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# **Early Slavonic Researches in Germany**

The study of different aspects of history and culture of the Slavs presupposes a complex research. Besides history, it includes linguistics, literary criticism, ethnography and other social sciences. The investigation of the Slavonic ethnos has substantial scientific traditions both in the past and nowadays. These researches started yet in late XVIII - early XIX centuries.

Publications in the history of the Slavs enable us to classify foreign Slavonic studies according to the national Slavonic schools. This classification is based on the national principle, reflected in the specific character of methodological and theoretical approaches and conceptions. For instance, Slavonic schools have long been characterized by researching the Slavs from the point of view of national interest or due to Slavonic reciprocity. The Romance-Germanic historiography, on the other hand, considered the Slavs as a non-state forming ethnos that could not possibly influence the European civilization, thus studying its history was of little significance for the historical science.

Therefore, we find it especially interesting to study the establishment and the evolution of Slavonic historiography. Slavonic studies have always cooperated with the European historic science, competed with it and used it as a source for discussion and polemic. Moreover, Slavonic historiography owes its development to the German Slavonic School. The latter had been developing for quite a long time in two opposite directions. The first included scientists claiming in their works that the German and the Slavonic cultures are "opposite as sun and shade" [41, s.65]. The other direction of the development of German-Romance Slavonic historiography was characterized by enlightenment, humanism, democratic romanticism and objectivity with the scientific truth holding a dominating position over the political speculations.

Significant scientific contribution to the Slavonic studies was made at the turn of the XVII-XVIII centuries when a famous Lusatian scholar M. Frenzel translated the "New

Testament" into the language of the Slavonic minority [27, p.14]. Translation of religious texts into the Lusatian language testifies not only of scientific and cultural achievements of the people, but also of the all-Slavonic movement against germanization and discrimination. Moreover, some works by M. Frenzel showed a unified understanding of the common past between the Sorb and the Slavonic world. Later on it was transformed into a general "idea of Slavonic kinship". To prove the above-mentioned thought we will quote M. Frenzel from his letter to Peter I written in1697: "Great tsar and great sovereign that has a million subjects, speaking our Serb or Sarmatian language..." [37, p.105]

At the same time there were other scientists working together with M. Frenzel on the translation of religious texts: J. Heunan, J.B. Fabricius, J.B. Frizo [24, p.12-35]. The author of the research is interested in the translations done by these scholars not in the cultural-philological aspect, but from the point of view of the philosophy of Slavonic patriotism that was dominant in the works of Slavonic public figures. The early works of the scientists dwelt on the ideas of reformation and humanism that later developed into the philosophy of enlightenment that were not only of scientific historical significance for the Slavs, but also served as an important factor of the cultural development of the ethnos.

For example, the Lusatian national renaissance being part of the German and Slavonic-European renaissance is a deeply rooted process. From mid XIX century the Sorbs had a favourable situation to develop their own national culture. Firstly, after the 1848-1849 revolution the Lusatians received legal guarantees on the part of the state to develop their ethnic culture. Secondly, the post-revolutionary years were characterized by the increased national conscience of all the European nations. The Italian, German, and Hungarian national bourgeoisie and intelligentsia went beyond the narrow territorial borders. The same task was set by all the Slavonic peoples. The Slavs moved from the idea of cultural consolidation within a state with a foreign ethnos to the idea of the necessity to guarantee their national cultural existence by means of forming their own state. This process lasted to almost early XX century when the theory of reciprocity was put to a serious test during World War I.

One of the first representatives of the Slavonic-Lusatian renaissance was J. Jordan (1818-1891). In historiography he is well known as an active propagandist of the

"Slavonic culture" that he promoted on the pages of the newspaper "Jutnicka", where he wrote "Our time calls for the union of our forces and the expectation of our Slavonic fellows" [25, p.17]. Thus, it is not accidental that we find in J. Jordan's researches some aspects of the Slavophil conception that interpreted the past as the struggle of the aggressive German culture with the Slavonic one: "... Intellectual education and the development of the Lusatians at that time (the Middle Ages – author's note) reached a higher level than that of the Germans" [14, c.90]. Some of J. Jordan's materials had advertising and propagandist character and aimed at attracting the Slavonic ethnic community's attention. This is reflected in the romantic description of the "heroic" history of the people and in the attempt to increase the statistic number of the minority to 250 thousand people [14, p.90], though P.J. Safarik estimated the Sorbs in the first third of the XIX century at around 142 thousand people [13]. For many years the number of the Sorb population and their demography in researches were far from being scientific, rather they served as an argument in political and ideological disputes, thus there were different statistical data in historiography concerning the size of the population of this relict nation. However, despite the ambiguity in J. Jordan's works that aimed at taking into account the political interests of both the German and the Slavonic people, his desire to propagate Slavonic culture in German historiography deserves recognition and esteem.

