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The generation of Pan-Slavism and Russian Slavophiles

Abstract: The issue of cooperation between Slavic peoples remains relevant to this day. Its beginnings reach way into the past, at the very least to the period of the Great Moravian state. A certain peak happened in the 19th century, particularly in connection with the revolutionary years of 1848-1849, when a wave of revolution swept across European nations, especially the Slavic peoples who endured oppression within Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy. In this process, it is noteworthy that the impulse for mutuality and cooperation among the Slavic peoples originated in Slovakia and subsequently spread to all Slavic nations. It served as a stimulus for Slavophilia in Russia as well, from where individuals came to Slovak and Czech representatives not only to gain experience, but also to admire them for their Slavic enthusiasm.

Keywords: reciprocity, Slavic, Slavophiles, Russian Slavophiles, Slovak Štúrovci, generations, Pan-Slavism, Czechoslovak society, Slavic Congress, national revival, Russia, messianism, Pan-Germanism

The publication of Kollár's *The Daughter of Sláva* in 1824 was not a publication of just any poem collection. It was an emotional and powerful warning to the Slavic peoples of the deadly danger Ján Kollár himself became aware of during his studies at the University of Jena from 1817 to 1819. Two facts were primarily intended to serve as an impetus for the awakening of awareness of Slavic unity.

In the first place, there was the wave of German nationalist fervour—Pan-Germanism—which emerged in Germany after the Napoleonic Wars, directed not so much against the instigators of wartime catastrophes as, traditionally, had been the case for thousands of years, against the Slavs. At the festivities held at Wartburg Castle, which he personally attended, he recognized the danger posed to the Slavs by German expansiveness, arrogance, and aggressiveness. It was an experience that profoundly shook him and led him to the realization that the Slavic peoples, with the exception

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of the Russians, did not possess their own states and that they would have to rouse themselves and unite against this threat.

Another factor that influenced Kollár was the remnants left after the settlement of Slavic peoples in German territories. He travelled through north-eastern Germany, tracing the vestiges of the Baltic Slavs, who, divided and lacking unity, succumbed to German aggression and expansionism. It was under these circumstances that the idea of pan-Slavism and Slavic reciprocity was formed.

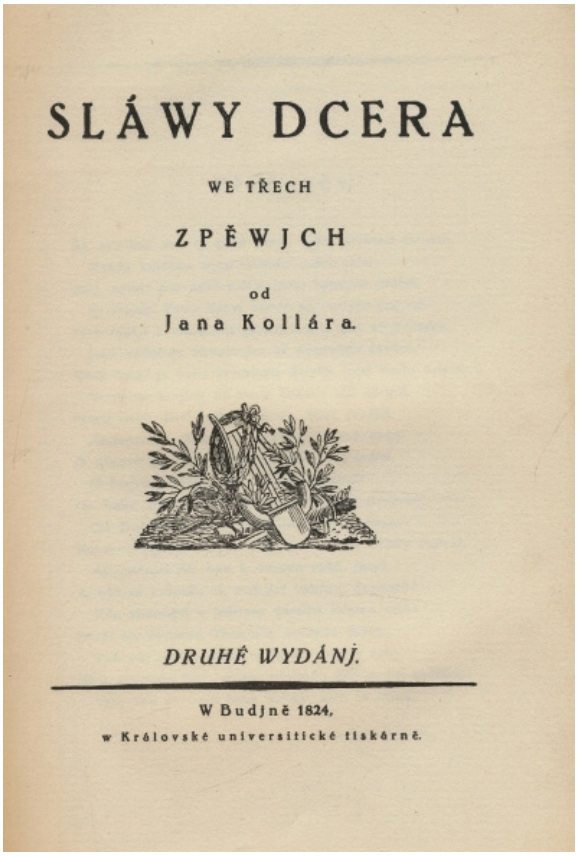
Among the motivating influences, one must also not omit J. Kollár's love for Frederika Schmidt.

He elaborated the idea of Slavic reciprocity in a programmatic form in his 1836 treatise *On Slavic Reciprocity among the Tribes and Dialects of the Slavs*. He defined Slavic reciprocity as "literary" in nature, without advocating political unification, but rather cultural rapprochement and mutual exchange: he proposed the study of Slavic languages, the establishment of chairs for Slavic languages, Slavic bookshops, literary journals, the exchange of books, the maintenance of contacts, and mutual assistance. Kollár also advocated for a common Slavic language.

