active participant of Vseslavjansky congresses, the Slovak poet, the scientist and publicist L.Shtur was one of the brightest representatives of this movement in Austro-Hungary. Its essence of conception was reduced to create by the help of Russia and Orthodox church the All-slavic monarchy limited to the Senate, Zhupania or the Duma. L.Shtur thought that the formation of the Slavic federal (republican) state was impossible because in this case it should to

lay aside «Russia and those nations, that were included into its structure, or have arrived under recognized as its international law patronage». Consequently, as a part of federation there would be only austro-slavic earths which hardly could get rid independently of patriarchal way and be pulled out from Catholic «slavery». The transformation of Russia in a stronghold of «the Slavic world» would be possible only in case of serfdom destruction, «harmful secret police» and refusal of the foreign policy unions, «concluded it is unique in kinds of preservation of falling or helpless dynasties and thrones». Absence of the similar unions, according to L. Shtur, could be compensated by agreements with the western and southern Slavs, in conditions that Russia, having realized the «world-wide and historical calling, takes the Slavic idea for the guiding star and will lean on Slavic peoples» (Shtur, 1909, 119, 163-164).

The recognition of Russia as predominant force of the Slavic union was quite harmoniously supplemented with judgments about Russian language as common Slavic language, and also about a Slavic communal life and Greek-orthodox church.

Prorussian Pan-Slavism contradicted the interests of Austro-Hungary and as to multinational empire, and as powers for which rivalry with Russia on Balkan peninsula had basic meaning. Therefore, from time to time, openly shown Russophilia acted for the majority of West Slavic public figures as tactical reception of «intimidation» of the Austrian government and to force it to listen to their national requirements. «If equality of the people is not carried out in Austria – wrote F. Palatskiy – and if will consider Slavs as a «slave tribes», there will be a struggle and «Pan-slavism» will arise in the less all wished way» (Koleyka, 1964, 50).

Chosen tactics has appeared quite productive. In 1860 Slavs have acquired the right to select the

deputies in the Sejms, committee congregations and other official departments. Moreover, they didn't have to use during sessions German or Magyar languages therefore developed absolutely absurd situations. For example, when the Croatian representative began «to tell in the language, nobody understood it: neither the Magyar, nor the Slovak, Rumanian, nor Ugrian Russian». The Croatian deputies, in their turn, could not participate in debate concerning common-imperial scale, that's because they didn't speak Magyar language. Such state of affairs naturally did not arrange neither Slavs, nor Hungarians, the extremely concerned with preservation of the supermatia. In the official Hungarian press («Krayana», «Hon») have appeared articles with offers «to make and transfer proscription lists of all Pan-slavists», traditionally accused of liking to Russia and «the Russian gold» (Letters from Ugorshchina, 1867, 646).

The «Great reforms» epoch which has begun in Russia for a short while has inspired western and to southern Slavic peoples the hope of its transformation in originally European state that almost corresponded their national external and to internal political aspirations. Growth of influence of official Petersburg on Austro-Hungarian Slavic peoples was accompanied by growth interests to Russian and the Russian literature that is frequent interpreted as recognition behind them the status common Slavis cultural values.

However after Slavic congress in Moscow in 1867 where Austro-Hungarian «brothers» had heard plenty of Russophile speeches, all has risen on the places. The next flash of «love» of the western Slavs to «to Russian kingdom», caused by pressure from outside Pan-Germanics, concerns the end of 80th years of a 19th century. In one of letters to academician V. Lamanskiy the Czech public figure Y.Gregr wrote in the given occasion: «Orthodoxy and in general creed is not the main thing that adheres southern and

western Slavs to Russia. Here plays a role more notable, more reliable and more powerful factor – the instinct of self-preservation or interest in existence. In condition of the most dangerous position for Slavic people and when there is more fear in their eyes, this way they hotter and sincere last to Russia, searching and hoping to find in mighty this Slavic state the help and protection» (Documents to Slavic history studies in Russia, 1948, 121).

Especially strongly Prorussian moods were showed in the second part of 1906 when the prospect of the Austro-Russian rapprochement again was outlined. It should, according to representatives of western Slavic nation, to relieve «the brother» people of Austro-Hungary from the status of «the junior partner» of Russia and simultaneously from the German danger. Differently, renewal of cooperation of two powers was considered foreign Slavs as one of components of the foreign policy concept of the Gabsburgsk monarchy.

