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# ORTHODOXY FROM AN EMPIRICAL PERSPECTIVE

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YUGOSLAV SOCIETY FOR THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF RELIGION

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## **ORTHODOXY FROM AN EMPIRICAL PERSPECTIVE**

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**I**

**ORTHODOXY FROM A LEGAL-POLITICOLOGICAL AND  
THEORETICAL-METHODOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE**



Alexios Panagopoulos

## **SOCIO-POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF CUSTOMS AS A SOURCE OF LAW IN EASTERN CHURCH**

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### **CUSTOM AND RELIGIOUS ORDER AND THE BEGINNING AND DEVELOPMENT OF CUSTOM AS A SOURCE OF ECCLESIASTICAL LAW**

There are large gaps in the field of political religion and the history of church law, that is, scientific research in the field of socio-politico-ecclesiastical and canon law, which has for decades been at the margins of the law schools, so it should be noted in several works about customs. This issue in the Serbian legal theory, dealt with the professor. Cedomir Mitrovic, who in his book "Textbook of church law" in 1921. devotes only two pages of the book to customs. A more attention to custom dedicated the famous Dr. Nicodemus Milas, in the book "Orthodox Church Law of The Eastern Orthodox Church", which again emerged as the facsimile edition of the revised second edition – Mostar, 1902, of the Diocese of Dalmatia, by the Ministry of Religion of the Republic of Serbia, Belgrade, 2004. Deceased professor Dr. Dimso Peric, from the Law Faculty in Belgrade, the book of church law, second edition, in 1999, the subject of "Church Law", his book contained only the two pages about customs p. 38-39.

In Greek literature, was written a short research by prof. Dr. A. Hristofilopoulos, in 1953, on The Faculty of Law in Athens, with the title "Church traditions". Later, in 1961st, prof. Dr. Jerotej Koconis in the journal "Gregory Palamas" wrote an article entitled "The custom in recent canon law, the nature, impact and relations between customs". In 1986, The Law School of Thessaloniki and Dr. K. Polizoidis, published research entitled "Traditions in the Orthodox Church".

Institutions of church traditions, is independent, more different from the practices of the state and from the society. In fact, the church character can get only those forms or shapes (eg, and customs) that match the essence of the Church, and who are capable of maintaining the essence of the given historical conditions and terms. Historical and sociological fact is that Orthodox people can not be satisfied with the level of legal and moral preoccupations which are imposed by the Western way of life.

This ecclesiology, represent all Hierarchs (bishops) of The Church, in particular – and it is important to us – canonist saint, Great Basil of Cappadocia (330th-378). His understanding of the traditions (saga) and customs as a source of law will lasts until nowadays, but remained on the sideline of scientific research.

### **(UN)GENUINE CUSTOM – EXCEPTION AND DISAPPEARANCE**

Ungenuine custom gradually departs and disappears when it's examined by the Truth, that is by the church community.. Before the confrontation between truth and custom, custom temporary keeps the importance and it is used by "ikonomia". Genuine – but locally valid customs that offer a specific solutions, without facing the Truth of the Church (Regula Veritatis), retain the importance of and remain

active in the local areas they are not seeking to expand beyond its borders. About these practices will be discussed in more details later. We emphasize a close connection between Truth and custom, keeping in mind what the Cyprian Carthage, probably for the same reasons, said: “Eld without truth is the old fallacy”.

Affiliation between canons and customs is very strong, since both of them are manifestations of church life. Canons of the Ecumenical Councils can not be restricted by narrow interpretations of grammar (as letter of the law) because they have a deeper, existential content that direct the members of the Church in accordance with the existential needs of people in a particular historical time and space. Until this alignment occurs only with respect for tradition and religious customs. We notice that the authentic interpretation of the canons and customs are critical to keep the missionary character of the Church.

Research under the prism of ecclesiology and ethics lead us to the conclusion that religious practice is an expression, manifestation of ways being a church, in a particular place and historical time.

Eucharistic community place or environment in which customs, traditions, habits and so on. are “verified”, validated and accepted.

Term “sources” of law does not have just one meaning. Source of law, in a formal sense to the question from which follows, is a binding legal rule, whether it formulates the laws, customs or jurisprudence? When it comes to subjects who create custom, it can't be only a state, or also only the Church. Law Sources, in the material sense are “instruments”, deriving power from the Law, ie. then it comes to subjects that create it, and it can be not only state but also the Church. Thus, customs can be source of state and church law both.

The custom is created within a community by community groups, and is expressed only through his (own) use, without formal process by which he would be given importance. The custom is valid in itself, even when the community formally don't adopt or not legalise.

In ancient societies, without non-functional legislature, the custom was the only exclusive source of law. But in later periods, when the legislation is still occupied a limited area, the custom was still representing an important source of law. In spite of then, today (mostly because of the fast with laws publishing), there's not much space and time to develop customs, so the practical importance of them, for the state is small, except in some areas of law (eg trade usage in bussines and autonomous law and the like, as in political survey, of religion and politics).

Traditions are expressed through their ability of being applied, not through their legalisation. Customss are different from the habits, it is not enough to apply them only, but it requires “*opinio necessitatis*”, that is:

- a) that this application encourages the belief that apply a legal rule;
- b) that this application is accepted by the society.

We are here particularly interested in those that occur in *nomocannon's* and in historical life of The Church.

Orthodox Christianity, always during its mission, recognized specific historical situations, respecting the space and geophysical features of the climate, and ethnographic characteristics of each anthropogeographical to which it passed Gospel of salvation. As an example, should remember the great practice of the Church of Constantinople, which respected this principle of the cultural identity of a people, during its Slaven's mission in the 9th century, by the Great ones – Cyril and Methodius.

From Orthodox ecclesiological-canonical view, church custom represents an unwritten rule of behaving, created during the long and uniform practice, in accor-



dance with the conciliar consciousness of the Church and it can, not only to create, but also to cancel other church's legal rules.

In accordance with Article 1, of the Greek Civil Code, a legal rights are covered by laws and customs. This gives to the custom, as a source of law, equal rights in regard to law, because it is a legal rule, which was created during the long and uniform practice, and due to it, with an awareness of the people. Item 2 of Article 2, of the Legislative Decree, from 7-10th May in 1964, the establishment of the Civil Code and the Introductory Act, specifies that "customs are not cancelling the law". This standard may not concern the provisions of domestic law, because in this case, individuals can act according to the law or not, in their private cases. As well as custom springs from decisions of individuals, concluding that abolishing its power can not be excluded, first because it came into conflict with the law that virtually defines the situation of internal law, else they would be in the affirmative situation remained, for this reason no results. As for the rules of civil law, some believe that it is impossible that custom, in fact a legal rule that arises from personal will, can be cancelled. Such a claim can not be true, because the rules of civil law relating to the whole law, which can be changed by customs.

From Orthodox ecclesiological-canonical view, can be concluded that the church custom, which is the unwritten legal rule, created during the long and uniform practice, in accordance with the conciliar consciousness of the Church, can, not only to create, but also to cancel legal rule (although the Byzantine interpreters canon thought, that it couldn't have abolishing power).

Byzantine Valsamon lawyer says that "the custom, during the time, is tempted and thus it/the time, confirm it's power". All this tells us how great is the importance of customs in canon law. At least for the Orthodox tradition, reviving traditions does not mean an archaeological reconstruction of the past, or individually-pietistic "worship of antiquity".

In the Orthodox Church, custom doesn't exist only to decorate the cultural life of the people in certain area, although the fact that he significantly, sometimes decisively contributes to the development of human culture. Traditions of the Church and it's customs, exist so that people and nations could be directed towards to high, shaping the consciousness and the general attitude about the world, about human relationships and our relationship with God. All of this can be expressed by means of various religious customs.

### **CONSTELLATION OF RELATIONSHIPS FOR SURVIVAL AND QUALITY OF CUSTOMS**

At the time of occurrence of christianity, the audience of Christ's sermons were mainly Jews who were invited to accept a new law of grace and abandon the tradition of men, ie. tradition of learning law (representing the oral law, and which are dangerous trying to introduce the ceremonial provisions).

Jesus Christ tempted the teachers of the law because they were willing to overstep the law of God to preserve their "tradition", "the tradition of the praetors". Jesus Christ said that He is the only authentic interpreter of the Mosaic Law and therefore not accepted by the Pharisees, but only by the people. Law of Jesus Christ has abolished a number of typical provisions of the Law of Moses, and Christians freed from this obligation. Apostolic Synod found only some obligations for Christians of all the people (= not the Jews), for example, to stay away from bloodshed and prostitution.

For the Mosaic Law and the local articles, time was needed to be interpreted, to make them understandable, and accessible.

Extraneous tradition are occasionally occurred and manifested in certain environments (localities) and certain periods of time. It's the same with customs, following the social development, same as traditions. Such traditions contrary to the Orthodox traditions were the ones that have been introduced to the Holy Mountain, in the era of Turkish enslavement. A similar thing happened during the arrival of educated people who were returning from the West, after the French revolution, bringing with them the idea of humanism. This spiritual condition leding locally, but in general, to change the Orthodox spirit. However, there were many who did not accept the spirit of modern (modernism) and those who opposed, citing their faith.

Opposed to them, people and monks, who contemptuously were called "conservatives". In this case, the struggle leads not to leave the customs, but to leave the tradition that created them.

In the twentieth century, with compulsory education and the mass production of books, patristic teaching has become available to all the people. Foreign customs and traditions are still resisting therapeutic means. However, today sees the increase in heretical teachings, such as, inter alia, ethnophiletism (narrow nationalism) and institutions auxiliary bishop and Synod congregation without authority, and the gradual weakening of parish life.

Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople, as the universal Church, as the highest church-law top, along with other patriarchates of East, expressed a great understanding of the Latins. Latins, untill the separation between East and West, considered brothers of same faith, despite the foreign customs that were adopted which did not carry the stamp of authenticity. This attitude of the East did not mean that they accepted or recognized by the customs of the West. These foreign practices were foreign to the body of the church of nomocannon's order, because:

a) the introduction of foreign customs in the western church led to the heretical confession "Filioque" and this resulted in the separation of East and West;

b) law-church sourcing of customs, was covered guise of modernization, and Latins adopted it because they had a penchant for innovation and modernity.

Church "iconomia"(= intake), and appreciation of this attitude of the West, was applied because of the following reasons:

1. Application of foreign customs could not lead in separation beteen the Latins from the East;

2. These customs are not immediately alarmed nomocannon's order;

3. Western nations are not easily obeyed new customs, mostly because of their character;

4. They wrongly thought they are obeying local traditions;

5. There was no parliamentary control;

6. Government of the Roman Church was trying to make order with Inquisition.

Lawyer and patriarch Photius accepted (representing the Eastern church tradition), via letter, to Pope Nicholas, the local importance, of anticannonian custom of fasting on Saturdays, which respected the Latins as a local tradition. Based on this view of the Great Photius, we can conclude that the East respected local traditions of the West, although they were anticannonian's. The aim of this paragraph was the hope that will perform time of enlightenment and purification, and that means as well as the separation of genuine from foreign customs. The request that East asked Western Church, was to respect and cherish the orthodox tradition, to overcome the alienation and foreignness.

The Church has for centuries fought for the preservation of it's truth. It conflicted with the Gnostics, Arians, Nestorians, and Apolinaristima Monofistima. Ancient Rome began a new process of continuous deviation.

As opposition to the Vatican and the Parliament, was established the Old Catholic Church which aimed to restore the faith of the ancient Church, as it is confirmed by the Ecumenical Councils.

**(ANTI)THESIS BETWEEN THE MODERN CHURCH AND STATE –  
A CONFLICT AND RESISTANCE**

Practices can not be investigated separately, but only as part of church law that they express. Every modern state deals with relations between the Holy canonical and state law. There is a view that separates the customs and give constitutional significance to those related to the dogma and religion, and another view, by espousing the constitutional importance of the canon, without exception.

Internal unity, which connects customs with the written law, has characteristics analogous to the laws of society-state, depending on the relations arising from the relationship of church and state. For this reason, and it appears different pictures of each state with regard to her Orthodox flock. Each state has the Orthodox attitude to the canons, which are recognized or not recognized by the state constitution.

The church was established as a figure and symbol of the Holy Trinity but there is a need for earthly basis for preserving their essence and nature. She is independent and may exclusively with their own legislation, to organize and act in certain places, and to lead his flock using their policies. In the service of this goal, society-state, with it's leaders, seeks to freedom and order, in the organized community of people.

Direct streaming of social canon is diverse and depends on the ideological base of every society. Church, from apostolic times, accepting the fact that state power is given by God to people as a gift of His love, (Only-begotten Son =), as witnessed by the apostle Paul. If the country can accept such a relationship, it becomes assistant to the Church in carrying out her pastoral work, its law and administration, like it was the case in the Byzantine state. This principle has inspired the relationship between law and custom, which are expressed with Nomocanons. Nomocanon of Photius, patriarch of Constantinople, in its regulations, where the church is guided by it's free will, without of use of force by the Society, the problems of order and standards of conduct of the church, are regulated not only with church canines, but with the emperor`s decrees and laws. Typical example for this is the custom Valsamon explained, about the admission for acception of women into the monastic order and life. King Teostef made it official by a decree, this ancient custom, without pre-existing written law, that is, that the vestal could become a woman who lived in the monastery for at least three months. Therefore, Nikifor The Confessor compares the law with reason, custom with act.

Harmonious coexistence and collaboration of the two powerties, is noteworthy, because the Byzantine emperors expressed their respect and obedience, not only to the canons, but also to native customs of The Church.

The connection of those two systems – government and the Church, the state government rules and manages with the church. Secular government takes part in the church because of the problems expressed by the state management of the church. In fact, the Church belongs to the state body, it is used by the state and all issues related to the church are reflected as a social issue. State intervention are not always the same for all areas and time, they are transforming under the influence of the measure and type of religious dependence of the population or state authorities.

The position of the modern state is totally different from the position of the Church. This transformation of the modern state was made as a result of ideological currents running in the west, the older and more recent period. Change this position is the result of ideological streamings who started on the West, under the influence of the spirit of the Renaissance, and epoch of enlightenment. In the 19th century is manifested by the request of society, that is, the state requires absolute authority. In modern constitutions, emphasizing the absolute authority of the people, as the highest state authority. Man is absolute value, while in the Byzantine State, the absolute authority people recognize only in God.

Consequence of these changes is the development of theory of state, in fact, the whole World theory of the state. The laws and customs of the Church are valid only until the moment they stop to agree with the laws of the state, i.e. with certain social class. In other case, the society is free to react and act, contrary to church law and tradition. Antithesis between the modern state and the church can turn into an conflict.

Church, is interested in the behavior of society. Faith of modern man in the ideal man, and all good of this World, are expressed with monolectic spirit, and with movement called "saecularismus". Antithesis between the modern state and the church can turn into a conflict, when a custom is recognized as the original, and when it's broken, it reflects the proper functioning of church life. Such a situation was created 1890- 1891, when the Ecumenical Patriarchate shut their temples and suspend church service. As a result, happened rebellion against the culprits. Grand vizier was forced to give to Patriarch to certain privileges, which represented one aspect of reconciliation between church and state.

In addition to this form of resistance, the Church can accept a temporary state regulation, the principle of "ikonomia", to temporarily protect it's flock. "Ikonomia" principle applies only when the church leadership is satisfied only with this was justified, but the spiritual damage may have bad effects. Such action takes the canon of the Apostles XCIII. "Ikonomia" principle, does not mean accepting the national legislation, but is an effort to avoid a greater evil. There may be a vestal pollution of the sinless body of the church, a reception heresy or using illegal methods and with sinful church leaders. This offense remains as a foreign body in the Church as an torture, but it is a passing phenomenon, because after experiencing this difficulty, the ecclesial community finds it's peace and it's glory. Illegal actions of church officials, does not mean that they are approved by the Church and that they express it's will as "God-Man"'s organism. In periods of heresy was noticed dominance of lies, quickly replaced by the Truth, of which we are assured by "Sinodik" of Orthodoxy.

### **CHARACTERISTICS OF ORIGIN OF CUSTOMS**

Origin of custom sets it's character. Determination of simple existence of customs has a corresponding meaning and importance in relation to the authenticity/origin of established customs.

It is interesting that the formalization of custom or tradition have not been performed exclusively by the church courts, but also by the civil courts, for example. the Royal bem, a church competence. Valsamon noted that the Royal Court had accepted the church custom as the original one, and that it admitted to it the same value and strength that written religious laws have, ie. canons, and that formalized religious custom with "memorandum", ie. special decision. Follows, that the importance of judicial formalization of custom, is very important, and it represents characteristic of church order.

Any court decision related to the formalization of practices, it can be accepted as strong proof of authenticity/origin of customs, when it meet certain requirements in order to confirm it's authenticity/origin. The issue of external values of a judicial decision, can be opposed, depending of attitudes of members of the court, or because a certain lack of decisions and legal formulations.

The following prerequisites must be done in order to determine the authenticity/origin of customs:

1. Participants in the court evaluation and making decisions, they must be experts in the topics which are under consideration;
2. Participants-Bishops enjoy the special trust by the state (when it comes to proper assessment of certain issues, because of their holiness), are therefore required to responsibly perform their duties.

When it comes to idolatrous or pagan practices and their introduction into the church, the Church is opposed to them at the beginning: in certain cases, it was able to verify a person before his/her introduction to Christianity, and later it did because the Christian community was closely connected between themselves. Later, when they applied the new proselites, in large numbers, who were not spiritually mature, comes to the problem of foreign customs, which are different and require proselites attempts to introduce this customs to the church community. This is why the teachers attempted to separate themselves from these foreign customs and habits. Some of these foreign and unguenuine customs, were funeral customs of idolater and custom loyalty of believers to outside-dressing' also custom of concubinate that Church not accepted. Worth mentioning is the attitude of believers who forgot their thirst for monasticism, dealing with every day concerns only. Because they despised earthly glory and success, the Christians were exiled, because they introduced their, new laws, rejecting "ancestral law", as Gallery said.

The Church done cautiously with foreign customs, trying to implement it's influence in their development. Customs of idolaters, Church decided to accept by placing them in the church body, removing from them all idolatrous content. The Church did this by adding in idolatrous places Christian content, during the time of celebration, holding it's similar celebrations. Thus, the orgiastic ceremonies "Daphne" were replaced with praise in honor canonized Babyil.

Constantine was implementing modesty wherever he noticed the dominance of disorder, a unharmony and debauchery. He destroyed a large number of idolatrous temples, and proved that the idols are without soul and any power. This procedure is spreaded to the entire region of empire.

Church, from the very beginning, set against the idolatrous customs, because it was aware that later had to carry out many victims of their own, and later the spiritual damage would much bigger. On the other hand, the ancient customs have become customs of the church, with prior removal of idolatrous elements from them.

### **WORK OF BASIL-THE GREAT CAPADOKIAN**

A former teacher of law, St. Basil The Great lived and worked in the fourth century and had extremely versatile personality. It is an indisputable fact that Basil was not only highly perspicacious as Hellenist scholar, but also he was an eminent lawyer with a distinctive academic style, with whome he earned an epithet "The Great".

Basil's achievements are not only marked with methodically-erminetic erudition, but also with deep tradition, the analysis of the previous church heritage and experienced by choosing what is most important, it opens new horizons in the field of church-canonical "ikonemies".

Basil was not only a interpreter of the canon, but also the ultimate interpretator of the criminal law (manslaughter and premeditated murder), family law (issues of bigamy, and polygamy trigamy, marriage vetos, termination of marriage, etc.). As well as in many other aspects of law and for complex legal issues.

VI Ecumenical Council, held in 691st, during the reign of Justinian II Rinotmit, in it`s second canon verify 92 Canons of Basil The Great.

#### **CONNECTION OF CANONS AND TRADITIONS, IMPORTANCE OF CONNECTIONS TO PRESERVE THE CHARACTER OF THE CHURCH MISSIONARY**

Holy Canons, concerning either religion or dogma or canonical order, they all serve to same purpose, that is, to church. The term “canon” officially appeared on the first Ecumenical Council called by Constantine the Great, in 325. in Nicaea, and it talks about the protection and preservation of church order, but also included a proper life and Faith . In addition, meeting this term even in the epistle, in the whole church organism and in the Church’s practice of monasticism. This term, the canon, overcame and created the terms “canonical” monks, “canonical” crimes, “canonical” epistles or “canonical” exceptions.

The uniqueness of the church rules and regulations is reflected in the unique criterion, with whome the Church values lifes of it`s believers. In due correct their mistakes, first considers life of a sinners. The uniqueness of the rules and canons of the Church, testify that it is not possible to separate some of them and that it retains it`s value completely. This uniqueness exists and is valid for the relationship between custom and the canon, because they represent related manifestations of religious practice.

#### **FAMILY PRAISE, AS WELL AS CUSTOM AND RELIGIOUS RITUAL**

The Serbian Orthodox Church implemented many foreign customs. These are primarily impacts of the Byzantine Empire, then of Mount Athos, Jerusalem, and Russia, and partly also of the West.

Family praise, as well as custom and religious ritual is one, the main features of the Serbian people and can be said that this custom is serve as a supplement to the canon. The great importance of patron saint for the life of the Serbian people is indisputable.

Slavs were, before they accepted Christianity, polytheistic people. They had their gods and various cults. When individual researchers write and speak about the Family praise/baptismal font as a feature of comparison to other Christians, often bring a definite solution that praise has it’s own source in Polytheistic religion of ancient Slaven. Old Slavs had, among other things, the belief that every home has its own patron god. These were called domestic gods or Penats. Since the Slavs had great respect for the household gods, Christian missionaries in return gave them the Family praise as the ceremony and custom, to respected some christian saints and who they considered for their patron (please refer to the history of the Serbian Church, with Sljepcevic and others).

Family praise is definitely one religeous ceremony. What has emerged as a dilemma or puzzle above all, in people’s minds, the question: Does the ritual patron saint based on the rites of polytheistic religion of ancient Slavs, or on the Christian cult. Imposing this dilemma, they interpreted the inability to reconcile with the truth, that the acceptance of Christianity was an expression of freedom of polytheistic nations as Serbs were.

Family praise as the ritual prayer, based on Christian worship and the arises from the Central Christian worship (Divine Liturgy), just like any other worship of the Christian Church. This attitude is not based on intuition or supposition, nor it is derived from our mere desire to be so, but in the real and the apparent perception of prayers and actions which appear in the event of the Divine Liturgy, i.e. family praise.

The important elements that are most commonly used in the performance of the Divine Liturgy of Christian worship are: Bread, wine and water, wheat, oil, etc., as people yield to the Church for consecrating the whole matter.

Christians often performed their worship on other places: under the open sky, in the homes of Christians in the catacombs, in the caves, on the ships etc. That does not mean that they did not desire to be in one place, but it is important to know that for worship is not necessary to be in temple. What is clearly needed is two or three who believe in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. Liturgy is never considered as worship and praise, if there were no conciliar. A man can have a prayer, his private prayer may have significance for him and for the community, but never such a significance as a religious service i.e. Liturgy. Therefore, an independent prayer has always been only preparation for the conciliar liturgy.

On this and other "pagan leftovers", today a certain number of researchers tell their stories about, as some ethnologists and atheists (Marxist), western "experts in religion" which, do not even know the actual customary or church-law order and life of Orthodox people, for example, they say that Christmas is established (25th December) as a "holiday sun cult", although it is actually Christmas, church-people, Christian celebration, Christ the true of God as the "Sun of Justice" – "East from a height", as we sing the Christmas hymn.

In terms of the polytheistic religion of Slavs before receiving the christian faith, the researchers, whether they are theists or atheists, we find two characteristic attitudes: the first one is to be on polytheistic religion of ancient Slavs, based on their fear of the phenomena in nature that had no rational an explanation. Such were their ceremonies. Ceremonies has always been depending on the faith. In short: how you believe, is how you pray and serve/obey the ceremony. If anyone believed that gods lived on Mount Olympus, he went there and worshiped them and made sacrifices everything for what he thought was pleases to them. Some are, in their rituals, thinking that it is pleasant to their gods, offered and sacrificed live people. Is all this primitivism, or perhaps a cry of a human in hiser search for answers to the question, that many agree that it is as old as human him/herself? Religion is thus a companion of people and nations during time, and her expression always been expressed with an ritual. Based on these facts, proponents of this thesis estimate that it is a primitive form of belief, and thus the cult and culture. Second, would say, the newer view is that the old Slavs with all of their religiosity, which certainly includes their cults, were in a major search for the Truth, whose arrival was felt in the upcoming Christianity.

Christianity came like an light after the dark night, so it is accepted by those who searched the light of Truth. However, no darkness is so dark and that it does not have even the slightest spark of light. That is why Christian missionaries approached to paganize nations and with an awareness of their metamorphosis, not of their destruction.

The Parliament of faithful ones, always had in itself and in front of itself, the most committed priest who, on behalf of all, saying prayers and did key liturgical action. The role of the priest certainly was of great importance, but never dare to go into egoism which would humiliate the ones who stand beside him.

During the family praise, we have a number of identical motifs with liturgical worship. Family praise has always been a sort of parliament of the faithful ones. The host was the one who takes care of everything and who manage with this ceremony. The presence of the priest was, that ceremony bread, wine and wheat be weared that morning in the Church for consecrating by priest or if he is able to come and do all this in the home of host and his family. Custom of the home and host, in celebration of its patron saint`s day, did not object to or being different from the customs that they make during the liturgical celebration. It is customary also, at that day, to wear the best clothes, not to be angry, and that they are forgiven, that are getting together in one place to give honor and to celebrate the saint. This would be never understandably without knowing that it is fundamental practice of Christian culture, that proto had from the beginning expressed and preserved by God`s chosen people of Israel. The Church, as the New Israel, has a duty and responsibility to preserve and forward customs, in order to transform and salvate the World. Custom is that one who is the oldest and most respected (the host that day to be servant of all), shows how this is rooted in the teachings of the work of Christ: “He who wants to be first among you, shall be servant of all”.

Serbs are undoubtedly Christian nation, and custom of family praise is a wonderful expression of their Christian culture and Christian way of life.

**“AVATON”; MOUNT ATHOS REGULATIONS; TRADITIONS IN THE PRACTICE OF GREEK COURTS; SAINT SAVA NEMANJIC – QUALIFIER OF SPIRITUAL AND CIVILIZATIONAL AFFILIATION OF SERBIA**

Avaton is the name of the custom which strictly prohibits entry of women at the Holy Mountain, that is, the Atos. Avaton is one of the ancient rules, which are written in the Greek Constitution in 1975. and in 1986, in accordance with the act 105th paragraph 3. Avaton is a custom that has been created and become the original church custom with the local character.

Holy Avaton absolutely expresses the Orthodox tradition related to the monastic life and that`s the reason he held a series of centuries, till this day and enjoys great respect. Regula, which verifies the Greek Constitution, (and with Constitution of the Holy Mountain), (Section 186). On the Peninsula, Mount Athos is prohibited from entering women, in accordance with the old tradition. Avaton is accredited and with “Typology” of communities of Athos, who confirmed it`s customary, written confirmation of Avaton represents formalized customary of regulations. Modern State, sometimes expressed wish (of modern community), to abolish Avaton.

Avaton principle in the Orthodox Church, includes a set of rules of canonical Byzantine and civil law. These provisions have a double content:

1. Prohibit monks and nuns out of the monastery of their repentance. Exit is allowed only for the necessary reasons and with the respect of certain procedures;
2. Prohibits the enter in complex, or even in the area of the monastery, to certain categories of individuals or animals.

The justification for declaring Avaton, consecration of monks and monasteries to characteristics of monastic life, and protection from the causes of blasphemy and scandal.

Nomocanon basis of Avaton is fully expressed in First Corinthians Epistle, of the Apostle Paul, Chapter 10, 31 and 11. Avaton legal term is in (10) canons, of founders of monastic life, Anthony the Great, and in the canon XCVII, of the Sixth Ecumenical Council and in the 18th canon of the Seventh Ecumenical Council.



Avaton tradition has been respected by every foreign invader and dictatorial governments. Avaton custom is rooted in the prohibition imposed by the Church – the clergy to live together with women.

All presented ecclesiology represented also Saint Sava Nemanjić and medieval Church among the Serbian people. Dynasty is the one who has provided ongoing geopolitical legacy and set spiritual and civilizational belonging of Serbia. In a time of great physical and geographical distances, confessional and social splittings, religious exceptions and significant civilisation diversity on the European continent, the medieval Serbian can be defined as country of pluralism. Nemanjić's medieval Serbian state was the country of confessional, cultural and ethnic pluralism. Unity was specifically reaffirmed at the religious and national parliaments, as the rulers of Nemanjić's dynasty often assembled parliament, where they were with those "chosen from God". Venerable bishops and fathers, renewed the faith of Christ, and in every good law and taught them (ie councils) assessed in their homeland Hermits (= devotion), giving the example of themselves. Archbishop of Serbia are not substantiate any historical stage of the process of church organization. They did not, the Church among their people, felt as the "gift" or "property" of Constantinople or Rome, not only as the legal "organization" in who commands someone outside and above the reality of the Episcopal Church. Today's exaggeration of the importance of principles of autocephalous ("one-and-only National Church") by many modern theologians, canonologists, lawyers can't be very helpful and always necessary renewal of the Church, especially in an age in which we live.



Dragan Novaković

**FROM "NAČERTANIJE" (DRAFT) ON CLERICAL AUTHORITIES  
TO THE LAW ON CHURCHES AND RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES  
(170 Years of the Serbian Orthodox Church Legislation)**

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**INTRODUCTION**

The independence of Serbia faced its intellectual elite with numerous challenges and implied defining new tasks for science, which had been aiming its potentials towards studying and affirmation of the entire Yugoslav heritage and priorities in function of stabilization and elimination of every attempt of denial of institutionally established domination of ideological authorities for decades. An intolerable neglect of certain scientific areas was revealed, along with a need to organize systematic research for the purpose of removing noticed omissions, filling historical voids and eliminating ideologically imposed marginalization of certain significant topics. Previously determined and systematically stimulated scientific projects did not cover sufficiently the entire complex of questions related to cultural achievements, artistic values, legal heritage, spirituality, linguistic characteristics, anthropogeographic distinctiveness and ethnological heritage from all areas populated by the Serbian people.

Scientific discontinuity that had occurred during the period of socialist Yugoslavia also became noticeable in complex segment of legal regulation of religious freedom and relationship between the church and the state and religious communities. The consideration that there was a discontinuity of development and that a significant area of state and church law, systematically developed over the entire 19th century and significantly improved by the constitutional and legal solutions enacted by the Kingdom of SCS – Yugoslavia, was now left to historical oblivion, was a motif for writing this paper, wishing to represent the legislature that has been regulating the position of the Serbian Orthodox Church from "Načertanije" (Draft) on Clerical Authorities from 1836 until the latest Law on Legal Status of Churches and Religious Communities from 2006.

The thesis on four clearly separated periods resulting from the constitutional status of churches and religious communities will be proved by analyzing legal texts, situating them within the sociohistorical context from which they arose and identifying dominant political forces that had determinant impact on their forming. The first period coincides with the Principality and Kingdom of Yugoslavia where Orthodoxy was the official state religion, the second one with the Kingdom of SCS – Yugoslavia where the concept of conditional separateness was applied along with retained sovereignty of the State over the Serbian Orthodox Church, the third period is marked by complete separateness during the period of socialist state, and the fourth began after the changes that occurred in October 2000 with an attempt to affirm, respecting the constitutional separateness and accepting the highest European standards, certain

specificities resulting from the Serbian history and tradition and eliminate negative consequences from the period of rule of the ideological system.

### **THE PRINCIPALITY AND KINGDOM OF SERBIA**

#### **Načertanije” (Draft) on Clerical Authorities of 1836**

Carefully observing the circumstances on the international scene and skilfully using continuous conflicts between Russia and the Ottoman Empire, Prince Miloš successfully solved the problem within the State by issuing a special Sultan Charter (Hatisherif) on internal self-government in Serbia (Стојанчевић 1994, 120). Knowing that the freedom of the State would have been incomplete if the Church had remained dependant, he energetically started negotiations with the Ecumenical Patriarchate with the aim of providing autonomy for the Church in Serbia and establishing national hierarchy. After a series of difficult negotiations, which also included solving financial obligations of Serbia towards Fanar, the Act on Autonomy was finally accomplished (Анастасијевић 1910, 13–5). By the act of dedication of Archimandrite Melentije, as the first Serb at the position of Belgrade Metropolitan since the time of the abolition of the Patriarchate of Peć and withdrawal of Greek hierarchy, carefully designed and skilfully realized plans of Prince Miloš for solving the issue of the Church in Serbia were successfully brought to an end (Швабић 1903).

Having chosen learned and energetic Petar Jovanović for position of the Metropolitan of Serbia, Prince Miloš obliged him to strengthen the organization of the Church, establish hierarchy in performance of religious rites, discipline the clergymen and prepare the text of basic church law. Having the Prince’ full support and knowing well the difficulty of the situation within the Church and low level of ability of the hierarchy and clergymen and carried by the vision of necessity of gradual liberation of the Church from unrestricted control of the State and harmonization of church life with the Orthodox canons, he started to elaborate the basic church law i.e. the Constitution of the Autonomous Church within the Principality (Епископ шабачко-ваљевски Јован 1969, 302).

During a three-year period of time, a number of texts of the law had been elaborated and submitted to the Prince and Soviet (Council) and the monarch studied them carefully, modified them and, dissatisfied with the solutions that proposed a higher degree of Church emancipation from the State than expected and, for that historical period, even possible, he would send them back for further improving (Дурковић Јакшић 2004, 16). Having adjusted one of the offered versions to his own vision of the position of the Church and using short-term validity of, for that time, modern and advanced Sretenje Constitution, the Prince legitimized the “Načertanije” (Draft) on Clerical Authorities in Serbia at the Spiritual Assembly in 1836.

The first nineteen articles of the “Načertanije” (Draft) determined basic issues upon which depended efficient functioning of the Consistory as a spiritual court and the Church as a whole. Archbishops represented the supreme spiritual authority in Serbia and their task was counselling and solving all the issues related to the Church and faith, but their jurisdiction was significantly restricted because of their submission to the Prince as a secular ruler. Since the Archbishops were lacking a permanent place of residence, the Consistory was to exercise authority for them, as a representative of common spiritual authority within the Principality, whose main task was considering and solving religious and church issues. If some important issues were

on agenda, the Archbishops would have been included in decision making process or their attitude on every particular issue would have been submitted in written form. The supremacy of monarch over the Church also included the obligation of the Consistory to submit all their important conclusions to the Prince for his further approval. The Consistory consisted of five members, one of which was the President, while the others were Referees for particular church areas... The President was the Metropolitan and the members were four clergymen from the entire territory of the Principality of Serbia. The remaining twelve articles of the "Načertanije" (Draft), from 20th to 31st, were regulating the issues of the Consistory, the means of processing cases, civil liabilities of clergymen and monks, admission to priesthood, choice of hierarchy and other important issues. Consistorial jurisdiction included the following areas: Confession of Faith and Worship; Education for Spiritual Act and Clergy Discipline; Church Economy and Civil Cases (Митровић 1909, 17–36).

