

**Religion, Ideologies, and Nationalism in South Eastern Europe
(Late 18th century – 1945)**

Advanced undergraduate/ first year MA class

Duration: 12 weeks.

Short description:

The course approaches a number of important connections between religion, nationalism and political ideologies in South Eastern Europe in the modern period. Adopting transnational approach and not always being confined to the boundaries of SEE the class aims at providing useful insights as well as covering a big segment of history that is often neglected in general courses on political history/ nationalism in Eastern/ South Eastern Europe. Through integration of church history on the one hand and religious studies on the other into general ‘main-stream’ political and national narratives the class opens new perspectives for students interested in both theoretical/ methodological issues and history of the region.

The course is designed chronologically and follows the rise of modern nationalisms in the region. Assigned readings provide a variety of specific examples from the region thereby allowing for a maneuver according to the interest of the group.

Format: Short lecture (max 30 min) + seminar type discussions of the assigned texts. In each class a lecture covers a general topic and introduces possible points for the debate, while assigned readings of secondary and/or primary texts focus on one-two case-studies. During the in-class discussions the students will develop the ability to connect a case-study to the general context and framework of discussion. Depending on the students’ level and degree of motivation occasional short in-class presentations may be introduced, which would provide the ground for a more detailed discussion of a theoretical problem and/or a case-study.

Structure of the course:

The first two sessions provide general theoretical and regional introduction. The students are supposed to familiarize themselves with the general history of the region, which is a necessary pre-requisite for the adequate work in the class. Sessions 3 and 4 concentrate on the histories of the two Empires (Habsburg and Ottoman) that were of utmost importance for the history of SEE. Next sessions using several examples from modern history of SEE discuss the connections between religious identities, national identities, religious communities and the sphere of politics. The last two sessions are designed as prolonged closing remarks, which on the one hand will help the students connect the material they have learnt during the class with more or less familiar to them contemporary events; and on the other hand will introduce new research question and theoretical problems deriving from the material of the course.

1. Introduction I: the concepts

Introduction of the basic theoretical and analytical concepts used in the course and general overview of the research questions relevant for the class. Main points of reference include: modernity, nationalism, and secularization. The change in the relationship between religious and political from the early modern to modern period.

Readings:

Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion, and Nationalism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997 – Chapter 8 “Religion Further Considered”, 185-209.

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2. Introduction II: the region

1) South Eastern Europe as a historical region. Region as a construct. Political and ideological stereotypes about the region and research complications connected to these.

2) A brief overview of political history of SEE, with an emphasis on the border changes and several shifts of the spheres of political and cultural dominance since the late Middle Ages.

Readings:

Vesna Goldsworthy, “Invention and In(ter)vention: The Rhetoric of Balkanization”, in *Balkan as Metaphor: Between Globalization and Fragmentation*. (eds.) Dušan I. Bjelić and Obrad Savić. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2002, 25-38

Paul Mojzes, “Religious Topography of Eastern Europe”, in *Journal of Ecumenical Studies*, 36:1-2, Winter-Spring, 199, 7-43

Visual materials: historical maps of the region, maps of ethnic, national and religious composition in historical perspective.

3. The Ottoman Empire

Religion, ethnicity and political loyalties.

The millet structure of the Ottoman Empire; religious and ethnic identities and their interplay in Rum-millet (i.e. Christian lands). Co-existence of Christians, Muslims and Jews under the Ottoman Rule. Christians in the Balkans: quasi-state role of the Orthodox Church – Greece, Bulgaria, Serbia, Romania. The conflict within the Orthodox community - the role of the Greek clergy.

Readings:

Mark Mazower, *Salonica, City of Ghosts: Christians, Muslims and Jews, 1430-1950*, New York, 2005, Chapters 10-12

Kemal H. Karpat, ‘Millets and Nationality: The Roots of the Incongruity of Nation and State in the Post-Ottoman Era’, in *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, vol. 1, 141-169

4. The Habsburg Empire

Structure and composition of the multinational Empire. Enlightenment - idea and policy of secularization. Political activities of the Catholic Church in the SEE region: the Franciscans in Bosnia, Greek-Catholics in Transylvania. The church-school autonomy of the Orthodox Serbs and Romanians in Southern Hungary. Political and confessional loyalties of the rulers and peoples.

Readings:

Robert A. Kann, *A History of the Habsburg Empire, 1526-1918*. Berkeley : University of California Press, 1980, c1974. – Ch. 7 “Cultural Trends from Late Enlightenment to Liberalism (from mid-eighteenth century to the 1860s)”

Bogdan Murgescu, “‘Phanariots’ and ‘Pamanteni’. Religion and Ethnicity in Shaping Identities in the Romanian Principalities and the Ottoman Empire”

And

Toader Nicoara, “Le Discours antigreque et antiphanariot dans la société roumaine (XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles)” in Maria Craciun, Ovidiu Ghitta (eds.) *Ethnicity and*

Religion in Central and Eastern Europe. Cluj: Cluj University Press, 1995, 196-204 and 205-211

Primary text: Dositej Obradovic

5. Modern nationalisms and religion I - Christianity

Wars of national liberation in the Balkans and the role of the institutionalized religions in them: Greek war for independence, 1st and 2nd Serbian uprisings. Two examples of use of religion in national ideologies: Greece – Orthodoxy vs. Hellenism; Serbia – Orthodoxy and the idea national liberation/ unification.

