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**Reemergences and Configurations of the Pan-Slavic
Imaginary (1985-2025)**

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Summary

The dissertation *Reemergences and Configurations of the Pan-Slavic Imaginary (1985–2025)* starts from a critical issue that has not been sufficiently addressed in current scholarship: the gap between the historiographical status of Pan-Slavism – often reduced to a closed episode of the nineteenth century or to an ideology considered obsolete in the wake of the political transformations of the twentieth century – and its continued presence in contemporary cultural and political discourse. Such an “archaeological” reduction not only limits the understanding of the phenomenon, but also contributes to the naturalization of its present-day articulations, which tend to elude analysis precisely because they no longer conform to the classical doctrinal model.

In this context, the dissertation proposes a methodological and conceptual shift: Pan-Slavism is not approached as a monolithic and coherent ideological system, to be reconstructed in terms of continuity or rupture, but as an identity-based imaginary – an unstable set of representations, topoi, myths and narratives that symbolically organize the idea of Slavic unity and can be reactivated in divergent contexts. From this perspective, the persistence of Pan-Slavism does not indicate the survival of a doctrine, but rather the operation of a mechanism of symbolic and ideological rearticulation, capable of adapting the vocabulary of solidarity to different historical logics and, above all, of dissimulating power relations in the form of narratives about community, cultural specificity, shared origin and fraternity. The central aim of the dissertation thus lies in shifting the focus from doctrinal coherence to an examination of the concrete ways in which this imaginary is produced, circulates, and is instrumentalized and resemanticised within contemporary literary and cultural discourse, where ambiguity and flexibility emerge not as weaknesses, but as conditions of its historical effectiveness.

The study positions itself critically in relation to the existing scholarship on Pan-Slavism, highlighting a persistent imbalance between the attention devoted to its historical forms and the more limited interest in its contemporary configurations. While numerous contributions have examined in detail the manifestations of Pan-Slavism in the Central European, Balkan, Imperial Russian, and Soviet contexts, approaches to the post-communist period have remained, until relatively recently, fragmented and conceptually underdeveloped. In recent years, the emergence of more systematic studies has contributed to the consolidation of this field; however, the focus continues to fall primarily on its (geo)political and

ideological dimensions. By contrast, the reconfigurations of the Pan-Slavic imaginary in literature have not yet been the subject of sustained and coherent analysis.

This asymmetry reflects not only a gap at the level of the corpus under investigation, but also a methodological difficulty: recent forms of Pan-Slavism can no longer be integrated into a stable doctrinal model and are therefore either overlooked or interpreted through insufficiently adapted frameworks. In this context, the dissertation undertakes the exploration of a still weakly systematized area, focusing on the ways in which the Pan-Slavic imaginary is reconfigured in the literature of the past four decades. The choice of the 1985-2025 interval is determined by the ideological and cultural transformations accompanying the late Soviet period, which create the conditions for the reemergence and rearticulation of themes such as Russian specificity, East Slavic solidarity, the Russia-Europe relationship, and the recovery of Russian spiritual and communal traditions. In this sense, the year 1985 functions both as a political marker and as a point of discursive inflection, where shifts that predate the institutional collapse of the Soviet Union become visible and enable the reactivation of structures of the Pan-Slavic imaginary in the post-Soviet context.

Methodologically, the dissertation builds on the study of the imaginary, drawing on the French tradition (Gaston Bachelard, Gilbert Durand, Jean-Jacques Wunenburger) as well as on theoretical contributions from the Romanian scholarly context (Lucian Boia, Corin Braga), in order to approach Pan-Slavism not only as a set of political projects, but also as a dynamic system of collective representations. Such a perspective allows for the articulation of multiple levels of interpretation – literary, cultural, ideological, social, and geopolitical – without subordinating them to a single explanatory framework. In this sense, the study integrates a range of complementary critical tools: discourse analysis, aimed at identifying argumentative mechanisms and strategies of legitimation; elements of conceptual history, useful for tracing the semantic transformations of key terms; hermeneutic approaches, focused on the plurality of meanings; close reading, necessary for the detailed examination of textual structures; as well as cultural-historical, ideological, and postcolonial perspectives, which make it possible to analyze power relations within a broader framework. Literature is understood here in an extended sense, encompassing not only fiction, but also essays, intellectual polemics, and discursive interventions with symbolic and ideological significance, insofar as such forms actively participate in the (re)construction or contestation of Pan-Slavic narratives. The working hypothesis is that literature does not function merely as a medium for

reflecting ideological structures, but also as a space in which these are elaborated, critically examined, and reconfigured.