"Načertanije" (Draft) could be characterized as an act of historical significance, since it was the first time Serbia gained a written Church law passed according to a valid procedure. It was deemed to be a historical step forward and a bold act of the Metropolitan Petar and that Prince Miloš's way the rule did not leave much place for accomplishing some greater results. There was also a significant inconsistency related to the essence of the law itself, since certain connoisseurs of the matter considered it to be a state act that regulated a significant area, while the others, because of the status of the Church within the State, opted for the attitude that the Church Constitution was created through the process of harmonization between the Archbishops, as the supreme spiritual authority, and the Prince and Assembly as representatives of the state will.

#### **Organization of Clerical Authorities of the Principality of Serbia of 1847**

Opposition declared as the Defenders of the Constitution used the abdication of both Prince Miloš and, later, his heir Prince Mihailo to convene the assembly where Karadžić's son Aleksandar was elected for the new Prince. Implementing their political vision, the Defenders of the Constitution took determined measures to break off with the Ottoman heritage, efface negative effects of Miloš's rule and try to change conservative and static Serbian society, reform it and direct it towards Europe, which they considered to be a role model. They started a number of reforms with the aim of establishing modern polity, passed several modern laws and founded the most significant national cultural institutions (Милићевић 1994, 272).

Remaining undefined towards the changes at the throne and new course of state policy, Metropolitan Petar offered, at the end of February 1840, the new text of the law, according to which clerical authorities would consist of Eparchial Consistories, Apelatory Consistory and the Holy Synod of Bishops. Reservedness of the authorities towards the offered proposal, included introducing certain changes that were to enable greater influence of the State over the church affairs. Not ready for confrontation with the Church, Prince Aleksandar formed representative board with the task to review the offered text and make some suggestions. Complexity of the entire issue made forming an attitude towards it a bit difficult, but that did not prevent Prince Aleksandar from adopting the "Organization of Clerical Authorities of the Principality of Serbia" (Устројеније духовних власти Књажества Србскога) together with the Soviet in August 1847 (Спасовић, 1988, 137-142).

In accordance with the policy of the Defenders of the Constitution concerning the thorough transformation of the Serbian society, it was logical and expected that the Serbian Church should have also gained freedom of managing their own affairs, as well as the responsibility for all the consequences of such means of government. According to the Organization (Ustrojenije), the eparchial consistories were choosing their members independently, with the obligation of obtaining a formal certificate from the Holy Synod of Bishops and informing the Ministry of Education. The members were paid regularly for their service and were exempt from the Prince's confirmation and taking the appropriate oath. Administrative staff was elected by the consistories with notifying the Ministry of the choice, which brought an end to previous practice that the Prince should confirm the choice of a secretary. The consistories were allowed to address the Government (Praviteljstvo) only through the Metropolitan. The priests were exempt from responsibility in front of civil authorities, except in case of trials related to private litigations, inheritance and disposal of property. The Apelatory Consistory was also provided a high level of independence, which included free choice of their members and reaching decisions independently from any other authority. Harmonization of the Organization (Ustrojenije) with the Orthodox canons was especially noticeable through the provision that the Holy Synod of Bishops consisted only of Bishops and its confirmed right to regulate the most important issues of the Church. The most significant step forward represented the decrees of election of new Bishops, according to which they were independently chosen by the Synod with the obligation to submit the candidate's name to the Prince for appointment (Organization of Clerical Authorities of the Principality of Serbia, 1847). The above listed decrees indicate that this was a historical act that provided autonomy of the Orthodox Church in relation to the State and enabled the relevant church authorities to start the complex procedure of harmonization of the church life with the canonical order (Ружичић 1981, June, July).

#### **Law on the Orthodox Church Authorities of 1862**

Having established the predominance at the St. Andrew's Assembly, the Obrenović supporting majority made the list of the greatest enemies of the dynasty, among which was also the Metropolitan Petar. Lonely and without protection, with a note from the old Prince not to wait for him in the country, he submitted his resignation to the regents, which was accepted and the administration of the Metropolis was assigned to the Bishop of Šabac Mihailo (Илић 1911, 387). Having regained his ruling position, Prince Miloš took a number of measures with the aim of complete elimination of the results of the rule of Prince Aleksandar and the political group that had forced him to abdicate. Having realized that divisions within the country represented a serious threat to its stability, successor Mihailo stepped forward with the attitude of necessity of reconciliation among the people and cessation of dynastic conflicts, but he also established institutional mechanisms for absolutist rule by subordination of the Soviet to his own will and constant oppression of the opposition. The assassination in Košutnjak in 1868 interrupted a carefully formulated foreign policy and comprehensive measures for forming an alliance of Balkan countries.

The Serbian Orthodox Church could not have stayed excluded from the Obrenović dynasty all-round system of control, especially after taking into consideration the animosity of Prince Miloš towards the Metropolitan Petar and the fact that the canon and, for that time, liberal Law form 1847 was passed under his influence.

The law that had ensued from the political philosophy and legal practice of the Defenders of the Constitution should have been immediately repealed and, through a new law, institutional control and subordination of complete organization of the Serbian Church to the will of the ruling dynasty and new political forces should have been established. Knowing that time was not on his side and that he should act efficiently, Metropolitan Mihailo prepared and submitted new project of the law, but the Soviet insisted upon formation of a special committee and appointed their president for the chairman. Specially elected representative deputized the Metropolitan within the committee with the task to ask for appreciation of the Synod's proposals in the process of formulation of canonical issues and to prevent state authorities from having too great a role. The law adopted in 1862 did not entirely satisfy the Metropolitan's expectations, but it was obvious that the established balance of power did not allow achieving some better results.

The Law on the Orthodox Church Authorities was divided in three parts: "Organization of Church Authorities", "Procedure of Church Authorities at Trial" and "On Penalties that Consistories May Sentence Clergymen to". At the beginning of the first part, the Law determined the following church authorities: Eparchial Consistory, Apelatory Consistory, the Holy Synod of Bishops and Bishops. The Eparchial Consistory was a church authority established with the Bishops, consisting of President and four members, two of which were permanent, whereas the Consistory with the Metropolitan consisted of six members, i.e. three permanent and three honorary. The President of the Eparchial Consistory was elected among the Archpriests. It was required that one member be a monk, with the limitation of being excluded from solving matrimonial disputes. The Apelatory Consistory was a church authority established to judge the deeds that the Eparchial Consistories could not solve within their jurisdiction. The Appellate Court of the Church consisted of President, Vice President, four permanent and three honorary members. The President was elected among the Bishops by the Holy Synod of Bishops once a year and the Vice president was one of the Archimandrites. Vice President and members were elected by the Metropolitan who would submit his choice to the Ministry of Education and Religious Affairs, who would further submit it to the Prince for final appointment. The Holy Synod of Bishops was the supreme church authority established to rule the Church and clergy according to the Orthodox faith and provide necessary orders and rules for proper functioning of the Archbishop and Apelatory Consistories. The second part of the Law was dealing with judicial proceedings of church authorities at trials and, at the beginning, it was cited that the Eparchial Consistories were judging the offences of clergymen related to their service and misbehaviour but only in case that the Archbishop, to whom the complaint was submitted, estimated that the court should give greater penalty than admonition, 15 days of epithimy (dwelling in a monastery) or prohibition of carrying out their service for a period of one month. The third part of the Law was dealing with the penalties the Consistories could sentence clergymen to, and they were divided into admonition, epithimy, temporary or permanent defrocking, temporary or permanent prohibition of carrying out their service, transfer from one parish to another, i.e. from one monastery to another and laicization (*Закон о црквеним властима православне вере 1862*).

The new law represented a dramatic step backwards compared to the achieved emancipation of the Church from the control mechanisms of the State. The Church found it hardest to accept the provisions according to which Bishops were not

allowed to be presidents of Eparchial Consistories that were most commonly judging various offences of clergymen (Дучић 1894). Regular annual reports on the activities of the Eparchial Consistory were submitted to the Minister of Education and Religious Affairs by Archbishops. The President and members of the Apelatory Consistory were confirmed by the Prince and that church authority was subordinated to the Minister. The Holy Synod of Bishops consisted of Bishops, but a number of articles of the law enabled the State to have influence over the activities and decisions of the supreme church authority. Establishing that sort of system, the ruling circle provided some kind of division of responsibilities with the church authorities, with an open possibility of becoming dominant, depending on circumstances (Перић 1999, 186).

**Law on Amendments and Supplements to the  
Law on the Orthodox Church Authorities of 1882**

Having accepted the ultimatum of the army, the Parliament confirmed the election of underage Milan Obrenović for the Prince of Serbia. After reaching his maturity, the young Prince took over the rule in complex circumstances marked by great conflicts in Europe, preparations of Russia to independently solve the issue of Turkish territories in Balkans and continuous riots in the neighbouring countries. Owing to great diplomatic efforts, what had been won in wars against the Ottoman Empire was kept at the Congress of Berlin convened with the aim of revising the Treaty of San Stefano created on Russia's demand. The great forces recognized the independence of Serbia, but that success was significantly diminished by the approval given to Austro-Hungarian Empire to occupy Bosnia and Herzegovina (Попов 1994, 420–21).

Starting from the international recognition of the its independence, the Serbian state and Metropolitan initiated the negotiations with the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople with the aim of providing full autocephaly of the Church of Serbia. Realizing the necessity of accepting the new reality, the Holy Synod of Bishops of the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople issued, in 1879, tomos on the full independence of the Church of Serbia (Митрополит Михаило 1895). Providing, within a period of two years, both the State and church independence, Prince Milan and Metropolitan Mihailo have achieved great success and set an example for everyone that a young state may possess vitality and readiness to confront the challenges of its time.

Responding to the new circumstances in his own manner, with shaken confidence in Russian diplomacy, Prince Milan was becoming more and more attached to the Austro-Hungarian Empire, which led him directly into conflict with Metropolitan Mihailo, who was an advocate of the Slavic gathering and great opponent of the Dual Monarchy. Progressive government used passing of the Law on Taxes and the Metropolitan's harsh protest because of the discrepancies between the implemented solutions and the church canons for suggesting to the Prince to dethrone the Metropolitan, which was confirmed by issuing an appropriate decree in 1881 (Јовановић 1934, 408–09).

Encouraged by the dethronement of the Metropolitan, the Government prepared, and the National Assembly adopted the new church legislation at the end of December of 1882. The Law on Amendments and Supplements to the Law on the Orthodox Church Authorities from 1862 included a number of novelties the main goal of which was complete subordination of the Church to the State and marginalization of centuries-old canons on the basis of which every Orthodox church is orga-



nized. According to the provisions of the new law, the Holy Synod of Bishops consisted of, besides the Bishop himself, two Archimandrites and an Archpriest from each eparchy, appointed once in five years by the King's decree. The Minister of Education and Religious Affairs had to be informed about the beginning and the end of Synod's activities and its decisions could be put into effect only after he had signed them. The newly formed Holy Synod of Bishops elected Bishops, the choice of which would have become after valid the King's approval. The overall changes also included the procedure of electing new Metropolitan, who was now elected by a special electorate consisting of a significant number of high-ranking state officials (Закон о изменама и допунама Закона о црквеним властима православне вере од 30. септембра 1862. године, 1883).

The degree of state's interference into church affairs provided by the new law, practically disabled cooperation between the Government and the appointed Administrator and Bishops. Regardless to resistance, the Government called for the electorate that elected Archimandrite Teodosije for the new Metropolitan. Refusal of the Bishops to participate in the activities of the Holy Synod of Bishops together with the Metropolitan, served as an excuse for the Government to dismiss the entire hierarchy of the Church of Serbia. The situation was temporarily handled after the Ecumenical Patriarchate of Constantinople had accepted the changes and new Bishops were elected, but it was obvious that breaking the canons introduced an irregular state within the Church (Епископ Мојсеј 1895, 72).

Dismissal of the Metropolitan and legal hierarchy was connected with the realization of new foreign policy of the Kingdom, but the complexity of changes and their consequences indicated the necessity of placing the problem within a broader social context. Sons of rich Serbian peasants and merchants started to avoid Russia and go to study at the best European universities. Those young people educated in European manner would come back to Serbia and started to take over the management of state and economic affairs. Members of the Serbian middle class saw themselves as leaders of the people and advocates of state interests under those circumstances and were no longer willing to share that role with the Church, which it considered to be a great rival and threat. A clear message was sent to the Church that it should build its future in the spheres of spirituality and leave the state affairs to the sovereign and representatives elected by the people (Новаковић 2007, 61–80).

### **Law on Church Authorities of the Eastern Orthodox Church adopted in 1890**

Having found himself in a bad position because of a number of wrong decisions, King Milan abdicated in favour of his son Aleksandar. Since Aleksandar was underage, a regentship was appointed, that included restoration of the canonical order among its priorities. After the resignation of Metropolitan Teodosije and the hierarchy elected according to the legislation from 1881, conditions for Metropolitan Mihailo's return to the throne were created in May of 1889 (Живковић 1924, 30). The Holy Synod of Bishops was formed by electing new Bishops, while Metropolitan Mihailo took measures for amendment of the law whose adoption had been the main reason for the legal hierarchy to cancel their obedience to the Government.

Passing of the Law was followed by various difficulties, since the new political groups had soon shown their unreadiness to give up the control over the Church. Owing to the compromise between the Metropolitan and the Government that was reached after hard and painstaking harmonization, at the end of April 1890, the new

law on Church Authorities was adopted and it was valid, with slight changes and amendments, until the beginning of World War I. The new law presented in detail the jurisdictions of the Holy Synod of Bishops, Metropolitan of Serbia, Bishops and lower authorities as church authorities and the Holy Synod of Bishops, Great Ecclesiastical Court and eparchial ecclesiastical courts as ecclesiastical and judicial authorities. Special attention was paid to offences of clergymen and penalties as well as judicial procedure of church authorities. Wordiness and conciseness of the text of the Law did not seem to remove the shortcomings the Metropolitan was pointing out during the drafting process. The State managed to keep the established mechanisms of control, which was clearly noticeable through the structure the electoral assembly where secular individuals were dominant again. The regulations from the old Law that claimed that the president of the eparchial court was not the competent Archbishop were repeated. Confirming the right of the King to appoint regular and honorary members of ecclesiastical courts and equating their rights with the rights of civil court judges, and secretaries and scribes with officers, another level of control and obedience of the people dealing with the offences of clergymen was established. (Закон о црквеним властима источно-православне цркве 1890). Constant protests of the Metropolitan and pointing out the unsustainability of such solution, made the authorities change the Law and leave the election of president and members of eparchial courts to Archbishops as representatives of church authorities.

### THE KINGDOM OF SCS – YUGOSLAVIA

Churches and religious communities kept the identical legal status as in the countries that had become the members of the new state from the formation of the Kingdom of SCS, on 1st December 1918, until the first Constitution from 28 June 1921 (Веселиновић 1969; Епископ далматински Стефан 1969; Ceranić 1970; Шехић 1980). Existence of numerous nations and different faiths on the territory of the state of South Slavs was a determinative factor for Regent Aleksandar to issue, as soon as 6 January 1919, a Proclamation that guaranteed the equality of all faiths in the Kingdom and confirmed the elimination of privileged position and state status of the Orthodox Church in Serbia and Montenegro agreed by the Corfu Declaration. The above mentioned acts indicated the possibility that the Constituent Assembly would accept the principle of separateness of the church and the state and, thus, in a unique way, solve the existing heterogeneous state in the legal status of confessional communities in the new state. The Constitution from 28 June 1921 abandoned the system of state churches, but did not implement consistently the principle of separateness of religious communities and the State Religious communities gained the status of "public institutions with special position within the State and special privileges" and the authorization to conduct certain public and legal affairs on behalf of the State (Срефановић 1953, 101). The Vidovdan Constitution divided religious communities in two groups – adopted and recognized, while the Octroyed Constitution from 31 September 1931 kept similar solutions. All communities that were legally recognized in any part of the Kingdom gained the status of adopted communities. The status of recognized communities resulted from subsequent legal recognition by new state authorities (Vidovdan Constitution 1921, Constitution of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia 1931). There are significant discrepancies among certain authors when it comes to determining the number of adopted and recognized religious communities in the Ki-

ngdom of Yugoslavia, but the predominant opinion is that the Serbian Orthodox Church, Catholic Church with Greek Catholic Church, Evangelical Church, Islamic Church and the Church of Moses had the status (Радић 1995, 21). Other religious communities were prohibited and their members banished.

Slow work of the Assembly of Kingdom related to adoption of religious legislation prescribed by the Constitution was the consequence of the overall instability and political conflicts that marked first years of existence of the new state (Пантић 2006). The situation changed drastically after the coup of January 1929. Proclaiming the principle of state and national unity, the regime was endeavouring to gain the support of religious communities for accomplishing that goal. During 1929 and 1930, the following laws were passed: Law on Serbian Orthodox Church, Law on the Religious Community of Jews, Law on the Islamic Religious Community and Law on Evangelical Christian Churches and Reformed Christian Church (Lazić 1970, 48).

### **Law on the Serbian Orthodox Church of 1929**

With the proclamation of the Kingdom of SCS and defining its borders through a number of international contracts, all six provincial churches that were gathering the Serbian people became united within the new state, which had created conditions for canonical regulation of the position of the Serbian Orthodox Church before the adoption of the Vidovdan Constitution. Previously elaborated strategy for unification was soon activated and the negotiations with the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate started at the initiative of the Royal Government and were successfully concluded on 18 March 1920. The agreement that was reached enabled the Holy Synod of the Ecumenical Patriarchate to make the decision, on 19 March 1920, on the basis of which the Holy Autocephalous United Serbian Orthodox Church was recognized and accepted as a sister church with the right to enjoy its autocephaly and independence and the eparchial authorities incorporated with the Autocephalous United Orthodox Church in the Kingdom of SCS absolved of their ruling duties. Respecting that decision, Regent Aleksandar, on behalf of the King Petar I, by a special decree from 17 June 1920, declared unification of all Orthodox regions in the Kingdom of SCS into a unique Autocephalous United Serbian Orthodox Church of the Kingdom of SCS, and, on 27 August 1920, the unification of the Church and restoration of the Serbian Patriarchy, that had been abolished 154 years ago, were ceremoniously declared in Sremski Karlovci (Страњаковић 1960).

The Law in the beginning declared that the Serbian Orthodox Church was autocephalous and that it possessed honourableness of a Patriarchy. It was authorized to publicly teach religious lessons, freely perform proscribed churching services and independently conduct and regulate religious and church affairs. Independent management and disposal of the church property, funds and endowments was provided, with a proscribed limitation that it should be performed according to the Law, Church Constitution and under the superintendence of the State. The Main Control was in charge of the superintendence over all incomes and expenses of the Church upon the request of the Minister of Justice or church authorities themselves. The property was intended to be used solely for accomplishment of the Church goals and could not be confiscated except in cases of lawfully regulated expropriation. Churches as wholes, including their constituent parts and institutions, had the status of legal entities and full capability to acquire and dispose of movable and immovable property.

Spiritual, church-disciplinary and church-judicial authority belonged solely to the hierarchy and was performed through the appropriate institutions and representatives. Affairs related to property, funds and endowments were managed by the Episcopal authorities together with clergy and people through self-governing bodies in a manner more closely regulated by the Church Constitution. Church crimes and punishments would be defined and proscribed by the Church Constitution. State and self-governing authorities were obliged to provide, upon the request of church authorities, necessary administrative aid for execution of legal orders, valid decisions and verdicts reached by the church authorities in charge. Patriarch or his deputy represented the Church in front of the State, whereas Archbishops represented separate eparchies. The procedure for electing Patriarch was regulated by a special law, while the procedures for electing Bishops were regulated by the Church Constitution. The election of Patriarch and Bishops was confirmed by the King by a decree proposed by the Minister of Justice, composed in accordance with the President of the President of the Ministerial Council.

The Church needs were being financed through the incomes from church properties and funds, money from state benefits, church taxes, income taxes from monastery and church estates, state aid and special surtaxes. Patriarchy, eparchies and some church municipalities had the right to collect surtaxes on assessed taxes, paid to the State by the Orthodox believers, but only in case that regular income could not compensate the planned expenses. The decision on collecting surtaxes for a precisely determined period of time was made by the bodies authorized by the Church Constitution and it would become valid when approved by the Minister of Finance in agreement with the Minister of Justice.

Official correspondence and entrusted shipments from all church authorities were exempted from paying postage and telegraph charge. Buildings intended for performing religious services, educational and humanitarian institutions, church institutes, Episcopal, monastery and parish homes and yards, as well as cultural and historical monuments were exempted from all public taxes. Members of secular clergy and monastic orders were not obliged to participate in public affairs that were against the canons and their service. If the state authorities initiated criminal proceedings against a member of clergy for some reason, they were obliged to inform the Archbishop in charge on that issue.

Religious education was taught at all public and private schools with the consent of church authorities and respect towards school law regulations. Syllabus and curriculum were prescribed by the Minister in charge at the proposal of the Holy Synod of Bishops. Religious education classes in public elementary schools may be held by qualified parish priests or specially trained religious teachers. Religious teachers, who were members of clergy, were chosen, in all public schools, by the Minister of Education from the list of candidates proposed by the church authorities in charge. The church authority in charge might revoke an already given approval to those religious teachers that held their lessons contrary to the Orthodox faith or who were estimated, based upon their life and work, not to deserve performing such duty.

Consistency of lecturing at theological faculties that belonged to Orthodox state universities was under the control of the Holy Synod of Bishops. In case of noticing great inconsistencies, the Holy Synod had the right to start the initiative for their removal with the Minister of Education. Professors and docents at those faculties were appointed according to the provisions of the Law on University, after the Holy

Synod had confirmed religious aptitude of the interested candidates. Administration and supervision over the autonomous church schools was performed by the church authorities in charge. The decision on foundation was made by the Holy Synod of Bishops that also prescribed syllabus and curriculum and appointed directors. Priests in public hospitals, prisons and other state institutions were appointed by the Minister in charge on the proposal of the Archbishop (Закон о Српској православној цркви 1929).

Adoption of the Law on the Serbian Orthodox Church spelled the end of ten-year long activity marked by disorientation and unconformity of the Episcopate to new social reality, protests of the people unready to lose their influence on the church affairs gained through the history, theoretical dilemmas and harsh arguments of experts over the constitutional position of the Church and its new relationship with the State. A large number of official and private projects gave evidence of the interest for passing the Law, while the difficulties increased because of the endeavour of the State to implement the theory of state sovereignty over the Church and lack of ideological unity within the Church itself (Гардашевић 1971, 49). The above listed difficulties were much less a burden to the State, that, through procrastination and a series of practical moves, controlled the process and managed to realize its strategic interests towards the Serbian Church through the final version, i.e. to keep the control in an appropriate way, and, at the same time, eliminate the concept of the state church that was not allowed by the Constitution (Слијепчевић 1966, 619).

### **SOCIALIST YUGOSLAVIA**

Soon after the liberation of the country, the new authorities were striving to build a legal system that would strengthen and stabilize the results achieved during the war. Their primary task was to prevent, by means of legal regulations, every possibility of return of the old social system and disable the activities that could lead to international conflicts and religious hatred. Starting from those goals, the Presidency of ACNLY passed, on 25 May 1945, the Law on Prohibition of Incitement to National, Racial and Religious Hatred and Discord. The prescribed sanctions were very harsh and even included death penalty (Нешовић и Петрановић 1983, 696). Another regulation concerning the status and activities of religious communities was the Regulation of the Government of SFR Yugoslavia on Foundation of Federal and Republic Committees for Religious Affairs, adopted before the new Constitution. State Committee for Religious Affairs was formed upon the decision of the Presidency of the Ministerial Council of SFRY on 21 August 1945. Religious Committee with the Presidency of the Anti-Fascist Assembly of the People's Liberation of Serbia was founded on 26 February 1945 (Бранковић 2007, 81–96).

#### **Basic Law on Legal Status of Religious Communities of 1953**

Practice has confirmed that the frames for the activities of religious communities established by the Constitution of FNRJ from 1946 have become insufficient and it was necessary to pass a special law that would define some understatements and help faster and more efficient solving issues on terrain. Passing of the law was related to a number of problems, most important of which was different attitudes of lawyers and politicians regarding the expediency and, even, constitutionality of such law. Practical reasons have prevailed, together with the attitudes of the largest religi-

ous communities that have given their plebiscitary support to the adoption of the law. The attitude of religious officials has been basically pragmatic, since they have estimated that the law would prevent the abuses committed by local authorities that were limiting constitutional rights of religious communities in all sorts of situations. The legislator has collected the opinions and remarks from the competent authorities of religious communities regarding the Draft of the law, which have been mostly rejected through different phases of adoption of the law (Архив Југославије 144-8-160).

Law on Legal Status of Religious Communities was adopted on 27 May 1953 and had been the basis for harmonizing the relationships and behaviour of all religious communities for many years. Owing to the fact that it was adopted on the basis of federal regulations and was valid for the entire country, it had the character of a basic law (*Службени гласник* 27 May 1953). Article 1 repeated, broader and more in-depth in comparison with the Constitution of 1946, the principles of freedom of conscience, religion and private character of faith. Citizens were free to establish religious communities that were equal in their rights and obligations. Religious communities were separated from the State, free to manage their religious affairs and rites and allowed to issue and distribute religious literature and press. Schools were separated from the Church, but religious communities had the right to freely organize religious education and establish preparatory schools for priests. The Law strictly prohibited abuse of religious affairs and rites, including religious education, religious press and other forms of expression of religious feelings for political purposes, as well as inciting religious hatred and intolerance. According to the civil law, religious communities and their responsible authorities were legal entities. Priests might establish associations of priests that fell under general regulations on associations. Decisions of religious communities in matrimonial disputes and cases of disciplinary nature did not have public-legal protection. Voluntariness of contributions was determined, that could be collected only in churches and other premises intended for performing religious rites and elsewhere only with a special permit. Religious rites in congregations could be performed in churches, temples and other public premises determined for that purpose by religious communities, in yards, cemeteries and public areas related to churches. General measures of protection represented a good cause for prohibition of performing religious rites and gathering. Baptism and circumcision of an underage individual could be performed only upon the request of a parent or tutor and if the individual was over ten years old his/her consent was also required. Wedding and christening could be performed according to a religious rite only after being recorded in the state register of births and weddings. People who were situated in hospitals, elderly homes, boarding schools and other similar institutions, had the right to perform religious rites respecting the house rules and to be visited by a priest upon their own request. Religious communities independently managed preparatory schools for priests and freely composed their syllabus and curriculum and appointed teaching staff according to their own criteria. Students might attend religious lessons only outside the regular school hours. Attending religious lessons required consent of either parents or tutors, as well as the consent of the underage individual. Only individuals who have completed compulsory elementary education could enrol clerical schools and their students had the same rights as regular school students. Penalties for disrespecting the Law were also prescribed.

### **Law on Legal Status of Religious Communities of SR Serbia of 1977**

Constitution of 1963 provided the republics with the possibility of adopting their own laws on legal status of religious communities and thus regulate the incomplete issues from the Basic Law or the issues specific for territories of some federal units. The republics had not adopted their own laws but directly applied the Basic Law instead. That kind of situation lasted until the adoption of constitutional amendment XXXI, item 3 to the Constitution of SFRY, according to which regulating the relationship with religious communities was shifted from federal level to the level of republics and provinces. The Basic Law ceased to be valid on 31 December 1971 and all republics and provinces, except Croatia, accepted the Law as their own on that date. Later on, all republics and provinces have adopted their own laws on legal status of religious communities. Those laws have accepted some main solutions from the Basic Law and the differences existed only regarding the way of solving particular issues of special importance for some republics and provinces.

The Republic of Serbia adopted the Law on Legal Status of Religious Communities on 27 November 1977 (Службени гласник 44/1977). Because of the similarity with already presented Basic Law of 1953, some basic regulations of the Law will be presented briefly. Goals of the Law were listed in Article 1, while Articles 2 and 3 proclaimed the freedom of religious worship and separateness of religious communities from the State. Foundation of religious communities and their equality were regulated in Article 4. Freedom of citizens to belong or not to belong to religious communities was regulated in Article 5. According to Article 6, rights of the citizens cannot be limited because of their religion. Foundation of religious communities was regulated by the Article 7. Construction of religious buildings was regulated by Article 9. Article 10 established the prohibition of abuse of religious feelings for political purposes. According to the regulations of Articles 11 and 12, religious communities could issue religious publications and press. Articles 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18 regulated religious affairs and rites. Articles 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28 and 29 regulated religious education, foundation and work of religious schools. Collecting voluntary contributions was regulated by Article 30 and clerical awards by Article 31. According to Article 32, the State could provide financial aid to religious communities that they independently disposed of. According to Article 34, people who were situated in hospitals, elderly homes and similar institutions, had the right to perform religious rites and to be visited by a priest. Articles 36, 37 and 38 regulated penalties. Because of inconsistency with the Constitution of the republic of Serbia, adopted on 28 September 1990, National Assembly of the Republic of Serbia declared the law no longer valid on 5 March 1993 (Law on Cessation of Validity of Particular Laws 1993).

### **CONTEMPORARY PERIOD**

Serbian society has come out of a period of five-decade long rule of socialist system and is currently in the process of transition with the aim of joining the European Union. Previous, ideologically limited cultural and value patterns are now changing and new ones are being established, based upon the best traditions of centuries-long development of the Serbian society. The new changes have also included the sphere of religion that was under great pressure and constant monitoring of various bodies of the ideological state that had been literally implementing the concept of

abolition of religion and elimination of every ideological competition for decades. Taken measures for reforming the social system have also created the conditions for full affirmation of religious freedoms according to the European standards and unhampered activities of all churches and religious communities.

#### **Law of 2006**

Starting from the stated goals, after the 13 year legal gap, in 2006 a new system Law on Churches and Religious Communities was adopted. In course of Preliminary Draft elaboration, broad political and technical consultations were rendered with the aim that the text is done in accordance with the most important documents regulating this area, in particular with Article 9 of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms. Free confession matters, legal status of churches and religious communities, registration procedure, property status, financing of churches and legal communities, liturgy activity, building activities, religious education and cultural activity have been regulated by the Law. Equality of all churches and religious communities has been established, affording them all possibility of cooperation with the State, and full internal autonomy was guaranteed. It allowed governments to encourage and promote free dialogue among all confessions in Serbia and to take measures to prevent religion of either being politically instrumentalized or socially marginalized (Бранковић 2011, 310–16).

Solutions offered by law enabled the churches and religious communities to put their spiritual potential of the development of democracy in society. Spiritual aspirations of the religious communities for the revival of original ideals and for defining common postulates to all confessions open the dialogue among religious communities in the Republic. Such determinations correspond to with the interest of the State for the return of religion to its essence, and involvement in the process of reconciliation, harmonization, creation of a true spiritual community among people and peoples of different faith, experience, social aspiration and political interest.

Owing to legislation passed, nowadays in Serbia there is a stable inter-confessional situation, and there are no major unsolved problems in the relationship between the State and churches and religious communities. Above grade does not mean that there are not certain observations with regard to some decisions given in the Law, and some problems in the relation between the two organizational forms of the Islamic Community.

#### **CONCLUSION**

The analyzed documents on legal status of the Orthodox Church and its relations with the State from 1804 till the beginning of World War I, clearly state that the system of state church was applied consistently, from which derived control function of the State, and consequently quite a significant submission of the Church. Governments and ruling parties changed, however political elite and bourgeoisie did not deny their intentions to, through influences to the church affairs, contain and prevent the Church as the highest authority among the people, to influence state affairs. Serbian rulers and most of the governments with great interest followed the developments in the Church, sponsored its business and tried to train up to the exercise of responsible positions.



Period of the Kingdom of SCS-Yugoslavia was marked by constitutional and legal inconsistencies, because of the unwillingness of the ruling circles to consistently use a solution of the complete separation of churches and religious communities of the State, which would entail the loss of institutional control and complete cancel the state status of the Serbian Church. Adopted Law characterized by balance, because the Serbian Orthodox Church to a significant extent eliminated the impact of the State and independent in the resolution of all issues directly related to conservation and respect the canonical order, and reluctantly accepted statutory right of state to the king decree confirms the election of the Patriarch and Bishops. General Law conception did not give the right to any party to declare the winner, as the provisions on state sovereignty over the Serbian Orthodox Church, as a public institution of special importance for the State, were both eligible for the State and for the Church.

The basic Law of 1953 and the SR Serbia Law of 1977 are largely relying on the Constitutions determined to consistently implement restrictive and fundamentally hostile policy of the ruling party towards churches and religious communities as the most ideological opponent. If some of the solutions are considered independent of the then socio-political context, provisions on freedom of conscience and religion, separation of churches and religious communities from the State, proclaimed freedom to exercise religious services, possibility of founding religious schools and acquisition of immovable properties, may seem modern and in line with democratic standards. The formal character of these freedoms is becoming clearer by comparison with the factual position of churches and religious communities in the society, and the fact that a number of laws enacted between 1946 and 1958 deprived them of material basis and left them to arbitrariness of various commissions and state organs.

Presented legislative historical pitch was completed with Serbia as and independent state, which seeks to build its future by release of traumatic experiences in the recent past and with reliance to the best traditions of their own statehood. Determined that the last law complex issues of religious freedom and the position of churches and religious communities, including the Serbian Orthodox Church, align with the most important international documents showing the readiness of Serbia in this important and complex field stops experimenting, catch up with respect to environment and resolutely approach implementation of policy; aimed at rapidly approaching the European Union. This conclusion does not mean that there are not certain remarks of individual experts and international forums, which point to certain problems and the need for better coordination of certain rules of applicable law with European practice.

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Sergej Flere

## **ARTICLE 9 OF THE EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS: DISCERNING AN ORTHODOX PATTERN OF PROBLEMS?**

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### **INTRODUCTION**

As McCrea (2010) notes, issues concerning the position of churches (the respective traditional churches in particular) and religious groups in general have become, in contemporary European countries, where so much in other spheres of life has become uniform, or at least colorless, a prominent feature of 'national identity' and a sensitive symbolic issue<sup>1</sup>. For this reason, the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) often invokes a 'wide margin of appreciation' in favor of the state when dealing with issues of religious liberty (Art. 9), in comparison when deciding on other liberties enshrined in the European Convention (ECHR), allowing for historically originating differences are allowed to remain in force. Nevertheless, varied cases at the ECtHR arise and are resolved by the condemnation of states for violating Art. 9.

Basically, it is common for states and the ECHR enshrined objectives to find themselves on different sides, as a result of their dissimilar logic in administering these issues. Within the logic of the states, those issues are particularly noticeable where states invoke their traditions, their age-old legal arrangements for religious life. Thus, in the case of *Jehovah's Witnesses vs. Austria*<sup>2</sup>, Austria defended its two tier system of religious communities because the first one was instituted in the 19th century, whereas the second represented a modern superstructure not deleting or adjusting the prior one (Durham, Peterson, and Ernest 2005, XIX).

The ECtHR operates on completely different premises. Not only does it impose the wording of Art. 9 of the ECHR, which speaks of 'religious liberty for all' (not citizens, not permanent residents, not indicating a minimum number of members for registration, not speaking of registration at all, particularly not as a condition for undertaking and enjoying religious activity), but also consistently underscoring the value of religious pluralism as integral to the European political and legal order (e.g., *Metropolitan Church*, no. 45701/99, 2001, p. 114, *The Moscow Branch of the Salvation Army*, no. 72881/01, 2006, p. 58, *Religionsgemeinschaft der Zeugen Jehovas* (no. 40825/98, 2008, p. 61). Furthermore, in line with the EU position<sup>3</sup>, it equates religious and other, 'philosophical' world views.