Ján Kollár was an apostle of Slavic reciprocity. He held a vision of the Slavs as a Slavic super-ethnos, yet he still lacked a concrete understanding of the individual Slavic peoples and essentially oscillated between four and eight Slavic tribes and languages.

Among the principal representatives of the pan-Slavic generation are P. J. Šafárik, Ján Kollár, Karol Kuzmány, and František Palacký, who completed his secondary education in Trenčín (living with relatives of Ľ. Štúr) and the Evangelical Lyceum in Bratislava. This generation also included Samuel Roznaj, Ján Benedikt Blahoslav, Samuel Tomášik, and the so-called defenders S. Hojč, Ľ. Šuhajda, M. Kunis, and possibly K. J. Rumi. F. Palacký and K. Kuzmány later shifted toward national positions.

Kollár's *Prelude to The Daughter of Sláva* shows affinities in certain passages with *Lament of the Distressed Mother, the Dying Polish Crown* by Starowolski and *The Testament of the Son of the Crown* by K. P. Grabowski. There are also some elements connected with Jan Paweł Woronicz. This is not merely a matter of influence. By the very nature of his work, Ján Kollár inclines toward a Polish trend characterized by a lofty, visionary conception of the nation and messianism, but without radical Catholicism or Greater Polish nationalism. For this reason, he was much more devoted to the idea of Pan-Slavism. When discussing Kollár's messianism, one should emphasize its Pan-Slavic character, rather than the elevation of any single Slavic tribe, as in the case of the Poles. This constitutes the essential difference. His work has a spontaneous character, imbued with emotional fervour, and represents a geyser of inspiration and conviction in the righteousness and justice of the Slavic cause. As for the future of the Slavs, his primary orientation was toward Russia (his hopes placed in Russia are expressed in *Prelude to The Daughter of Sláva* as well as in some forty sonnets of *The Daughter of Sláva*). He opposed Pan-Germanism with Pan-Slavism, and proposed the unification of all Slavs and the establishment of a common language as early as 1821. However, Kollár's proposal to unite the Slavs into a single nation and a single language was not realistic. He drew his hopes for the Slavic future from the philosophy of J. G. Herder, who, as the


SLÁWY DCERA

WE TŘECH

ZPĚWJCH

od

Jana Kollára.

DRUHÉ WYDÁNJ.

W Budjně 1824,

w Královské universitické tiskárně.

Front page of the 1824 edition of *The Daughter of Sláva* by Ján Kollár
Photo: Wikipedia

only German thinker of the 19th century, believed that the Slavs, their way of life and culture, were developing in a healthy manner and predicted a bright future for them.

Followers of Slavic reciprocity in Poland included L. Ondrejkovič, and especially A. Maciejowski, who learned Czech in order to read Czech works in the original. Among them were also the Warsaw Slavists Kucharski and Rosciszewski, proponents of Czech-Polish ties and reciprocity, among others (Kollár, 1954, p. 58). However, the Poles found themselves in difficulties with Russia and imperial interests. For that reason, other representatives of the Polish intelligentsia adopted a more reserved attitude toward Slavdom, which also stemmed from the interests of the Polish nobility, influenced by Polish messianism and Greater Polish nationalism (Šafárik, 1963, pp. 82 ff.).

Pan-Slavic "literary" reciprocity was a theoretical expression of the possibilities of the time, in a situation in which the Slavs in the Austrian-Hungarian Monarchy found it to be the most acceptable form of Slavdom under the existing socio-political conditions. He deliberately emphasized the "literary" form of reciprocity. In §3 of the treatise *On Literary Reciprocity…*, he wrote that reciprocity "does not rest on the political unification of the Slavs." He was aware that any attempt at political unification in those circumstances would lead to complications, even jeopardizing the achievement of what little he considered realistically attainable.