Another Sorb historian J.A. Smoler is characterized by great creative and social energy. His socio-political views are moderate. He was a conservative in spirit and a patriot in soul. His works are rather careful in criticizing the German national policy but he sympathized with the Slavonic population. It was common for the majority of Slavonic scientific and public figures in Germany to propagate in their works the idea of friendly coexistence with the Germans on the background of all-Slavonic solidarity. The intensity of the "idea" depended on the auditorium the author counted on. In German language publications J.A. Smoler's tone is rather reserved, in Russian language ones, namely in "the Slavonic Herald" he wrote, "In the interests of all the Slavs we should demand the introduction of a general Slavonic language for the Slavs to end working for their old enemies – the Germans" [12, p.289]. The main task of the ethnic humanitarian science according to J.A. Smoler was to create the conditions for overcoming the spiritual crisis by

means of promoting education with the help of religious publications and with the direct participation of the church in the program of maintaining ethnic cultural peculiarities. Thus, Reformation for J.A. Smoler is only a spiritual impulse that greatly influenced the people and their literary language. "That was ... the first time a Serbian book was published" [36, p.24].

A great public figure, a patriot and the founder of the "Serbian matitsa" was J. Radysserb-Velya. He remained in the national historiography of the least numerous people as a democrat and a consistent adherent of republican and constitutional ideas [35-36]. Among the older generation of public figures of the national renaissance he actively worked in the newspaper "Serbski Nowinkar", where he informed the readers in detail about the revolutionary events of 1848 in Germany and Poland.

One of the most famous researchers of the Slavs and the leader of the Slavonic national movement in the second part of the XIX century was M. Hornik. In 1853 he entered the theological faculty of Prague University where he studied practical theology. His friends included: F. Palacky, F. Skladkovsky, B. Brauner. M. Hornik opposed "socialist agitation and any radical measures to influence Germany's government" [3, p.94]. Together with the polish scholar W. Boguslawski he published the first general "History of the Serbian People" in 1884 [1;16;17]. Scientists suggest their own concept of the Serbian history, they avoid the Slavophil thesis on the difference of historical and cultural outlooks and refuse to turn the Slavonic issue into a political debate. Characterizing the process of germanization the authors describe it figuratively and emotionally, claiming that the Slavs "... did not respect their native language well enough... and there was no force to prevent them from germanization" [17, p.107]. The philosophical purport of W. Boguslawski and M. Hornik's history stays within the framework of official science. Downright monarchism of the authors of the first comprehensive research demonstrates not the opinion of separate scientists, rather it is an indicator of the general social-political mood of the Sorb people, their conservatism with elements of "respect towards the royal power". This is the way they saw the revival of the Slavonic culture undertaken by some national public figures and the government. W. Boguslawski and M. Hornik considered the past and present of the Slavs not as the

history of a European nation, but as the history of separate people living in a particular region of Germany at a particular period of time on the background of numerous historical events.

J. Bart-Čišinski showed a relative independence from the official German Slavonic studies. He adhered to the necessity of cultural rapprochement of the Slavs as a source maintaining national consciousness and, therefore, preventing the intensified ethnic assimilation of the Slavs, as well as enhancing the revival of their spirituality [19]. His social views were characterized by the eclectic combination of liberalism and patriotism with religiousness and idealism that he acquired while studying in the theological seminary. Thus, in Slavonic studies he dwelt on national religiousness, reasonableness and loyalty to the royal power. However, he criticized "chauvinists – all Germans" [5, p.65]. As a scientist J. Bart-Čišinski adhered to the theory of ethnic preservation around the principles of the national idea including the traditional religiousness of the Slavs: "The national idea found its main support in the people's religious feeling, and the latter in its turn was reflected in the national idea" [5, p.75]. Pastor G. Imish was of the same opinion, claiming that the revival of the Slavs and their culture was only possible in the framework of Christian spirituality, congenial coexistence with the ruling German majority, and the superfluous national confrontation as well as cultural ambitiousness caused that "many German citizens started to treat us with suspicion, and former friendly relations are hard to renew" [23, p.92].