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<sup>1</sup> Member countries of the Council of Europe with a predominantly Islamic tradition will not be subject to analysis in this paper, as their problems in this respect differ.

<sup>2</sup> Judgments from the European Court of Human Rights were retrieved through the site <http://www.echr.coe.int/echr/en/header/case-law/hudoc/hudoc+database/> on January 30, 2011.

<sup>3</sup> *The Treaty of Lisbon* (2007), art. 17, para. 2.

In fact, one confronts great variation in the issues raised and the modes of violation of religious liberty, as enshrined in Art. 9, when seeking insight into the judgments at issue. Not only is the difference in direct and indirect violations, but the life situations encountered at violations also vary a great deal, making it almost impossible to classify them. Nevertheless, let us note which countries have not been found to violate Art. 9 in the period 2000-2010: Azerbaijan, Finland, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, France, Portugal, Slovenia, Switzerland, the Netherlands<sup>4</sup>, Hungary, Czech Republic, Iceland, Estonia, Lithuania, Slovakia, Armenia, Serbia, Montenegro and Albania. Certainly, the reasons behind such a grouping of states are various: including legal culture of the population and variation in legal national regulations themselves. We are concentrating on this period, because of its recency and the inclusion of this group of countries under the Council of Europe supervision within this period. This followed the downfall of communism and the attainment of membership in the CE by all these countries in the period prior to 2000; it could thus be expected that they would have accepted the spirit of the CE standards by this time.

### VARIETY OF CASES DEALING WITH ART. 9

We will examine examples from the said period. As already noted, the failure to grant granting Jehovah's Witnesses the status of a first degree religious community in *Austria* and the duration of the proceedings in the petition of this group to attain such a status was found by the Court to be a major violation of Art. 9 (*Religionsgemeinschaft der Zeugen Jehovas and others v. Austria*<sup>5</sup>). Austria was also repeatedly found to be violating another article, in conjunction with Art. 9 of the ECHR, regarding not observing the conscientious objection claim on the part of a Jehovah's Witnesses member (*Löffelmann v. Austria*, no. 42967/98, 2009; similar cases *Koppi, Guetl, Lang vs. Austria*). *Croatia* was found to be violating Art. 9 for its failure to sign an agreement with a Protestant religious group, although the state had signed such contracts with religious groups that were either historically entrenched or numerous, granting some rights to them by a contract (*Savez crkava "riječ života" and others v. Croatia*, no. 7798/08, 2010). In practice, this meant dividing religious groups into two classes. The Court allowed the case to be heard but found that no violation of Art. 9 was to be found in a *French* decision to disallow the wearing of a headscarf by an 11-year old as a manifestation of religion at physical education classes (*Dogru v. France*, no. 27058/05, 2009). The Court referred to numerous precedents and regulations, as well as to proportionality among legitimate rights<sup>6</sup> in the explication of this judgement. In an interesting *German* case dealing with an Indian type of meditation group, allegedly dangerous and totalitarian and stigmatized by state officials, the ECtHR found that the state did not violate art. 9, but art. 6 demanding judicial proceedings 'within reasonable time', in a suit as to whether the

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<sup>4</sup> A case regarding a work permit for an imam was resolved out of court (*El Majjaoui & Stichting Touba Moskee v. the Netherlands* 2007).

<sup>5</sup> The comments in the judgment could elevate it to the status of a 'bold judgment required finally to grant believers what they are entitled to under Art. 9' (Napel, Martien and Theissen 2010, 321).

<sup>6</sup> The Court concluded: 'The Court observes that the domestic authorities justified the ban on wearing the headscarf during physical education classes on grounds of compliance with the school rules on health, safety and assiduity which were applicable to all pupils without distinction. The courts also observed that, by refusing to remove her headscarf, the applicant had overstepped the limits on the right to express and manifest religious beliefs on the school premises' (p. 68).

group was commercial in nature (Osho meditation centres), (Leela förderkreis e.v. and others v. Germany, no. 58911/00, 2008). In a famous case, where the petitioners claimed their religious rights were infringed by the *Greek* state for not including religious identity on identification cards, the ECtHR rejected the claim, finding that the identification cards 'were merely a means of identification and for purposes of distinguished status in relations with the State's legal system. Religious beliefs, which were a matter of individual conscience and which might change over time, did not constitute information that could be used to distinguish an individual citizen in his relations with the State and recording them in a document exposed the bearers to the risk of discrimination' (Sofianopoulos v. Greece, nos. 1988/02; 1997/02; 1977/02, 2002).

A substantially different case arose in *Italy*, where freedom of conscience was found to be an even higher value than religious liberty. In a case where an Italian woman alleged 'that the symbol (a school crucifix) conflicted with her convictions and infringed her children's right not to profess Catholicism', the ECtHR upheld the appeal and found the Italian state in violation of Art. 9. (Lautsi v. Italy, no. 30814/06, 2009). In *Lithuania*, the state failed to register a community of the Old Orthodox (*Staroobryadtsi* – a splinter group) under the name The Old Orthodox Parish of the Lord's Epiphany, the legitimacy of which was disputed within the same Old Orthodox group). Lithuania was found in violation of Art. 9. (Miroļubovs and others v Lithuania, no. 798/05, 2007<sup>7</sup>). *Moldova* was found grossly violating Art. 9, when a man complained that he had been sentenced for an administrative offense for taking part in a collective religious ritual of Muslim prayer. The Muslim community was not recognized in Moldova (recognition being a condition for conducting rituals) (Masaev v. Moldova, no. 6303/05, in 2009). The Government defended itself by stating that registration was not carried out for technicalities and not for substantial reasons, although the crux may be similar to the that in the Metropolitan Bessarabia Church case (see below). Among other interesting cases touching on Art. 9, is a case brought by a convicted rapist in *Poland* serving a time sentence, the Court found the state in violation of Art. 9, because in failure to serve the convict, who had become a devout Buddhist, meat-free meals. In particular, the Court noted 'that the authorities failed to strike a fair balance between the interests of the prison authorities and those of the applicant, namely the right to manifest his religion through observance of the rules of the Buddhist religion' (p. 54) (Jakóbski v. Poland, no. 18429/06, 2010).

In the case *O'Donoghue and others v. United Kingdom* (no. 34848/07, 2010), the state was condemned for discriminating at entry into the country in cases of entry for the purpose of conducting a marriage ceremony there, where entry requirements were less strict if the marriage was to be celebrated within the Church of England. This is a vestige from other times, although the Church of England is still 'a state church' in England. In another famous claim, the ECtHR dismissed a petition coming from the *UK*, claiming that the right to suicide (a terminally ill person) contained beliefs covered by Art. 9 (Pretty v. UK, 2346/02, 2002).

The Italian Lautsi case needs comment in that it may be considered as not giving sufficient protection to religious believers and pushing religion outside the

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<sup>7</sup> This case could technically be considered typical of the 'Orthodox pattern', but since it was a matter of small splinter sects groups within a predominantly non-Orthodox country, we have not entered into the discussion on the 'Orthodox pattern'.

public realm. It is relevant to note that the ECtHR insists on religious liberty as ensuing from liberty of conscience, that religious liberty is closely associated with religious pluralism in a democratic society and that philosophical and world view rights are on a par with religious liberty. The ECtHR also grants a 'margin of appreciation' in dealing with allegations of violation of this article, in comparison to other guaranteed liberties. This produces about a situation of condemning clear violations, the Court having a 'minimalist' philosophy in its intervention with the aim of protecting this liberty. In comparison to the US, Canadian and South African judgments are 'shallow' and leave certain issues 'undecided', with Ten Napel and Theissen (2010, 321) pleading for a major, maximalist judgment that would set a standard and further enable more routine work for the Court. However, their comparison has to do with states, whereas the ECtHR does not have direct instruments for implementation, needing to rely on states which may be significantly less reliable.

Nevertheless, critics consider limitation of the religious life to the realm outside the public one as 'secular fundamentalism' on the part of the ECtHR (Plessner; quoted in: Napel, Martien and Theissen 2010, 312).

Russia, being the largest Eastern Orthodox country, and sometimes called the 'third Rome', since it is the center of Orthodox gravity, is of great relevance to our analysis. Interestingly, cases originating in the Russian Federation do not allow us to observe them from the perspective suggested in this paper. In this case, the *Moscow Branch of the Salvation Army v. Russia*, no. 72881/01, 2006), Russian authorities repeatedly declined to re-register the organization, basically on legal technicalities, which included quashing previous judicial decisions. However, the effects of non-registration included various detrimental and substantially prohibitional consequences for the activity of the religious organization (prohibition of individual activities, revoking and denial of residence permits etc.). The Court found not only that Art. 9 and 11, had been violated, considering that re-registration was a mere technicality within the evolving Russian legislation, but also that the consequences justified the claim of victimization (p. 70) on the part of the plaintiff. In *Nolan and K. v. Russia*, no. 512/04, 2009), the applicant was a foreign national and a member of the Unification Church. Russia was found to have violated Art. 9 and numerous other provisions of the Convention, regarding the applicant's detention and the custody of his child. In *Kimlya and others v. Russia*, nos. 76836/01 and 32782/03, 2009), the applicant was the president of a local branch of the Church of Scientology, which was refused re-registration. Although the ECtHR explicitly refrained from judging on whether the Church of Scientology was a religion, it found that, due to the wording of Russian legislation on the matter, it 'established that the applicants were unable to obtain recognition and effective enjoyment of their rights to freedom of religion and association in any organizational form' (p. 88) and that Art. 9 had been violated. In *Jehovah's Witnesses of Moscow and others v. Russia*, no. 302/02, 2010), the organization was dissolved in judicial proceedings that focused on the 'cult' nature of the organization (p. 54). The Court ruled that there had been a violation of Art. 9 and 11. In *Kuznetsov and others v. Russia*, no. 184/02, 2007), the ECtHR found in regard to a Jehovah's Witness branch, that by denial of re-registration and molestation by police authorities, Art. 9 had been violated by the state. The ECtHR found that the state unfairly interfered with the right to respect one's family life (Art. 8 of the ECHR) and that no separate issue arose regarding Art. 9 (*Ismailova v. Russia*, no. 37614/02, 2007). In a case where Jehovah's Witnesses were refused



registration, mistreated and forced to terminate meetings by the police, lease on local authorities disallowed their lease on premises (Chelyabinsk), the ECtHR, ruled, finding a violation of Art. 9 on the part of the state was committed.<sup>8</sup>

In many of these cases what was at issue was the Russian legislative understanding of the dangerous nature of 'cults' (Nolan, p. 60), essentially their brainwashing nature and anti-patriotic stance. Russian authorities are also sensitive to the alleged security danger posed by these groups (reference in Nolan, p. 39, Jehovah's Witness of Moscow, p. 36), as well as their danger to the family (Jehovah's Witnesses of Moscow, pts. 19 and 23). Furthermore, the Russian Religions Act (1997) prescribes a complex system of registration for religious entities at various levels of the Federation, which may be understandable in view of the complexity of the state, but may also be a pretext for limiting religious liberty (Flere 2010); thus an organization may even be registered at the federal level but not at the local one (Jehovah's Witnesses of Moscow, p. 34). However, in the cases stemming from Russia, there was no interference in the internal operations of leadership functioning or composition of either the dominant and traditional faiths, nor of these smaller groups. Thus, the Russian cases and the situation in Russia do not allow for their explicit inclusion in the analysis of the 'Orthodox pattern', as the object of protection is primarily the state and national customs and not the dominant, historically entrenched church or another group (in one case). It may also be viewed as a pattern stemming from the past: although the pattern is technically legally firmly based into the division of jurisdiction among the federal government, federal and local authorities, technically without violation of art. 9, a streak of Peter the Great's intent of subjugating church may be evidenced (Billington 2007, 22).

#### THE CASES PERTINENT TO THE ORTHODOX TRADITION

The Orthodox pattern of problems arising at the ECHR, in relation to Art. 9, does not involve the obsolescence of legal arrangements in these countries. In fact, with the exception of Greece, Orthodox countries have relatively new systems of legal arrangement for religious life (adopted after the fall of Communism). *Symphonia* indicates harmony and concerted action between the two powers, the state and the state church and institutional mutual respect between them, in the political and social community. They are to mutually support and assist each other, to be in an 'equal' and 'intimate' relationship (Leustean 2008, 422). Although this is a Byzantine concept, it survived and found its way into early and modern national states (Leustean 2008, 424). Even the 'demarcation between the two thus remains unclear' (Leustean 2008, 423). The relationship between state and church is necessarily a relationship between the state and one church, this notion presupposes a single state church and this is the issue we will scrutinize.

In the literal sense, *symphonia* is incompatible with modern circumstances (Leustean 2008, 424)<sup>9</sup>; one could speak of its existence primarily through a

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<sup>8</sup> In particular, the Court noted that 'the legal basis for breaking up a religious event conducted on premises lawfully rented for that purpose was conspicuously lacking. Against that background, the Court found that the interference was not "prescribed by law" and that the Commissioner had not acted in good faith and had breached a State official's duty of neutrality and impartiality vis-à-vis the applicants' religious congregation' (p. 74).

predominant confessional ethnonationalism. It may, however, be hypothesized, that among countries with an Orthodox tradition, one should be on the look-out for traces of a *symphonia* arrangement. In the 21st century, one cannot speak of anything in the literal sense but of some 'quasi-modern' transformation, since the original *symphonia* was typical of feudal socio-political arrangements ages ago, although it may have survived, as an undercurrent, particularly given the lack of true modernization into the direction of pluralism during times of Ottoman power and Communism.

It differs from the situation in Catholic environments, where there is a 'universal' church, which has not created problems with the ECtHR during the period at issue. Some similarities between *symphonia* and traditional Lutheranism as a state religion may appear, but the latter arises appears within a Protestant culture where individualism in religiosity prevails, thus rendering the similarity superficial.

A search for judgments dealing with violations of Art. 9 in the period under consideration uncovers the following pertinent ones within the meaning of particularities of the Orthodox cultural pattern.

**Hasan and Chaush v. Bulgaria** (no. 30985/96, 2000)

This famous case was moved by Hasan, who had been Chief Mufti of Bulgarian Muslims from 1992 until approximately 1995. Hasan became Chief Mufti after the Directorate for Religious Affairs declared in 1992 that the election of the previous Chief Mufti (Mr Gendzev) in 1988 had been 'null and void' and registered a three-person provisional leadership which organized a conference where Mr Hasan was appointed. This ousting was politically motivated, as Mr Gendzev was to have been nominated in 1988 and to have collaborated with the Communist regime. However, Mr Gendzev and others did not recognize the 1992 change in leadership, and numerous conferences, administrative and judicial disputes ensued. In 1995 the deputy Prime Minister in charge issued decree no. R-12, approving a statute of the Islamic Community, by which Mr Gendzev was reinstated as Chief Mufti. He took over the premises by coercion. In 1998, the Supreme Administrative Court passed a judgment declaring the Vice Prime Minister's decree null, since he was not properly authorized to issue it, thus bringing about a full circle of state intervention.

The ECtHR commented that 'the interference with the internal organisation of the Muslim community in 1995-1997 had not been "prescribed by law" as it had been arbitrary and based on legal provisions which allowed an unfettered discretion to the executive and did not meet the required standards of clarity and foreseeability of law' (p. 88 of the Judgment). It is clear, as in other instances, that the ECtHR does not uphold any domestic law but only laws that meet certain legal standards as to clarity, foreseeability and justice.

The State was to pay the first applicant 10.000 Levs as non-pecuniary damage.

**The Metropolitan Church of Bessarabia and others v. Moldova**

(no. 45701/99, 2001)

This case may be considered a benchmark one, typical of our central hypothesis. Moldova is a relatively underdeveloped country squeezed between Russia and

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<sup>9</sup> Harakas (1993, 259) notes: 'There are almost no existing presuppositions for its implementation as a system of Church-state relations in our times'.

Romania. Its traditional religion in Eastern Orthodoxy. It attained independence in 1991. The traditional confession continued to operate as the Orthodox Church of Moldova, with canonic ties to the Russian Orthodox Church. However, a number of clerics and believers set up the Metropolitan Church of Bessarabia (MCB), recognizing the Patriarchate in Bucharest, Romania as its authority. From 1992 until 2000 the MCB attempted in vain to gain registration from the administrative and judicial authorities in Moldova.

When the Metropolitan Church took the issue to the ECtHR, the defense by the Moldova Government was typical: 'There was absolutely no difference, from the religious point of view, between the applicant Church and the Orthodox Church of Moldova. The creation of the applicant Church had in reality been an attempt to set up a new administrative organ within the Orthodox Church of Moldova. The State could not interfere in the conflict within the Orthodox Church of Moldova without infringing its duty of neutrality in religious matters.' They also argued that '...the applicant Church, which it considered a schismatic group, consequences were likely to be detrimental to the independence and territorial integrity of the young Republic of Moldova' (p. 98 of the Judgment).

The Court passed a judgment effectively finding a violation of Art. 9 of the ECHR and fining the state, although not defining the MCB as a victim of human rights violation.

In this case, registration was a relevant issue, since religious activity could not be conducted without registration ('denominations must be recognized by means of a government decision in order to be able to operate and organize' (Section 14 of the Religious Denominations Act, 1992, quoted in the Judgment, p. 90).

Religious groups are judged as religious until otherwise proven by the ECtHR, and if it were proven otherwise, the effect would probably be to penalize the individuals and not the religious group, since individuals would be conducting actions outside the declared realm of the religious group.

This case is typical in that the state was trying to safeguard the 'national' church, preventing it from splitting, and rejecting unwanted – perceived as – external influence, in a way 'protecting it' and 'its unity'. Thus the state does not recognize the appearance of a new religious entity, but insists that the matter is an internal one, within the 'national church' and even claiming its non-recognition as being 'neutral' in this 'internal dispute'. This is at full variance with the ECtHR view, according to which religious liberty is for all and invocations of peril to the state, which was claimed by the state itself, were not recognized by the ECtHR, as within the meaning of the ECHR. The Court judged the new group exclusively by its declarations of religious intent and thus 'danger alleged by the Government – SF) to national security' 'is a mere hypothesis which, in the absence of corroboration, cannot justify a refusal to recognize it.' (p. 125 of the Judgment).

### **The Supreme Holy Council of the Muslim Community v. Bulgaria**

(no. 39023, 2004)

This case pertained to the same main facts as the previous one, but was brought by the other side, Mr. Gendzev and the leadership around him, who constituted in fact the leadership between 1995 and 1997. Mr Gendzev was Chief Mufti of Bulgaria between 1988 and 1992. Since the Court always words the finding as though a

violation existed, it was little trouble to get the same verdict, whereas the Court in such instances refrains from direct nomination of victims.

In this case, as well as confirming the violation of Art. 9, the ECtHR awarded Mr Gendzev 5000 EUR in non-pecuniary damages, to be paid by the state. The Court also found that the violation was relatively mild, as '...in 1997 the authorities did not make use of unfettered discretion they enjoyed under applicable law and proceeded on the basis that rival groups had set up their own rules' (p. 89 of the Judgment).

**Biserica adevărat ortodoxă din Moldova and others v. Moldova**

(no. 952/03, 2007)

This is a relatively simple case where the state administrative agencies refused for a number of years to register the 'True Orthodox Church of Moldova', in spite of judicial rulings by Moldovan courts requesting such registration. The latter were invoked as remedies for an original administrative failure to register. The domestic procedures lasted from the late 90s until 2005. This resulted in a finding of violation and damages awarded by the ECtHR. Undoubtedly, this is a typical Orthodox situation, where the legal situation is clear and repeatedly found to be so in numerous domestic judicial rulings, but the state administrative agencies acted in a manner that leaves no doubt as to the presence of the Orthodox pattern.

**Svyato-Mykhailivska Parafiya v. Ukraine** (no. 77703/01, 2007)

This case may seem a minor one, dealing with a small group, with no substantial change in religion by the group. It pertains to a small parish in the vicinity of Kiev, which decided in 1989 to build a church under the auspices of the Moscow Patriarchate. It was duly registered in 1990. But in 1992 the parishioners decided to register within the Kiev Patriarchate of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church. In 1993 it was registered with the state as belonging to the Ukrainian Orthodox Church (Moscow Patriarchate). In 1999, the Moscow Patriarchate condemned the economic activities of the parish. In 2000, the church building was physically taken over by 150-200 clerics belonging to and acting for the Moscow Patriarchate. The parishioners claimed protection from a series of state administrative and judicial authorities, being supported by the Kiev Patriarchate. They did not achieve legal relief, nor were they physically reinstated.

The ECtHR found that the state had assessed the appropriateness of the parishioners' beliefs, as part of their failure to act on their behalf, which is inadmissible within the meaning of Art. 9 (p. 113 of the Judgment). The state had illegitimately intervened in the religious life of the parishioners, by failure to protect them. The ECtHR also found defects in the very legislation of Ukraine dealing with the issue. In particular, the ECtHR found 'a lack of safeguards against arbitrary decisions by the registering authority' (p. 152). Ukraine was found in violation of Art. 9.

For Ukraine this is an issue with wider ramifications. Ukraine has a multi-confessional structure within Eastern Orthodoxy itself, Eastern Orthodoxy being contrary, as shown, to the parallel existence of numerous national Orthodox entities in one state. Thus this case has wider implications, in view of the the Russian Church's stance on the Ukrainian Orthodox Church Kiev Patriarchate as being 'uncanonical and schismatic' (Wanner 2010, 650). The wider situation is quite the opposite of the Orthodox idea of *symphonia*, the harmony and mutual support of the state

and a single national Orthodox church, with many Orthodox groups competing with and fighting each other in the Ukraine (Wanner 2010, 644-46).

Even later, when Viktor Juschenko became president, he acted in a way alien to the ECtHR's intent on political non-intervention in religious life and the parallel existence of various groups and even various leaderships of a single group, when he hosted the Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew in 2008, in an attempt to constitute a single Orthodox church in the Ukraine, under the auspices of Moscow (Wanner 2010, 645).

**97 members of the Gldani congregation of Jehovah's Witnesses and 4 others v. Georgia** (no. 71156/01, 2007)

The applicants were members of a group of Jehovah's Witnesses. The state was found in violation of Art. 9 for failing to undertake action to protect Jehovah's Witnesses members from repeated physical attacks in 1999 and later by extremist members of the majority religion. The attackers were headed by a Father Basil, who was a defrocked priest in the autocephalous Orthodox Church of Georgia.

The police investigator responsible for the case stated that, on account of his Orthodox faith, he could not be impartial in conducting the investigation. During the 1999 investigation, Father Basil organized and carried out a collective attack, injuring many of the 120 Jehovah's Witnesses attending; the police officer decided to place that applicant under examination and no follow-up action was taken with regard to the identification. Sent for trial along with two of Father Basil's supporters who were suspected of having burnt the religious literature, the applicant in question was convicted of having committed acts endangering public order, whereas the charge against Father Basil's two supporters was sent for further investigation; that investigation was never completed. The applicant (to the ECtHR) concerned was eventually acquitted.

Both the Jehovah's Witnesses and Father Basil's group were investigated for physical attacks, but the procedures were not completed, although they ran their way through prosecution and judicial authorities.

Although violence among members of different groups is known to occur in other environments, the peculiarity of this one is the state's failure to give protection to a minority group physically abused by the historically majoritarian and traditional group (a group of extremists), making the state accountable, and favoring the major group in a situation of aggravated violence committed against the minority. In this way religious freedom was violated and the state did not conduct itself in a neutral manner, and did not ensure a democratic society within the meaning of the Convention' (point 130 of the Judgment).

**The Holy Synod of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church (Metropolitan Inokenty) and others v. Bulgaria** (nos. 412/03 and 35677/04, 2009 and 2010)

This, again, is an interesting, complex case, typical of the situation. The crucial issue is that during most of the 90s in Bulgaria, two leaderships operated claiming to be the Bulgarian Orthodox Church and that the state gave recognition to one of them (the Holy Synod presided over by Patriarch Maxim and the 'Alternative' Holy Synod presided over by Patriarch Pimen, later by Metropolitan Inokenty). For political reasons, involving the alleged collaboration of some Church leaders with the prior Communist regime, the state administrative agency in 1992 and 'ordered a re-

placement', undertaking preparations to this effect (p. 17 of the Judgment), and bringing about the establishment of the 'Alternative Synod'. In 1995, the Government changed its policy, and the Deputy Prime Minister in decree R-63, claimed that 'it was essential to put an end to the acts of those who profited from the 1992 state intervention' (referred to in p. 22 of the Judgment). This resulted in numerous parallel church meetings and claims to legitimacy and leadership. Judicial and administrative authorities in Bulgaria, responding to requests, intervened a number of times. In 1998 and 1999 the state also appealed for unification of the two groups. After the death of Patriarch Pimen, the state would not register changes in the statutes of the applicant organization, thus precipitating a dispute ending before the ECHR.

The dimensions of the dispute can be understood if one considers 'the Government had sought to remove a number of clergy ...on suspicion that these clergy had not followed the Government policy' (referred to in p. 98 of the Judgment). 'Eviction from church property' was also mentioned by the Government itself (p. 133). Thus the Court could conclude that 'the right of believers to freedom of religion encompassing the expectation that the community will be allowed to function free from arbitrary state intervention' – was at issue.

The case was brought before the ECtHR by Metropolitan Inokenty of the 'Alternative Synod', followed by an application by a number of persons previously employed by the BOC; the other side, the Bulgarian Orthodox Church as led by Patriarch Maxim, entered into the dispute as a 'third party'.

In its judgment on the merits, the ECtHR found the state had violated Art. 9 for all applicants. It awarded a sum jointly to the parties. The condemnation of violation was found in spite of the Court's practice to give 'a wide margin of appreciation to the state' in such matters, but the Court found that 'at stake was the preservation of pluralism and proper functioning of democracy', which it considers a paramount value (p. 119).

This judgment resulted in about further litigation, ending in a judgment on just satisfaction. The Court awarded 50,000 Euros to Metropolitan Inokenty only, but did not rule on restoring the *status quo ante*, which existed before the violation occurred, as requested (including all possessions of the Bulgarian Church). The Court stated that 'the finding of a breach of the Convention imposes on the respondent state a legal obligation to put an end to the violation and make reparation for its consequences in such a way as to restore as far as possible the situation existing before the breach' (p. 23 of the Judgment on merits). Judge Kaladjieva, in a partly dissenting opinion, pleaded for a furthering of the merits as to the finding of a victim of the violation, particularly the other applicants who had supported Metropolitan Inokenty and who also 'suffered', in addition to individual believers.

We have analyzed some cases which were considered by the ECHR. Some states with Orthodox backgrounds were not considered there in such a situation. However, some interesting issues did not reach the Court<sup>10</sup>.

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<sup>10</sup> Among other cases, one may note the refusal of the Serbian Government in 2008 to register the 'Montenegrin Orthodox Church'. The facts are somewhat different than in the other cases as this has to do with diasporic Montenegrins in Serbia (Vojvodina) and their allegedly national Orthodox church. The Serbian Government rejected registration of the religious group as such, on the grounds of its not being a religious but a 'civil organization'. That, again, has to do with how the church is registered in Montenegro, a different jurisdiction.

("Srbija: Odbijena registracija Crnogorske pravoslavne crkve"  
<http://www.slobodnaevropa.org/content/Article/870368.html>, retrieved 6 February, 2011).

## CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

We mentioned most cases involving violation of Art. 9 before the ECtHR in the period, or being in conjunction with the article. It was noticeable that situations arose in the most varied walks of life and they could be of greater or less general relevance.

There are interesting cases of violation of Art. 9 in the practice of the ECtHR during the period considered. Some are gross in nature because of the number of persons affected. Austria appears a country with numerous serious violations. Other cases may also be considered serious violations.

However, when viewing countries with an Orthodox background, it is possible to discern a pattern, pursuing at least indirectly from *symphonia*, the notion of the state being in harmony with a single Orthodox church. The state 'takes care of' and 'safeguards' its national, even its traditional minority religious group, intervening in ways now considered illegitimate. This was evidently the case in the Metropolitan Church of Bessarabia v. Moldova, but less directly in all the others considered in the section on the supposed Orthodox pattern. The two Bulgarian cases are extreme in the state's imposition of leadership on monopolistic, historically entrenched religious groups.

The cases in Orthodox countries in this period follow important precedent cases involving Greece (Kokkinakis vs. Greece, no. 14307/88, 1993; Tsavichidis vs. Greece, no. 28802/95, 1999; Thlimenos vs. Greece, no. 34369/97, 2000) in the directly preceding period, which may also substantially fall into the same category. The lack of such cases, arising in Greece, during the relevant period considered may point to the transitional nature of the 'Orthodox pattern' in general. This seeming appearance of an 'Orthodox pattern' may, of course, be a transitional phenomenon concomitant with the European integration of these countries. The number of cases of violations coming from older member countries of the Council of Europe has also dropped, although violations may be presumed to happen in these countries as well, supposing Europe will continue on the path of integration on the basis of 'democratic pluralism'. This does not mean that in the direct future no new cases will appear, such as that dealing with the Montenegrin and Macedonian Orthodox Churches vis a vis the Serbian Orthodox Church. Furthermore and even more fundamentally, *symphonia* indicates the unity of ethnicity and confession within a homogeneous state, an idea fully alien to modern society and particularly to the ECHR notion of a democratic society ensuing from pluralism.

Although serious violations have been committed outside the region of countries with an Orthodox tradition, one may discern an 'Orthodox pattern' of violations of Art. 9. As these countries develop their democratic institutionalization, one may expect such situations to gradually disappear.

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Another such case has been the refusal of the Government of Macedonia to allow the activities of the Serbian Orthodox Church. This Church attempts to conduct its activities as if the Macedonian Orthodox Church does not exist, not recognizing it (as it is 'unconanical'). This is associated with the conviction and incarceration (financial violations) of the Serbian Archbishop Jovan in Macedonia. Macedonia also does not allow the entry of frocked Serbian Orthodox priests into the country. ([http://www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/en\\_GB/features/setimes/features/2007/01/10/feature-03](http://www.setimes.com/cocoon/setimes/xhtml/en_GB/features/setimes/features/2007/01/10/feature-03)).

Nevertheless, the strength of this Orthodox pattern is limited. What we have identified as the Orthodox pattern does certainly ensue from a *symphonia* comprehension of the role of the state in religious affairs, but what these cases amount to is little more than a privileging the major and 'historical' religions. However, some cases from non-Orthodox countries are no different in this respect. There is, for instance, the clear cut O'Donoghue case in the UK, whereas the Austrian Jehovah's Witnesses case does not favor the major group, but the major 'traditional groups'. Thus, *symphonia* mostly boils down to conferring advantage which is illegitimate from the ECHR and the ECtHR point of view. But there is a further feature that needs to be noted as specific: state interference in the internal affairs of religious groups, their autonomy in the structure of their respective leaderships, regarding the traditional groups. Thus, in Bulgaria, intervention occurred not only in the Orthodox Church, but in a very similar way, in the Islamic Community as well.

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Helen Mchedlova

## **HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE STATE OF RELIGIOSITY IN RUSSIA**

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Documents, that does not lose their actuality, represent very interesting in the framework of our research, concerning HR in the religion sphere: Declaration for religious liberties (1948), articles of Convention for providing of HR and essential liberties, Resolution of Organization for security and cooperation in Europe conference (where principal rights have been elaborated with details and with guaranties, including the Right for providing of creed places, Right for religious education of children in correspondence with proper convictions, and the Right to have and to use the religious literature); International pact of civic and political rights (1999) etc. Specific declaration for religious liberty has been accept at II Vatican synod in following variant: all people free from compulsion by side of individuals or social groups and any human power, therefore nobody does not coerce to offer against their convictions... In contemporary, at X Universal Russian synod, where author of present article was participate, a declaration for rights and dignity of person has been accept too, reflecting already actual situation in a domain of religion.

In base the affirmation of valuation of person and realization of his dignity took place, from here – liaison with morality. The dignity without morality not exist. The main – right for life, but not for death, right for creation, but not for destruction, etc. Rights and liberties intimate connected with obligations and responsibility of person. The person realizing own interest must relate it with interests of neighbour, family, local fraternity and community, people, humanity. Mostly, it exist values that take place at the same rang with HR – faith, morality, holy objects, Fatherland. And the society (including, certainly, faithful people), and the State, and the Law must defend its, not admitting extreme situations. In particularity, the Russian Orthodox Church aspire to dialogue among differently faithful people and different approaches to HR, marking its place in hierarchy of values. Today such dialogue and collaboration will help to avoid conflicts of civilizations, to obtain combination of divers world-conceptions, cultures, politic-law systems on the planet. Our future depend on successful solution of propositions.

In channel of our reasons we want to tell about the degree and the character of including of HR concept in different confessional doctrine. In Christianity: creation of harmonic relations with environment, honesty, observance of contracts at work and corporative ethic; “non-resistance evil by violence”; tolerance, non-conflicts, productivity, reproduction; non-discrimination; organizational culture. In Islam: respect of competent leadership, possible non-concordance with guidance, respect of property (including social norms and values); justice; right for development; observance of labor and social rights of employees, non-discrimination, observance and defence of person; coordination in collective, common loyalty. In Judaism: centra-

lization, authority and leadership in community life; loyalty; spiritual renovation, in particularity of age persons; non-attempt on any demands; following by norms, rules, procedures etc. established; purposefulness; non-belief at information that may be false; non-imperfection of honor and dignity of environment. We see, what many of these keeping in essential confessions roll-call. Present positions main at social health of peoples, nations, communities, its nature, perspectives, avoiding social stress and political confrontation.

Pay attention to certain tendencies to be actual at the present. The position exist: some religions – traditional or not – endure so called deterritorialization and reterritorialization. By our opinion, the places of its concentration change. This process accompanies by fundamental events in religious life of countries and began object of many sociological and socio-political researches. In difference of Islamic, European countries have the tendency to secularization, division among religious and power structures. Religious character of social arrangement of Latin America countries, for example, do not allow to construct new economical, political and cultural models. An other opinion: the domination of religion do not allow political and socio-economical reforms to diffuse, puts process of social development in cul-de-sac, conducts to poverty, just beggary, and also forms the sol for apparition of active protestant flows, particular Calvinism, Liberal Protestantism, adding contemporaneous religious and political contain, that is the footprint of civic relations, culture, formation of different civic, political and religious institutes. Such countries as UK, France, Italy, German, Japan, USA survived it already, but much early and much slowly, than Latin America. Ensemble, so called paradigm of actuality obligatory conduct to euro-centrism, propagandizing religious “evolution”, limitating any socio-political transformations in countries.

Today intimate interaction observe between religious sphere in societies and social category of HR, based and on norms of religious morale. In contemporaneous scientific literature for characteristic of this interaction it use the relatively new term – “communalization” of religion. Geo-politic context advanced, reflecting situation in the world, and context politico-juridical, reflecting certain innovations.