The concept offered by the leader of the Czech fraction of F. Palatskiy has appeared the most corresponding to political moods of Austro-Slavic people, it was called **Austro-Slavists conception**. According this, only strong «Slavic Austria» is capable to rescue the western Slavic peoples from strong embraces of «Russian bear» and the uniting Germany. This way Gabsburgsk possession were supposed to be divided into seven areas, allocated with the equal rights, according to their national-geographical sign: Austro-German, Czechoslovak, Polonian-rusinsk, Hungarian, Romanian, Southslavic and Italian. F. Palatskiy suggested to give large powers for every state, holding under the authority of the central authorities exclusively questions of foreign policy, international trade, army, the finance, transport and communication.

Program F. Palatskiy, directed on transformation of the Danube monarchy into

a certain similarity of the United States, had exclusively guarding character as, first, confirmed «old fidelity» citizens of empire of a Gabsburgsk-Lotharingian dynasty; and, secondly, guaranteed integrity and independence of Austria.

As a whole, the given project was equitable to interests also the Viennese ruling elite as created to «rebels» – to Hungarians original counterpoise in the name of Slavs, without allowing, thus, neither that, nor another to take leading positions in the state life of the country. But it could not be carried out in the absence of a coordination of actions in the heart of Slavic «family». Special discontent concerning positions of manifesto of the congress showed Poles. They said that «the union of the equal people» under a scepter of Gabsburgov meant impossibility of returning to illegally taken-away by Galicia Rech' Pospolity as a result of section, and together with it, the restoration Great Polish empire.

Austro-slavism has met an ambiguous estimation and pro-slavic-minded Russian public figures. On the one hand, Austrian Federation was perceived by them as objective process which should lead to union of the slavic world, with another – as its destruction. I. Aksakov wrote: «I am glad that Austria restricts and irritates Slavs. Give them disparity – and in 10 years, all Slavs will be German. The best example is Poznan. ...Austria cannot exist without centralization, and centralization assumes some inevitable unity; one common language is necessary for administrative departures and, certainly, it will be the language of that tribe, which is aristocratic in the field of education. No! It is necessary to squash all the history, to break definitively all links with Austria. Only then Slavic nation will rise on feet!» (Lamansky and Aksakov, 1916, 11).

**Resume.** The Austrian Slavs put before themselves almost «tight» problems – are cognition

of their national («historical») rights and the assignment of a cultural-political autonomy in limits of Gabsburg monarchy (Austro-slavism, Illyrism). Periodically, advertised «love» to Russia became one of means of achievement of the given purpose. It was in direct dependence on the foreign policy status of Russia, its role in «the European concert», and also has been connected with all complex of problems of inorganic modernization and relations with the Balkan region and Slavic «Brothers».

Reaction of the West European empires to Slavic projects was also ambiguous. For

example, realization of projects of Austro-Slavism and Illyrism were represented for them to the extremely unprofitable, as it was supposed with the preservation of the Gabsburgsk monarchy which were one of, even the weak, but one of the competitors on the Balkans. Much more attractive to the western empires was Yugoslavism. That's because in condition of realization of the given project it would be possible not only to depend on destruction of Austro-Hungary, but also on formation in Near-Eastern region the a network of the small, buffer states under their control.

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## **Панславизм в Центральной и Юго-Восточной Европе**

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*В статье рассмотрен панславизм – общественно-политическое и конфессионально-культурное движение в странах Центральной и Юго-Восточной Европы в 40-е гг. XIX – начале XX вв. Идеология панславизма неразрывно связана с историей западных и южных славян, их освободительной борьбой и становлением национальной государственности. Существуют различные теории, определяющие панславизм, как культурное или политическое движение. В действительности, панславизм – это сложный и противоречивый синтез политических и геополитических идей, которые эволюционировали в историческом времени и имели оригинальные авторские интерпретации (Я. Коллар, Л. Штур, Ф. Палацкий).*

*Ключевые слова: австрославизм; Великая Иллирия; Всеславянский съезд; германизация; иллиризм; Я. Коллар; «литературная взаимность»; мадьяризация; панидеология; Ф. Палацкий; панславизм; «славянская Австрия»; «славянская идея»; славянское единство; Л. Штур; югославизм.*

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