XIX century Slavonic studies were dominated by the historical and political tendency to evaluate the past, however, the main motive of researches was the academic interest and the attempt to show the Slavonic culture to the European community. A. Muka was a Sorb scientist who made a great contribution to the establishment of Slavonic studies [7–10; 28–30]. He overcame the amateur character of the national Slavonic studies, enriched them with scientific content and elements of professional statistical research. A. Muka criticized the dogmatism of some theoretical principles of germanization of the people that was borrowed by the contemporary researchers from Ch. Knaut, K. Anton, J. Herder and entered the works of modern Slavists. Unlike his predecessors that considered enlightenment among the Slav population to be the conditions of ethnic

preservation, A. Muka enriched the enlightenment traditions with the theory of romantic union of different social strata of the Slavs that had to form a national union. Of great significance for the Slavonic studies is his "Statistics" – the first field research with the most objective data on the size of the population of the disappearing people. In fact, the statistical material collected by A. Muka, supported the theory of national revival by means of not only representing their cultural achievements in the field of their own social science, literature, writing, but also by a real statistical picture that proved that there were bearers of Slavonic culture in Germany [28;29].

German slavistics deserves special attention. The tone of German historical thought had been determined for many years by G.W. Hegel. His philosophical conception of world progress included absolute spirit that continuously strived for self-awareness and reached perfection only in German-Romance civilization. The main stage in the hierarchy of nations was occupied by the Germans; the Slavs were not represented in this pantheon of nations for they were considered a non-historical race. G.W. Hegel considered that the Slavs did not influence progress well enough because they "constitute something average between the European and the Asian spirit" [22]. Thus, according to G.W. Hegel national and cultural revival of the Slavs as a historical process was hardly possible. Close to G.W. Hegel's theory was G. Krauss. In his philosophical essay "On the unequal abilities of various human tribes in spiritual development" [18, p.80] he spoke of the Slavs as of a community that had no ethnic potential for their own political life, thus it needed continuous correlation on the part of the more organized Germans. His work served the aim of substantiating the might of the German nation over the others. O. Kohl was close to the thoughts of the above-mentioned philosophers. In his notes published after his trip around the Slavonic districts he wrote, "The spiritual advantage and significant morality ... of the Germans precondition Germany's ruling over the powerless Latin West and the uncultivated Slavonic East" [26, p.37].

Of some importance for the establishment of the Slavonic historical science was the expansion of German philosophical thought on the national and cultural conscience of the Slavs. For instance, F.W. Schelling (1775–1854) strengthened in German philosophy the principle of unconscious spiritual origin of each historical nation that had to perform one

of the absolute ideas – good, truth or beauty. Despite the cool attitude of the German historiography to the Slavonic ethnic culture the generality of the philosophical principles of spiritual progress facilitated the renaissance of ethnical conscience.

- J.G. Herder's contribution to world history as well as the cultural and national revival of the Slavs and other European nations is hard to overestimate. He was one of the founders of the German school of historians, philosophers; he set the algorithm for the theory of researching the Slavs and proved that the latter can be the subject and object of scientific investigations. J.G. Herder's fundamental historicism was an outstanding contribution to the theory of Sorb studies and included the following principles:
- 1) Recognizing the substantiality of history; the main element of the latter being the substance of mind characterized by unlimited power.
- 2) Integrity of the historical process and its reasonableness; the ultimate aim of world history being the cognition of the spirit and its freedom.

The conception of the world of a historian and a philosopher can be characterized rather as a religious mystical dogma, with individuality holding the leading position. The formation and the future of individuality depend on the level of mastery of old ideals and the ability to make them rational. J.G. Herder considered that the nation's perspective, including the Slavs', was highly influenced by historical genesis, i.e. the source of spirituality. He also emphasized that Romance-Germanic nations due to their geographical location managed to be the first, compared to the Slavs, to master the spiritual heritage of the ancient times. It gave the former some advantage, "The Slavonic nations occupy more space on earth than they do in history, and one of the reasons for that is the fact that they lived far from the Romans" [21, p.320]. However, J.G. Herder did not make this statement absolute. Based on the concept of integrity of history he suggested the idea of an aggregate of local and unique cultures and he made a conclusion on non-isolated spirituality as an important element of the nations' political life, "Europe has to be educated and not for the sake of kalokagathia of Greek artists wise men, but for humanity and wisdom that will embrace the whole globe" [2, p.630].

According to J.G. Herder the development of statehood and consolidation of nations took place on the basis of the past taking into account the spirituality and cultural

traditions of "local cultures". The future development of European history proved the scientist's statement when numerous Slav nations that had no statehood of their own formed political unions on the basis of their own national cultures or underwent national and cultural revival.