It significant, but last time, an instep of religiosity involved next wave of migration, separable national movements, having religious hue, also satiation of international market by products with religious symbols. All this attest, that our actuality has a tendency adapt to contemporaneous forms of social and political participation and, except this, has liaison with universal movement for HR. Russia do not avoid it too. Here a religiosity increases too, the essence changes. We beginning the scaly research of religiosity in Russia, but we have already some primary results: 66% – beliefs (by self-identification), among them – prevalent majority (about 85%) – Orthodox. The main part – non-religion people (that is practically do not visit church, do not offer prayers, do not profess, do not administer of Holy Communion, do not maintain the fast, do not read the holy books etc, do not participate in religious life, do not congregate at community). They live by secular life, because: first, they love human relations, patriotism, stability, morality, tolerance and respect, good conducts, adequate social behavior, profit to society, labor, culture, health, education, family relations, accumulation of material blessings; second, they do not opposite to lead in educational program the base of orthodox culture – this is the tendency to secular education; third, big interest to social, political, state life, to power. They are 69%. That is, notwithstanding some perturbations, the religiosity (but not adherence

the church – this level is 10-12%) in Russia increase, but slowly. Possible reasons: influence by socio-political and socio-economical conditions, that is actual objective situation; or means of relief from visual consecration; or increasing of influence of all religious; or the fashion.

Last time, many representatives of countries-members of international organizations suppose that real freedom – it is freedom for minority too, and the State must to guarantee this freedom. It does not follow to limit right of religion by particular churches, that are examined as “traditional”. For example, one of Europe Council documents declares: “freedom of religion does not must interpret narrowly by the state as the freedom only for traditional religions. New religions or religious minorities have right for same protection”. However, notwithstanding such declarations, limitations take place often. In the report of Europe Council Chef for HR notes: “Protection of right for freedom of religion does not limit by broadly diffused and accepted in the world religions, but also applicable to rare and practically unknown faiths”. Far, an affirmation is very important, that State do not have right to adopt resolution to essence of religion – that is or that is not. It must execute the law, in particularity, about freedom for religious faith. In practice, often by part of state structures transgress such law, but this is an attempt on HR adjusted in a domain of religion.

It is important, that low process in present sphere do not bring the apparatus-ideological character, do not depend on political orientations and partialities of experts, presenting religious organizations, participated in elaboration of law. In this process it is important to address to rights of flows, existing at the concrete territory less 15 years. It necessary to count, that social opinion interests to dialog of represents of all confessions, based on principle of equality of HR, tolerance and collaboration. At the same time, it projects for installation of national traditions, culture, native type of civilization.

By which form attempt in practice religious rights and freedoms in Russia? Materials about this are contain in reports of RF ombudsman, at which address represents of orthodox, Moslem, Adventist, Baptist, Whitsuntide and other churches, adherents of different religious unions. The analysis of materials tell us, that many attempts of freedom are: refusal of registration and over-registration on religious organizations (in Moscow, Cabardino-Balkarya, Tatarstan, certain regions); diffusion in mass-media of false information about activity of religious unions, excitation of religious intolerance (in some regions: Altaisk, Krasnoyarsk, Ivanovo, Irkutsk, Omsk, Penza, Samara, Ekaterinbourg, Chelyabinsk and others); non-orthodoxy obstruction (or limitation) of activity of separate religious unions (in Moscow, Ivanovo, Kaluga, Nijny Novgorod, Penza, Pskov, Rostov, Ekaterinbourg, Tver regions); refusal on revenue of early nationalized cult buildings and other property (in Moscow, S-Petersbourg, Adigueya, Volgograd, Samara, Ivanovo regions); non-observance of principle of low equality of religious unions (in Mordovya, Kaluga, Kirov, Lipezk, Perm, Tver regions); obstruction of construction of new cult buildings (f.ex., in Stavropol, Kamchatka, Rostov, Riazan, Tver regions).

It is pity, but in Russia not federal state and social organizations, that offer monitoring of attempts of HR, including freedom of conscience, in whole country. However, the absence of generalized information leads to difference of opinions, often opposite and mutually excluding, about religious situation whole, and state of civic corresponding rights in particularity. Conflicts exist too, the reason – non-or-

thodoxy actions of justice. It is impossible to tell about social competence attained, if information is false and contradictory and if it does not attain the individual or group. Competent individual must know the information about all problems and the law. Only competent, represents of religious organizations, followers of different confessions and directions have possibility to address to Ombudsman apparatus, other HR-protection structures and international organizations (such as Special institutes of ONU, including Department for HR of Chef-commissary of ONU, International Institute of ombudsman, European Union (Commission of EU and Program TASIC), Council of Europe (European HR Court), OSCE, Council of Baltic States, European institute of ombudsman), with demand to resolve situation or problem.

For solution of problems, we say, Russian Ombudsman and his collaborators made tradition to visit religious centers, spiritual schools, monasteries, temples and prayer houses, to arrange meetings with religious actors (f.ex., with Pattern of Moscow and whole Russia, Main rabbi, Moslems, catholic prayers, Christian-Baptists, Adventists and others), simple beliefs. Discussion include questions about providing of HR in correspondence with Russian law, also forms of possible participation of religious unions in social, cultural, charitable activity. Because the number of addresses to court instances grows, Russian ombudsman proposed to Ministry for affairs of press, TV, radio and mass-media to discuss the question about formation of law instruction of journalists, specialized in the freedom of conscience and the position of religious unions (and not only).

For example, a question of transmission of temples and holy objects to Russian Orthodox Church found positive solution, about what the special resolution of Synod exist – lands of Riazan, Troize-Serguieva Lavra, Troizky and Ipatievsky monasteries etc. We count, that such development of events is desirable on other holy places of Russia – f.ex., Solovki, where interaction between the church and organizers and museum specialists almost do not correspond to long-time interests of Russia.

It is unknown, for what waits Russia and other such countries on the religious base – isolation, or consolidation, or radicalization, or some things again – but by theoretic part HR-conception will used.

Theoretic intelligence of program points, containing in native and international law documents, advances problems of HR on due level, promotes degree of its solution. It is constantly actual, that the State in correspondence with international-law norms and Constitution guarantees quality of rights and freedoms of person, independent of sex, race, nationality, language, origin, property and job situation, place of habitation, relation to religion, conviction, appurtenance to social association etc. Normatively rights and freedoms of person may be limited only by federal law and in measure necessary for providing of base of constitutional regime, morality, health, rights and law interests of other persons, defence of country and security of State. Principally new is so what in present RF advances for providing of human norms and values, with using of new forms and methods of international defence of HR. Note, that state structures and government are attired an grand attention on this question.

It is necessary underline, that a paradigm of HR actively supports by society, discusses at representative social forums. So, this was central at X Jubilee Universal Russian People Synod (April 2006), reflected in its program, resolutions, Synod Word, Declaration of Rights and Dignity of person. In particularity, it was said the tho-

ught about what “we must do all for defence of rights of individuals, suffering from degradarion and injustice. Previously, it concerns actual and potential victims of terrorism, extremism, aggressive nationalism, religious and national sentiments indergoing offence; we must attire attention to rights of young militaries, children, age-persons, invalids, who is in social institutions, and prisoners...” Note too, that for Russian peoples on XXI century not only questions of scientific-technical, economical and social development, but concerning spiritual sphere. Probably, successful solution of practical problems in much will depend on that, as far as they enter in parameters of native civilization. Except that, very important part of mission of Russia is initialization and active conducting of dialog among confessions, cultures and civilizations, what will designate the place and the role in universal community.



Ivan Cvitković

## CERTAIN METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS IN A SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH OF THE ORTHODOX CREED

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When I received an invitation to the international scientific conference “The Orthodox creed in an empirical perspective”, I asked myself a question: What would a sociologist of religion with no Orthodox experience, whose origins are not from “the Orthodox cultural milieu” and who is on the top of that, a sociologist with no religious way of thinking, could possibly prepare for such an event? And then, an idea has occurred – to try to produce a paper for which the aforementioned „shortcomings“ are not relevant. The decision has been made. A paper would be written on: „Certain methodological problems in a sociological research of the Orthodox creed”.

One might say: that could be of interest of some young sociologists of religion, not of an international conference of sociologists of religion. My answer is: It can never be enough discussing that issue amongst sociologists, regardless of their research related experience. That has been shown in some papers contributed to the published collection of papers on *Possibilities and range of social teaching on the Orthodox creed and the Orthodox Church* (Ђорђевић и Јовановић 2010). I was writing on that Collection by stating my arguments on im/possibility of conceiving “Sociology of the Orthodox creed”, especially the “Orthodox Sociology”. V. I. Garadzha, sociologist, also wrote on “Religious Sociology” (“Orthodox Sociology”) having little in common with sociology of religion as a scientific discipline (1996, 12–3). More concretely, “Religious Sociology” has an approach to researches and analyses which aim is to improve religious life and activities of the Church. Sociology of religion is interested in something different – to make research into religion as a social and cultural phenomenon.<sup>1</sup> So, theological/philosophical questions like whether God exists, a sociologist replaces with the following one: to which extent does the fact that a man does (not) believe in God’s existence have influence on their social relations? Both stand views on God’s existence as well as inexistence, leave consequences on social relations. Therefore, one cannot but to remember the words of Friedrich Nietzsche: „Factually, witches had not existed, but terrifying consequences of belief in witches were the same as if they had actually existed“. It is the same case with (un)belief in (in)existence of God.<sup>2</sup> It seems as if Williams Jones was on that path of thinking, when standing for “critical science on religion” that could disclose religion better than philosophy.

Development of sociology of religion, its approach to religion, depends also upon from which religious tradition and which religious environment a sociologist

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<sup>1</sup> Wasn't been Durkheim who was also warning us that „religion is extremely social thing“ (Dirkem 1982, 11)?

<sup>2</sup> Simmel writes: „It is of secondary interest whether... dogmas were true in either practical experience or scientific statement“ (Zimel 2008, 189).

originates (regardless of the fact that he/she might have irreligious way of thinking). Let us mention K. Marx, E. Durkheim, M. Weber, those prominent sociologists of religion, who had been building their relations toward religion on religious traditions from which they had originated and on religious environment they had lived in: Marx and Durkheim on traditions of the Jewish religion (see Marx: A contribution to the Jewish issue *or* Durkheim's conclusions on social usefulness of religion as a factor of cohesion). On the contrary to them, Weber bases his approach to observing religion on Protestantism and individualism. Nevertheless, what they all have in common is that the subject of their sociological research is the part of religion and religiousness that is empirically manifested ("this" side of religion). They were involved in „outside“ dimension of religion and religiousness. Marx's, Durkheim's and Weber's experience is that a sociologist does not need to do the researches on religion as isolated from the other disciplines. Such sociologist uses methods that come from other disciplines as well (Davie 2007). Nowadays, those disciplines are anthropology, psychology, demography, geography, history, technology – electronic church, internet. Therefore, there has to be search for interdisciplinary judgements.

Each discussion on (ir)religiousness of a sociologist makes the following question actual: is it insufficiently sociological understanding of religiousness because of the fact that we are “in it” or due to our being “out of it”? According to my stand view, a sociologist of religion is interested in religion only in the social context. It cannot be separated from society, as simply, if it was the case, it would not have been existed as such. A sociologist is less interested in faith and more in religion, and therefore it is not that significant whether he/she is “in” or “out” of it. But, it is, for sure, good to keep close to “religious neutrality” in the science of religion, as well as in sociology of religion i.e. not to talk about which religion is “true”, “right”, “better” etc.

It is known that some prominent sociologists and historians of religion thought that an advantage is on the side of those researchers of religion that were religious by themselves as well. In that way, in 1915, Emil Durkheim wrote: „The one who does not bring into research of religion a kind of religious feeling cannot talk about it! That one is alike a blind man who tries to talk about a colour“ (ref: Dennett 2009, 256). Similar to the aforementioned, Mircea Eliade wrote in 1963, according to Dennett: „A religious phenomenon would be recognised as such only if it is understood at its own level i.e. if it is being researched as something religious. To try to understand the essence of any phenomenon by means of philosophy, psychology, sociology, economics, linguistics, arts or any other discipline is wrong, as it exceeds that unique and irreducible element in it – the element of the sacred“ (ref: Dennett, 2009, 257). What to say on those words of Durkheim and Eliade? Can we understand the music if we are not musicians? Of course we can. Statements like the one that the religion can be understood only by those who belong to it are catastrophic for sociology of religion. „A man does not have to have a cancer to analyse its symptoms“, Brown writes (2004, 31). Similar to that, a sociologist of religion does not have to be a believer to be able to be involved in researching religion. Hans Küng, one of leading theologians of today, writes that „Even the one who does not believe, can do the objective research of Jesus“ (Küng 2002, 215). „Sociology is, according to its historical origin, secular, perhaps even the most secular approach to problems of human life. It takes its strength from the fact that it follows to its very end immanent i.e. transcendental approach to issues that concern human life. Not only that it avoids relying upon God as an explanation for the way how things are or



should be, but it does not also talk about absolute, superhuman entities as long as it uses its means in a consistent manner... Sociologist would be inconsistent if he/she would start accepting certain values as something that is beyond the context of historical social processes... many understand that a lot can be learned from sociology, but they fear that they would diminish religious values by exposing them to the influence of the empirical analysis“ (Manhajm 2009, 133).

Which one is from sociologists closer to the scientific objectivity: the one which is a believer or the other who is not? There are those who would say that it is still irreligiousness of a sociologist that would be closer to the scientific objectivity than neutrality.<sup>3</sup> A colleague Danijela is of the opinion that „sociologists of religion are at the positions of neutrality in terms of values and of methodological agnosticism“ (Gavrilović 2008, 83).<sup>4</sup> A sociologist accepts the present state of matters in religion regardless of whether he/she likes it or not (Davie 2007, 181). Some would say: a sociologist should follow “the methodological atheism” in research – to research religion as if there is no God? The others say: is that possible? If there is no belief in God/s and no impact of that belief on social relations, sociology of religion would not have had the subject of its research, perhaps it would have been not needed.

The job of a sociologist of religion is to study religious groups and religious systems. In relation to that, (ir)religiousness of that sociologist is his/her personal thing which does not have to be connected to their professional responsibility in researching the religion. One does not have to know the religion (its theological teaching, different from the social one) so that its social impact would be examined. If a sociologist identifies himself/herself fully with the religion that examines, then it can happen to him/her to loose that theoretical standpoint from which the religion is only worth of scientific examination. However, even a sociologist that does not belong to any religion has to have a sense for understanding it.

It goes without saying that there have been and still are those amongst sociologists of religion that are both religious and irreligious, even those that are with anti-religious persuasions. A scientific approach to researching the religion, even the Orthodox, is by itself neither pro-religious nor irreligious, so Garadza would say (1996). “Morally neutral” approach of a sociologist is very important. It implies that he/she would not be involved in whether the Orthodox creed is “better” religion than Islam, if it is better to be “baptised”, to celebrate family patron’s day or any other holy day etc.

What is the situation with the sociology of religion at the territory of ex Yugoslavia, especially in Serbia? The answer would be: the orientation towards empirical researches as a new/old trend. That orientation was particularly being cherished in the Institute for social researches in Zagreb during the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and then, at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, it was also expanded in Serbia (Bahtijarević, Marinović, Flere, Blagojević, Pantić, Đorđević, Kuburić, Gavrilović, Todorović etc). During the last 20 years, many empirical researches have been realised with support of various international and nongovernmental organisations.

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<sup>3</sup> „The objective of the science is .. to be, as Max Weber would saying, 'neutral in terms of values'. However, that ideal is always hard to accomplish“ (Tarner 2009, 60).

<sup>4</sup> „The scientific method serves for developing objective procedures for data collection and then, for clear stating the steps that have been undertaken during the collection process. In that way, other researchers can check our theory and statements and they can check whether we have made any commonplace mistakes or if we have approached the research with prejudice“ (Tarner 2009, 59).

During researches of religiousness amongst the Orthodox believers, a sociologist starts from the assessment of religion as a social phenomenon. A sociologist can hardly accept the attitudes like those of Oscar Wilde: „Jesus did not try to rehabilitate society and therefore, Individualism that He had been preaching to a man can be possible to accomplish only by suffer and in solitude. Ideals we owe to Jesus are those of a man that is completely banished from society or of a man that resists the society in full“, Wilde wrote in 1891 (Vajld 2009, 56). Isn't the conclusion of respective theologian Radovan Bigović too daring when saying that „the Church does not have influence on people's behaviour and social life“ (Биговић 2010, 14). Exactly that, the impact of the Church and religion to the man's social life represents “the field of research” for a sociologist.

What can a sociologist research in the Orthodox creed? A sociologist studies an "outer" side of the religion. He/she does the research on what is empirically measurable and the rest is not the subject of their research. It goes without saying that all Serbs (all Croats, all Bosniaks, all Macedonians etc.) are not equally religious. But the population census, as well as various polls on religiousness, shows that the majority of Serbs consider themselves believers, and more specifically - Orthodox believers. A sociologist will try to explain what kind of "empirical" Orthodox creed is present amongst Serbs, difference in "intensity" and in "quality" of their religious life, by social circumstances (Durkheim). For sure, it is sometimes impossible to go only for the "outer", it can be necessary to search for what is beyond.

Religiousness and irreligiousness are mixed in life of every Orthodox believer and any other. Therefore, during the research, a sociologist always intends to determine the bonds of religious life with other spheres of life like economy, politics, culture, moral etc. A sociologist can do the research on a social teaching in the Orthodox creed (what it is that the Orthodox creed has in common in social teaching with other Christian paths, and what it is that is needed). There is series of topics, and some will certainly be listed: Orthodox creed and civil society; Orthodox creed, democracy and human rights; role of the Orthodox creed and the Serbian Orthodox Church in the national identity of Serbs; Orthodox creed and poverty; Orthodox creed and moral; Orthodox creed and health care (stand views on demographic issues, suicide, drugs); Orthodox creed and social welfare; Orthodox creed and ecology etc.

If we follow the methodological guidelines of Glock, then the Orthodox creed can be researched at five (5) levels as follows:

*The first level* would be the research on individual religious experiences of an Orthodox believer. Those are, in certain way, connected with religious and ethical teaching on the Orthodox creed. The attitude towards institutional Orthodox creed, Serbian Orthodox Church, is expressed in belonging and participating in its activities. An individual does not have to always agree with the official stand views of the Serbian Orthodox Church (for instance, in regard to the issues of euthanasia, homosexuality, abortion, contraception divorce, woman's role in the Church etc.). That individual may follow more his/her own consciousness in reference to those issues than the Church's standings. Each Orthodox believer may also choose "how to be religious" i.e. how to express sociologically his/her religiousness: going to service, praying at home, celebrating stipulated holy days etc. There may be big differences in the way of expressing and practising religiousness amongst those who belong to the Orthodox creed, as well as amongst those that are members of other religious groups.

*The second level* would be researching the Orthodox religious teaching (similarities and differences against other Christian communities as well as similarities and differences amongst teachings of other religions).

*The third level* would be research in religious conceptions and attitudes of the Orthodox believers. „Particular religious beliefs are always those that certain community has in common which are preached as those to be duly respected, with appropriate ceremonies to undertake. Those beliefs are not only accepted by all the members of certain community as individuals, but those are the issue of a group as such and they make the group's unity. Individuals that are the members of that group, feel connected to one another by mere fact that they have the common faith (...) However, everywhere we can notice certain religious life, its substrate is made of a defined group“ (Dirkem 1982, 41).

*The fourth level* represents a research on religious participation: is it a bigger participation in a religion amongst lower social layers; marginalised social groups; part of the population of lower education standards; newcomers-those from migration communities; amongst those that have isolated themselves or been isolated into "closed" communities within society; amongst criminals etc. Measuring religious participation should be undertaken with due care. There are persons that enjoy being seen as visitors to the church, so they state when subject to polls, that they visit churches more frequent than they actually do. Also, it is needed to check whether also the data on the number of the baptised, number of church weddings and the number of burials with religious ceremony (that are still much expanded) are the most valid indicators of religiousness to take into due account. What is with the other indicators of religiousness (e.g. going to church; belief in God; belief in Judgement Day; belief in resurrection, regular praying etc.) that do not have the sign of such "formal" belonging to a religion, like those above mentioned? „There are many nowadays that are more in unity at a rock concert which is for them a mass, than in a church on Sundays“, says French writer Beigbeder (Di Falco and Beigbeder 2005). Is it nowadays, the participation in religious activities in a falling trend against the period of the war conflicts at the territory of ex Yugoslavia? Is there the fall of: the number of visits to church; authority of religious leaders (especially after internal conflicts in the church) and their influence on behaviour of believers in secular sphere of life (control of birth delivery; abortions; freedom of sexual life; abstaining from sex before marriage etc.)? Are young people those that are the most distant from the institutional religious (which does not have to mean also from the religious in general)<sup>5</sup>?

*The fifth level* is a research on the impact of all the aforementioned to believers' behaviour. There are interesting topics appearing in that research at the group's level, like encounters, cross-cutting and conflicts with other religious groups; why they happen, which the consequences of such conflicts are in inter-religious relations, and, taking into account the Balkans circumstances, in national relations as

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<sup>5</sup> R. Dawkins writes: „Our society, including its non-religious part, has accepted a crazy idea as if it is normal and right (...) to indoctrinate young children to the religion of their parents and post the labels on them – 'a Catholic child', 'a Protestant child', 'a Jewish child', 'a Muslim child' etc. – but with no other labels on other comparatives. There are no conservative children, no liberal children, no republican children, no democratic children. Please, please sharpen your consciousness in regard to that, and increase criteria whenever you hear such a thing. A child is not a Christian child, he/she is not a Muslim child, but it is a child of the Christian parents or a child of the Muslim parents“ (Dawkins 2007, 307).

well. By all means, we will be always interested within our research, by whether women or men participate more in the religious practice, who believes more, whether the Orthodox self-identification is more expressed amongst women or amongst men, who practises more in an individual prayer etc. It goes without saying that those results we achieve will not be placed only within the context of gender but also within their social status (from family to society, in entirety). Does the participation in a religion sometimes represent a kind of compensation for their social status?

Religious communities have become today a place for civil engagements (volunteers' work, humanitarian activities, various section groups etc). The religious belonging and engagements are in a positive correlation in many countries (in societies where there is a visible social preference for participation into religion). One of interesting questions for a sociological research is of searching for causes of why Protestantism had bigger impact amongst the Orthodox believers at the territory of ex Yugoslavia than, for instance, amongst Catholics and Muslims (though recently, there have been some changes occurring in that aspect as well).

While preparing for a research, a sociologist needs to define which will be the subject of the research i.e. what he/she will be involved in. That practically means that a researcher needs to get well familiar with the Orthodox creed before proceeding with his/her research work.<sup>6</sup> Therefore he/she will be studying relevant references, as well as the results of earlier researches undertaken on life of the Orthodox believers. A sociological research needs prior defined criteria of the religious in the Orthodox creed, as per which something will be different from the other, not just as the religious against the irreligious, but also as the Orthodox (especially in multi-confessional communities) compared to the non-Orthodox (Catholic, Muslim). Finally, indicators of the Orthodox religiousness should be defined. All the aforementioned points at the conclusion that a sociologist will much better manage the research of religion, church and religiousness if knows basics from theology, history of religion, science of religion, than without possessing such knowledge. (That does not mean, by no means, that he/she has to be religious). In addition, it is questionable to which extent a Catholic or a Muslim or Orthodox etc. knows about their own religions, except from their ceremonial sides. A sociologist has to know religious and confessional traditions and specificities so as to be able to make proper conclusions based on data which they get from the research. For instance, if a sociologist does the research on participation of women into the burial ceremony and makes conclusions only on the basis of the statistics reached from empirical researches, it may lead to the wrong conclusion that the Muslim women are less religious than the Orthodox women. That non-participation or little participation of Muslim women into burial ceremonies is not the result of them being less religious but of the fact that Islam does not recommend women to participate in burial procession and in laying the coffin down into the grave.

A sociologist will point a specific attention to determining the sample, as a part of certain entirety (parishes, eparchies, bishops' counties). When determining a sample, there is a need to take due care of the following:

a) Development of an area at which the data collection will be performed. In that way, a sample will cover parishes in extremely underdeveloped, insufficiently

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<sup>6</sup> „We never come into contact with 'religion in general' in a real life context, but with the religion of people with all its specificities, in the same way as no one speaks 'language in general', but always certain specific language “, written by Hogan and May (2011, 92).

development, developed and well developed environments, so as it would be possible to determine if the economic development of an area in which believers live has influence on their religious life, and if yes, to which extent.

b) Density of habitability is also important for selection of parishes (to include parishes from urban, suburbs and rural settlements into the sample).

c) It would be good that the sample includes also parishes selected that, as per religious persuasion of the population, are located in extremely homogenous (in majority habituated by the Orthodox believers), binary (the Orthodox believers make majority with Catholics, Muslims or Protestants) and heterogeneous areas (in which Orthodox believers, Catholics, Muslims, Protestants etc. live together). That would be helpful for determining whether, for instance, a confessional distance is bigger amongst those who live in the Orthodox homogeneous area than amongst those who live in binary, and especially amongst those that live in heterogeneous environment (who have greater experience of diversity).

d) It is known that a household or a member of the household can be defined as the research unit. If a household is set as a research unit, that can reduce age groups (e.g. migrations from rural areas to cities leave parishes in rural environment with dominantly elderly population). A researcher has to take due care of that aspect as well.

*A few lines on methods and techniques in sociological research of the Orthodox creed:* Mirce Eliade was standing up for a historical method in researches of religions. According to him, the religion does not exist outside the historical context in which it can be observed. But, a sociologist will rather use other methods and techniques. A few following examples show that such choice is not an easy one.

In regard to already mentioned Collection of papers on *Possibilities and range of social teaching on the Orthodox creed and the Orthodox Church*, one of the contributors, an authoress Astahov indicates in her paper that data on religiousness of the population can be reached through answers to the question: „Do you believe in God?“ or „Are you a believer?“ However, methodologically, it is important whether the first or the second question will be asked. Are there going to be more of “the religious” if the first or the second question is asked? Some researches show that there will be less of those “religious” if the first question is asked and not the second one. More concretely, a part of those that consider themselves believers does not have an idea of God (in regard to that, there are some world’s religions like Buddhism that do not have that idea too). Similar to that, there are more of those that identify themselves with the confession (Catholics, Orthodox, Muslims) than those with the attitude “I am a believer”. The confessional self-identification is, I would say, cultural and therefore, with large extent. That is shown by the data on a religious state of play in Russia which are indicted in a paper by Julija Sinelina (2010). Thomas Bremer well concludes that acceptance of the Orthodox creed in Russia (we could add, not only in Russia) has more to do with the identity. Like there is a need to respect religious and confessional self-identification (the latter is more frequent than the former – I am an “Orthodox” but I am not a believer; I am a “Muslim” but I do not practise Islam etc.) in a methodological approach, in the same way the ecclesiastical and the religious should be differentiated. A man can be non-ecclesiastical and religious (religious but with no participation in the clerical life).<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> Zdravko Roter wrote on that in more details, based on his researches in his study „Katoliška cerkev in država u Jugoslaviji“ (Ljubljana, 1976) almost forty (40) years ago (Ljubljana, 1976).

The following question is often asked: can the same criteria be applied for assessment of notions that derive from different religions and confessions or will the criteria be adjusted to religious and confessional reality? On the other hand, that need to adjust instruments and indicators to the religious situation (Orthodox, Islamic, Catholic) does not in any way mean that because of that, there is a need to found “Orthodox”, “Catholic”, “Islamic” sociology.

By all means, it is always good to use the language of religion/confession to which an interviewee belongs to when being involved in the field work (e.g. not to say Christianity to an Orthodox believer, but the Orthodox creed, not to use the word for a cross that is from the Croatian language, but to use the one from the Serbian language etc.). When applying some techniques in a research, like a questionnaire, it is important which language and letter are used. The language has to be the one of those to be subject to the poll, with as little foreign words and “scientific” phrases as possible (so as to have the language of the questionnaire understandable to averagely educated interviewee). If doing the research on the religious life in Bosnia and Herzegovina, instruments will be prepared in Serbian for the population of parishes (that language will be Croatian for population of Catholic districts or Bosnian for the population of the Islamic communities). Why is it needed to take due care of that? Language and letter become very “sensitive” issues in conflict and post-conflict times (especially if conflicts bring also religious-confessional-national characteristics). The letter (Latin/ Cyrillic) used for writing questions in a questionnaire or statements in the scale of attitudes can be of great importance for non/preference of interviewees for cooperation. Therefore, if there will be a poll undertaken amongst population of parishes, then there is a need to use Cyrillic, and vice versa. If there will be a poll to carry out in a heated Bosnian -Herzegovinian pot, with a questionnaire printed on Cyrillic, to take place in a Catholic district at the area of West Herzegovina or in an Islamic community in the central Bosnia, the question is whether there would be any interviewee that would even accept to answer the questions, and if yes, how many of them would be.<sup>8</sup>

It is useful to use the content analysis in researches of religious life at areas of parishes. The analyses of monastery chronicles, archives (including possible parish’s diaries on religious life and migrations at the area of parish); Christmas’ and Easter’s messages of Patriarch (the language of those messages); statements issued by the Council and Holy Synod; preaches; publications for believers etc. are valuable for the research results. The book of the married also gives information on marriages made on “ad hoc”, on bi-confessional marriages. If comparing data from the book on birth deliveries and the one on marriages, it can be seen how many of those are who are single, those who avoid marital commitments etc.

Reports that leaders of parishes submit to their eparches can serve as one of the sources for conclusions on the religious life at the territory of a parish (liturgy, functioning of parish institutions, number of baptised, those married, deceased etc.). The books on the baptised, the married and the deceased, offer valuable sources of data and information for analysis. In that way, the following data can be made available: on the children born from non-marital relationships, on found children that

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<sup>8</sup> To illustrate that, the signposts with names of locations posted along the roads through Bosnia and Herzegovina can serve as the best examples. If you see that a sign on Cyrillic is crossed, then one may know that he/she has been passed from Republika Srpska to the Federation of BiH and vice versa, if a sign on Latin is crossed, then one must have been entered the territory of Republika Srpska.

are baptised, on the number of the baptised that originate from bi-confessional marriages, on “transfer” from other religious groups to the Orthodox, on “subsequent” baptising (i.e. baptising of the adults that were not baptised once they were born). The baptising certificate offers data on to which extent parents does (not) comply to the instructions of the religious community on “appropriate” names, which names are the most popular in that parish; after which Saint children are most frequently named etc. Data from the book of the baptised can offer indicators on the ratio between newly born male and female children at the area of a parish (whether female or male children were more frequently born; if that could affect the population structure at later stage).

It can also be valuable analysis of articles on the Orthodox creed and topics from life of the Orthodox believers in printed media (dailies, weeklies, periodicals). The frequency of repetitions of certain messages, language (of hatred, tolerance, support, neutrality), themes, symbols etc. can be analysed and followed up closely. The thematic analysis of certain categorical conceptions is also important within the content analysis (when certain conceptions are followed up like “family”, “moral”, “Serb” etc.).

Indicators on what people say can be reached by the poll and the scale of attitudes in an efficient way, but the problem is whether those indicated are what people really mean. The scale of attitudes is a measurable instrument made of series of statements (from extremely negative to extremely positive) on the Orthodox creed, clergy, episcopos, Serbian Orthodox Church etc.). The task of a researcher on the field is to assess, as based on information on the education degree and occupations of interviewees, whether there is a need to give an explanation or a clarification of what the scale of attitudes is; what the statements are; what is the objective to accomplish. Otherwise, lack of information on the scale of attitudes and statements can provoke negative reactions amongst those to be subject to the poll (such as, for instance, to conclude as based on negative statements, that it is an attack to the Orthodox creed, clergy, episcopos etc.<sup>9</sup>) and motivate them to withdraw from cooperation.

The scale of attitudes is particularly suitable in post-conflict periods (and not only for those times) for measuring social distance as well as religious and national prejudice (currently, prejudice on Muslims are being a “top trend” amongst Christians in Europe, including of course, the Balkans as well) or distance from those that belong to other religions and confessions. What is measured is readiness for life, coexistence and unity with them.

The statistical method (“the method of numbers”) will help to determine the number of those present at religious services, number of Communion receivers, number of nuns and monks, number of schools in which religious teaching is carried out, number of religious printed media and publications of religious content that are distributed at the area of the entire parish etc.

Quite often the importance of the field researcher (poll undertaker/observer/interviewer) for success of the research is forgotten. How to select a poll undertaker, an interviewer or an observer that will be sent to the field? It is not sufficient that those candidates have become familiar with the methodology during their studies (sociologists, political scientists, pedagogues, psychologists etc.). In addition to

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<sup>9</sup> „Totally different feelings are cherished for priests and religious orders from those for laics“ (Simmel).

general methodological problems of the research, those persons need to know also the “Orthodox themes” (history, development, teaching, ceremonies, holy days, organisation and structure of the Serbian Orthodox Church etc.), or they need to be prior educated on the subject of the research, environment within which they are to undertake the field work, they need to be capable for observations and noting on everything that could be important for the research (if there is one or more churches at the area of a parish; if parish population have icon(s) in their homes and based on that, which Saint is “popular” in that parish; if there are the Holy Book and publications of religious content visible on shelves etc.).

The first impression that a researcher makes on a correspondent is also important (greeting, his/her clothing, symbols that wears etc.). Not only that the appearance of a field researcher is important but also his/her capability of fast adaptability, health, common decency, intelligence, common culture, language he/she talks in (it is to be the language of an correspondent). When mentioning that the appearance of a field researcher/poll undertaker/observer/interviewer is also important, it means that a person who wears Islamic prayer beads or a Muslim scarf on the head will not be sent to the area of certain parish in the same way as a person who wears a cross bigger than the one of the bishop will not be sent to the area of an Islamic community. That is not because of the fear of conflicts but due to the fact that it may happen that an interviewee may offer “desirable” answers, and not those that would usually give. Everything needs to be taken with due care, including greetings and health condition of a field researcher (e.g. a field researcher who coughs will not be sent to the field, as interviewees may frighten they may also be affected by the virus). Let us imagine the situation in which a field researcher comes amongst a parish population and greet them with “As-Salāmu `Alaykum” or a field researcher that comes into an Islamic community and greet the population with “Ave Jesus and Maria”. That field researcher would “loose” the trust at the very beginning. The greeting has to be such to be gladly accepted and responded in return by believers.

A researcher will make as close relation as possible with an interviewee so as to gain their trust. He/she has to make a favourable impression to a correspondent on knowledge of the subject of the research (that is why this method is named as “Method of a learned guest”). However, a researcher needs to sustain from expressing his/her own opinion, giving unnecessary instructions and comments. The researcher has to take due care of the “body language” of both the interviewee and his/her own during giving answers to questions: facial expression, hands movements etc. A facial expression can show how an interviewee has accepted the question, whether he/she feels any angriness etc. In addition, an interviewer’s “body language” is also very important, especially at the beginning of the encounter with an interviewee (greeting, smile, hands shake etc.).

If a parish (a Catholic district or an Islamic community) in a multi-confessional environment (like those across Bosnia and Herzegovina) is covered by a research, then also the ethnical and not only the confessional belonging of the researcher can be important (from the aspect of gaining confidence of a correspondent).