It should be noted, however, that "literary reciprocity" was only superficial, since in the given social circumstances any demand for political unification would have amounted to pronouncing one's own death sentence. In his work *Sermons and Speeches II* (1844), it becomes clear what is meant by the formulation of Slavic literary reciprocity, as he states that the foundation of reciprocity must be "mutual trust, a noble, collective national feeling, moral generosity… it should make us united even when other nations or other sides happen to inflict injustice or insult upon us… Through the unity of all, a nation becomes strong within itself, free, cheerful, serious toward foreigners, dear to friends, and in times of danger formidable and invincible to its opponents… No nation has perished thanks to unity; it has made many small and weak nations great and glorious… The enemy dares to attack only what it knows to be internally divided, feeble, and decaying… National disunity is national suicide" (Kollár, 1844, pp. 441–446). Here, there is no trace left of mere literary reciprocity; rather, what is at stake is a serious political program of the ideology of Slavic reciprocity.

Ján Kollár did not elevate any single Slavic tribe above the others, in contrast to certain Polish thinkers who, in some instances, sought – through various lines of argumentation – to attribute to their own tribe the status of being "chosen" and "predestined" for a leading role in history, at times extending even beyond the framework of Slavdom. In Kollár's thought, such tendencies were associated solely with the Slavic people as a whole, which to a great extent reflected the tradition of indigenous intellectual currents. Kollár held that the Russian tribe represented a force, a power capable of realising the Slavic idea, since at that time it was the only Slavic state.

Pavel Jozef Šafárik held a markedly different view of the Slavs from that of Ján Kollár. In *History of the Slavic Language and Literature by All Dialects* (1826, only two years after Kollár's *The Daughter of Sláva*), published in German, he precisely delineated the territorial and linguistic boundaries of all Slavic languages (he did not mention Ukrainians, but he does refer to Ruthenians, albeit without the more specific designation he provided for other Slavic peoples). He distinguished ten Slavic languages and peoples (including the language of the Obodrites—the Baltic Wends), among them the Slovak language, for which he identified ten specific features that set it apart from other Slavic languages. He disagreed with Kollár regarding the establishment of a common Slavic language and the unification of Slavic languages, as well as with his division of the Slavs into tribes; nevertheless, they remained close friends and maintained correspondence. For its time, this represented the first relatively precise analysis of the Slavic whole—as a super-ethnos divided into distinct peoples. In *Slavic*

Antiquities (Prague, 1837), Šafárik presented the history of the Slavs in a manner entirely different from that of Pan-Germanic historians, while in *Slavic Ethnography* (1842) he offered a comprehensive account of Slavic ethnology, including data on Slavic peoples, their settlements, languages, ethnic boundaries, culture, and character. All of this was of considerable importance for understanding the significance of the Slavs in Europe. The work is critical in nature, devoid of any indications of nationalism, and marked instead by a clear effort to present the Slavs faithfully and accurately, as well as to define their place and importance within Europe.

P. J. Šafárik was a central figure of that generation in many respects, a fact that, for reasons unknown, is all too often overlooked in our historiography, particularly among historians. This is likely because the origins of the Slavs, including their arrival in our regions, were dated to a period much earlier than the 5th or 6th century AD – an interpretation that our historians, even today, for incomprehensible reasons, tend to neglect, relying instead on Pan-Germanic historical sources that designate the 5th–6th centuries AD as the period of our arrival in these areas.

(Note: In Germany, ideologically motivated views on the origin of the Slavs were revived during the period of the Third Reich, in accordance with the fascist theory of a pure Germanic race and the effort to expand Germanic territory eastward at the expense of the Slavs. The Slavic race was declared inferior. According to this theory, the Avars drove the Slavs into Europe. On this basis, it was concluded that the Slavs could not have arrived in Europe prior to the 5th–6th centuries AD. This theory served as a significant instrument for excluding the Slavs from European history, alongside efforts to consign their rich past to oblivion. Regrettably, these tendencies have not entirely disappeared. Our historians continue to adhere to such dating of the Slavs' arrival in our regions.)

Šafárik, already during his studies in Jena, devoted considerable attention to linguistics. He was particularly interested in the linguistic works of Wilhelm von Humboldt and became acquainted with the foundations of philological comparativism through Franz Bopp. Language and its character thus became an important instrument in the struggle for national ideals and liberation, in accordance with the idea that one's true homeland resides in language. According to the prevailing views of the time, the character and spirit of a people were preserved within its language. For this very reason, language and its character became, in the works of the Pan-Slavic generation, an organic component of Slovak–Slavic humanism and national ideology. A significant contribution in this regard was made by P. J. Šafárik in his work *History of the Slavic Language and Literature in All Its Dialects* (Slovak edition, 1992). In this work, he established the fundamental framework for understanding the Slavic languages and their classification – thereby also delineating the division of the Slavs themselves, including recognition of the Slovak language – which was accepted not only by Slavic peoples but also across the cultural sphere of Europe. This represented a comprehensible response to the efforts of German linguists and historians, as well as to those of certain Evangelical thinkers in our own milieu, who promoted the Czech language as the literary language in Slovakia. Not even Šafárik's theory of an independent Slovak language succeeded in altering their views.