K.G. Anton's work is of great significance for Slavonic historiography. The scientist established the "Sorb scientific society" and actively propagated investigations of Slavonic renaissance. K.G. Anton was the first who attempted to describe the political system of Polabian tribes in early Middle Ages, analysed the stages and reasons for their decline, and what is more, he not only described the events of the ethnic and cultural renaissance, but also took an active part in it. In his work "The primary experience of studying the traditions, morale, views and knowledge of the ancient Slavs" [15, p.32] K.G. Anton managed to combine quite closely the philological and the historical approaches to the research.

His work "Preacher Richter's work" republished by the Russian "Moscow herald" and written in the manner of continuous antagonism of the Slavonic and the Romance-Germanic worlds is an obvious example of pangermanism [11]. Richter claimed that maintaining Slavonic cultures "weakens the state's powers both in the country and beyond its bothers". He strongly opposed Slavonic rapprochement and cultural renaissance in any form — either economic, or political, or cultural. For instance, he characterized the Lusatian region of Germany as "a ford through the frontier areas between Germany and Slavonic lands" [11, p.359-361]. Adherents of this point of view included G. Klemm [4, p.212-215] and F. Schelze [40]. All these considerations in pangermanic manner had been spreading antislavonic ideas and were to a certain extent the philosophical essence of some slavists' works. For example, in a collection of articles published in 1843 in Leipzig under the title "The Slavs, the Russians and the Germans" the Slavs were regarded to be opponents of the German culture [20, p.42].

By analysing the historiography of the Slavonic renaissance in early XX century we can single out two directions in German slavistics. The first was theoretically oriented at substantiating the cultural expansion on the Slavs and was characterized by nationalism and Slavophobia. Studying Slavonic history was held within the framework of Germany's

general history without taking into account the Slavonic ethnic specific character and perspective. The second approach can be characterized as liberal and democratic. It included the following famous slavists as R. Trautmann, E. Müller, F. Tezner, D. Teichmann [41-43]. They aimed to render Slavistics more scientific character without dragging this part of history into political discussions on the expediency of existence and revival of Slavonic culture in the German world. Their works were characterized by scientific and academic character. The Berlin journal "Publications of F. Wilhelm Slavonic university" included only researches dealing with linguistics, ethnography, literature studies, ethnography and folklore of some Slavonic people.

Some German slavists conducted researches of general character where moderate historical objectivity was intermingled with ethnic material. For instance, O. Schmidt in his monograph "The Vendians" tried to prove the beneficial influence of the German colonization of the Slavs that led to the "formation of towns with German rule" [39, p.14]. O. Schmidt did not consider necessary for a historian to deal with the problem of germanization of the Slavs which he considered a natural and permanent phenomenon. He tried to prove that by means of separate facts that would demonstrate the advantage of the German ethnic culture over the other nations of Eastern Europe.

Summarizing the analysis of the formation and development of Slavonic studies in Germany in early XIX century it would be plausible to mention that this period was characterized by the formation of scientific knowledge on the subject of national renaissance of the Slavs. This problem is widely discussed in XIX century historiography with extensive material collected by means of observation by the researchers of the time. Thus, despite the ideological and conceptual differences all the works of the national schools – the Sorb, the German, the Russian, the Polish, the Czech, the Slovak, etc. – with a liberal and democratic approach on the one side and the Marxist, on the other are of great importance for the research of the national Slavonic renaissance in XIX century, even from the point of view of accumulating knowledge and facts. To our mind, the importance of Slavonic studies, the opposite views on the history of the Slavs demonstrate their cultural integrity with the European civilization. The culture of western and southern Slavs

is a European phenomenon with deep Slavonic roots that preconditions collision of views and evaluations on the past events.

## Анотація

Дослідження різноманітних аспектів історії та культури слов'ян є комплексною дисципліною. До нього, поряд з історичною проблематикою, входять мовознавство, літературознавство, етнографія та інші суспільні дисципліни. У світлі минулого та сучасності дослідження етнікуму слов'ян має достатні наукові традиції, виникнення яких припадає ще на кінець XVIII початок XIX ст., Саме окремим аспектам славістичних досліджень присвячена ця стаття.

#### Аннотация

Исследование различных аспектов истории и культуры славян является комплексной дисциплиной. В свете прошлого и настоящего изучения славянского этникума, необходимо отметить, что оно имеет солидные научные традиции, возникновение которых припадает еще на конец XVIII начало XIX ст. Именно отдельным аспектам становления славистических исследований на территории Германии и посвящена данная статья.

## **Summary**

The research of different aspects of the history and culture of the Slavs is a complex branch of science. Along with the historical problems, it includes linguistics, literature-study, ethnography and other social studies. In the light of the past and present, the analysis of the Slavonic ethnos has sufficient scientific traditions, which emerged in late XVIII – early XIX centuries.

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