It is desirable to prepare guidelines for a field researcher with detailed suggestions on how to undertake the field task: explanation of research instruments, what to be emphasised, how to filling in the record on the target settlement, record on realised questionnaires/interviews and those unrealised, how to select the unit of the research on the field (system of even or odd numbers, zigzag system etc.), how to



react when no one is at home etc. Quite often, a researcher may come across difficulties in realisation of his/her task. He/she can be faced with refusal of cooperation, as the moment an interviewee becomes familiar with the subject of the poll/interview, he/she can refuse cooperation because of "affecting the privacy". The latter can particularly occur when an interviewee is a member of a minority religious group and a society is burdened by religious tensions (or the religion is marginalised), which was often the case in period until 1990.

What has been missed to research or been left as insufficiently explored, when it comes to the Orthodox creed? Does Radovan Bigović have right when saying that neither political scientists nor sociologists have paid specific attention to the Orthodox social views so far? (Бировић 2010, 28). Rather insufficient development of sociology of religion at the territories at which the Orthodox creed dominated until the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century has contributed to the above, resulting in shortcomings of sociologists of religion – researchers during one period of time. In addition, empirical researches need the financial support which is hard to receive, especially in the times of the crisis. Due to all that, there are many issues left to be examined in detail. Some of those are as follows: Orthodox creed and moral; Orthodox creed and social stratification; Orthodox creed in marginalised social groups; Orthodox creed and change of social values; Serbian Orthodox Church and wars at the territory of ex Yugoslavia (a research that would avoid any ideological background to the highest possible extent); Orthodox creed, nation and inter-national relations of today; Orthodox creed and non/violence; Orthodox creed and deviant behaviour, above all, alcoholism and drug addiction (this is not the area only for the workers in medicine and psychiatrists but also for sociologists); Orthodox creed in today's rural and urban areas; Orthodox creed and population policy etc. Is there a privileged position of the Orthodox creed (not only in legal terms but also in reality, which is more of an interest of a sociologist than the legal status) and does it influence on the creation of conflicts and if yes, to which extent or are there tensions that would easily, in given circumstances, turn into an open conflict (although sociology of conflicts could also be involved in that aspect)?

„Religion and politics make one explosive mixture“ (Tarner 2009, 397). There are not that many researches on how many religious conflicts (not only in the Orthodox creed but also in the Roman Catholicism, Islam) have been delivered birth by that "mixture". Often those conflicts are the result of searches for the answer to the question on the place and role of the religion and the church in modern life. Let us only mention disputes and conflicting about the religious studies in schools, abortion, financial subsidies of the state for religious community(ies), declaring the Saint patron of the school, police etc.

The issue of *Printed media, Orthodox creed and other religions in media*, remains permanent objective of researches: what the total number of the published articles on religion is; how many of them refer to the Orthodox creed, and how many on other religious groups; which religious group is favoured against the others; which articles dominate – positive, negative or neutral and on which religious communities; role of the Serbian Orthodox church in pre-election campaigns (as per media coverage) etc.

Researches that show what the Orthodox believers know about themselves and what on religion(s) of their first neighbours (Catholics and Muslims) are very interesting.

„The religion is too much important for us so as to live in lack of knowledge about it. It does not only influence on our social, political and economic conflicts but also on the very meaningfulness that we find in our lives. There is nothing more important than religion to many people, even to majority of people on earth. That is why it is necessary to learn on it as much as we can (Dennett 2009, 26).“

Who are the most numerous followers of the Orthodox creed today: women, poor people, the marginalised? Is Christianity amongst the Orthodox believers coming back to those social layers amongst which it was arisen – amongst the poor (Let it be reminded: centre of Christianity was the South at which poverty dominated at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century)?

Comprehensive researches on the religious participation from the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the 3<sup>rd</sup> millennium have been failed to take place. Is it (religious participation) the result of the social changes or the changes in the nature of belief? Is it perhaps, the expression of the crisis of individualism that covers also the church as the institution (belief without belonging – Davie 2007)? Religiousness can also be an expression of the external circumstances or due to traditional habits.

Sociology of religion should, perhaps, give an answer to the questions: when coming back to the religion, why does almost everyone in that return, come back to their “forgotten” religion, why do not they choose something that is offered by “the market of religions” (or “the market of religions” is not developed)?

There is the subject as well: Serbian Orthodox Church and the Orthodox life of immigrant communities (in Serbian-Orthodox Diaspora). And then, another one: Serbian Orthodox Church (SOC) and conflicts (conflicts within the SOC and their possible social consequences; conflicts with other churches and religious communities and their influence on inter-confessional and inter-national relations; conflicts with the state; what the opinion of believers is, the one of supporters and the one of priests on those conflicts etc. Oscar Wilde wrote in 1891: „It is not selfish to live the way how we wish to, it is selfish to ask from the others to live the way how we do (...) Unselfishness recognises immense diversity as a valid reason for rapture, accepts it, approves it and enjoys it“ (Vajld 2009, 54). Let us also mention the topic: The Orthodox creed and contemporary family life; standpoints of the Serbian Orthodox Church on many issues related to the family life and to which extent those standings are respected in the life of believers (choice of a marital partner, bi-confessional marriage, abortion, adultery, limits to conceive, birth rate, raising up and religious socialisation, family ceremonies, burial ceremonies, after-burial ceremonies, divorce etc.).

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**INTERACTION OF CULTURES OF SECULAR  
AND RELIGIOUS TYPES IN THE MODERN SOCIETY:  
METHODOLOGICAL PRINCIPLES AND APPROACHES**

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Modern collision of processes of “revitalization of religion” with the accumulated social effect of secularization outgrow the borders of private divergences in estimations and separate conflicts of interpretations. Speech comes already about the system phenomenon when behind plural untied definitions of socially significant realities patterns of symbolic universes are looked through, perception of a reality defining a paradigm. Confessions put forward complete universal versions of social knowledge that face in communicative space with usual for us secular categories, determinations, and concepts.

The given circumstances cause problem statement “religion in modern society” as interactions of cultures – “all-round descriptions“ (K. Girts), concerning to two genetically, structurally and to functionally various types: secular and religious. A problem of given article is the summary of the methodological bases of research of such interaction.

The initial principle of methodology of research’s interaction of cultures of the religious and secular types is represented to us as a socio-cultural principle. In the classical formulation given by P. A. Sorokin, he postulates “indissolubility and self-sufficiency” of three bases of a sociality: culture, society and person.

“The structure of the sociocultural interaction ... has three aspects, inseparable from each other: 1) the person as the subject of the interaction; 2) the society as the set of cooperating individuals with it sociocultural relations and processes and 3) the culture as the set of meanings, values and norms which cooperating persons own, and the set of carriers that objectify, socialise and open these values ... Any of members of this inseparable triad (person, society and culture) cannot exist without two others (Сорокин 1992, 218).“

Accordingly, an indispensable condition of the real social life of the culture considered in the given foreshortening as a phenomenon of the semantic plan, the public and personal contexts which are not reduced to it and to each other. „Society“ concerning the culture represents itself as an organizing infrastructure forming a potential „social order“ for actualisation of this or that cultural resource and giving legitimate channels for its functioning. „Person“ is considered as a carrier of the property of subjectivity – the actual ability to represent the active, effective beginning of the sociocultural process. In this connection the object of the research is designed in the system of coordinates of „culture“, „society“ and „person“; each subject aspect is considered in three corresponding projections and their mutual relations in concrete existential scales.

The second major and necessary principle of the research methodology postulates the system integrity of cultures-counterparts. Each culture – in our case, secular and religious, – is a priori considered as a self-identical integrated whole, characterized by the prominence from the general cultural environment, nonadditivity, internal coordination, stability and semantic universality (Давыдов 2005, 73–4). In the given quality the cultural system is identified by means of the logico-semantic, deductive method. Last consists in „finding the main principle ('the bases') which penetrates all components, gives the sense and the value to each of them and by that from chaos of isolated fragments creates space“ (Сорокин 2000, 34). At us as such are presented „secularity“ and „religiosity“ of culture which will be in detail described in the following, within the framework of the comparative research approach.

To the most important properties of the cultural systems we carry: the system-wide property of self-preservation (resistance); dissipativity; ability and tendency to formation of hyper systems. According to them, the intercultural interaction can be defined, as a dynamic cultural hyper system with a sustainable in certain spatial-temporal boundaries of the regime of exchange of semantic elements, of the social energy and the information. In this connection the interaction between cultures is defined by tendencies of their integration or polarization, and in case of integration – the tendencies of domination or balance.

The third principle of the methodology of the research is designated by us as a representational principle. According to it, one of the necessary base preconditions and characteristics of the interaction of the cultures is their representation – the measure and the character of the real reproduction of each culture in a concrete segment of the sociocultural space. The reproduction of cultures, according to F. Tenbruk's concept, is expressed in their „influence on social behaviour as they either are divided by people, or use a passive recognition“ (Tenbruck 1990, 29). The cultures-counterparts are reproduced (represented) in a social context and are included the system of the social interaction, including the interaction with other cultural systems, as representants – partial actualized „selections“ from the general thesaurus which has been saved up in semantic horizon of the corresponding cultural system.

The representation of the cultural systems is defined by three sociocultural „coordinates“: by volume and the priority maintenance of the demanded semantic content; the quantitative and the qualitative characteristics of its subject-carrier and the readiness of the society for reception of the given content in combination with „the social order“ on its functional distribution. Interaction of cultures in an essential measure is defined by their crossing in all three specified measurements.

The fourth methodological principle of the research is reflective. According to it, reflexion understood as „the intentional activity of consciousness in relation to itself and being the interpretation in the proper sense of the word“ (Смирнова 1995, 131), along with material-practical activities and communications, acts as the key kind of human activity (Дридзе 2000, 137). Here it is considered a priori as the basic mechanism of the intercultural interaction. In the context of modernity reflexion is represented as the major intrapersonal way of choice of the social action and its cultural legitimation. The functional value of the reflective activity consists in establishment and feedback maintenance between the subject and object of comprehension for the purpose of the regulating of their interaction. The level of the development of the reflexion of the cultural representant defines its system integrity and, as

consequence, its stability to external influences and its ability to influence the environment.

In this connection the culture is considered as a reflexion tool over the most significant parties and spheres of a human life. At the intercultural interaction cultures-counterparts act as objects of reflexion of each other. The reflexion of the subject – the culture carrier is automatically delegated to the representant of the corresponding cultural system; in a situation when the given subject is a carrier of the intercultural interaction, its reflexion is distributed between both cultures-counterparts. Depending on a level of reflexion's development of the subject – the carrier of the culture, the functional importance of the culture in the social system and semantic characteristics of the representant of the culture is defined its reflective potential.

Thus, in the light of the principles of methodology of research accepted by us, considered cultures: a) cooperate in the space „culture-person-society“, b) representing itself as the complete semantic systems, c) situationally defined by their social representation, and d) by means of the reflective activity of the subjects perceiving and comprehending that and the other cultures.

The specified principles are revealed and concretised in three methodological approaches to research: sociodynamical, sociocognitive and cultural-comparative. In the light of *the sociodynamical approach* based on the theory of the sociodynamic of culture of A. Moles, the actual representative part of culture is considered, as being in a condition of a permanent cyclic movement between „memory of society“ where culture stays in a crystallized, aloof form, and consciousness and memory of a person where it is actively reproduced and transformed (Моль 2005, 53–8). As an intermediary between these extreme points of the localization of culture acts the difficult structure of sociocultural tables representing chronological „cuts“ of statistical distribution of the cultural senses in space of the sociocultural communications (Моль 2005, 54, 58).

According to functional specificity, we allocate in the context of the sociocultural principle two basic modi of the sociodynamic culture: transmitting and reflective. The transmitting modus provides access of a certain cultural content to the consciousness of the social subject, whereas the reflective modus is responsible for the interpretation, reproduction and creative processing of this content. The modus model of the intercultural interaction applied by us further at the analysis of interaction of the secular and orthodox cultures is based on alternation and interconditionality of the translation and reflexion.

Accordingly, the representant of culture can be defined as that its selective part which passes through the sociocultural table (transmitting modus) and „settles“ in the screens of knowledge of individual subjects (reflective modus). As a phenomenon of the dynamic nature („structure-process“), it is supported by the dynamic balance of the internal process of reflexion and the external process of translation, corresponding to the core modi of the functioning of the sociocultural system.

The mechanism of the work of the core – reflective – modus of the intercultural interaction opens *the sociocognitive approach*. The reflective activity of a social subject is considered as a manufacture and a reproduction of the social knowledge. In this connection it is represented based on two base sociocognitive mechanisms of the integration of senses: relevance and legitimation. In the context of the sociocultural principle, the first of them goes from the logic of culture, whereas the second – from the logic of social relations. As to the factor of the person its role is expressed in

a situationally adapted choice of preferences and combinations of the given ways of coordination of the actual senses.

The relevance defines the basic priorities and the functional character of the importance for the subject of those or other vital realities. It consists in selection of „those elements of the world which can serve it as means or purposes“ (Шютц 2003, 193). The legitimation „creates new values serving for integration of those values which are already peculiar to various institutional processes“ (Бергер и Лукман 1995, 151). In comparison with the relevance, it represents a more thin mental mechanism of the valuable and logic correlation of senses with the core of culture, potentially the more difficult and creative, the more high the degree of the relevance of the object's judgment.

At last, the reality of the correlation of cultures of the secular and religious types as socially-reflective systems, their interaction defining potential probability, helps to understand *the cultural-comparative approach*. It reveals and generalises the most fundamental and contrast distinctions between the cultures-counterparts, defining their sociocognitive specificity. We allocate three basic criteria of such distinctions: 1) the general substantial orientation of reflexion in the culture (the priority of concreteness of supernatural in religious and the exclusiveness of the concreteness of sensual-ideal in secular /Лебедев 2003, 14–5/); 2) the character of the sacral component of culture, defining its relevance (total in religious and particularistic, fragmented functionally specialised in secular /Беккер 1961, 169–75/); 3) the semantic mechanism of the sociocultural legitimation (centripetal, monistic in the religious culture and centrifugal, pluralistic in the secular culture).

Specified constitutive properties of the secular and religious cultures considered in quality of the universes of the social knowledge do enough problematic the system integration of the representants of such cultures, but suppose basic possibility of such integration under the favorable situational conditions of interaction. In this connection they suppose the multiplicity of intercultural interactions in concrete sociocultural situations which can vary in a range from integration to polarisation of the corresponding complexes of social knowledge, depending on concrete situational factors.

Therefore, in the light of the identified research approaches, the interaction between cultures of the secular and religious types is described and analyzed as a sociodynamic process based on the alternation of the intersubject translation and the subject reflexion of „the cultural material“. The modus of the reflexion as an epicentre of the interaction of cultures, is defined by the combination of the sociocognitive mechanisms of the relevance and the legitimation of the subject's judgment. The specificity of such mechanisms in the cultures of secular and religious types supposes a wide spectrum of interactions between their representants: from maximum system integration to the maximum polarisation (distancing) of them in the sociocultural space.

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**“CONFESSIONALIZATION” OF THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF  
RELIGION: FORMS AND LIMITS (THE EASTERN  
ORTHODOXY CASE)**

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**INTRODUCTION**

The scientific approaches to religion are analyzed as grounded on (Gire 2004, 284): 1) differing epistemological models “surmounting” religion; 2) five models of philosophy of religion (Greisch 2004, 85): the *speculative* (Hegel), the *critical* (Kant, Tillich, Troeltsch, Feuerbach, Nietzsche, etc.), the *phenomenological* (Scheler, Eliade), the *linguistic* (Frege, Wittgenstein, Evans, etc.), and the *hermeneutic* (Ricoeur); 3) the “schizophrenic split” (P. Tillich) between reason and faith, philosophy and theology, the method of explication and the method of comprehension; 4) ambivalence-focused interpretations of religion, shared by certain classic, modern, and post-modern thinkers (Bogomilova 2008).

**KNOWLEDGE AND DEFINITION OF RELIGION, SITUATED BETWEEN  
THE METHOD OF EXPLICATION AND THE METHOD OF  
COMPREHENSION**

Specialized knowledge on religion emerged in the 19<sup>th</sup> century after the industrial revolution and as a result of the ideological need of colonialism for a study of religions in the framework of the general history of mankind; these factors stimulated the appearance and development of the history of religion and comparative religious studies. The view that philosophy and theology are “extra-scientific” interpretations of religion, with a “a personal stake” in the matter, as opposed to the synthesis between the cultural-historical and the phenomenological approach, perceived as scientific approaches that overcome the one-sidedness of philosophy and theology, is another possible way of interpreting this relationship; this variant has been analyzed by the Italian scholar C. Prandi. According to him the new social sciences (anthropology, sociology, psychology, and linguistics) have given greater depth to historical knowledge of religion, and have done so without the intervention of theology (Prandi 1995, 64). This specialized knowledge of religion has developed with special intensity in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. According to Prandi, this trend took place in struggle and confrontation with theology and philosophy, for the trend was “a captive of two legacies: the apologetic and the positivist”. Prandi believes that these “legacies” deflected the science of religion from its true scientific spirit, for they purposed to show the superiority of Christianity over other religions (theologies) or else (positivist philosophy) to demonstrate religion was unnecessary, super-

fluous and inevitably doomed to disappear. According to Prandi, the crisis in positivism at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century brought to the fore a different epistemological focus in the study of religion. The method of comprehension was indicated as the opposite of explicatory reductionist theory; comprehension was the direction taken by the phenomenology of religion, which proceeded from the idea of the “absolute autonomy” of religion.

**DEFINITIONS DIVIDED BETWEEN MAKING SENSE OF THE  
“ESSENCE” AND “REALITIES” OF RELIGION**

H. Frick considered that the religious studies of his time (the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century) and the very concept of religion, were a product of the Enlightenment; he distinguished several important currents in the field of the study of religion: the *theological-philosophical*, the *ethnological*, and the *philological*. He also pointed out its two main fields: that related to the *essence* of religion and that which deals with its *reality*, with concrete empirically given religions. According to a different criterion, proposed by Frick, the separate sciences included in religious studies are classifiable into different specialized fields according to whether they deal with the influence of religion as an *individual phenomenon* (psychology), as a *group phenomenon* (sociology), in the aspect of *cultural history of separate religions* (comparative religious studies), or as a *philosophy of religion*, which studies its topic in the perspective of the metaphysical essence of religion and its truth validity in the normative sense (Frick 1999, 316–18).

**PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACHES AND THE “TOWER OF BABEL”  
(LAMBERT 1991) OF DEFINITIONS**

Various psychological theories approaching religion as an inner process, as based in the individual person, had already appeared in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup>, the ideas of Sigmund Freud and of William James in this area became highly influential, especially after World War I; the research of Wilhelm Wundt primarily dealt with the psychological impact of religion upon social groups and communities. Particularly in the works of E. Durkheim and Max Weber, psychological theories interacted with sociological ones, since any analysis of social norms and institutions inevitably involves the question as to who is included and engaged in them, as L. Brown put it. A variety of definitions have been proposed in the framework of these specialized scientific approaches, ranging in number from 58 to 500. Here are some of the elements in terms of which religion is studied: human behaviour and practice; religious thinking and faith; religious feelings and experience; affiliation to religious communities and institutions; the impacts of religious orientation on non-religious behaviour.

**SOCIOLOGICAL APPROACHES**

In the traditions of sociological research, religion is defined in the context of its analysis as part of the complex system of a concrete society, and as connected with that society’s relations of power, property, production, and morality. The concrete historical type of religious notions, relations, and functional power in a society

are deduced from the concrete interrelations between individual and groups in it, between its leader and masses, its type of productive activity (agriculture, hunting culture, urban or rural type), geographical features, proximity and contacts with other cultures, etc. The contemporary German sociologist of religion Horst Helle distinguishes three key epistemological paradigms, and definitions stemming thereof, in the scientific study of religion and specifically in the sociology of religion: those of Durkheim, of Simmel, and of Weber (Helle 1994, 58). Helle sees Weber’s approach as being a synthesis of the epistemological paradigms of Durkheim and Simmel. Anthony Giddens links the development of Western sociology – and respectively the sociological study of religion as a component of the social whole – with late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century integrative social trends, which sought to counteract the disintegrating effects of individualism, revolutionary trends, etc.

**REASON AND FAITH, PHILOSOPHY AND THEOLOGY:  
“SCHIZOPHRENIC SPLIT”, RETROSPECTIONS, AND NEW SYNTHESSES**

Although they recognize the human and social meaning and value of religion, the forementioned perspectives, typical for West European thought and culture, pertain to the science of religion, i.e. to a research approach to religion. They are external to the religious relationship and transcend it. The philosophical and research approaches to religion have met with criticism by religious philosophers, theologians, and also by separate researchers, especially in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The grounds of their criticism is that they perceive religion as being an absolutely autonomous, unique sphere, which cannot be explained and defined through factors lying outside it. In order to understand religion, the scholar must take part in religious experience, must become a believer, must see religion from the inside.

Quite a few contemporary authors, motivated by the post-modern spirit of pluralism and tolerance, try to show the compatibility between theological and philosophical approaches to religion and its definition, thus hoping to overcome the “schizophrenic split in culture” (P. Tillich) between reason and faith. A number of prominent 20<sup>th</sup> century philosophers have viewed this stance positively; among them are Habermas, Marcuse, Derrida, Gianni Vattimo and others. Richard Rorty also believed that the intellectual grounds for the war between science and theology have been swept away with the expansion of anti-historicism and anti-essentialism in philosophy and the social sciences. A different kind of foundation for the “restoration” of cultural legitimacy to religion is offered by Floyd Centore, who believed that the failure of logical positivism and communism marked the beginning of a return to religion (Centore 2000, 48–50).

**CONFESSIONALIZATION OF THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF RELIGION:  
FORMS AND LIMITS**

These trends of thought create a favourable atmosphere for the confessionalization of the scientific study of religion, i.e. for the tying of that study in its values, to a concrete religion. We can discern such trends in the following forms and phenomena, practiced today both in the Western European and East European research traditions:

1. An enclosing of the topic and methodology of study within the limits of the phenomena, processes, and trends of a given specific religion (most often Catholicism or Orthodoxy).

2. This enclosing usually consists in a descriptive presentation of the “existing” religion, instead of seeking an analytic understanding of the essence of that religion, which would require a comparative approach, philosophical transcending of the object of study, the “rationalist status of the religious phenomenon” (Miguelez 2002, 154), etc.

3. The “topic units”, the concepts with which the study works, are borrowed from the theological apparatus of the respective religion, and have not been reflected upon through the specific cognitive means of the respective scientific discipline (sociology, psychology, ethnology, history).

4. The functionalist approach, the instrumental attitude to the religion, are used to bring out its positive cultural projections and to revitalize it (Kuenzlen 2009), something that, early on, Kant practiced and Schleiermacher criticized; these positive notes may include: the contribution of that religion to multiculturalism, to nationalism /especially the Eastern Orthodoxy/, to pro-European trends, to the fight against crime and drug abuse, etc.

5. On the basis of its positive socio-cultural functions in the past, arguments are presented in favour of its necessary, specially “reserved” place in the present, for instance, in favour of the confessional teaching of religion in civil schools, especially of Catholicism, Orthodoxy, Islam. It is argued that the respective confession should be provided more favourable legal status compared with other religions by the legislation of a given country /the Eastern Orthodoxy in Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia; the Catholicism in Spain; the Protestantism in the Scandinavian countries, etc./ priority status should be provided under the constitution (for instance, in the debates on acknowledging the cultural contribution of Christianity in the European Constitution).

6. “Soft” quasi-scientific fundamentalism: the use of quasi-scientific arguments and approaches for the direct assertion of the spiritual and cultural advantages of a given religion /the priority of the “Orthodox Civilization”, for example/ compared with other confessions within Christianity or outside it, without due analysis of the specifics of the social and cultural environment in which each of these religions has grown and operates, to which it owes its particularities, roles and functions, and within which alone it could be the religion that it is.

7. This apologetic approach to a specific religion fails to take into account the complex aggregate of social and cultural factors in the environment of which, and in conjunction with which, that religion exists and acts (something that Weber has not failed to do in his *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*), but instead ascribes exclusively to it various cultural and social achievements.

8. Unlike the humanism of A. Toynbee’s approach, who favours religion in general as a basic cultural factor amidst the variety of other factors, the favouring of one specific religion at the expense of all other religions, the confessionalization of the scientific study of religion, hides serious risks: it gives a quasi-scientific, seemingly rationally grounded account of the relationships between religions, which are in fact charged with extreme emotions and features; it creates grounds for unequal treatment of different religions within the respective country in legal and cultural terms, etc.

9. Due to dissatisfaction with other forms of culture and spirituality – such as philosophy, art, morals – hopes and expectations are set exclusively on a concrete religion, often on Orthodoxy and Catholicism (based on analysis of its social doctrine) to solve the problems of lost spirituality, massivization, and standardization of individuals, the lack of an eschatological horizon, the prevalence of pragmatic attitudes and consumerism, etc.

10. The scientific and the confessional approaches to a specific religion and to religion in general, can also be mutually useful, providing reciprocal transfer of information and values, but only given the clear awareness of the boundaries and specifics of each, and without invading the other’s territory, not even with the best of intentions. The contemporary sociology of religion usually reflects and follows the changes in the very religion (ex post facto approach) instead of developing its own logic and methodology (Beckford 1990, 54).

### CONCLUSION

In modern times phenomenology and hermeneutics have proposed a radically new philosophical approach to the phenomenon of religion, which refuses to philosophically “surmount” it; this trend attempts to interpret religion by tracing its inner logic, its specific invariants and language, its attitude to Man. Researchers have found shortcomings in these new approaches, in which – they believe – the philosophical horizon is lost. These authors stress the imperative need for a multi-dimensional approach to the complexity of religion; that the principle of religious pluralism should be grounded through a philosophical approach that transcends specific religions; and that, on this basis, an “ethics of dialogue” between religions should be built, of the kind that could hardly be achieved in the framework of the separate branches of specialized study of religion, nor within the limits of theology, which is usually connected with a specific religion.

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**II**

**ORTHODOX RELIGIOSITY, VALUE ORIENTATIONS  
AND SOCIAL CAPITAL**



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Julija Sinelina

## VALUE ORIENTATIONS OF RUSSIANS: ORTHODOX CHRISTIANS AND MUSLIMS\*

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The analysis of value systems prevalent in contemporary Russian society seems to be one of the most important questions in Russian sociology. Are there any values in this society that could possibly unify the population of Russia? And if so, what are they? Russian society faces different problems today, and one of them is disintegration. There is a prejudice all over the world, and in Russia too, that Orthodox Christians and Muslims have very little in common in regards to their values systems.

The answer to the question of whether there are values that unite the population of Russia and what they contribute to solving the problem of consolidation of society, now facing the challenges of centrifugal tendencies. Often, one of the centrifugal factors called religious, meaning that different religions contribute to the formation of different value systems in society and lead to its disintegration. From our point of view, this statement requires a heuristic verification. In Russian society, the most numerous religious groups are Orthodox Christians and Muslims, and the integrity and welfare of the Russian state depends largely on and their mutual understanding and cooperation. In contrast to the above view of disintegration influence of religion, we can point to the following factors. Orthodoxy as a branch of Christianity, and Islam are monotheistic religions, Christians and Muslims are "people of the Book," their religious beliefs, spiritual and moral values are based to some extent on the same source. Over the centuries, Russian Orthodox Christians and Russian traditional Islam have coexisted and evolved within one state and, although we can not state that their relationship was always serene, yet the experience was rather positive, proved its viability. But all these arguments relate more to the field of religious studies. Sociologists analyze the real situation in society, the manifestations of theoretical systems in social life. Therefore, the aim of our empirical study was to identify common value orientations of the population, and in particular the comparative analysis of the Orthodox Christians and Muslims.

As part of nationwide studies of religiosity of the population we studied value orientations of the Russians. The empirical research was conducted with a stratified sample of 1848 responders living in urban and rural areas in 14 regions of Russia in April 2006<sup>1</sup>. We used methodology for studying the structure of values worked out by V. Chesnokova (Чеснокова 2000, 31–2). We have modified it to the goals of our research. It contains four blocks of values: Material Well-being, Sociality, Individualism, Religiosity: 1. Material Well-being or Love to life (love to the world, self-love or another love for yourself as an earthly substance). 2. Sociality (involvement in human relationships, doing good to people as a main goal in life). 3.

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<sup>1</sup> In our case study, we are talking about the Muslims of the Volga region only.

Individualism, self-development (intellectual self-development). 4. Religiosity (the love to God). Allocation of the fourth block was caused by the need to determine the proportion of people guided in their behavior by the religious values. Each block is described by four variables. The first block – Material Well-being or Love to life: the value of happiness, wealth creation, the desire for pleasure; demand for justice. The second block is Sociality: recognition of the authority of another (the value of another person), the desire to do good to neighbor, the value of human relationships themselves; recognition of the value of social relationships in order to achieve any goals. The third block – Individualism self-development: the protection of personal freedom, boundless self-development, creativity, the desire to the great accomplishments (to fame). The fourth block is Religiosity: the value of patience sorrows, asceticism, the desire for God, humility. Religiosity block in Chesnokova's methodology is formed on Christian values.

Based on these blocks we can construct the two axes. The first reflects the movement from the values of the material world (wealth, enjoy life, honor) to the Christian values which diverts man from this world, offering him or her the ways of the opposition towards different ideologies and his or her own selfishness. These ways of opposition to the world and everything in it, are clothed by Christianity in the value form and can be expressed as follows. The desire for wealth Christianity opposes altruism, the desire for pleasure - austerity, the desire for honor and power - humility, and generally high value of happiness (in a simple human sense) is opposed to the high value of patience, of sorrows. The second axis is based on love to neighbor. This axis that intersects the main, consists of two segments, gravitating to different poles of the axis: one pole – is the deepening in its own internal life and its protection from any attacks from outside – distinct individualism, the second pole – is doing good to people as a main task and goal in life. Thus, the auxiliary axis is built on a continuum from the pole of individualism, self-absorbed – to the pole Sociality, immersion in another.

Despite the fact that block of religiosity in Chesnokova's methodology was based on Christian values, we decided to use the same questionnaire for studying Muslims. And as the results below show, this decision was justified. The acceptance of religious values is a difficult task, so the recognition of them as a goal and aspiration to them is already an achievement in the life of the believer. Therefore, if a person admits and selects patience, sorrow, austerity and humility in a particular situation, even if inconsistently, we can speak about an orientation on religious values, described by the variables included in our block.

Analysis of survey data permitted to conclude that a significant majority of all respondents selected values associated with the inclusion into human relations: 76.5% of all respondents declared that the most important thing in life is the relationships between people; and 60% believe that people should do something good for others. More than 50% of respondents chose the values associated with Material Well-being: Justice is the supreme principle of human relationships – 54%, 50% agree that the material welfare of man is the basis of its independence. Slightly less than 50% of respondents believe that freedom is the great gift to man, and must be protected, thus, revealing the commitment to the block values of Individualism (see table 1).

Table 1

*Values and Life Goals*  
(Russian Federation, April 2006, % of respondents in groups)

Values and life goals	All respondents as a whole	Orthodox Christians	Muslims	Unbelievers
The most important thing in life is the relationships between people	76,5	77	74	78
People should do something good for others	60	62	63	58
Justice is the supreme principle of human relationships	54	53	47	60
Material welfare of man is the basis of its independence	50	48,5	51	57
Freedom is the great gift to man, and it must be protected	45,5	45	42	48
Human being is created for happiness, the desire of it laid in his or her nature	44	42	46	52
Every person is a whole world that you can learn all your life	33	32	29	32
Suffering should be borne patiently	31,5	34	36	23
Only when people come together, they will be able to do much	31	32	23	36
It is necessary to develop in yourself a humility, forgiveness of enemies	30	34	34	18
Life is short, you should enjoy it	27	25,5	37	29
The main thing in life for me is to study and learn new things	25	24	21	24
We must strive to perform something extraordinary in our life	20	18	24	22
Most of all I appreciate the possibility of creative work	14	13	13	18
The less a man needs wealth in this world, the freer he is	14	14	16	12
To walk before God, to feel it next to yourself – everything else has no value	11	13	16	1

Source: Department of Sociology of Religion in the Institute of Socio-political Research RAS

Thus, the respondents chose, first of all, the values of the blocks Sociality and Material Well-being. First four values that were chosen by the Orthodox Christians coincide with the values chosen by all respondents as a whole, which is understandable, since the Orthodox make up 64,5% of the respondents. More interesting, that most of Muslim respondents chose the same four values, with the first two places the same two values from the Sociality block. The difference is that on the third place is not justice, but the recognition that “the material welfare of man – the basis of its independence”. The divergence is observed on the values set by the Orthodox and Muslims on the fifth place. Orthodox Christians have chosen “the recog-

tion of freedom as a great gift to man and it must be protected” – 45%. This is the value from the third Individualism block. Muslims put in fifth place (46%) the “pursuit of happiness”, which refers to the first block – Material well-being (or Love of life). Orthodox somewhat more often choose values from a Sociality block, as Muslims from the Material well-being (or Love of life). The greatest discrepancy is observed among the selected value of "Life is short, you should enjoy it" (Material well-being Block): the Orthodox – 25.5%, Muslim – 36.6%, as well as "Only when people come together, they will be able to do much" (Sociality block) – Orthodox – 32%, Muslims – 23%. Muslims less than orthodox, tend to believe that "Justice is the supreme principle of human relations" (47% and 53% accordingly).

It should be noted that the percentage of respondents who chose the religious values turned out to be somewhat higher in Muslim group, than among the Orthodox. This is observed in three of the four proposed variables of religious values. Although, as we mentioned above, we used a methodology developed primarily for the study of the Christian religious values. Thus, at this level of analysis we can suggest that the orthodox religious values, not only do not contradict the religious values of Muslims, but also largely coincide.

Most respondents from the group of Unbelievers chose the following values: “the most important thing in life is the relationships between people” (78%); “Justice is the supreme principle of human relations” (60%), “People should do something good for others” (58%); “Material welfare of man - the basis of its independence” (57%), human is created for happiness, the desire for it laid in his or her nature” (51%). Thus, among the Unbelievers in the first four places are the same values as in a whole sample, as well as among the Orthodox and Muslims, only on the second place in this group is the value of justice from the Material well-being block.

We found the values of the Religiosity block among the top four only in the group of Inchurched Orthodox Christians. In addition to the first two values of the Sociality block, which were chosen by the largest number of respondents across the whole array, Inchurched group took "It is necessary to develop in yourself a humility, forgiveness of enemies"(56%), but also "Suffering should be borne patiently" (43,5 %).

Another problem that we tried to analyze in our study is the attitude toward people of other faiths, different nationalities. We have formed three clusters of issues: Moral qualities of a person depend on his or her nationality; Moral qualities of a person depend on his or her relation to religion (a religious person or not); Moral qualities of a person depend on person’s Religion. These questions were offered two options: basically agree, basically disagree. Following results were obtained (Tables 2, 3, 4).