The separation of the Slovak language from Czech as an independent language greatly angered the Czech intelligentsia. He precisely identified ten specific features by which the Slovak language differs from Czech and from other Slavic languages (Šafárik, 1963, pp. 318–382, §§ 46–66). He explicitly expressed the need to establish in Slovakia a "Slovak literary language that would satisfy all the just demands of the enlightened members of the nation, (because) national life must arise from the mother tongue." This was a response to Herkel's concept of a single Slavic language and to J. Kollár's idea of four Slavic tribes, in which the Czech tribe also included the Slovak one. According to P. J. Šafárik, it should be taken into account that the Slovaks are "distant from the Czechs and Moravians, as well as from the Poles and Ruthenians… It is useful to examine what is common to almost all Slovaks in pronunciation." Three years later, in a letter to Kollár, he wrote: "This half-measure, this muddling and turning about, etc, will lead us nowhere…" When he was reproached from Prague for separating the Slovak language from Czech in his *History* (*Geschichte der slawischen Sprache und Literatur*, 1826), he stated that in a new edition of his book he would go even further: "The lamenting about the separation of the Slovak dialect from Czech in my work is truly unfounded! I cannot abandon it. I will go even further in the next edition." He therefore urged J. Kollár not to deviate from the theses on which they had agreed three years earlier, namely the rule of writing more in Slovak. Deeply engaged in his historical and linguistic studies, P. J. Šafárik continued to reflect on Slavic matters. In Novi Sad in 1826, the Matica Srpska—the first of all Slavic Matica institutions—was founded; in July 1827 he wrote to Kollár that he was also considering the idea of a Slovak Matica.

Šafárik's separation of the Slovak language served as an impetus and starting point for Ľ. Štúr and his followers (the Štúrovci). He had already begun working on *History of the Slavic People and Literature in All Dialects* during his time in Jena (as well as on *Slavic Antiquities*). He completed these works only during his stay in Novi Sad. In this work, he demonstrated an encyclopaedic knowledge of facts (linguistic and historical) concerning all Slavic peoples, and with remarkable precision classified the languages according to distinct Slavic ethnic groups and their inhabited territories. He also identified the language of the Polabian Slavs, claiming that he had found remnants of the Slavic Obodrites in the vicinity of Hanover, who still spoke their language, although it had already been significantly influenced by German. He mentioned the Ruthenians, although he did not define them as a separate language or nation. Likewise, he did not distinguish or mention Ukrainians and their language.

By establishing a precise delineation of the languages of Slavic people, he provided the theoretical foundations for their respective national movements, directing their focus toward the development of a distinct ethnicity; a national subject defined by its own history. This represented a fundamental shift in the efforts of the Protestant intelligence to codify a literary language of Slovakia, ultimately paving the way for the unification of the Slovak national movement with its Catholic counterparts regarding the question of linguistic codification. Building upon this foundation fol-

lowing his return from studies at the University of Halle, and influenced by the Bernolák-school poet Ján Hollý as well as Martin Hamuljak, Ľudovít Štúr further developed these ideas. Given that P. J. Šafárik's seminal work was published in 1826, there is little doubt that Štúr was familiar with it during his studies. Indeed, by 1829, he drew upon it for his "Historical Lectures" at the Evangelical Lyceum in Bratislava, even though at that stage he remained an advocate for the Czech language rather than a distinct Slovak one.