Readings:

“Nationalism and Religion in the Balkans since the 19th Century” (IX, 7-50), in Peter F. Sugar, *East European Nationalism, Politics and Religion*. Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1999

Paschalis M. Kitromilides, “‘Imagined Communities’ and the Origenes of the National Question in the Balkans”, in Martin Blinkhorn and Thanos Veremis (eds.) *Modern Greece: Nationalism & Nationality*. Athens: SAGE-ELIAMEP, 1990, 23-66

Richard Clogg, *A Short History of Modern Greece*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988, Ch. 4 “Independence, National building and irredentism, 1833-1913”.

6. Modern nationalisms II – Balkan Islam.

Islam and modern national identities in the Balkans: Bosnian Muslims, Bulgarian Pomaks, and Albanians. Different types of mutual influences religious and national identities can exercise upon each other. Religious identity and the concept of ‘the other’ in the Balkans.

Readings:

Aydin Babunal, “The Bosnian Muslims and Albanians: Islam and Nationalism”, in *Nationalities Papers*, Vol. 32, No. 2, June 2004, 287-321.

Mark Pinson (ed.), *The Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina: Their Historic Development from the Middle Ages to the Dissolution of Yugoslavia*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, c1996. 2nd ed. Ch. 5 – Ivo Banac “From Religious Community to Socialist Nationhood and Post-communist Statehood, 1918-1992, 129-153

Optional readings:

Nationalities Papers, Vol. 28, No. 1, 2000. (Special Issue)

Tone Bringa, *Being Muslim the Bosnian Way: Identity and Community in a Central Bosnian Village*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, c1995. (Introduction + first and the last chapters)

7. Ethnic and religious minorities

WWI, and creation of new multinational and poly-confessional states. Romania and Yugoslavia - two biggest and most heterogeneous states in the region. Functioning of religiously heterogeneous society in the frameworks of new nation-states in South-Eastern Europe. Religious (in)tolerance and its legal regulations: citizenship rights.

Rogers W Brubaker, “Aftermaths of Empire and the Un-mixing of Peoples: Historical and Comparative Perspectives” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 18 (1995) 2, 189-218

Irina Livezeanu, *Cultural Politics in Greater Romania: Regionalism, Nation building & Ethnic struggle, 1918-1930*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, c1995. – Introduction + Ch. 5 “The View from Bucharest: Foreigners and Jews”

8. Nationalization/ ethnicization of religion in the interwar period.

Sacralization of nation and nationalization of religion. Anti-modernist alternatives to the modernist liberal national projects and the use of religion by the former. Religious rhetoric and populism.

Readings:

Keith Hitchins, "Gindirea: Nationalism in a Spiritual Guise", in Kenneth Jowitt (ed.), *Social Change in Romania, 1860-1940: A Debate on Development in a European Nation*. Berkeley: Institute of International Studies, University of California, c1978, 140-173

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9. Religion and the rise political ideologies: fascism and communism

Sacralization of politics and politicization of religion: new phenomena in 20th century Europe and the need for an adequate analytical apparatus.

Readings:

Roger Eatwell, "Reflections on Fascism and Religion", in *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, 4/ 3 (2003)

Radu Ioanid, "The Sacralised Politics of the Romanian Iron Guard", in *Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions*, Volume 5, Issue 3 Winter 2004, 419 – 453

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10. WWII

The Second World War. Churches' involvement. Memories of the WWII in relation to religious and national identities. E.g. Ustaša regime in Croatia and civil war in Yugoslavia.

Readings:

Mark Biondich, "*Religion and Nation in Wartime Croatia: Reflections on the Ustaša Policy of Forced Religious Conversions, 1941–1942*", in SEER, Vol. 83, No. 1, January 2005, 71-116.

11. Epilogue

Religion and national politics in Communism and post-Communism. Communism and myth-making concerning religion.

Readings:

Vjekoslav Perica, "The Sanctification of Enmity. Churches and the Construction of Founding Myths of Serbia and Croatia", in Pal Kolsto, (ed.) *Myths and Boundaries in South-Eastern Europe*. London : Hurst, 2005, 130-157

Pedro Ramet (ed.), *Religion and Nationalism in Soviet and East European Politics*. Durham: Duke University Press, c1989. Choose one chapter from 2, 13, 14, 15 or 16

12. Final discussion

General background readings/ reference books (to be continued):

Peter F. Sugar, *Southeastern Europe under Ottoman rule, 1354-1804*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, c1977

Anthony D. Smith, *Nationalism and Modernism: A Critical Survey of Recent Theories of Nations and Nationalism*. London: Routledge, 1998

Tone Bringa, *Being Muslim the Bosnian Way: Identity and Community in a Central Bosnian Village*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, c1995

Jean Béranger (translated by C.A. Simpson), *A History of the Habsburg Empire*. London: Longman, 1994-1997