The first chapter, devoted to the genealogy of the Pan-Slavic imaginary, traces its formation from the Romantic formulations in Central and South-Eastern Europe to its subsequent rearticulations in the Russian and Soviet contexts, not as a linear development, but as a sequence of shifts and reconfigurations. The analysis challenges a still persistent thesis in historiography, according to which Pan-Slavism would be, by definition, a product of Russian expansionism. In its early phase, it emerges instead as a Romantic cultural imaginary, articulated around the ideas of spiritual kinship, linguistic community, and a shared historical destiny.

The contributions of Herder, Kollár, and Šafárik are decisive in this respect, not so much through the coherence of a political program, as through the configuration of a symbolic horizon in which “Slavic unity” appears as a cultural and moral given. In particular, Herder is responsible for shaping the image of the “archetypal Slav,” constructed through an implicit opposition to the West and endowed with a set of idealized traits – peaceful, hospitable, organically connected to nature and community – which transform it into the support of a normative projection of Europe’s future. This representation does not have a descriptive status; rather, it functions as an interpretive and anticipatory schema that substitutes the complexity of historical realities with a presumed symbolic unity. In this form, it becomes one of the constitutive matrices of the Pan-Slavic imaginary, providing a framework of legitimation for later discourses in which internal differences are absorbed into a unifying collective identity.

The chapter shows, however, that this Romantic-cultural phase should not be understood as an initially coherent stage, but already contains the tensions that will shape its subsequent developments. The emphasis on solidarity and reciprocity is accompanied by the use of unstable symbolic geographies, selective historical reconstructions, and a tendency to naturalize unity, transforming it from a cultural construction into an apparently original given. Once these representations are translated into political projects, divergences among Slavic communities become inevitable. The Prague Congress of 1848, analyzed as a moment of inflection, makes this rupture visible: the initial rhetorical consensus is quickly undermined by competing interests, divergent strategic positions, and mutual distrust among the participants.

From this perspective, ambiguity does not appear as a dysfunction, but as a constitutive feature of Pan-Slavism.

Following the same line of argument, the dissertation traces the gradual shift of the center of gravity of Pan-Slavism toward the Russian space. While Central European formulations privileged cooperation among equals and federalist projects, Russian articulations reinscribe the imaginary of Slavic unity within an imperial and messianic horizon. Slavophilism plays a decisive role here, not merely as a doctrinal source, but as a medium of ideological reconfiguration: themes such as Russia's spiritual specificity, opposition to the West, the valorization of organic community, and the idea of a distinct historical mission are absorbed and redirected within the discourse of Slavic unity. In this process, unity no longer appears as a relation among equivalent entities, but tends to be reorganized around a normative centrality attributed to Russia. Consequently, the proposed genealogy does not describe a linear evolution, but a network of shifts, reconfigurations, and overlapping meanings, in which the same imaginary can support both emancipatory projects and authoritarian or expansionist formations. This ambivalence is not a transitional phase, but a structural constant that prepares the ground for the contemporary manifestations of Pan-Slavism.

The second chapter shifts the discussion into late modernity, analyzing the 1985 polemic between Joseph Brodsky and Milan Kundera as an emblematic scene of a dispute over Europe's cultural identity and Russia's place within it. The chapter's central aim is to demonstrate that this controversy exceeds the level of an aesthetic or literary disagreement and makes visible the persistence of structures of the Pan-Slavic imaginary, filtered through the problem of the Russia–Europe relationship. Kundera is read as implicitly activating a Slavophile-type imaginary: through his interpretation of Russian culture, and particularly of Dostoevsky's role within it, he tends to associate Russian literature with a civilizational specificity which, when translated into geopolitical terms, can legitimize forms of domination presented as expressions of “fraternal love” or of a historical vocation. By contrast, Brodsky challenges this reduction of culture to its geopolitical consequences and seeks to dissociate the literary tradition from its imperial instrumentalizations, claiming for it a place within a plural European horizon.

In this context, the chapter shows that literature functions as a space for negotiating cultural identity: it can sustain competing geopolitical narratives, but also undermine them

from within. The polemic thus becomes revealing of the ways in which cultural arguments can substitute for geopolitical positioning without becoming ideologically neutral. Beyond the explicit opposition between the two authors, the dispute articulates two distinct ways of conceiving Europe: one in which cultural differences are converted into rigid civilizational boundaries, and another in which the Russian tradition is reintegrated into a pluricentric Europe. In this sense, the Pan-Slavic imaginary continues to operate not only in explicit forms, but also as a symbolic background to debates on identity, canon, and belonging.