When identifying the three primary dialects in Slovakia, P. J. Šafárik first cited a 'distinct Slovak language in the comitatus of Turiec, Orava, Liptov, Zvolen, Tekov, Novohrad, Pest, Borsod, Gemer... in which the specified (fundamental, V. T.) characteristics' of the Slovak language reside. In this manner, he paved the way for Ľ. Štúr, who adopted these very dialects as the foundation for the standardization of the Slovak language. In his work *The Science of the Slovak Language* (*Nauka reči slovenskej*), Ľ. Štúr noted: 'Slovak is spoken in its purest and most beautiful form in the Tatras themselves, within their most secluded environment: in Liptov, Orava, Turiec, Upper Trenčín, Upper Nitra, Zvolen, Tekov, Hont, as well as in a large part of Gemer...' (ibid., p. 168). Undoubtedly, the inspiration stemmed from P. J. Šafárik, though Ján Hollý and Martin Hamuljak were also instrumental in this achievement.

The work of P. J. Šafárik, specifically his *Slavic Antiquities* (1837), may be considered the pinnacle of the national-revivalist theoretical lineage of the Pan-Slavic generation. During his time in Jena, he was captivated by the lectures of the historian H. Luden—notwithstanding his disagreement with Luden's classification of the Slavs among the Germanic peoples—as well as those of H. C. A. Eichstädt, from whom he also received private instruction. He adopted their methodological approach to historical facts and maintained meticulous scholarly notes. The significance of Šafárik's *Slavic Antiquities* is further underscored by the fact that, shortly after its release, it was translated and published across numerous Slavic and non-Slavic European nations. P. J. Šafárik's scholarship secured for the Slavic peoples an equal standing among other nations in a manner that eluded serious refutation within the realm of empirical academic discourse. This was achieved despite the fact that historians in Germany and the West largely ignored Šafárik's perspectives when drafting European history—a superior or overtly hostile disposition toward Slavs that persists to this day.

Small Slovakia, historically marginalized for centuries, weakened and subjugated, emerged in the nineteenth century—owing to the efforts of the Slovak intelligentsia—as a significant force within the Slavic movement and its national-enlightenment aspirations. It became the very epicentre for the formation of the ideology of Slavic reciprocity (*slovanská vzájomnosť*), developed with the active participation of other Slavic nations. In 1823, F. Palacký relocated to Prague, followed by P. J. Šafárik in 1833. Their move partially shifted the centre of Slovak intellectual activity to Prague; concurrently, however, a vibrant centre of the Slovak movement was established in Bratislava. In 1829, the Czecho-Slovak Society was founded at the Evangelical Lyceum in Bratislava, serving as the breeding ground for the followers of Ľudovít Štúr—the *Štúrovci*; from 1835 onward, Štúr himself presided over the society. These developments culminated

in the Slavic Congress of 1848 in Prague and the revolutionary period of 1848–1849.

The importance of Slovakia and its intelligentsia to the development of the liberation movements of the Slavic peoples is further corroborated by Albert Pražák, who observed that the Czech national tradition 'is sometimes even surprising in its Slovak, and often decisive and fundamental, contribution' (Pražák, 1948, p. 262).

A number of prominent figures within the Czech national movement—including J. Dobrovský, Jan Kollár, P. J. Šafárik, and F. Palacký—hailed from Slovakia, either by descent or through their course of study, as noted by Czech authors such as T. G. Masaryk, A. Pražák, and Z. Nejedlý. In his *Dissertations in the Field of Slovak Philology* (Prague, 1937), M. Murko extensively examined the significance and contributions of P. J. Šafárik and J. Kollár to the development of national movements and Pan-Slavic reciprocity among the South Slavs, Poles, and Russians. According to Murko, "the seeds of Pan-Slavic reciprocity... were sown by Jan Kollár as the author of *The Daughter of Slava* and his treatise on the subject, and by Šafárik through his *Ethnography* and *Antiquities*" (ibid., pp. 163 and 411).

Kollár's *The Daughter of Slava*, Murko continues, 'and particularly his tract on Slavic reciprocity—which, as early as its first Czech edition, was translated by the Serbs and Croats—became a veritable gospel for the South Slavs.' A similar impact was exerted by Šafárik's *Geschichte der slawischen Sprache und Literatur* (1826) [*History of the Slavic Language and Literature*], *Slavic Antiquities*, and *Slavic Ethnography*, as well as his various articles on South Slavic literature. These works were conditioned by his long-term residency in Novi Sad (1819–1833) and his continuous study of modern South Slavic literature, which ultimately led to the posthumous publication of his work *Geschichte der südslavischen Literatur* [*History of South Slavic Literature*].