Table 2

*Moral Qualities of a Person Depend on His or Her Nationality*  
(Russian Federation, April 2006, % of respondents in groups)

	Basically Agree	Basically Disagree	Hard to Respond
All	32	56	12
The Orthodox	33	54	13
Muslims	28	60	12
Unbelievers	30	59	10

Source: Department of Sociology of Religion in the Institute of Socio-political Research RAS

Table 3

*Moral Qualities of a Person Depend on His or Her Relation to Religion (a religious person or not)* (Russian Federation, April 2006, % of respondents in groups)

	Basically Agree	Basically Disagree	Hard to Respond
All	44	41	15
The Orthodox	50	37	13
Muslims	45,5	42	12,5
Unbelievers	26,5	54	19

Source: Department of Sociology of Religion in the Institute of Socio-political Research RAS

Table 4

*Moral Qualities of a Person Depend on Person's Religion*  
(Russian Federation, April 2006, % of respondents in groups)

	Basically Agree	Basically Disagree	Hard to Respond
All	35	48	17
The Orthodox	38	46	16
Muslims	38	47	15
Unbelievers	21	58	21

Source: Department of Sociology of Religion in the Institute of Socio-political Research RAS

We can see that responders give the greatest support for the assertion that moral qualities of a person depend on whether he or she is believer or not. And, as expected, this opinion is shared by the majority of the Orthodox and nearly half of Muslims. To a lesser extent the respondents agree that the moral qualities of a person depend on his or her religion – about 38% Orthodox and Muslims. Unbelievers less than all other groups share typological statements about the connection between moral qualities of a person and religion. On the other hand, the proportion of non-believers who agree with the fact that moral qualities of a person depend on his or her nationality, is almost identical to the average over the array. The assertion that moral qualities of a person depend on nationality has the lowest support of responders, but still the percentage of respondents who agreed with this statement is rather high (one-third of respondents).

Thus, we concluded the following:

1. Value Orientations of Orthodox Christians and traditional Muslims in Russia are still very close. One of the reason for it, may be paradoxically, lies in common soviet experience with its state policy of internationalism. On the first and second place values from a block of Sociality: The value of human relationships themselves, the desire to do good for neighbor. The four common values, which the majority of respondents prefer, included the desire for justice and recognition that the material welfare of man is the basis of its independence.

2. In some respects, we can suppose that the Orthodox religious values not only do not contradict the religious values of Muslims, but also largely coincide.

3. The factor of Religion plays a rather prominent role in public life of Russians and affects the estimate of the moral qualities of a person. In this case, it is more important person's relation to religion than that to which denomination he or

she belongs. On the other hand, the proportion agreeing with the fact that the moral qualities of a person depend on his religion, yet quite significant, that is, from our point of view of a troubling symptom, and indicates the possible aggravation of inter-confessional relations in the future.

4. At the same time the proportion of respondents agreeing with the statement that the moral qualities of a person depend on his or her nationality, is about a third of respondents in all the typological groups. In our view, this indicates a rather tense situation in the field of international relations.

It is extremely important to maintain worldview unity of the Orthodox Christians and traditional Muslims at the present stage in Russia. Virtually throughout the history of the Russian state the Orthodox and Muslims could live in peace within one state and work together to solve urgent problems that had an influence on the formation of a common system of values. It is significant that religious Muslims are choosing the same religious values of asceticism, patience, sorrow and humility, that the Orthodox. Maintaining a traditional Russian form of Islam, we will be able to avoid the destructive conflicts of civilization that we see in Europe today.

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**ORTHODOX RELIGIOUSNESS AT THE END OF THE  
FIRST DECADE OF THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY\***

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**INTRODUCTION**

First indicators of the change in conventional religiousness among the people of Serbia were recorded in late eighties and early nineties of the previous century. Although the changes were recorded among all confessions, they were most evident in the religious and spiritual area of Orthodoxy, the predominant confession in Serbia. From early to mid-nineties of the previous century, owing not just to tendencies in the spiritual area but to wide socio-political circumstances in the territory of former socialist Yugoslavia as well, religious situation in Serbia was classified as an unquestionable revitalization of tradition, religion and church. However, even after the war in the territory of former Yugoslav Federation, empirical sociological research studies in Serbia revealed that not only that revitalized traditional religiousness had not set back, as it could have been expected considering its primary sources, but the religious situation stabilized in a way, and the stabilization implied a high level of confessional and religious self-identification of the population, that is, among the interviewees, a high level of belief in the basic dogma of Christianity – the God, participation in some traditional Orthodox religious rituals (requiem, celebration of religious holidays, baptism, church weddings), great reliance on Serbian Orthodox Church and apparent religious changes in the scope and intensity of certain current religious actions (church visits, presence at liturgy, praying and fasting), compared to the records from the early eighties of the previous century. All that is accompanied by an increasing public role of the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Orthodoxy itself in the social and political milieu in Serbia and their connections with the state, particularly after 2000. Current sociological research studies reveal that the particular religious situation evidently stabilized on a path of slow, but continuous growth of the number of believers who materialize their personal religious and confessional identification through participation in traditional and contemporary Orthodox rituals. The process of the return of nominal believers to the church can be identified quite clearly, and what is so specific about this process is a continuously high religious and confessional identification, extended growth of belief in dogmatic premises of Christianity and modest, but steady growth of church and ritual practice.

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**ARGUMENTS OF EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE**

Conventional (Orthodox) religiosity in Serbia has been studied in sociological research studies through a set of different indicators that can be provisionally divided into three different groups: the first group of indicators is determined as *indicators of religious identification*, the second group as *indicators of religious dogma* and the third group as *indicators of religious and ritual practice*. For each group of indicators we present some empirical data that were compiled in the first decade of this century in various social research studies in Serbia. We can say that according to these indicators the overall volume of information provides an *approximate estimate* of the number of (Orthodox) believers in the country, but the real question, left without a unanimous answer, is which group of indicators, and thus the historical data as well, should be preferred in the final definition of conventional religiosity in Serbia, which group of data should be trusted to accurately reflect the attachment to religion and church, which data is more detailed, more valid, which data do not overestimate nor underestimate the number of Orthodox believers (Blagojević 2009; Dorđević 2009).

**Indicators of Religious Identification**

Two indicators of identification with religion and the church among the examinees are regularly used in empirical research. These are the indicators of religious and self-declaration and confessional identification. The second indicator is used not only in scientific research but also in the regular ten-year census, since it includes the entire population, and is often stressed as a measure of religiosity of a society, but more often outside the scientific community than inside it. Preliminary, these are indicators of commitment to religion and church, which, taken alone, without correction by other parameters, overestimate the number of religious people in a society.

If we start from these two indicators of attachment to Orthodoxy, then we can conclude that the population in this predominantly Orthodox region is very conventionally religious. The subjects in the research or citizens are classified as believers (religious people), unbelievers (nonreligious people), indifferent to the faith (religion), and atheists, that is, they either affiliate themselves with a specific confessional, church organization or deny such an affiliation. Here are some empirical data compiled during the first decade of this century for the above mentioned indicators of religiosity in Serbia:

Table 1

Personal attitude towards religiosity and the Orthodox denomination in Serbia (in%)

Attitude towards religion and the church – time of research	2001	2008	2010
Self-declared religiosity – believers	74,4	80,5	81,2
Orthodox confessional identification	85,5	86,7	78,6

Sources: for 2001 *World Values Study (WVS)*; for 2008 *European Values Study (EVS)*; for 2010 Research of religiosity among the citizens of Serbia and European integration by *Christian Cultural Center* in Belgrade. Wherever in the text I mention the data from these years I used these studies as a source.

The presented results are not in any significant way different from other data obtained in the national sociology of religion for these indicators of religiosity of the population in this decade. Four-fifths of the respondents declare themselves as religious people and data concerning a more precise scale of self-declared religiosity only confirm the extent of religiosity measured through general self-identification of respondents with religion and church. In a study from 2010 the so-called traditional believers who participate in certain rituals of their religions respect the customs, but do not take an active part in their religious community, are most numerous among the religious subjects (36.9%). The zealous believers, who unconditionally accept everything their religion teaches, comprise 27.2% of total respondents, and religious people who do not accept everything their religion teaches represent 17.1% of respondents in this study. On the scale of general self-identification with religion and church there are 13.8% of non-religious citizens, but 3.1% of them declare themselves as hard-core atheists. It is about the same as the number of people who expressed an ambivalent attitude towards religion or have an ambiguous attitude towards religion and church. It is important to note that on the above mentioned scale of more precise self-declared religiosity 2.6% of the respondents defined themselves as opponents of religion.

Just like research studies before it, the study from 2010 revealed consensual acceptance of confession. Although a weak indicator of personal religiosity, confessional identification in our region must definitely be taken into account when discussing the attachment of people to religion and church, since confession, though only displaying a broad comprehension of attachment to religion and the church, also points out to the historical and traditional dimensions of the attachment, which certainly has its social relevance. The distribution of responses to the question to which church or religious community the respondents belong is like this (in%):

Table 2

Orthodox Church	78,6
Roman Catholic Church	6,7
Greek Catholic Church	0,2
Evangelical or a Protestant Church	0,7
Islamic Community	6,3
Another (Buddhist)	0,2
Another (Buddhist)	7,1

Thus, 92.7% of total respondents belong to a particular denomination, predominantly Orthodox denomination.

### **Indicators of Religious Dogma**

There are a number of indicators of faith in the dogmatic core of Christianity (Orthodoxy). To mention just a few: belief in God, Jesus Christ as the son of God, the resurrection, the afterlife, heaven and hell. A set of these indicators and statistical records compiled in Serbia allow *ambiguous* conclusions on the religiosity of subjects in general, and among them, Orthodox believers as well. If a measure of one's religiosity is belief in God, then the measured religiosity is high and in recent years has tended to equal with personal religiosity and confession. But that religiosity,

when measured through some other essential beliefs in Christianity, is notably lower than the self-identified religiosity and confession. Religiosity of the respondents, defined as belief into the premises of the dogmatic core of Christianity, is to a lesser degree above the half, and to a greater degree under the half of respondents in the samples. There are also problems with the actual belief in God. When the basic dogma of Christianity is *properly* believed into only by a minority of respondents, that is self-declared believers, then the even bigger problem arises with other beliefs from the dogmatic set of beliefs in Orthodox Christianity. Research studies conducted in Russia in the early 90s of the last century and longitudinal studies of religiosity of the citizens of Russia which were the product of Russian-Finnish cooperation in the 90s and in the first decade of this century, clearly show that some of the basic Orthodox beliefs are often in minority, even in the very religious population. The above mentioned research studies show that some beliefs that are not even an integral part of Christian dogma are quite frequent, although the holders of those beliefs are often classified as Orthodox, that is, Christian believers.<sup>1</sup> Bearing in mind these data and similar ones, some religionists, such as Furman and Kariainen, believe that the term "traditional Orthodox believer" has no "real" content, and that Christian belief itself is of superficial, imaginary and formal character (Фурман и Каарийнен 2006).

Therefore, we see two streams of religious faith among self-declared religious (Orthodox) subjects in Serbia: one is the emergence of non-dogmatic faith next to the dogmatic one, and the other can be determined as the dissolution of the dogmatic content of faith, that is, believers do not believe in the integrity of the conceptual core of Christianity, but they prefer some dogmas, and reject the others which are closer to eschatology. The scale of such dissolution becomes more evident if we know that the respondents who believe in God understand their faith equally in both a dogmatic and a non-dogmatic way – that is, that God is a person or a life force, a power. The afore mentioned study from 2008 revealed an even more problematic situation: majority of respondents (56.7%) understand God in a non-dogmatic way, as the existence of spirit or a life force, and less than one fifth of respondents (18.3%) perceive God as a person. These two streams shall be illustrated with statistical data for Serbia compiled in the first decade of this century.

Table 3

Dissolution of the dogmatic content of faith in Serbia (2001-2010) – in%.

Belief in / time of research	2001	2008	2010
God	82,4	79,5	85,7
Life after death	27,1	25,5	51,0
Heaven	17,4	27,8	-
Hell	18,1	24,0	-
Heaven and hell	-	-	41,6
Resurrection	-	-	46,6
Reincarnation		19,2	40,0

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<sup>1</sup> It is the same situation with beliefs in magic, telekinesis, beliefs from eastern religions such as belief in soul removal from one body to another (reincarnation). That is why some religionists in Russia think that religious eclecticism in contemporary Russia is expressed through new, occult and magical beliefs mixed with orthodox beliefs. The Russian sociologist Dubin calls this contemporary situation in the Russian society a specific polytheism of values (Дубин 2004, 40).

However, the results from 2010 indicate a need to revise these conclusions from past research studies. It is obvious that majority of respondents believe in God in a dogmatic way and less than one fifth of respondents perceive God as a kind of spirit or a life force. Likewise, although other beliefs from the dogmatic core of Christianity are present in less than a half of the studied population, belief in these postulates of Christianity is getting very close to a half of the surveyed respondents, which is obviously a discrepancy in regard to earlier data which revealed that less than one fifth of respondents expressed confidence in the constituent elements of Christian dogma. The new presentation of belief in the Christian dogma in Serbia puts researchers in a serious dilemma: whether dogmatic beliefs of people have really changed or it is just the so-called personal equation of interviewers. In any case, researchers are still required to monitor phenomena in which changes have been observed or trends whose apodictic interpretation lack enough empirical material at the moment.

### Indicators of Religious and Ritual Practice

Churchism of believers can be regarded in two ways: as a narrow understanding or a broad understanding of churchism. The broader concept of churchism involves, understandably, personal religious identification above all, then confessional self-identification and naturally, belief in God. The narrower notion of churchism refers to the ritual character of religion, so in that sense churchism actually represents an objective attachment of believers to a number of ritual actions, and compliance with and fulfillment of the so-called religious duties and acts of devotion, which is an indispensable condition of salvation in institutionalized, conventional Christian religiosity. Some authors support modest results in the so-called return to religion and church, that is, the revitalization of religion in Serbia and in Russia, with information on a fairly rare phenomenon of declared believers adhering to prescribed regular presence in liturgy, the frequent attendance at the church, regular prayer, fasting, confession and communion. All these indicators refer to the so-called current religious practice. Irregular fulfillment of religious duties from the standpoint of institutionalized religion is understood, but the actual religious activity of the population, including declared believers, is problematic in this context. The available data can be interpreted ambivalently. Let us first display some statistical data for Serbia.

Table 4

Church attendance in Serbia (2001-2010) – in %.

Frequency in church attendance	2001.	2008.	2010.
More than once a week	3,2	1,6	4,1
Once a week	6,4	5,8	8,7
Once a month	10,3	13,8	16,2
Only for major religious holidays	44,4	34,0	50,9
Once a year	11,6	7,5	-
Less than once a year	10,5	17,4	-
Never and almost never	13,7	18,8	20,0

Ambivalence in interpretation of these data is related to the criterion of churchism, that is, how high demands that believers need to meet should be set. If we say that you cannot be a true believer without a regular attendance at a place of worship, then there are few true believers in our example, considering the high percentage of respondents who declare themselves as religious, and claim that they belong to the Orthodoxy and believe in God. It is one more proof of non-consistency of conventional religiosity. However, the recent research studies show that about 4% of

respondents in Serbia, according to their own testimony, cross the threshold of church on a daily basis, and when we take a look at the share of respondents who visit a church at least once a month, we get the score of 29%, which is about ten percent more frequent than in previous research studies. Likewise, exactly one half of the respondents visited a church several times a year, during major religious holidays.

Table 5

Frequency of prayer outside the church in Serbia (2001-2010) – in%.

Frequency of prayer outside the church	2001.	2008.	2010.
Every day	18,1	15,9	27,4
More than once a week	11,5	11,9	11,9
Once a week	7,2	9,4	5,9
At least once a month	6,1	10,3	9,1
Several times a year	15,3	12,4	12,2
Less than once a year	15,4	16,1	12,6
Never	26,6	19,6	16,1

The situation is significantly better when it comes to personal prayer to God outside the church. In the foregoing latest research study almost 28% of respondents stated that they prayed to God daily, which makes over 40% of respondents on a weekly basis. When we compare these and similar data about the actual religious practice with the data compiled in the 90s of the previous century (Blagojević 1995; Radisavljević Ćiparizović 2002), then we can draw a clear difference in favour of gradual and continuous growth of self-declared religious and ritual behaviour of the respondents. An even more evident difference can be observed in the fulfillment of current rituals if we take into account the percentage of regular churchgoers in relation to the data from thirty years ago (Đorđević 1984). The results of the research study from 2010 can be interpreted in this way in regard to some other important ritual acts that show to what extent declared believers are actual believers.

Table 6

Current religious practice in Serbia 2010th (in%)

Liturgy (Mass etc).	Fasting prior to major holidays	Confession	Communion
Regular 9,8	Regular 27,4	Often 7,3	Yes 36,6
Once or month 7,3	Occasionally 45,7	Rarely 18,0	No, but I would like to 10,8
Several times a year 40,9	Never 24,2	Never 64,7	No 46,0
Never 42,0			

Churchism is, however, expressed not only through these religious acts. There are some other ceremonies in Orthodoxy that are much more present among the general population and the believers than rituals of current religious practice. These are rituals that show the traditional attachment to religion and church such as transition rituals (baptism, church wedding and funeral service) and celebration of religious holidays and patron saint in Serbian Orthodoxy. To be honest, religious and traditional ritual acts, apart from their obvious religious character, have throughout the history assumed some non-religious, specific social connotations as well,

although the original model is essentially religious. Therefore it is not easy to generalize the traditional religious behavior: whether the personal motives of believers for the compliance with these ritual practices are purely spiritual or, by participating in them, they just keep up with the customs, thus displaying a kind of religious conformity, religious mimicry, profanation, etc. However, sociologically speaking, it is not very important. What is important is the act of integration and mutual interaction of a specific group of people; a sociologist is not interested in formalism of religious rituals.

In any case, the occurrence of these rituals in the local population, according to the available data compiled from the studies conducted from the 90s up to the present, is approaching the significant confessional identification, and during the 90s the occurrence of these rituals regularly exceeded personal religious identification and belief in God in the responses. First we present data from public opinion polls on these rituals from 2008 and 2010. When asked: "Do you think that there should be religious ceremonies for the following events?", respondents answered yes to the following:

Table 7

Public opinion poll on the traditional attachment to religion and church in Serbia (in%)

	2008.	2010.
Birth – Baptism	81,7	71,9
Marriage – church wedding	86,6	82,5
Death – requiem	89,6	83,2

To the specific questions of whether they have been baptised or married in the church and whether a church burial of deceased is common in their families, the respondents gave the following responses:

Table 8

Traditional attachment to religion and church in Serbia in 2010

Baptism	Church wedding	Church burial of the deceased
Yes 82,5	82,5	87,3
No 11,0	7,9	8,0

It is necessary to specify that the percentage of respondents who answered yes to the church wedding has been calculated not in relation to the total number of responses but after eliminating responses of people that are not married and whose religion does not include the ritual. In this sense, rituals that express the traditional attitude towards religion and church in Serbia were absolutely unproblematic in 2010 and together with the religious and confessional identification they represent the character of contemporary religiosity in Serbia. This attitude towards religion and the church is perhaps best illustrated through celebration of religious holidays in Serbia, namely the celebration of Christmas, Easter, Patron Saint Day, Eid, Pesach, etc. In this study, 91.8% of respondents stated that they celebrated these holidays and there are only 5.7% of respondents who celebrate them nowadays although they didn't use to (before the religious changes), 86.1% previously celebrated in the same way they celebrate now and 5.7% of subjects didn't use to celebrate religious holidays nor they do it now.

**THE IMPORTANCE OF GOD, RELIGION AND THE CHURCH  
FOR PERSONAL AND SOCIAL LIFE**

Regardless, however, of the low level of regular exercise of rituals of the current religious nature, a consensus on the importance of religion and God in the lives of people in contemporary Serbian (and Russian) society is not as low as it used to be a quarter of a century ago.<sup>2</sup> It is fair to say that former low religiosity of people (for example from thirty years ago) and the actual denial of the importance of God in the lives of people are in exactly the same positions. This means that although only about ten percent of the respondents (population) took the religious position back then, today it is just the number of respondents who believe that God is not important at all in the lives of people in the contemporary Serbian society. Public opinion polls from the beginning of the new century and from 2008 reveal the same cross-section of public opinion on the importance of God in the lives of people. Answering the question on how important the God and religion are in their lives, the respondents in sociological research studies and public opinion polls in Serbia gave the following responses:

Table 9  
Importance of God and religion in the lives of respondents in Serbia (in%).

Importance of God and the year of study	(2001) God	(2008) God	(2008) religion
1. very important	20,8	22,1	7,6
2. important	34,5	37,3	47,4
3. not important	32,5	25,9	24,6
4. not important at all	12,1	9,9	11,6

As for the importance of God in the lives of the people, the majority opinion in Serbia is more than evident: between 55% and 60% of respondents believe that God and religion are important in the lives of people, which was inconceivable in socialism. Of course, when explaining this phenomenon one should start from a different political and spiritual climate than the one present in the period of socialism, but we should count on strong conformity on the part of the respondents who now add the trust in church to the traditionally high level of trust in the army (which is now clearly falling). It is hard to say whether such a level of public trust is due to the strength of the Church itself, or to the fact that the post-socialist state has not adequately developed secular democratic institutions and provided valid answers to the economic crisis. Unable to give a valid answer to this dilemma ourselves, we present the available data on the trust that citizens of Serbia have in various social and state institutions.

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<sup>2</sup> Some sociologists think that on a massive scale Orthodoxy is more of cultural than religious identification. Some researchers of the religious phenomenon in Russia feel that the Orthodoxy appears in the social consciousness primarily in its ideological aspect, whereas the consciousness is loosely tied with personal religious faith, which can be interpreted as a consequence of secularizing processes in the contemporary Russian society. Although there is an unambiguous declarative support to the Orthodox consensus, most of the Russian citizens are, according to sociological research studies, actually pragmatically orientated towards materialistic values, career and personal success (Андреева 2008, 67–73).



Table 10

Trust in some institutions in Serbia in 2008 and 2010 (in%)

Trust in:	Very high and high	
	Serbia, 2008	Serbia, 2010
Church	58,3	58,0
educational system	52,2	46,3
army	40,2	37,6
police	33,9	29,0
Assembly	11,9	10,9
political parties	6,1	5,9
press	10,9	9,0
Government	13,8	-
The European Union	27,3	19,9
NATO	8,7	8,7

When asked what they think about whether religious organizations adequately respond to certain personal, moral and social needs and problems of people and the society, the respondents provided responses as follows:

Table 11

Opinion poll on the adequate response of religious communities to personal, moral and social problems (in%)

They respond adequately to	Yes	
	2008	2010
moral problems and needs of the individuals	43,1	44,5
family life problems	33,5	32,3
spiritual needs of people	62,0	62,6
social problems in the country today	21,2	23,2

## CONCLUSION

Statistical data from empirical sociological research studies and public opinion polls on religiosity and attachment to religion and the church have a limited character and a complementary, supportive role in the analysis of the religious situation. For any serious scientific analysis it is necessary to compile much more diversified empirical evidence. So if we do not interpret the overall religious situation in a geographical or confessional region, but only the one that was researched in surveys and presented in statistical data, based on the analysed data (and numerous existing data not mentioned in this paper) general conclusions may be like this: religious changes in Serbia in the last twenty years are quite visible, according to the measurable indicators. In all dimensions of religiosity of the citizens of Serbia there are statistically significant changes, but these changes in different dimensions of religiosity and churchism vary in scope, intensity and range: changes in the religious and confessional awareness of respondents have the greatest range and the smallest range is for churchism as consistent adherence to the so-called religious duties. If,

however, the current attachment to religion and the church described in this way is related to the situation from thirty years ago, then the greatest range of revitalization is reached just by those ceremonies that are defined as the actual religious behavior of the subjects.

But a sociological analysis finds changes in social relevance of religiosity and churchism in Serbia more important than these statistically confirmed changes (see Đorđević 2009; Blagojević 2008, Blagojević 2009). It is the revitalisation of the public role of religion and church in the post-socialist societies. In Serbia, the situational factor in the early nineties had a crucial influence on the emergence of certain functions of religion and the church onto the surface: in early 90s it was firstly the protective, integrative, homogenising, ethnically mobilizing function of religion, and after that the compensatory function and the function of the world view. We should not forget the ideological function of religion in one part of the population, as a sort of compensation for the lost identity and generally accepted values, closely connected with the legitimation of the new system which could be called the socio-political function of Orthodoxy. It is naturally a question of whether the described revitalisation of the public role of religion and church in society has simultaneously deepened spirituality, commitment to the search for God and provided a new quality in the everyday interaction of people. Post-war social reality in many regions of former Yugoslavia (wide-spread socially deviant forms of corruption, various types of crime, juvenile violence, school and domestic violence, substance abuse) displays a situation that is completely opposed to the expected behaviour of believers. The situation can be extended to almost the entire region of the Western Balkans and all the three major religions: Orthodox Christianity, Catholic Christianity and Islam. A formal change of religious position or attachment to the church is socially significant today, and as such covers a completely different cultural and spiritual region than before. However, a fundamental personal religious change (*metanoien* – *metanoia*, as a deep inner transition) is certainly very limited. True spiritual transformation is always associated with individual enterprises, and it is useless to expect it on a socially relevant, mass scale.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> With these necessary measures that could validate the credibility of a mystic experience, it is necessary to provide an experience of true, new, previously inexperienced joy that comprises all the life and all the people, and with that experience, a fundamental change of the former way of life. The unforgettable words of Jesus: You shall know them by their deeds! confirm everything that has been said on true *metanoia* so far (which is always so rare among people)” (Jerotić 1009:15).

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## RELIGIOSITY OF THE ORTHODOX YOUTH MONTENEGRO

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### PREFACE

#### **Theoretical-chronological Review**

In all socialist societies, out of which Montenegro is no exception, manifest types of religion and religiosity were deeply kept back into one's privacy. Socialist system, shaped by Marxist-Leninist ideology had strongly critical relation toward religion. According to this ideology, religion was defined as a kind of alienation, so the society in Montenegro was secularized under the ideological pressure. Even though we do not have at our disposal many scientific verifications of the secularization from the socialist period of Montenegro, census itself clearly shows that religion was in an unenviable position. That is unequivocally testified by data, that during socialist period, a question of denominational self-identification was imposed as a question in census until 1993. There is a question: Is it really about (non)religiosity of the population of Montenegro or that religiosity, lead by controlled atheism, had to be suppressed. By keeping back religion in the sphere of one's privacy, it is deprived of every social relevancy and privilege, which was the aim of the process of the systemic atheism. In that sense, religion loses every monopoly and impact on social life (economy, law, politics, education, etc) and by time becomes no more driving force in one's life (Wilson 2005).

Orthodox Church especially fell into disfavor of the systemic atheism by the fact that Orthodox creed stood for main defender and protector of the national body in Montenegro. Socialist party believed that by neutralizing religion, it will attain homogeneous society (Blagojević 2005, 163–65). On the other hand, advanced secularization on the homogeneous orthodox region should be found within Orthodox Church herself, who bounded her identity to nationality, which was, according to Vukomanovic, one of her main weaknesses (Vukomanović 2001, 103).

At the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, by collapse of the socialist system, there is revitalization of religion in Montenegro, followed by social and spiritual convulsions, where religion, we believe, saw her chance. In the situation where feeling of insecurity caused by the falling of the system was prevailing, religion appears as a comfort. Thus, religion awakens dozed functions, offering identity and identification to the community, integrating a member into the community (Blagojević 2009) At the beginning of the new millennium, there is more and more need for religion, especially among the youth in Montenegro, among which religion found safe place. Processes of the economic, social, political transformations, followed by many contradictions and existential difficulties, cause that more youth is attached to religion. In that sense, today we can talk not only about revitalization of religion, but also about certain stabilization of the religious feeling in this area.

**RESEARCH RESULTS, DATA INTERPRETATION AND ANALYSIS**

**Methodological Framework**

Research on religiosity of the Orthodox youth in Montenegro was done on stratified specimen in total 226 examinees, by the method of the questionnaire with already offered answers, in the period of March-July, 2010. As far as we know, this is the first research about religiosity of the Orthodox youth in Montenegro. According to that, the aims of the research can not be highly demanding. Thus, the main purpose of the research is checking the level of religiosity of the youth in classic, dogmatic and ecclesiastical sense. That includes checking religiosity on the basis of the indicators of the religious self-identification, believe in dogmatic statements about God and religious practice.

Research covered population of the youth between 16 and 27, on the territory of Montenegro, which was separated into 3 regions for the sake of the research, and those are: north (Bijelo Polje, Pljevlja), central part (Niksic, Podgorica and Cetinje) and south (Herceg Novi, Tivat and Bar). In two-phase sample, first, we chose municipalities (towns and villages), and then we chose every second building (house) and every third household. The structure of the examinees, that was included in the questionnaire, justifies purposely chosen municipalities. By looking at demographic structure, there is some major part of female (57,1%) compared to male (42,9%), major part of the questionnaire consists of examinees from the town (68,1%) compared to the village (31,9%). Regarding profession, examinees mostly declared themselves as pupils (60,7%) and students (39,3%).

**Self-estimation on Religiosity**

Establishing the comprehensiveness of religiosity according to the indicators of the religious self-identification, is not only considered insufficient but also common and artificial indicator of the religiousness. Surely, self-estimation was more reliable indicator than denominational self-identification, so it was crucial part for choosing this group of the indicators. Thus, we opted for more precise scale of religiosity where examinees could choose one of the options:

Table 1

Self-estimation on religiosity in percentages

Relation toward religion	%
I am believer and I accept everything my religion preaches	58.4
I am religious but I do not accept everything my religion preaches	23.0
I am not sure wheather I am believer or not	9.3
I am indifferent toward religion	2.7
I am not religious but I have nothing against it	6.2
I am not religious and I am against it	0.4
$\Sigma$	100

After analysis of the given data, we see that in the modality “I’m religious” 81,4% examinees said they are religious, 12,0% declared themselves as indifferent, 6,6% as nonreligious. Preliminary, it could be said that actual religiosity, seen through indicators of the religious self-identification, is major manifestation in Monte-

negro, at least, when it's about Orthodox creed. It could be stated that high trend of de-secularization and revitalization of the religion, that dates from the beginning of the 1990-ies, is still major manifestation.

### **Religious Self-identification and Socio-demographic Characteristic**

Regarding the region, (north, central part and south), there is no big statistic difference among variables ( $\chi^2=12,859$ ,  $df=10$ ,  $p=0,232$ ). In the north, sub-score is 40,7%. From the total number, 85,9% declared themselves in the modality „I am religious“, there are 5,4% who are indifferent toward the religion, whereas 8,7% declared themselves in the modality „Nonreligious“. In the central part, sub-score is 30,5%. In the modality „I am religious“ there are 79,7%, 14,5% of them are indifferent and 5,8% are nonreligious. In the south, sub-score is 28,8%. 76,9% declared themselves in the modality „I am religious“, 18,5% indifferent, and 4,6% nonreligious. There is, even though not big, difference among the regions. In the south religiosity is somewhat on the lower level than in the north, which could be explained by better life of the citizens in the south.

According to the sex, there is no much difference among segments of the variables ( $\chi^2=11,075$ ,  $df=5$ ,  $p=0,050$ ). Sub-score for the male population is 42,9%. From the total score, 82,5% male examinees declared themselves in the modality „I am religious“, there are 15,5% indifferent male examinees, whereas there are 2,0% nonreligious examinees. Sub-score for the female population is 57,1%. From the total score, 80,6% declared themselves as religious, 9,3% indifferent and 10,1% non-religious. The assessment of the religiosity according to the indicators is the same with both sexes. Religiosity is no more characteristics of only female sex, so that there is no difference among the sexes of the examinees.

By analysis of age group, we concluded that there is no big difference among the segments of the variables ( $\chi^2=14,978$ ,  $df=15$ ,  $p=0,455$ ). Sub-score of the examinees between the age of 16 and 19 is 35,8%. From the total number, 81,5% examinees declared themselves in the modality „I am religious“, 11,1% as indifferent, and 7,4% as nonreligious. Within the age group between 20 and 23, sub-score is 29,4%. There are 80,3% who are religious, 13,6% indifferent, and 6,1% examinee declared as non-religious. Within the age group between 24 and 27, sub-score is 34,8% and relation toward self-estimation of the religiosity is 82,1% religious, 11,5% indifferent, and 6,4% non-religious. Regarding the age, percentage is quite equal.

Place of living makes no big difference in religiosity ( $\chi^2=3,341$ ,  $df=5$ ,  $p=0,648$ ). Sub-score in town and in the village is 68,2% or 31,8%. Our research shows somewhat more religious people in towns compared to villages, and the percentage is 83,1% or 77,9%. People from the villages lead in the modality of indifferent examinees as well, and the score is 11,1% or 13,8%, as well as in the modality: „Nonreligious“, 5,8% and 8,3%. We can conclude that religiosity is no longer case of typically country thing, when it comes to self-estimation on religiosity with Orthodox examinees, which can be seen as a kind of a trend.

In the category „profession“, examinees mostly declared themselves as a pupils 31,4% and students 19,9%. 83,1% of the pupils and 77,7% of the students declared in the modality „Religious“. Among pupils, in the category „Indifferent“, many of them declared so, 11,3% or 13,3%, and among student population there are more of them who declared themselves as nonreligious 5,6% or 11,1%. It could be concluded that according to the self-estimation of the religiosity, there is no big difference among pupils and students ( $\chi^2=10,279$ ,  $df=8$ ,  $p=0,246$ ).

According to the analysis of the obtained data, it can be stated that religiosity, based on the religious self-identification, is quite the same regarding status characteristic, when it comes to population of the youth of Orthodox creed.

### **Orthodox Creed and Belief in Dogmatic Postulates about God**

Belief in a God, who is a creator of the heaven and the earth, everything visible and invisible, creator of the man, and that our destiny is in His hands, is basic dogmatic postulate in Christianity. It is important to say that Orthodox Christian sees God as Holy Trinity, three persons in one man. In Christianity God means love, so it is sin to be an atheist.

Even though we are not sure that examinees understand God the way Orthodox dogma says, we made a table with statements about God so as to check religiosity of the Orthodox Christians. Such statements are shown in the table.

Table 2

*Score of the answers according to the dogmatic postulates about God*

		I do not agree at all	I do not agree, partly agree	I am indecisive	I mostly agree	I agree completely
Do you agree that one should believe in God?	%	1.8%	0.9%	6.2%	25.7%	65.5%
Do you agree that God is a founder of everything that exists?	%	3.5%	7.1%	10.2%	27.9%	51.3%
Do you agree that God created man?	%	4.4%	5.3%	18.6%	20.8%	50.9%
Do you agree that God sees and knows everything?	%	3.5%	5.8%	9.7%	22.6%	58.4%
Do you agree that one's destiny is in God's hands?	%	8.8%	7.1%	9.7%	26.1%	48.2%

It is clearly shown in the table that on each dogmatic postulate, examinees declared around 50,0%, so half. They most declared on the question: „Do you agree that one should believe in God?“ in total 65,5%, so that we crossed this modality with socio-demographic data, whereas when it comes to the other postules, we will accept the obtained information from the table. For the case of purposefulness, we will divide the table into three groups, so that the examinees who mostly agree and agree completely will be in group „We agree“, the ones who do not agree at all and agree partly, will be in group „We do not agree“, and the third group will be the indecisive ones.