The third chapter radicalizes this line of inquiry by shifting it from the essayistic and conceptual register to that of explicit poetic and polemical confrontation. Whereas in the previous chapter Brodsky appeared as a participant in a debate on the status of Russian culture in Europe, here he becomes the object of direct contestation, his poem *On the Independence of Ukraine* (1991) being analyzed as the starting point of a transnational polemic. The text is interpreted as a discursive node in which Pan-Slavic tropes are reactivated within a macro-national register. East Slavic “kinship” no longer appears as a benign figure of cultural proximity, but as an instrument of symbolic disciplining and of delegitimizing Ukrainian difference. The author’s cultural capital is converted into normative authority, while the appeal to the Russian canon becomes the vehicle of an implicit hierarchy between center and periphery, between a legitimating (Russian) culture and a (Ukrainian) difference placed under suspicion. In this reading, the poem is not reduced to an emotional reaction to the collapse of the Soviet Union, but is analyzed as a textual performance of an imaginary in which fraternity operates as a technique of symbolic subordination.

The responses of Oksana Zabuzhko and Aleksandr Byvshev are central to the chapter’s argument, as they do not merely contradict Brodsky’s position, but reconfigure the entire polemical framework. In Zabuzhko’s case, the emphasis shifts from genealogy and cultural authority to experience, the ethics of address, and sovereign coexistence; imperial “kinship” is deconstructed as a discursive device, and the vocabulary of fraternity is exposed as a potential mask of domination. In Byvshev’s case, the demythologization of the “Russian world” and the resemanticization of fraternity produce a redistribution of meanings in which solidarity is no longer subordinated to a Russian-centered logic, but detached from hegemonic structures. In this configuration, literature no longer functions as a mere framework of representation, but as a space of conflict in which the very legitimacy of the Pan-Slavic imaginary is called into question. Its tropes are exposed as instruments of constraint, and “fraternity” appears as a deeply politicized notion, traversed by asymmetries.

The fourth chapter shifts register once again and focuses on Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, in whose writings of the 1990s the Pan-Slavic imaginary takes the form of a project of identity reconstruction in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union. A central contribution of the chapter lies in highlighting the double movement that structures Solzhenitsyn's discourse: on the one hand, the explicit rejection of classical Pan-Slavism, associated with nineteenth-century expansionism and imperial projects; on the other hand, the reconfiguration of a restricted Pan-Slavic core, centered on East Slavic unity and legitimized through a moral, spiritual, and historical vocabulary. This is not, therefore, a genuine rupture, but rather a process of resemanticization: Pan-Slavic universalism is replaced by a pan-Russian formula, more limited in scope, yet no less normative. The imaginary of unity does not disappear, but is converted into a project of re-foundation of "historical Russia" and of a tri-Slavic community presented as an original norm.

The chapter further emphasizes that Solzhenitsyn's moral and spiritual language does not neutralize the political implications of his discourse, but rather contributes to their dissimulation. Concepts such as "spirituality," "memory," "organic unity," or "historical community" function simultaneously as resources of legitimation and as mechanisms for naturalizing a political-identitarian option. Solzhenitsyn's project thus oscillates between ethics and geopolitics, between solidarity and hegemony, between the declared attempt to overcome the imperial imaginary and its rearticulation in a form adapted to the post-Soviet context. At the same time, the post-communist reception of Solzhenitsyn has tended to marginalize this dimension, privileging the image of the moralist and the critic of totalitarianism at the expense of his identity-geopolitical implications. Overall, the reading proposed here shows that the Pan-Slavic imaginary continues to function, in Solzhenitsyn's work, as a principle for organizing a normative community, even when it is explicitly contested.

The fifth chapter examines the prose of Andreï Makine and the ways in which certain Slavophile motifs are displaced from the doctrinal register and integrated into a narrative economy shaped by exile, memory, and cultural hybridity. In contrast to Solzhenitsyn, the imaginary no longer appears here as an explicit project of identity reconstruction, but as an ambivalent aesthetic device. Russia is configured simultaneously as a space of spiritual depth, memory, and trauma, while the West is likewise invested with a dual valence: both emancipatory and, at the same time, alienating. The Russia-West opposition, central to the

Slavophile tradition, is not mechanically reiterated, but transposed into a poetics of nostalgia and unstable identity.