Between 1823 and 1824, and subsequently in 1829 and 1832, P. J. Šafárik repeatedly dissuaded J. Kollár from his intended move to Prague, citing the city's poor living conditions. In his correspondence, Šafárik expressed a strong aversion to Kollár's departure, writing: "I cannot reconcile myself to the idea that you might leave your homeland; I can neither grow accustomed to it nor accept it." As late as May 1832, Šafárik continued to reproach Kollár and discourage him from relocating. However, following various difficulties in Novi Sad, Šafárik himself moved to Prague in May 1833, relying on his friendship with F. Palacký—a relationship that would later become strained. Although he received offers to join the Evangelical Lyceums in both Kežmarok and Bratislava, he declined them as they required him to teach theology, a field that held no interest for him. He also received an offer from Germany, where a Chair of Slavic Studies was being established. Most notably, he was extended a prestigious invitation from the Chair of Slavic Studies in St. Petersburg, which included significant financial compensation. Nevertheless, Šafárik rejected the St. Petersburg offer; if he considered conditions in Prague to be poor, he viewed the situation in Tsarist Russia as "catastrophic." He was even less inclined to consider the German university. Ultimately, his primary objective was to remain in close proximity to the Slavic peoples within the Austrian-Hungarian Empire to support their efforts toward national liberation.

During the 1930s, Russian universities started to establish departments of Slavic studies; hungry for science and driven by the love for the Slavic people, the youth that prepared themselves for these departments scattered across Slavic countries to finish the preparations, thanks in part to state subsidies. All of them were incited by Prague, where P. J. Šafárik and other leading personalities of the Czech revival lived (from where they also went to Bratislava, where the Štúrists were active). Šafárik's *Slavic Antiquities* were already published by 1837. Bođanski, V. Grigorovich, Preys, Sreznevsky, and Pogodin—pillars of Slavic studies at Russian universities—had P. J. Šafárik as their academy.

Slavic Antiquities had not yet even been published, and already Mikhail P. Pogodin, a professor at Moscow University, was drawing the attention of the younger generation of Russian scholars to P. J. Šafárik and his work. He sought him out in Prague as early as August 1835, and in a letter from Prague he wrote home: "Šafárik moved here two years ago and is finishing his Ancient History of the Slavs (*Slavic Antiquities*), on which he has been working for several years. This work has been lacking in European literature. German writers, who study all the languages of the world, living and dead — Hebrew and Sanskrit, Chinese and Coptic — still harbour an inexplicable resistance toward the Slavic language and publish things about this language that are shameful to read. Somehow, they cannot grasp that general history cannot exist without the Slavic one and that, consequently, all their works in this field have only relative value. Šafárik's work will bring about a decisive reform in historiography and will lay firm foundations for all specialized histories of the Slavic peoples… Šafárik is, without any doubt, the foremost among Slavic philologists."

Pogodin wrote about his conversations with P. J. Šafárik: "To save the language in the mouths of the people – that is our goal… We need not worry about anything else. That is not our concern. Let it be according to God's will." Šafárik began before me to unfold the history of the destinies of the Slavs, past and present; his exposition flowed calmly, in a sublime manner. The recognition of the value of one's own people, a passionate love for them, faith in their great destiny, a kind of sacred patience that allows neither complaints nor grumbling, trust in Providence – this permeated every word he spoke. I clearly saw the difference between a fiery, energetic young man, who thinks only of tomorrow, and an experienced man who calculates in centuries; I clearly saw the difference between a firmly held belief, the mature fruit of long reflection, and a momentary impulse; I understood what it means to be subject to the moment and to master time. What a sublime speech! Šafárik did not mention a single name, a single individual; only tribes and peoples interested him. He hardly noticed everyday events and spoke of consequences spanning centuries. What noble serenity! Conviction in the nobility of things, in the significance of his calling, was reflected on his face and heard in the tones of his voice. I listened to a great man, not daring to breathe, afraid to utter a single word, watching him with reverence. It seemed to me that I was hearing a voice from beyond, that before me stood a man from apostolic times." "How is it possible for such a man to exist?" Pogodin asked himself, and he explained it as follows: "It is difficult to imagine such love for one's people and an equal engagement in the fate of all the different tribes. Special circumstances were needed for such a phenomenon to develop. One had

first to live alongside the Turks, then under Austrian rule, become acquainted with the Poles, clash with the Hungarians, in order ultimately to understand in his soul all the Slavic elements, to become, as it were, a representative of the entire Slavic people, to feel the wounds of that people, to rejoice in its joys, and to safeguard its hopes."