### **Socio-demographic Features and Belief in Dogmatic Postulations about God**

According to the region, there is no big difference regarding belief in God ( $\chi^2=14,771$ ,  $df=8$ ,  $p=0,064$ ). 93,5% of the examinees in the north, 92,8% in the central part and 86,2% in the south, agree with the postulate that one should believe



in God. Score of the indecisive examinees goes in the same order, and is 4,3%, 2,9% and 12,3%, whereas there are 2,2% examinees in the north who do not agree, 4,3% in the central part and 1,5% in the south. Least examinees who agree with such statement is in the south, which can be explained by better social status and less tradition. Members of the Orthodox denomination mix with the members of the Islamic community in the north and that can influence more percentage in the statement about belief in God.

According to our expectations, sex does not make much difference in the statement about belief in God ( $\chi^2=2,086$ ,  $df=4$ ,  $p=0,719$ ). Research shows that belief in God is no more just female characteristic. In the category „I agree“, percentage of female and male answers is 92,8% or 89,9%, score of the indecisive is 6,2, while score of those who do not agree is 1,0% or 3,9%.

Among variables that refer to the age group, there is no big difference ( $\chi^2=11,025$ ,  $df=12$ ,  $p=0,527$ ). 93,8% of the examinees, who are between 16 and 19, agree that one should believe in God, there are 89,3% of those who are between 20 and 23, and 89,6% in the age group between 24 and 27.

Also, there are no considerable oscillations when it comes to the qualifications ( $\chi^2=24,479$ ,  $df=12$ ,  $p=0,027$ ). 90,3% of the examinees who have finished primary school agree with the statement that one should believe in God, there are 96,5% of the ones who have finished secondary school, and 86,0% high school. Most of the indecisive examinees are the ones with the primary school – 9,6%, then 2,3% with secondary school, and 6,0% with high school. The number of the examinees who do not agree that one should believe in God is statistically negligible.

Type of the settlement does make big difference in statistics on the statement that refers on belief in God ( $\chi^2=2,221$ ,  $df=4$ ,  $p=0,697$ ). It is important to say that in the previous researches, village strongly opposed processes of the secularisation and atheism, at least when it comes to the creed of the dogmatic belief in the religion. In that sense, it could be stated that belief in God was typically village category. Process of desecularisation and revitalisation caused less difference when it comes to the indicators of the belief in God, comparing town and a village. Thus, it could be concluded that religion was revitalised, especially in the urban area.

Results of our research do not show any significant difference among segments of the crossed variables that refer to the type of the settlement. In the modality „I agree that one should believe in God“ there are 92,1% of the examinees from the town and 88,8% from the village. This confirmed our assumption that creed in God is not typically rural characteristic. In the modality „I am indecisive“, there are 5,1% of the examinees from the town and 8,3% from the village, and the number of the examinees who do not agree that one should believe in God is 2,7%. Motifs for high percentage in the statement that one should believe in God in the village could be found in the fact that villages, where the research was done, is not far away from the town so that some of the members of the household are connected to the town because of their jobs. High percentage of the creed in God in town can be explained by the economic crisis, less employment opportunity and low income which causes feel of insecure, as well as uncontrolled growth of the socio-pathological phenomenon in the urban area.

Marital status makes no significant difference in the statements about creed in God ( $\chi^2=16,027$ ,  $df=12$ ,  $p=0,119$ ). Since research includes youth, most of them declared as single. In this category, 92,6% of the examinees agrees that one should be-

lieve in God; research shows 4,7% of the indecisive and 2,6% of those who do not agree with the said statement. In the category „Married“, (male and female), 77,8% examinees agree with the statement that one should believe in God.

There is also no much difference when it comes to pupils and students ( $\chi^2=7,440$ ,  $df=8$ ,  $p=0,490$ ). Score of the positive answers among pupils and students is almost identical. Pupils agree more with the statement about creed in God, 95,7 or 91,1% for the students. Students are a bit more indecisive 4,4% compared to the pupils 2,8%, while the number of the ones who do not agree, is negligible. It is usual that the more one is educated, the less he believes in God. Research of the other dogmatic postulations of the God shows this as well.

### RELIGIOUS PRACTICE

Religiosity in some area can be thoroughly assessed using many indicators. Religiosity is usually appraised, based on the religious awareness and religious practice. Looking back at the said statement, we opted for some of the most usual forms of the religious practice for Orthodox creed. For the case of better understanding and comprehension, we divided religious practice into two groups: participation of the tradition (baptism, church wedding and family patron's day), and actual connection between people and religion (going to church, prayer, etc)

#### Orthodox Creed and Participation in the Traditional Rituals

Many researches in the areas where Orthodox creed is dominant (Blagojević 1995), show that revitalisation of the religion was achieved through respect of the rituals and religious practice. Based on the evidence, it could be said, that religious practice of the traditional nature opposed more the pressure of the atheistic ideology, than actual religious practice (going to church, liturgy, etc) in the researched area. In that sense, we expect that participation in the traditional rituals will be more than a half.

**Baptism.** Baptism is not just one of the seven sacred secrets in the Christianity, but is one of the fundamental sacraments, so the purpose of the baptism is deeply religious and symbolic. It is true that baptism itself is a bit profane, and that all anachronistic elements are removed from the preparation for the baptism as a ritual.

As Smeman (2008) says: „Baptism is a symbol of forgiving the sin and reviving the life in people, which he, as a Son of the God and Saviour brought to the people“. So, baptism in Christ represents the gift of new human being.

In our research, examinees were supposed to answer whether they are baptised or not. Therefore, 68,6% said they are, and 31,4% they aren't. Score of almost 70,0% shows how strong and resistant traditional element of this ritual is in the sphere of culture and ritual conduct. That shows us that it survived even in the times of atheism, and that even today it is very frequent.

Examinees were supposed to answer the question: „Do you agree that children should be baptised?“, in order to recognise the willingness of our examinees to pursue with the tradition in future generations, since baptism is not just matter of one's designation.

Table 3

*Distribution of the answers on statements about baptising the children*

Statement	%	I do not agree at all	I do not agree	I am indecisive	I mostly agree	I completely agree
Do you agree that children should be baptised?		3,1	2,6	9,3	19,1	65,9

Results will be divided into three groups: Examinees who mostly and completely agree will be treated as “I agree”, those who do not agree at all and do not agree will be treated as “I do not agree”, and the third group will be the indecisive ones. These rules will stand for all indicators of religious practice.

Through analysis of the obtained information, we see that 85,0% agree with baptism of the children, 5,7% do not agree and 9,3% is indecisive. This information will be crossed with socio-demographic characteristic.

Regarding baptism, most of the examinees who are baptized are in the south, 81,6%, then there are 59,7% of them in the north and 65,2% in the central part. It is interesting to say that in the south, there are only 81,6% of those who think that children should be baptized, 85,8% in the north and 86,9% in the central part.

Baptism ritual is more frequent with female 72,8% than with a male sex, 60,8%. Also, female examinees agree more that children should be baptized, 86,8% than male examinees in Christianity 82,4%, but score is almost equal.

Positive answer about baptism gave 51,8% examinees who are between 16 and 19, then 66,6% of those who are between 20 and 23, and 85, 8% between 24 and 27. Facts unambiguously show that number of the baptized examinees grows by the age. These facts lead to conclusion that baptism is not only performed in the childhood and that it is a matter of one own decision, as well. Score of the positive answers on the statement about children baptism, is in the same age order, 88,8%, 83,3% and 82,0%. According to our research, at least when it's about baptism, tradition connected with the religion and church, has great chance to remain in future generations.

There are more of them in the village who performed this ritual of baptism, 69,4% in comparison to the number in town, 66,9%, whereas there are less examinees in the village who think children should be baptized, 72,9%, compared to those in the town 87,7%.

Examinees who are married, performed this ritual and the score is 85,1% and those who aren't married, 64,7%; there are 86,3% unmarried examinees who agree that children should be baptized and 74,1% who are married.

Score of the pupils who are baptized is 50,7% in comparison to the students 71,1%, and there are 90,1% of the pupils who agree children should be baptized and 77,7% of students.

**Church wedding.** Just as Holy Trinity represents unity in distinction, the same could be said for marriage. God created man to live in a family and not alone. Just as God blessed fore parents: “Give birth and multiply”, the same church blesses unity between man and a wife (Ver 2001, 279).

Our examinees were supposed to give answers on the statement: “Do you think it is necessary to be married in church?” Distribution of the answers is shown in the table.

Table 4

*Distribution of the answers on the statement about church wedding*

Statement	%	I do not agree at all	I do not agree	I am indecisive	I mostly agree	I agree completely
Do you think it is important to be married in the church?		4,4	11,1	14,1	32,3	38,1

Compared to the facts about baptism, we see that the score with those who agree it is important to get married in the church, is somewhat lesser, 70,4%. Number of those who do not agree is 15,5% and 14,1% is indecisive, though it is not excluded that through a process of socialization and change in reflection, a number of those who are indecisive enjoys one of the options.

In comparison to socio-status characteristic, relation is as follows: Research shows that most of the examinees, who agree it is necessary to get married in church, come from the north, 78,2%, there are 60,8% in central part and 69,2% in the south. In the central part, there are 8,6% of those who are strongly against it, whereas, in the south, there is not one examinee who is against church wedding.

Men are less willing to get married in church, and the score for them is 64,9%, while the score for the same statement for women is 74,4%.

In the age group between 16 and 19, there are 66,6% of them who agree with church wedding, 78,8% between 20 and 23, and 66,6% between 24 and 27, identical as in the first age group.

When it comes to the score in the village, there is somewhat greater number of those who agree with the church wedding, and that is 72,2% in comparison to town 69,4%. Number of indecisive is noticeable in town, 16,2%.

Examinees who are married, gave positive answers about church wedding, 77,7%, whereas score of those who aren't married is 68,4%. It looks like desire and need for such marriage appears in the marriage or otherwise the positive feeling about it grows with those who have that experience.

When it comes to the students and pupils, percentage of the answers on the same question is almost equal, and the score is around 69,0%, whereas there are 19,7% indecisive pupils, 22,2% indecisive students.

**Family patron's day.** In Orthodox creed where Serbian Orthodox Church overrides, patron saint is most celebrated and respected. It is not only characteristic with the Serbs, but also with Roman Catholics in Boka Kotorska, south Herzegovina, etc. Apart from family's, there are town's, church's and other patron days. That means, patron's day is a worshipping the patron saint. That is common activity of the family as community. Patron's day, when it's accepted once, can't be rejected unless there is some strong reason for that, and is transferred from generation to generation (Kalezić 2000).

Examinees were supposed to answer the following question: „Do you agree that patron’s day should be praised?“ and the answers are given in the table.

Table 5

*Distribution of the answers that refer to the patron’s day*

Statement	%	I do not agree at all	I do not agree	I am indecisive	I mostly agree	I agree completely
Do you agree that patron’s day should be praised?	%	0,9	2,6	4,0	12,4	80,1

Analysis of the obtained information unambiguously shows that most of the examinees agree that patron’s day should be praised, 92,5%, which confirmed our expectations. It could be concluded that praising the patron’s day is the most common type of religious practice in the area where research was done.

Regarding the region, frequency praising the patron’s day is almost identical. 93,4% of the examinees from the north, 94,2% in the central part, and 89,2% in the south said patron’s day should be praised.

94,8% of male and 90,6% of female examinees agree that patron’s day should be celebrated. Number of those who answered the same question is identical in the age group, as well. There are 93,8% examinees between 16 and 19, then 93,9% between 20 and 23, and 91,0% between 24 and 27.

Examinees who are married agree upon said statement, and the score is 85,1%, whereas score for those who are not married is 93,6%. Regarding pupils and students, and whether patron’s day should be praised or not, score is pretty equal, around 92,0%.

**Actual Connection for Religion and Church**

Actual connection for the religion and church refers to such religious practices that are included in nontraditional group, and thus may be called religious rituals that are not profane. We have already said that the process of secularization was mostly seen in erosion of this very part of the religious practice, and that assessment of the process of revitalization of the religion is mostly based on return of the religious practice.

As an indicator of the scope of the religiosity in some area, sociologists of religion use indicators which can be divided into indicators that belong to a direct duty of the believers (in our research such indicators are: going to church, going to liturgy), and indicators that refer to devoutness (in our research such are: prayer and fast).

**Religious Conduct as Direct Duty of the Believers**

**Going to church.** Creedo says: “I believe in One, Holly, Minster and Apostolic church”, and apostle Paul says to the Ephesians: “Christ loved the Church and gave himself to it” (Eph., 5/25). As Creedo says, church is Unity, which means, unity with God and people. Just as God has two natures, thus church possesses synergy of Divine and human, with difference that Christ’s human nature is sinless, whereas

some of the church members aren't sinless (Ver 2001, 233). Also, Creed says that Church is sacred, which means she consecrates our life by the power of the God, therefore purifying us from the sin and leading us to the God. Church is minster or *ka-tholiki* in Greek, which means fullness, integrity and universality. Church is universal because God does not address someone special, some special period in time or culture, but He addresses all cultures and all epochs. Church is Apostolic, and word *apostle* when translated from Greek, means pastor, which means she is based upon apostles' testimony which Christ himself taught (Šmeman 1996, 107).

Our research had to check how frequent youth of the Orthodox creed from Montenegro goes to church. We have already said that going to church is included in the direct duty of the believers. Indicators of the frequency are very important for socialist research.

Table 6

*Frequency of going to church as direct duty of the believers*

Do you go to church?	%
Couple times in a week	4.0
Once in a week	12.4
Two times in a month	21.2
Couple times in a year	44.2
Almost never	8.9
Never	5.3
I do not want to give an answer	4.0
Σ	100

As expected, we see that percentage of the obtained data is lower compared to traditional practice, for example. Therefore, we will gather the answers (couple times and once in a week, two time in a month) in the category "Monthly going to church", and hence there are 37,6% of the examinees, who monthly go to church. Then, there are 44,2% of those who practice this couple times in a year and 14,2% of those who almost never and never do it.

Now we will compare the answers with socio-demographic status: 43,4% of the examinees from the northern part go to church monthly, 34,8% couple times in a year, and 18,4% almost never or never. In the central part, 28,9% of the examinees go to church monthly, 63,6% yearly, and 15,9% almost never and never. Score for those from the south is as follows, 38,4% go to church monthly, 44,9% yearly, 7,6% almost never, and there was none examinee who said he never goes to church.

Members of the male population go to church at least one in a month and for them the score is 34,1% whereas score for female population in this section is 40,3%, then 51,6% of the male and 38,7% of female population go to church couple times in a year. 13,4% of the male and 15,5% of the female population go to church almost never or never.

In the age group between 16 and 19, there are 34,6% of the examinees who go to church monthly, then there are 46,9% of those between 20 and 23, and 33,3% between 24 and 27. In the same age order, 45,6%, 31,8% and 52,5% of the examinees go to church couple times in a year and 14,8%, 21,2% and 8,9% those who almost never or never go to church.

Examinees from the rural area, as expected, go more frequent to church. 34,4% of the examinees from urban area and 44,4% from rural area go to church monthly. 49,3% from urban and 33,3% from rural area go to church couple times in a year, and 13,6% or 16,6% go to church almost never or never.

Score for the unmarried examinees who monthly go to church is 37,3%, then 44,2% go to church yearly, and 15,2% almost never or never. Those who are married go to church more frequent. 48,1% of the examinees do it monthly, 33,3% yearly and 14,8% almost never and never.

Students go more frequent to church than pupils. 31,0% of the pupils and 37,8% of the students do it monthly. 50,7% of the pupils and 40,0% of the students do it couple times in a year, and 14,0% of the pupils and 20,2% of the students do it almost never or never.

It can be stated that there are more examinees that go to church couple times in a year, than those who do it regularly. It can't be said that going to church it typically urban or rural characteristic, nor typically man or female characteristic. There are no boundaries.

**Liturgy.** Word "liturgy" means common acting in the Orthodox Church, ie. common acting of the church members, who are gathered as a community of the God's people.

So, liturgy is one of the most important duties of the true believer, who lives life with God, with his suffering and the Resurrection. Therefore, in sociologic research, this ritual is very important indicator of the religiosity and connection of people and church.

In our research, examinees were supposed to answer the following question: "Do you go to liturgy?" Answers are shown in the table.

Table 7

*Frequency of going to liturgy*

Question		never	rarely	sometimes	usually	regularly
Do you go to liturgy?	%	36,7	31,4	21,7	8	2,2

Analysis of the obtained data justifies our expectations. Only 10,2% of the examinees go to liturgy usually or regularly. 37,6% of the examinees go to church regularly, which justifies our conclusion that going to church is traditional practice. 68,1% rarely or never go to church.

Now we will analyze frequency of this duty and socio-demographic characteristic. 11,9% from the north go to liturgy usually or regularly, and 68,4% never or rarely. In central part, there was not one examinee who said he does it regularly, but there are 5,4% of those who do it usually, and 76,8% of those who rarely or never do it. When it comes to the south, there are 58,4% of those who do it rarely or never and 12,3% those who do it usually and regularly.

Female examinees go more to liturgy, 11,6%, compared to male 8,2%. There are 65,9% of male examinees and 69,7% of female examinees who never or rarely go to liturgy.

When talking about age group, 70,3% of the examinees who are between 16 and 19 never or rarely go to liturgy, there are 66,7% of those who are between 24 and 27, whereas 12,1%, 8,9% and 9,0% in the same age group do it usually or regularly.

Examinees from the rural area go to church usually or regularly, and the score is 6,9%, or 11,6% for those from urban areas. 70,8% of those from urban areas and 62,5% from rural areas do it never or rarely.

Score for the unmarried examinees who go to liturgy usually or regularly is 9,4% and for those who never or rarely go is 69,0%. Examinees who are married go to liturgy more frequent than the unmarried ones, 14,8%, and 63,0% never go to liturgy.

Among students, there are 71,1% who never or rarely go to liturgy, 8,8% go usually, and there was none examinee who said he/she goes to liturgy regularly. Among pupils, 67,6% never go and 11,2% go to liturgy.

### Religious Conduct as a Way of Piety

**Prayer.** God's power and grace is achieved through prayer. There is neither spiritual life nor piety without prayer. Prayer which is done out of church must be praying in silence and privacy of one's room. This is basic rule that Christ made. (Mt., 6/5-6).

In socialist research, prayer is seen as a very important indicator when estimating one's religiosity. Prayer is usually caused by one's problems, and that is the reason why we didn't insist upon research on common prayer in church, but we asked: "Do you pray during the day and outside church?"

Table 8

*Distribution of answers about prayer outside church as a kind of piety*

Question		Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Usually	Regularly
Do you pray during the day and outside church?	%	12,8	24,8	26,6	18,6	17,2

By the analysis of the obtained data, we have a score of 35,8% of the examinees who pray usually or regularly and 37,6% of those who do it rarely or never.

Crossing it with socio-demographic characteristic, we see that there is no much difference among variables.

43,4% of the examinees from the north pray rarely or never, whereas 35,8% do it regularly. In central part, 31,8% pray rarely or never and 39,1% pray usually or regularly. In south, 35,3% pray rarely or never and 32,3% pray usually or regularly.

Women are more zealous in their prayers than men. There are 39,5% female and 30,9% male examinees who do it usually and regularly, 44,3% male and 32,5% female examinees who pray rarely or never.

When it comes to age group, 27,1% of the examinees who are between 16 and 19, then 51,5% who are between 20 and 23, and 37,1% between 24 and 27, pray rarely or never. Usually and regularly prays 44,4% between 16 and 19, then 31,8% between 20 and 23, and 30,7% between 24 and 27.



Regarding village, there are more examinees who do not pray or they do it rarely, 44,4% or 34,4% in town, whereas there are 38,9% of those in town and 29,1% in village who pray usually and regularly.

Examinees who are married usually pray, and the score is 22,2%, as opposed to the ones who aren't married, 38,4%. Inversely proportional is the relation between examinees who are married and who do not pray, 48,2%, and 37,3% of those who aren't married. Prayers who are not married pray more.

26,8% of the pupils and 46,6% of the students pray rarely or never, whereas 43,6% of the pupils and 33,3% of the students do it usually or regularly. It is usual that the more someone is educated, the less they pray regularly.

**Fast.** Fast is one of the main postulates in Christianity. Jesus fasted himself and he taught his followers to do the same, which is testified by the Gospel (Mt., 6/16-17).

The aim of the fast in Orthodox creed is to control oneself and not let one's body controls them. People should not only fast to free from indulgence but also to serve God properly; God, who saved them in Christ and the Spirit. Fast without effort is futile (Hopko, 2009:146, book IV).

Table 9

*Score of the answers about fast as an act of piety*

Question		Never	Rarely	Sometimes	Usually	Regularly
Do you fast?	%	14,6	22,6	34,1	19,9	8,8

28,7% of the examinees fast usually or regularly, 34,1% fasts sometimes, and 37,2% rarely or never fasts. We could say that this duty is on the level of already researched rituals of the Orthodox practice.

We will take a close look at socio-demographic characteristic and the fast. In the northern part there are only 29,3% of those who rarely or never fast, whereas 43,4% do it usually and regularly. So, fast is most valued in the northern part, then in the south 21,5%, while score in the central part is 15,9%.

Female examinees fast more (usually or regularly) in comparison to male ones, 29,8% or 27,9%. Then, 36,0% male and 37,4% female examinees rarely or never fast. Score in all variables is almost equal which means that fast is not typically male or female characteristic.

Regarding age group, there are 30,8% of the examinees between 16 and 19, who never or rarely fast, then there are 42,4% of those who are between 20 and 23, and 39,7% of those between 24 and 27. In the same age order, 34,5%, 24,2% and 26,9% of the examinees fast usually and regularly. The fact is that younger generations fast more, but it can't be stated that older generations fast less.

Fast is more noticeable in the rural areas; 34,7% of the examinees from the rural areas fast usually and regularly, and 27,7% rarely or never fast. When it comes to score in urban areas, 25,9% in town fast usually and regularly, and 41,5% do it rarely or never.

Score in the category "Rarely and never" for the examinees that aren't married is 36,8% and 27,3% of the examinees in this category doesn't fast. Examinees who are married fast, and score for them is 40,7% whereas 33,3% of them doesn't fast.

Pupils fast more than student population, 32,3% or 13.3%, then 55,5% of the students and 32,3% of the pupils fast rarely or never.

### CONCLUSION

All in all, we can state that religiosity of the Orthodox youth from Montenegro is on an enviable level. Revitalization of the religion is not just a clear fact, but it's also a matter of certain stabilization with a tendency of further growth. High level of religiosity is evident in all structural elements, though, at different intensity. Remarkable score of the religiosity is seen in the indicators of the self-assessment of the religiosity (81,4%) and in agreement with the statement that one should believe in God (91,2%). Also, if we take into account indicators of the traditional religious practice (baptism, family patron's day, etc), we see it's still common. Though, we must notice that actual religious practice is pretty eroded, whether it's direct duty of the believers or indicators that are connected to the act of piety.

It can't be stated that there wasn't increase of the religiosity based on the indicators of actual nature, but less compared to the indicators of the religious conception and traditional religious practice. In that sense, we could say that "belief without belonging" is pretty evident in Montenegro (Davie 2005; Djordjević 2009). We think that religiosity (connection with religion and church) of the Orthodox youth is mostly seen among believers who religiously identify themselves, participate in traditional rituals, agree that one should believe in God, and selectively participate in current rituals. So, it is usually a believer who goes to church couple times in a year, rarely fasts, goes to liturgy and prays in and out of church. Thus, religiosity in Montenegro is more traditional characteristic, while religious practice does not represent key segment of the piety.

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## **ATMOSPHERE IN THE FAMILY AND RELATIONSHIP TOWARDS ORTHODOXY**

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### **INTRODUCTION**

In the process of actual sociological changes, the specific social climate was created which characteristics are not only seen through changes in political and economical relations, but through the implications on life of individuals and groups, and those are seen through acceptance and manifestation of series of new and different ways of behaviors. It is evident, namely, that most of the population show new models of behavior wanting to go in step with time and to synchronize their wishes and possibilities with the standard of living in the developed world. It is understandable that analysis of sociological changes serves as a general framework for understanding of changes that are created and their implications on stands and opinions of the population from the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century until the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. In that sense it is evident that in series of actual sociological changes certain changes were noticed not only in more favorable sociological position of the religion and in the stands of individuals and members of different sociological groups towards the religion, but in the way in which the population is treating religious rituals and religious behavior in general.

In this period of time, it is also evident the growth of interest of citizens towards the religious questions, religious values and truths, which is openly manifested through the relationship towards the religion and certain religious rituals. Increasingly noticeable is appearance of priesthood in cultural, public, social and political life, but also an interest of individuals and groups in religious rituals and customs. In everyday communication among people more often you can hear talks about saint's feast days and holy days, fast and worshiping and less about confessions, reading of religious literature, and even less activities of individuals in life of church's municipality, giving of contributions or talks about the religion and Church.

Most of the authors claim that the conditions of family life can be determining for latter behavior and activities of the individual. Such conclusion is based on the fact that the child is surrounded by its family from its birth and that the family conditions and practically first influences that the child is exposed to just after its birth until its complete adulthood. Such ascertainties were stated by psychoanalysts through famous saying "Child is the Father of Man". This formulation undoubtedly shows that family influences in early childhood have main role in creation of someone's personality, and that the family climate or atmosphere in the family is especially important for development. Besides that, accent is also on importance of parents in creating hygienic habits, habits of eating, formation of habits related to cleanliness, adopting a socially acceptable forms of behaviors, moral stands, social and personal opinions, values, so as practice of religious rituals.

CONCEPTUAL RESEARCHES

In the research we are dealing with relations between the atmosphere in the family, practice of religious rituals and relations of the students towards the Orthodoxy. In other words, we are analyzing the similarities and differences in the acceptance of orthodoxy among the students that practice religious rituals in the family atmosphere and the ones that don't. We start from the fact that practice of religious rituals in the family characterizes a specific atmosphere which is significantly reflected on life and work of the members of the family. It is evident that during practicing of religious rituals in the family, totally different relations are established between the members of the family, where very often autoritary characteristics of the traditionally oriented parents are erased. In that way, everyday roles of the members of the family are being changed and every member, whether children or adults are getting different responsibilities so they could all together contribute to the occasion. For example, during the preparation of saint's feast days and ceremonies, all members of the family are actively participating in guest reception, where one can feel formal atmosphere in the family and visible joy. On the other side during the fast, members of the family are supporting each other in efforts every member of the family is putting to resist in the spirit of custom and tradition. In that matter, we think that the gained experience of the individual in the family and its experiences during the practicing of the traditional orthodox rituals could be of direct importance for acceptance or denial of orthodoxy.

The work's concept is a review of basic results of empirically-non-experimental research of relations between the atmosphere in the family and the relations towards the orthodoxy of the elementary and high school students. In that context, as indicators of family atmosphere are chosen those aspects of practicing of religious rituals in the family, that are the most frequent and those are: praying, fast, confession, reading of religious literature, contribution giving. We think that based on overview of how spread they are in the family, we can get representative indicator of the family atmosphere of a individual and that they can be relevant for this research.

On the other side, relation towards the orthodoxy was researched with the application of the scale for examination of general stand towards the orthodoxy of my own construction, which is constructed as Likert's type of 8 level scale, of which 4 were formulated as positive and 4 as negative. *Symptomatic validity* of the scale for examination of general stand towards the orthodoxy was established with help of "testing of importance of the differences among the groups". A difference was established among the groups which is statistically important on the level of 0,01. The coefficient of reliability of this scale was calculated using the Spirman-Brown formula and is 0,76; the coefficient of internal consistency Cronbach's alpha is 0,78. *Discriminativity* of the scale was proved in two ways: 1) Using the procedure "analysis of the facts" claims are chosen which separate examinees that are placed "high" from the ones that are placed "low" on the continuum of the entire scale. This procedure is also called "the establishment of the discriminative power of the item" (discriminative power – DP) and 2) After calculating the discriminative power of every item in the scale, correlations were calculated between the grades on every item and the sum of all items (item-total correlation). In the final version of the scale we kept only the items which correlations were greater than 0,35, while items with the correlation

0,34 and lesser were eliminated. It was asked from the students to express how much they agree or don't agree with every of the offered statements.

The research was performed on the sample of 513 students of the finishing classes in elementary schools (8<sup>th</sup> and 9<sup>th</sup> graders) and the students of 1<sup>st</sup>, 2<sup>nd</sup>, 3<sup>rd</sup> and 4<sup>th</sup> grades of various high schools in Republic of Srpska. Such big sample, according to the presented concept of the research, should provide extrapolating estimates for the basic segments of the population. Observed as a one unit it can be ascertained that the results of the research and the conclusions gained in such structured sample can be a solid basis to get reliable generalization on the population of the students in Republic of Srpska.

## THE RESULTS OF THE RESEARCH AND DISCUSSION

### Relationship towards the orthodoxy

The basic relationship towards the orthodoxy was not observed as the religiousness of the youth, but as, more or less, positive or negative general stand towards the orthodoxy thought as lifestyle which is rich with spirit and tradition and that is in the way we inherited it from our ancestors, without any influence of our time<sup>1</sup>. Such conclusion are made through construction and application of the adequate scale for examination of stands towards the orthodoxy, considering that the scale was dedicated to the examination of subjective experience of the individual towards the orthodoxy through series of valuating judgments about relevant aspects of the Orthodoxy. On the other side, such constructed scale enables the performance of conclusions about the general stand towards the orthodoxy based on cumulative responds on all the statements in the applied scale.

In other words, we didn't get into whether if, and in which extent, that relationship was followed by the adequate religious experiences and behaviors, meaning, if an individual that had a positive stand towards the orthodoxy was really religious, because such relations could be established by applying adequate statistical procedures in the variable analysis that are measuring religious behavior and stands towards the orthodoxy.

The results of the research of the general stand of the youth towards the Orthodoxy, which are presented in the Table 1, show the tendency of concentrating the answers of the examinees above the central value, because most of the examinees expressed positive general stand towards the orthodoxy.

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<sup>1</sup> Have in mind that the essential meaning of the ORTHODOXY comes from (Greek: *Ορθοδοξία*), as an original form of Christianity, Religion that is "once given to the Saints" (Judas 1,3). Its name comes from the old Slavic word *православънь*, which is formed (in XIV century) as the translation of the Greek word *ορθόδοξος*, which means : the one who thinks and believes right, from the Greek word *ὀρθός* – straight, right and *δόξα* – opinion, thought, in Greek language there was formed an adverb *ὀρθοδοξέω* – to think correct, to have a healthy judgment. From there it comes adjective *ορθόδοξος*, with the derived formulation *Ορθοδοξία (orthodoxy)* – a right faith or a correct thinking about the faith.

Table 1

Distribution of the general stand towards the orthodoxy

The significance level of the stand	Scale value	F	%
- highly negative	1,0 - 1,5	7	1.36
- moderately negative	1,6 - 2,5	17	3.31
- wavering	2,6 - 3,5	201	39.18
- moderately positive	3,6 - 4,5	260	50.68
- highly positive	4,6 - 5,0	28	5.45

By applying the mentioned distribution it is established that only 1,36% of the students had highly negative stand towards the orthodoxy, and that 3,31% of the students goes into the category of the ones with moderately negative stand. It is established, also, that 39,18% of the students belongs to the category of wavering (scale value 2,6-3,5), while 56,13% of the students expressed positive stand, of which 50,68% of the examinees was moderately positive (scale value 3,6-4,5) and 5,45% with highly positive stand towards the orthodoxy (scale value 4,6-5,0).

Global analysis of the obtained results shows us that this relationship of the students towards the idea of values of orthodoxy can be explained in the first place by the traditional strength of the Orthodoxy as well as with the connection of the Orthodoxy with cultural and national being of Serb people, and with the enrootment of the Orthodox rituals into the national customs, that were (more or less) resisting the changes and kept in the nation till this day, even though religion nor orthodox customs weren't socially acceptable and supported in the circumstances of the long time ruling atheistically political environment.

On the other side the results of the acceptance of certain items in the scale, as relevant aspects of the Orthodoxy, show evident differences in direction as well as in the intensity of its acceptance. Namely, it is evident that scale values, as average values of the acceptance of every statement, are found in interval from 4,21, for the most accepted to 2,64 for the least accepted statement. Inside this interval we are noticing significant differences in direction as well as in the intensity of the acceptance of the certain aspects of the Orthodoxy, expressed through offered statements in the scale. In other words, significant differences are evident in interval of acceptance between the established average values of the examined aspects of relation towards the orthodoxy. Therefore it is evident that the Orthodoxy is observed as "lasting and true value to which one should strive", "school of divinity" and "centuries long experience and wisdom of people" – Table 2.

The clearest positive stand of the youth towards the Orthodoxy (74,45%) was shown by accepting the statement "*Orthodoxy is lasting, true value to which one should strive*" (average 4,21), of which 56,72% with high acceptance "entirely agree", and not accepted by only 7,98% of the examinees of which 1,16% with the intensity "entirely disagree". The next ranked acceptance statement is "*Orthodoxy is a centuries long collected experience and wisdom of people*" (average 4,09) which is accepted by 73,99% of the examinees of which 49,27% with the intensity "entirely agree" and 7,45% disagree.

Positive relationship towards the orthodoxy was expressed through denial of negatively formulated statements towards the orthodoxy. Obtained results show that the least accepted statement "Real human values do not depend on Orthodoxy" (ave-

rage 2,64), which was accepted by 44,17% of the examinees, of which 28,90% declared to “entirely agree”. This statement was rejected by 26,54% of the examinees, of which 15,45% of the examinees with the extreme intensity “entirely disagree”.

Table 2

Acceptance of the items in the Orthodoxy scale

Statements that are related to a different aspects of Orthodoxy	Scale Value	Entirely agrees	Mostly agrees	indecisive	Mostly disagree	Entirely disagree	No answer
- Orthodoxy is a lasting, true value to which one should strive and to which one should devote.	4.21	56.72	17.73	15.00	6.82	1.16	2.53
- Orthodoxy is a centuries long collected experience and wisdom of people.	4.09	49.27	24.72	16.00	2.91	4.54	2.54
- Orthodoxy teaches about Christian morality and the way of existence and does not differ from the rest.	4.05	44.36	26.72	20.72	3.27	2.18	2.72
- I do not accept the Orthodoxy because I believe in resurrection, immortality of the soul and the afterlife.	3.94	7.27	7.45	17.45	6.18	58.00	3.63
- Orthodoxy protects the man who is alone and powerless in the universe.	3.40	26.18	19.81	32.72	6.90	10.72	3.63
- Orthodoxy has become an instrument of ideology of the governing side.	3.24	11.27	11.63	34.54	11.81	26.90	3.81
- Orthodoxy is not accepted widely, because it doesn't accept individual values of the man.	3.11	13.09	9.63	36.90	12.72	23.27	4.36
- Real human values do not depend on orthodoxy.	2.64	28.90	15.27	26.36	11.09	15.45	2.90

Besides that, it is noticeable that the most frequent statements accepted by the students are: “*Orthodoxy is lasting, true value to which one should strive*”, “*Orthodoxy is a centuries long collected experience and wisdom of people*”, “*Orthodoxy creates morality in everyone*”; “*Orthodoxy is the basis of entire life*”, which implies on value orientations of the youth.

Global analysis of the results presented in the Table 2 undoubtedly shows that positive relations towards the orthodoxy at students is predominate, because youth in this scale express high level of acceptance of positive value concept, considering that more accepted were positively formulated statements, the statements that were related to positive beliefs about orthodoxy, and not accepted the negative formulations.