The chapter further traces how themes such as the “Russian soul,” the valorization of interiority, organic community, or the mythologization of femininity are reinterpreted within a post-communist and transnational context. This shift does not amount to a strict doctrinal continuity: Makine does not simply reproduce canonical Slavophile oppositions, but transforms them into instruments for exploring a fractured sense of belonging. Yet even in this aestheticized and internalized form, the imaginary continues to structure difference and to provide interpretive frameworks for the relationship between Russia and the West. The discourse thus assumes a hybrid character, in which tensions are not resolved, but maintained in an unstable equilibrium that becomes the driving force of identity reflection. In this sense, the proposed reading confirms one of the major claims of the dissertation: the Pan-Slavic or Slavophile imaginary does not operate exclusively within explicitly ideological registers, but can persist in aesthetic, affective, and memorial forms without entirely losing its function of symbolic organization.

The final chapter, devoted to the Pan-Slavic imaginary in the context of the Russo-Ukrainian war, constitutes the point of maximum tension of the entire study. Here, the imaginary no longer appears merely as a polemical background or as a resemanticized cultural repertoire, but as an active instrument of geopolitical legitimation and, at the same time, as a discourse undergoing a profound crisis. The contemporary rearticulation of themes such as East Slavic unity, the fraternity of peoples, or Russia’s protective mission does not function solely at a rhetorical level, but directly contributes to the justification of revisionist projects and of political and military violence. In this context, fraternity, unity, and shared origin can no longer be treated as simple identity formulas, but must be understood as elements of a discursive dispositif oriented toward the legitimation of domination.

At the same time, the reading of Andrei Kurkov’s novel *Grey Bees* shows that this ideological mechanism disintegrates when confronted with the concrete experience of war. In the sphere of everyday life, where existence is reduced to practices of survival, delimitation, and adaptation, the vocabulary of fraternity loses its coherence. The disintegration of the Pan-Slavic imaginary does not occur solely at the level of political critique or intellectual counter-discourse, but within the very texture of lived experience: space, identity, and language cease to sustain the idea of an organic East Slavic community. War thus fully exposes the political

implications of this imaginary and reveals its character as a hegemonic fiction. If in other contexts it could still function as an ambivalent repertoire, here it reaches simultaneously its highest degree of visibility and its point of crisis.

The general conclusion emerges from the articulation of these analytical sequences and indicates that the Pan-Slavic imaginary does not disappear; on the contrary, it persists precisely through its flexibility, through its capacity to adapt and to be reactivated in different historical contexts. This persistence, however, does not demonstrate the viability of a communal project, but rather the effectiveness of a mechanism of symbolic and ideological rearticulation. Across all the cases discussed – from the Romantic genealogy to the Russo-Ukrainian war – the same constitutive tension reappears between solidarity and hegemony, between the promise of unity and the production of asymmetry. The naturalization of unity, its presentation as an original given or as a historical destiny, proves to be one of the most effective techniques for dissimulating domination. In this sense, the conclusion is not that Pan-Slavism has failed merely in a conjunctural manner, but that it is marked by a structural limitation: the inability to generate a form of community that does not reproduce unequal power relations.

Another significant outcome lies in the revaluation of literature as a privileged critical space for analyzing these processes. Literature is not treated as a mere echo of ideologies, but as a site of their production, circulation, contestation, and deconstruction. The polemic between Brodsky and Kundera, the Brodsky–Zabuzhko–Byvshev confrontation, Solzhenitsyn’s discourse, Makine’s prose, and the reading of Kurkov all demonstrate that the Pan-Slavic imaginary cannot be fully understood outside its literary and discursive forms. It is precisely literature that renders visible the zones of tension that political discourse tends to obscure: the ways in which fraternity can become an instrument of disciplining, memory can legitimize a communal norm, and cultural identity can mask projects of power. From this perspective, the study proposes not only a mapping of the contemporary manifestations of the Pan-Slavic imaginary, but also a way of critically interrogating them from within the texts that stage them.

Overall, the dissertation offers a twofold contribution. On the one hand, it extends the study of Pan-Slavism beyond the limits of doctrinal history by proposing an approach centered on the imaginary, resemanticization, and symbolic mobility. On the other hand, it demonstrates that the contemporary forms of this imaginary cannot be separated from the

power relations they structure and legitimize. From Herderian Romanticism and early cultural Pan-Slavism to post-Soviet macro-national configurations and the crisis generated by the Russo-Ukrainian war, the trajectory reconstructed here shows that Pan-Slavism has persisted precisely because of its constitutive ambiguity. This same ambiguity, which ensures its rhetorical flexibility, also marks its limits: the inability to sustain a form of unity that does not reproduce, in different forms, inequality and domination. In this light, the Pan-Slavic imaginary does not appear as an inert vestige of a concluded ideology, but as an active mechanism whose effectiveness depends on its capacity to transform historically contingent relations into representations of community presented as natural and indisputable.

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