Russian Slavophiles admired P. J. Šafárik, unable to comprehend how he could have written such works under such difficult material conditions in Prague. Granovsky, also a professor at Moscow University, who visited Šafárik in Prague in 1838, wrote: "I do not know what is more astonishing about Šafárik, his great erudition or his great character. He is not merely an ordinary poor man, but in the literal sense does not know today what he will eat tomorrow. We admire the self-denial with which Germans dedicate themselves to scholarship, but in Šafárik this is even more remarkable, for in addition to poverty he is burdened by thousands of other circumstances that do not exist in Germany. And yet he is calm and steadfast."

Pogodin and Granovsky had already visited Šafárik as university professors. Bođanski came to Prague in 1838, together with Sreznevsky, from where he went to Bratislava; Sreznevsky had visited Bratislava after Ľudovít Štúr returned from Germany and stayed there for three months, during which he visited J. Holog. While preparing for the Slavic chair, he wrote to Pogodin: "Šafárik is for me an entire academy… an entire library, a living encyclopaedia of all knowledge about the Slavs. Every day I have the opportunity to observe this, and when I think of what all this cost under such harsh circumstances, shortages, and obstacles, I am amazed" (quotes from Russian Slavophiles according to Škultéty, 1928).

In this context, one cannot overlook the echoes of the ideology of Slavic mutuality (Pan-Slavism) in Russia in the second half of the 19th century (after the revolutionary years 1848–1849). This primarily refers to the work of N. Y. Danilevsky, *Russia and Europe*. In the second half of the 19th century, Russia was in a situation where much of the Russian intelligentsia had fallen into nihilism, doubting the meaning of Russia's historical existence. Even worse, a significant portion of the intelligentsia succumbed to these views, although it was supposed to be an example of conscious historical life of the people and to safeguard it wholeheartedly. This trend also influenced the well-known Russian philosopher V. S. Solovyov. At first, he recognised three world powers: the Muslim East, Western civilisation – which, in his view, had fallen into "dead" unity, selfishness, and anarchy. Life was to be renewed by a "kingdom of the third power," whose bearer, according to Solovyov, could only be "the Slavs and the Russian people." However, in later years, he moved to a completely different position, according to which "Russia's role rests on the capacity for national self-sacrifice." He abandoned the Slavophiles and joined the other "Westernisers," as attested by his work *Russia and the Universal Church*.

After the publication of Danilevsky's *Russia and Europe*, V. S. Solovyov declared it a "frightening theory," a view similar to that held by the part of the Russian intelligentsia that was captivated by admiration for Western culture and education, which had labelled Danilevsky's work a "spectre of Pan-Slavism" borrowed from the national movements of the Slavic peoples of Austria-Hungary and the West. This was a very dangerous trend in Russia. These tendencies among a large part of the

Russian intelligentsia did not change even after the victorious Russo-Turkish War (April 1877 – March 1878), which led to the liberation of the Slavic peoples from Turkish rule (Bulgaria, Romania, Serbia, Montenegro).

Danilevsky responded to Solovyov. He disagreed with his view "that, in the interest of achieving a 'universal' role – the creation of a world society – the Slavic (Russian) cultural and historical type should be sacrificed." Danilevsky assumed "that in the future hostility toward the Slavs would disappear, but not before the West was convinced of the invincibility of the world power in the East, which would be represented by the Pan-Slavic Union. According to Danilevsky, the Pan-Slavic union is necessary as a guarantee for maintaining the world balance," without endangering the surrounding world (Danilevsky, 2022, pp. 8–9). The work contains a series of ideas that are interesting even for today, though they will not be interpreted further here. Danilevsky was not alone in his understanding of Slavism in Russia. Alongside him, one could list numerous other 19th-century figures. Among those closest to his views were L. N. Tolstoy (they corresponded, and Tolstoy also visited Danilevsky), S. Pushkin (the poem *To the Slanderers of Russia*), N. N. Strakhov – who wrote Danilevsky's biography, F. M. Dostoevsky and his prophetic ideas about the Slavs and the West's attitude toward them, and also Y. N. Bestuzhev-Ryumin.

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