Besides this, it is important to mention that such result on youth's relations in Republic of Srpska shows that it's been moving to the positive relationship towards the Orthodoxy, comparing to the previous time period, and it shows that the process is still lasting.

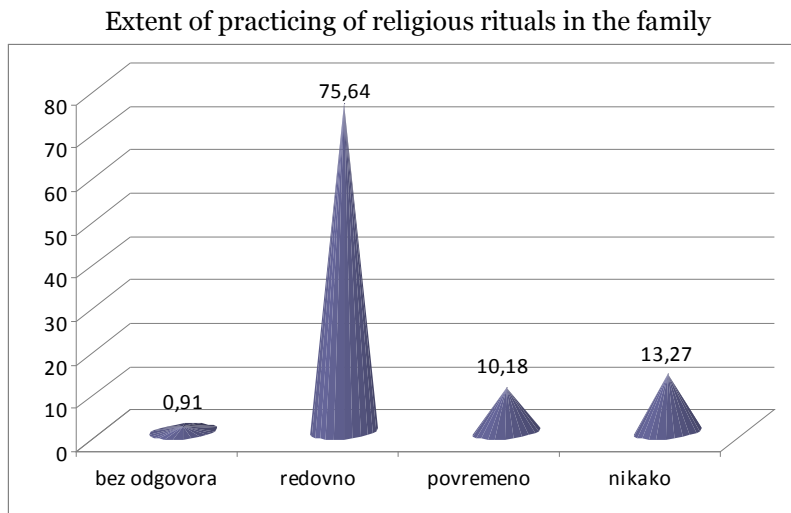
**THE PRACTICE OF RELIGIOUS RITUALS IN THE FAMILY**

The practice of religious rituals in the family is one of the most important indicators of attitude towards religion, and it can certainly be said, one of the most important indicators especially when one wants to express love for God and readiness for an active Christian life, ie. life in the Church. This aspect of religious life and behavior is especially important for the religious lives of individuals, primarily because of the fact that in this way individuals express not only knowledge (intellectual, cognitive aspect) of God, but life with God and within God (emotional and conative aspect).

However, when analysing relation to God of the Orthodox students one needs to keep in mind the possibility that students learn in their families those forms of religious behavior practiced by their parents and in those situations in which their parents practice it. By participating in religious rituals they have the ability, not only to express their religious beliefs (as an expression of religiosity and the relationship to religion), but also to show commitment to the customs and traditions (attending the baptism in church, visiting the familys' saint feast day and funerals held with the presence of priests). It is evident that between believers and non-religious people there are differences in the reasons for practicing religious rituals. For the believers practice of religious rituals is an required act by which they adjust their own belief and behavior with religious teachings and norms and for the non-religious it represents more of a coordination of their own behavior with socially acceptable and desirable behavior and a part of rituals, which are after the social changes, performed as saints feast days, funerals, weddings, baptism of children, consecration of objects and many others.

Results of the analysis of the practice of religious rituals in families of students indicate that two-thirds, or 75.64% of students, in their families regularly practice religious rituals, 10.18% occasionally practice religious rituals, and 13.27% do not practice religious rituals (as can be seen on the results presented in Graph 1.

Graph 1





Analytically, the prevalence of certain forms of practicing religious rituals in the family shows that there are significant differences in the prevalence of the practice of certain religious rituals in the families of surveyed students. At such findings indicate not only the percentage of their prevalence in families, but also scalar values, as can be seen from the results presented in Table 3.

Table 3

Intensity of prevalence of practice of the religious rituals

Practice of religious rituals in the family	Scalar value	Regularly	Occasionally	Never	No reponse
- Fast	2.00	11.63	80.36	3.27	4.72
- Contribution giving	1.96	10.36	80.90	3.09	5.63
- Prayer	1.94	17.27	62.72	16.54	3.45
- Reading religious books	1.63	7.09	55.81	29.63	7.45
- Confession	1.48	2.54	50.18	39.45	7.81

Thus it is evident that fast is the most frequent religious ritual, because 91.99% of the students is regularly or occasionally fasting, followed by contribution giving to the church, because 91.26% of students said they do it regularly or occasionally, while confession is least represented in the religious rituals of surveyed students, given that only 2.54% of students said they do it regularly and 50.18% occasionally.

Analysis of the results of the relationship between the *practice of religious rites and attitudes towards the Orthodoxy* also points to the obvious differences between subjects. There are evident differences in relation to the Orthodoxy given the practice of prayer and practice of reading religious literature, while there were no differences in relation to orthodoxy with regard to fasting, confession and contribution giving.

The results of research on the practice of prayer show that there are clear differences between students, and that these differences are statistically significant, because the obtained Chi-square = 24.5052 with 8 degrees of freedom, is statistically significant at 0.01 ( $r = 0,001,890$ ).

Table 4

The practice of prayer and attitude toward Orthodoxy

prayer	General attitude towards Orthodoxy					Σ
	Extremely negative	Moderatly negative	Wavery	Moderatly positive	Extremely positive	
never	2	3	45	32	0	82
	2.44	3.66	54.88	39.02	0.00	
occasionally	3	9	120	175	16	323
	.93	2.79	37.15	54.18	4.95	
regularly	1	4	27	47	11	90
	1.11	4.44	30.00	52.22	12.22	
total	6	16	192	254	27	495
	1.21	3.23	38.79	51.31	5.45	

Pearson Chi-square: 24.5052, df=8, p=.001890

ORTHODOXY FROM AN EMPIRICAL PERSPECTIVE

Insight in the obtained data shows us that amongst students who never practiced prayer, usually are those who have an extremely negative attitude toward Orthodoxy – 6.11%. In that category of students there are no students with an extremely positive attitude – 0.00%, but there is a percentage with a moderately positive attitude toward Orthodoxy – 39.02%. On the other hand, it can be seen that among students who regularly practice prayer in their families, the highest percentage are those who have extremely positive attitude towards Orthodoxy – 12.22%.

Table 5

Reading of religious literature and relationship to Orthodoxy

Reads religious literature	General attitude towards Orthodoxy					Σ
	Extremely negative	Moderately negative	Wavery	Moderately positive	Extremely positive	
never	3	9	62	68	6	148
	2.03	6.08	41.89	45.95	4.05	
occasionally	2	6	110	157	13	288
	.69	2.08	38.19	54.51	4.51	
regularly	0	0	12	21	5	38
	0.00	0.00	31.58	55.26	13.16	
total	5	15	184	246	24	474
	1.05	3.16	38.82	51.90	5.06	

Pearson Chi-square: 16.0880, df=8, p=.041173

Similar differences were found in the practice and reading of religious literature and other religious press, but these differences were found statistically significant at the level of 0.05. Namely, the Chi-square = 16.0880 with 8 degrees of freedom, is statistically significant at 0.05 ( $r = 0,041,173$ ), as it is obvious from the results presented in Table 5.

Also, in the case of reading religious literature it can be seen that among respondents who come from families that do not follow the religious press there is a higher percentage of those with negative attitudes than those with positive attitudes and vice versa. In other words, among those who never read the religious press are mostly students who have extremely negative – 2.03% and moderately negative – 6.08% attitude toward Orthodoxy, and on the other hand, among those who regularly read religious literature there is a larger percentage of students with moderate – 55.26% and a very positive – 13.16% attitude towards Orthodoxy.

Significant differences, however, were not established given the practice of fasting, because the obtained Chi-square = 5.02015, with 8 degrees of freedom, is not statistically significant at any level of significance ( $r = 0.755412$ ), indicating that there are no significant differences in the general attitude toward orthodoxy among students who in their families practice or don't practice fasting, as can be seen from the results in Table 6.

Table 6

**The practice of fasting and attitude toward Orthodoxy**

Practices fasting	General attitude towards Orthodoxy					Σ
	Extremely negative	Moderately negative	Wavery	Moderately positive	Extremely positive	
never	0	1	6	5	0	12
	0.00	8.33	50.00	41.67	0.00	
occasionally	7	14	158	215	23	417
	1.68	3.36	37.89	51.56	5.52	
regularly	0	1	21	33	5	60
	0.00	1.67	35.00	55.00	8.33	
total	7	16	185	253	28	489
	1.43	3.27	37.83	51.74	5.73	

Pearson Chi-square: 5.02015, df=8, p=.755412

The analysis of indicators of correlation between the practice of fasting in the family and the general attitude toward Orthodoxy shows that it is not logical to expect significant differences, for over 95% of surveyed students stated that in their families they occasionally or regularly practice fasting.

We did not observe any significant difference in relation towards Orthodoxy, given the practice of confession – as a very important dimension of religious and social behavior. The Chi-square = 12.9948 with 8 degrees of freedom, is not statistically significant at the level of 0.05 nor at the level 0.01 (p = 0.112077), indicating that the practice of confession is not the source of differences in general attitude toward Orthodoxy, as can be seen from the indicators presented in Table 7.

Table 7

**The practice of confession and attitude toward Orthodoxy**

Practices confession	General attitude towards Orthodoxy					Σ
	Extremely negative	Moderately negative	Wavery	Moderately positive	Extremely positive	
never	1	11	85	92	9	198
	.51	5.56	42.93	46.46	4.55	
occasionally	4	4	91	150	15	264
	1.52	1.52	34.47	56.82	5.68	
regularly	0	1	5	6	0	12
	0.00	8.33	41.67	50.00	0.00	
total	5	16	181	248	24	474
	1.05	3.38	38.19	52.32	5.06	

Pearson Chi-square: 12.9948, df=8, p=.112077

Also there were no differences in general attitude towards Orthodoxy given the practice of giving contributions to the Church, as can be seen from the data presented in Table 8. The Chi-square = 14.1163 with 8 degrees of freedom, is not statistically significant at the level of 0.05 nor at the level of 0.01 (p = 0.078828), indicating that the practice of giving contributions is not a source of differences in general attitude towards Orthodoxy.

Table 8

Giving contributions and attitude toward Orthodoxy

Gives contributions	General attitude towards Orthodoxy					Σ
	Extremely negative	Moderately negative	Wavery	Moderately positive	Extremely positive	
never	0	2	3	7	0	12
	0.00	16.67	25.00	58.33	0.00	
occasionally	5	14	159	222	21	421
	1.19	3.33	37.77	52.73	4.99	
regularly	0	0	21	25	6	52
	0.00	0.00	40.38	48.08	11.54	
total	5	16	183	254	27	485
	1.03	3.30	37.73	52.37	5.57	

Pearson Chi-square: 14.1163, df=8, p=.078828

Analysis of the results of intercorrelation of relation towards Orthodoxy and the practice of religious rituals shows that there are significant differences in relation to the Orthodoxy of the students in regards to their practice of certain religious ceremonies, but not all that were analysed. It is obvious, generally speaking, that in the expression of the acceptance of Orthodoxy we found significant differences between those students whose families are regularly practicing prayer and reading religious literature, while amongst students whose families practice fasting, confession and giving contributions, these differences were not found. In other words, the practice of prayer and reading religious literature have been shown, in this study, as sources of differences in general attitude toward Orthodoxy, while fasting, confession and giving contributions are not shown as sources of difference in attitude toward Orthodoxy.

### INSTEAD OF CONCLUSION

Analysis of the relation of the family atmosphere and the attitude towards Orthodoxy suggests that the practice of religious rituals in the family is not a decisive factor of acceptance or rejection of orthodoxy. Specifically, the results show that in the expression of the acceptance of Orthodoxy we found significant differences between those students whose families are regularly practicing prayer and reading religious literature, while for students whose families are practicing fasting, confession and giving contributions, these differences were not found. In other words, the practice of prayer and reading religious literature, in this study, have proved as determinants of difference in general attitude toward Orthodoxy, since it was found that more positive attitudes towards Orthodoxy have those students whose families practice praying and reading religious literature regularly, while lower levels of acceptance of orthodoxy are manifested in those students whose families' practices of praying and reading religious literature carried out occasionally or not at all.

On the other hand, the results showed that fasting, confession and giving contributions can not be sources of difference in attitude toward Orthodoxy, because there were no significant differences in the acceptance of Orthodoxy with the regular practice of fasting, confession and giving donations.

General conclusion is, however, that the formation of general attitude toward Orthodoxy is not only affected by family relations (which are explored in this paper) but also by other narrower and broader social factors whose relation towards Orthodoxy needs to be further researched.

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Dragana Radisavljević Ćiparizović

**PILGRIMAGE IN EMPIRICAL PERSPECTIVE:  
PILGRIMS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS CHURCH AND  
FOLK RELIGIOSITY AND SUPERSTITION IN SERBIA\***

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**INTRODUCTION**

Besides religious holidays, pilgrimage certainly is the most typical and the most massive form of peoples' religiosity. Because of the research object's complexity, the biggest difficulty in sociology of religion is how to define concepts. Concept of people's religion is commonly accepted, but many people don't consider it precise enough, so they suggest terms such as *lower stratum religion*, *folk religion*, *traditional religion* or *local religion*. This concept is operationally defined by researching of what people really believe and in which way they religiously act as opposite to beliefs and rituals presented by official church. Authors' majority (Đorđević 1984; Čajkanović 1994; Петровић 2000) are making equal folk religion with paganism by merging it with Christian religion. Dušan Bandić (1992, 63–9; 2003, 13–23) was the first one who had seen folk religion and folk Orthodoxy dynamically, as variable categories within the historical, socio-cultural context. This ethnologist wrote about folk Orthodoxy which differed from what Orthodox Church proclaimed. We shall begin from his concept of „folk religion“. In his book *Earthly Kingdom and Heavenly Kingdom* after detailed argumentation, Bandić concludes:

- “1) that Serbian folk religion can be treated as folk, but not as nationwide;
- 2) that it can be characterized as “Serbian”, but not specifically Serbian;
- 3) that it can be identified as “religion”, but not in empirical, rather in one, conditionally speaking, transempirical perspective (Bandić 1997, 63).”

Besides the presented “folk religion” concept, Bandić explains the “folk Orthodoxy” concept which is being formed in complex communicational act of the widest strata population's reception and interpretation the Orthodox. Reception of the church messages that are not variable category, Bandić treats as faith determined by social and cultural changes and which is often based on ideology different than Christian. Bandić (1998, 149) criticizes one way approach which reduces folk Orthodoxy to opposition between Christian and pagan component. The Orthodox faith was restoring in the folk masses' minds through the centuries and generations, but at the same time, new faith was born, sealed by its time. He began his researching of folk religiosity in Serbia during the 20<sup>th</sup> century's last decade when Orthodox Christianity revitalization took place. Nineties were time of crisis, wars and transition when dese-

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cularization took place in Serbia and when role of SPC (Serbian Orthodox Church) has been changed (Radisavljević Ćiparizović 2006, 34–42). Bandić investigates in which way people accept church's messages and which role do they play in people's lives. In his empirical explorations he enclosed different aspects of folk religiosity: religious, ethical, political, national. General characteristic of folk Orthodoxy interpretation is: simplified version of church Orthodoxy in which there is no room for church doctrine. It is not just about the impoverished religious doctrine, but about the transformed doctrine which gained new contents. Profanization is, according to Bandić, clearly visible in country saints' images, and their nationalization is present, as well. Faith is based to a lesser extent on Scripture and Church authority. Belief that God is particularly fond of Serbs points out the idea of national God who lost the universal Christian character (Bandić 1995, 12).

New folk Orthodoxy explorations could go towards discourse analysis of various Orthodoxy popularization manifestations. On the other hand, it should be investigated how recipients within that communicational act receive and decode messages which, afterwards, they convert into social practice. Following the Bandić's work, ethnologist L. B. Radulović (2007) isolates three decoding possibilities: church hegemonic reading which has been followed mostly, mixed reading and oppositional reading, which diverges from church interpretations completely.

Željko Mardešić<sup>1</sup> (alias Jakov Jukić), Croatian sociologist of religion, gives very comprehensive definition of "folk" religion:

"Folk religion is, in fact people's faith in its simplicity, naiveté, ignorance and sincerity: without facing, without adaptation... It is simple folk's religion, religiosity in a straightforward way, self-sown and natural. In its wider sense, it is a kind of collective testimony, lived history, collective biography, mutual experience of the holy (Jukić 1988)."

It consists of survived remains of archaic, pagan, and before Christian era understanding of holy. Nowadays those traditional ideas are melted in "hardly resolvable syncretism", and unique unity of pagan and Christian, atheistic and religious, holy and profane. This religiologist assumes that scientific, systematical approach to as much ancient as contemporary folk religiosity phenomenon almost cannot avoid typical methodological limitations and reductionism. Therefore Jukić assumes that, in sociological context, "folk religion is usually seen through projection of class battle duality as a conflict between poor believers and rich Church". Within anthropological analysis special attention is paid to acculturation process, and politicological point of view reduces this religiosity to socio-political movements' ideology and its "liberation" aspects (for example liberation theology in some Latin America countries). Crucial objection according to J. Jukić is that none of these theoretical approaches observe popular religion in its own, immanent-religious perspective. In our pilgrims' religiosity in Serbia research we lean exactly on Jukić's phenomenological understanding of religion and religiosity.

Folk religion concept is just a small part of a wider folk religion concept. Followers of distinction between these two concepts do not want to make equal folk with traditional or subordinated in political way, so they suggest one more open and elastic approach to people's religion which would care more about typological reality

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<sup>1</sup> Željko Mardešić used to sign as Jakov Jukić during communism and religion prosecution from public. Dragoljub B. Đorđević (2008) included him rightfully into 10 key Yugoslavian sociologist of religion.



of concrete expressions of piety (Mardešić 2009, 745). Rituality is important characteristic of folk religiosity, and when there is none, wider and more general religion take place. Folk piety thus distinguishes itself by diversity and number of expression types: folk holidays, festive processions, pilgrimages, rosary devotion...

Many times in Serbian sociology of religion it has been stressed lack of longitudinal empirical researches of religiosity (Đorđević 2007; Radisavljević Čiparizović 2006). In this work we present results' segments of qualitative empirical research, a multiple case study which deals with Serbian pilgrims' attitudes about church and folk religiosity and superstition.<sup>2</sup>

## **PILGRIMS IN SERBIA: 2007. EMPIRICAL RESEARCH**

### **Pilgrims' Attitudes towards Church and Folk Religiosity in Serbia**

Answering the question "What do you think about relation between church and folk religiosity?" Orthodox pilgrims (OP) only in two cases see religiosity and rituals positively (1m: 1f). Both of the interviewees were born outside Serbia, woman is from Croatia, and as a child she was Second World War refugee, and man is from Sarajevo (Bosnia and Herzegovina), and he is a refugee from the nineties. They are church believers and not the traditionalists that glorify customs. Folk customs preservation is equally important to them just as religious and national identity protection.

In Slavonia, where I was born, to live in the sea of Catholics meant to keep folk custom jealously. "It's better for village to collapse than for the customs", that's how to lose identity. I will not come the second day of Easter to the cemetery, but I'm going the next Monday. Whole village will come then, they'll bring cookies and eggs. On the first Monday after Easter <sup>3</sup> nobody came (OP23, f, 65yr old, retired).

It's better for village to collapse than for the custom. In Sarajevo, during the socialism period, Serbian name and faith was protected, thanks to our grandmas and grandpas only. I was best men to different people in Sarajevo over 40 times. Grandma used to bring grandkid for baptizing secretly, without parents' knowledge. Those customs were taken from church (OP10, m, 73yr old, sexton).

Slightly larger number of Orthodox pilgrims (3m:3f) assume that folk and church religiosity should be complementary and with no conflict between them.

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<sup>2</sup> Author of this paper, within her doctoral thesis "Religion and pilgrim tourism: case study of three sanctuaries in Serbia (Kalemegdan's St. Petka, Madonna of Đunis, and Madonna of Tekije) accomplished in 2007 empirical, field research of three pilgrimages in Serbia (two Orthodox, one Catholic), which were being visited by other confessions' representatives (for example Gypsy Muslims), so we can talk about mixed pilgrimages. In depth interviews were accomplished in Belgrade in 2007. Sample consisted of 25 Orthodox and 25 Catholic examinees. We had spontaneous conversation with Gypsy Muslims (camera recorded) near sanctuaries in Đunis and Tekije. Parts of the results and research interpretation were presented on international conferences JUNIR (2008, 2009 and 2010), CEIR (2009), ISIFF (2009) and they were printed within the separated Almanacs.

<sup>3</sup> Except on Memorial Service, the Orthodox believers remember their departed particularly on Monday after Easter ("Pobusani ponedeljak"). Joy of Christ resurrection is being shared with ones that are no longer with us. During the Holy and Bright Week there was neither commemoration, nor dirge. That is the first day when the departed can be mentioned again. People go to the cemeteries to edit ("pobusati") graves. For this occasion eggs are being specially colored for the souls of the departed can rest. Eggs are then being given to known and unknown people. Eggs are being put on graves accompanied with words "Christ has risen!" (<http://www.sv-jelisaveta.org.rs>).

They should be complementary, in a way that church can build its folk religiosity. Holy and profane, spiritual and material are being intertwined in church. Grandfathers, grandmas carried over to us beautiful, colorful customs. Deep religious meaning has been imprinted into them (OP4, m, 37yr old, philosopher).

I had some dilemmas before, but now I assume that those folk customs, adets, must be present. Folks are how they are, maybe they'll correct when children who listen to the catechesis grow old (OP5, m, 49yr old, physicist).

Each hood has to add something on its own, I don't think that's conflict. It is easier for you to survive, like a death in the family (OP20, f, 58yr old, andragogist).

However, majority of the Orthodox examinees (5m:10f) give unquestionable advantage to church religiosity. They assume that church and folk religiosity are in conflict and that folk religiosity is not Christian, but is flooded with paganism. Even someone who can call himself a traditionalist claims that he or she does not support folk religiosity. These answers at the same time indicate that church influence grows, at least within the certain circle of believers.

I think I don't like folk religiosity that much. There's a lot of paganism, so I'm not satisfied with it. Church influence should be stronger. If you celebrate 3 days, you should celebrate at least 1 day, according to church rules. My celebration ("Slava") is St. Ignjatije Bogonosac on January 2<sup>nd</sup> during fast. We used to fast earlier, but we fast on that day for last five years (OP2, m, 26yr old, lawyer).

There is no conflict between church and folk religiosity. When my mother-in-law died, there was lots of advice like "don't do this, don't do that". Dirge has to take place exactly on the 40<sup>th</sup> day – everyone wondered how I can make dirge on Monday. Since then everybody accepted that. (The examinee lives in Vrčin, near Belgrade). Or the custom that says you go to cemetery on Fridays and that Memorial Service is on Saturdays. Priest always tells us not to do that way (OP19, f, 57yr old, laboratory).

Examined pilgrims see the causes for collision between church and folk religiosity in huge folks' ignorance. Almost everyone assumes that people do not know their faith was caused by half a century communism rule. Few pilgrims quote the Devotees movement which was established between two World Wars when folk religiosity fitted better with church religiosity. Believers see the insufficient number of priests as almost unsolvable problem. Examinees assume that priests are busy doing other engagements and that they do not have enough time to enlighten the folks.

Church and folk religiosity are in absolute opposition. You need only cake, candle and wheat for celebration. Church has its own circle, everything has its reason, what obedience is, love, togetherness. Many people don't bring their cake to church, they don't fast, don't even take Holy Communion "how can we all take Communion from the same spoon?". Devotees' songs are church, because folks were different then, they had church obedience. Bishop Nikolaj led them. Everybody took Holy Communion in Valjevo then, everybody fasted, had prayer book. They didn't need temples, they had their Holy Trees ("Zapise")... How did religiosity erode? Post Second World War communism. From the communist till nineties everything was available, and without the trouble there is no prayer... (OP11, f, 25yr old, student).

Priests say that our people are unplowed field in the Christian sense, they don't know enough about their faith. There are many reasons; one of them is the 50 year ideology of communism... Unlike Catholics and Muslims, my parents didn't have chance to listen about the faith. Priests were in ghetto, SOC was stigmatized and unable to spread faith doctrine and tradition. Everything what was quasi had been engrafted to that

atheistic doctrine, every surrogate: eastern cults, old magical cults, superstition, paganism, ideology. The ugliest things could have been heard through the educational system. In the countryside people kept their faith for their saints. "I know there's God, my grandfather and grand grandfather used to celebrate". Old ladies in Montenegro always rise when they say name of St. Vasilije. For them there is church and house clothes, working clothes. Christian relation is preserved in language and in people's brainchild. People don't know about Orthodox rituals, superstition and magical tradition are mixed up. Man craves for spiritual and when there's no real, there are false spiritualities. Not everything is negative. Devotees' songs are part of preserved Devotees movement tradition which was established by bishop Nikolaj Velimirović, one of the greatest educators of Serbian people. He taught people about faith, he had eliminated thorns of paganism. That time should be brought back now, to bring closer the elementary knowledge about faith to the folks. Parishes need more priests, to come closer to the people. Do the priests succeed doing that? No, for sure. They are insufficient, there are places where even liturgy does not take place. Even in Belgrade they don't have enough time to educate people, because they have to run to every dirges and holy waters. That's for religious teachers to do. Souls are hungry for the real truth, everything is reduced to Sunday sermons. In Romania there are 14, 15 theology faculties. Other Orthodox countries take care of that, here church is still marginalized and it cannot achieve that goal (OP14, f, 44yr old, pedagogist).

Almost every pilgrim named pagan post mortem customs as an example of distinct conflict between folk and church religiosity. Besides the patron saint celebration customs or Christmas celebration customs, which fit in with church rules less painfully, burial and commemoration customs are strictly pagan, especially in villages. Taking food to the cemetery for the soul of the departed prevails among church Commemorations ("Pomeni") "Orthodox rituals for the soul of the dead" (Cvitković 2009, 326). In many villages people go to Soul on Mondays, not on Saturdays, and that is the custom, forcedly established during the Turks rule.

Folk religiosity is patchwork and ignorance of real religiosity, because pagan customs are partly involved. I oppose taking food to cemetery, wreaths and flowers bringing. Sense of the candle, wine and wheat is well-known (OP6, m, 52yr old, electro-engineer).

Serbian people are like that, they make custom in their village quickly. I asked my priest, father Aco let us resume teaching materials – Should we take food to cemetery? Patriarch Pavle said not to take flowers and wreaths to cemetery, but to give charity to the poor (OP7, m, 54yr old, janitor).

Folk religiosity separated faith from the people. "That should be done, that's good." In cemetery church there are customs that have nothing to do with faith. Or they celebrate St. Nikola by having pork!<sup>4</sup> That's blasphemy (OP17, f, 52yr old, unemployed).

Orthodox pilgrims, mostly assured practical church believers, point out to new divisions in Church which are caused by "novelties" in church worships, specially the Liturgy. Examinees assume that this caused additional confusion among already insufficiently educated folks. Liturgy represents Christian identity. The most important church prayer, also called the Eucharist – which means *thanksgiving* in Greek, basic human activity towards God. V. Vukašinović (2007, 257–84), Theology faculty professor writes that Liturgy denotes group of people's mutual work, which consequences affect all of them. Liturgy is not priests' creation only, but of entire God's people.

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<sup>4</sup> The most common Patron Saint among Serbs, St. Nikola is being celebrated on December 19<sup>th</sup>, during Christmas fast and church celebration implies fasting meal.

“Liturgy establishment date is Big Thursday, day during Big week, when memory to establishment of the holy secret Eucharist is being celebrated. Regardless rich ceremony, it is in fact holy *meal* with God. Table is its center and its basic activity is to eat life and to drink life (Vukašinović 2007).”

In his book *Liturgics renewal in 20<sup>th</sup> century* (2001) father V. Vukašinović compared the relation between Roman Catholic liturgical movement and Orthodox Church liturgical life. According to author’s words, book was praised and harshly criticized (Vukašinović 2007, 267)<sup>5</sup>. Essence of liturgy is that everyone should participate actively and to take Holy Communion at the end. People didn’t use to take Communion often and mostly during the first and last week of fasting. Our research confirms that situation has changed seriously, especially in Belgrade. Relation issue between fast and Communion is very significant. Orthodox Christians who fast every Wednesday and Friday and fast during four big fasts, there are few particular fast days, they can take Holy Communion on every Liturgy, father Vukašinović says.

“I don’t see the need to impose additional obligations to someone who fast during all those days, especially because even we, the priests, don’t impose that to ourselves... fasts without Communion were established for those who never or rarely fast, but would like to take Holy Communion. What had been the rule for those who never fulfill anything - by a strange set of circumstances, become obligatory even for those who strive to, with boon of God, respect and do everything (Vukašinović 2007, 270).”

Let episcopos to decide what is church, folks shouted hosanna and crucify him. Stories about the doors, whether they should stay opened or not. I am for liberty in Liturgy. Prayers should be read in Serbian. Somebody object that because they don’t understand, but that doesn’t determine liturgy. If we gave up everything, the only thing we cannot eliminate is Altar table, that table, and we eat. Whether opened or closed doors, whether hooked on curtains, that is the formula. I ring a bell and Lord comes down... But wonder happens even without the bell (OP1, m, 22yr old, student).

There are lots of things going on with this confusion of people, whether is according to the new or to the old. I like the opened doors more, prayers to be heard. It was like that once. Now they organize sites and they object certain priests, Atanasije Jeftić, bishop Jovan. They demand closed doors. During St. Sava in Šumadijska, Žička eparchy doors were opened. God is love, we should pray to God, now whether this or that way, makes no difference (OP12, f, 29yr old, administrative).

Church should be on a mission to church people, but not let people to secularize the church. I accept theologian’s and priest’s knowledge, unless they went astray (OP15, f, 45yr old, poet).

Unlike the Orthodox, majority of Roman Catholic pilgrims (CP) answered to the same question that church and folk religiosity are not in conflict. 11 Catholic pilgrims assume that church and folk religiosity are complementary (5m:6f).

I think that church, wise institution makes good symbiosis with folk customs. I don’t see big discrepancy. Something from tradition, from ancient times has been preserved. Church has reconciled them well, I don’t see it’s in conflict (CP3, m, 36yr old, roentgen technician).

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<sup>5</sup> From the appendix: Discussions about liturgy. Vladeta Jerotić and Vladimir Vukašinović – Text represents excerpt from TV show *Agape* conversation, emitted on Studio B on Palm Sunday 2006, by author and host Aleksandar Gajšek.

Church recognized that all, church itself cherishes and respects tradition. Sometimes that folk piety can strangle you with the rules, conflict may occur. The way of cross established by the Church, Christmas and Easter celebration, as well. People invent something by themselves – customary, even though church doesn't prescribe that. That's a part of tradition which is being respected for centuries (CP9, m, 65yr old, retired).

There was no conflict in Otok near Sinj where I attended. I was astonished with folks chanting. It's unbelievable for whole folks to sing, from ages 6 to 60. Shiver goes down your spine when you hear that (CP9, m, 65yr old, retired).

They are complementary. Mass mean to me more, church religiosity is more important. I go to Way of the cross during those 40 days before Easter (CP17, f, 55yr old, retired).

**Only 5 Roman Catholic examinees (3m:2f) say explicitly that there is conflict between church and folk religiosity.**

Medugorje is not recognized, but folks know better. There's been said that Satan will enter the church. Sometimes folk's piety is more pure. Why God cannot accept prayer of a little, small man? (CP2, m, 28yr old, student).

Conflicts are inevitable, but also complementary. I do mind when somebody is eccentric in church, showing his or her own piety. There is lot of Pharisaic, people pray to show off. I'd rather pray inside my soul. But everyone has their own approach. When grandma prays to rosary, and it works, God has granted her. She doesn't know anything else. I don't pray by reciting and tattle, I like contemplative prayer. I'd rather don't pray than recite. Rosary prayer goes fast, reciting... (CP5, m, 45yr old, confecti-  
oner).

They are conflicted. There is something written in canons and each folk has its own customs (CP6, m, 55yr old, tourist technician).

There's conflict. Wherever folks are involved, there has to be a conflict. Those are two models of religiosity and they don't essentially clash, but they do, apparently... (CP15, f, 49yr old, mathematics professor).

There is conflict, if I lit a candle, If I crossed myself, I wasn't listening to the mass. The Orthodox walk during service, we don't. There are folks who would like it to be more simplified, without strictness. I behave as Church demands, but I practice folk religiosity at home (CP21, f, 61, retired).

**Nine Roman Catholic pilgrims assume that church and folk religiosity are partly in conflict (3m:7f).**

Folk religiosity is in fact mutual prayer. Grandmas prevail, they pray all the time. Second Vatican Council claims that mass is culmination of the celebration of God and there's nothing after that. In Serbia we left behind for 100 years. We have folk pieties after mass. That degrades mass and I strongly oppose that. All that you can do before, but no way after mass. That's violation (CP18, f, 58yr old, retired).

In our Catholic church there isn't much. For example on Ivandan on July 24<sup>th</sup> in villages people linger their folk chanting and adding stuff. Everywhere are different customs. For example in Slavonia and Dalmatia customs differ. I am against adding (CP8, m, 65yr old, retired).

So-so. Speaking of music, I play and sing even folk staff, when people start to linger, I speed up. During the Communion taking you should stop singing, but they are still singing. I tell grandmas to be quiet, so believer can hear what Jesus have to say. The si-

ng on Apparition, but they should sing giving songs, they sing something else instead. I didn't invent that, smarter people did (CP11, f, 30yr old, physiotherapist).

They may be in conflict if folks aren't educated and it becomes superstition. I didn't see that in Medugorje. Their folk religiosity consists of fasting on Wednesdays and Fridays, 7 Paternosters, and now the Church have accepted it (CP13, f, 42yr old, Italian language professor).

Sometimes there is conflict. Because people are attached to some customs and tradition and to those superficial things, customs. Playing organ and singing can go the wrong way. People come to listen to the organ. Or they read prayers in front of the microphone. It more looks like theatre than real spirituality (CP16, f, 50yr old, banker).

### **Pilgrims' Attitudes towards Superstition**

Question was "Have you ever noticed superstition in church or during pilgrimages? Please, tell." Almost every pilgrim says they have seen some of the numerous ways of expressing superstition in everyday life, church on during pilgrimage. Some pilgrimages admit they are superstitious. V. Jerotić's hypothesis about three types of religious way of existence in every man coexistence, three "men", he would say, pagan, the old testament and the new testament (Jerotić 1994) can partly clarify the deep and seminal people's attachment to the ancient forms of religious life. Pilgrims mostly point out need for education that is catechesis performed by priests and monks.

I have heard of tying a red string around wrist, before taking an exam, or they put pressmarks on icons. There are magic rituals, taking soil from graves, slaughtering chicken, pulling a child (CP3, m, 27yr old, professor).

I work as a sexton, I often see how they lit candles upside down. I warned them. I found some multicolored strings, bundles in church. I threw that away. Whatever man does, does it to himself (CP10, m, 73yr old, sexton).

I used to be superstitious, I have to cross myself three times. There is superstition in each of us. There are people who go to church because of superstition. They won't light a candle with another one, somebody told them so (CP1, m, 22yr old, student).

Well, I think there are many superstitious people, maybe even I have some elements of superstition. Monks' and priests' role should be bigger, they should educate people how to get rid superstition and how to become real (CP21, f, 59yr old, librarian).

**Pilgrims even perceive superstitious behavior during church rituals:**

There is lot of superstition, for sure. Man prays Paternoster 500 times, from Upper to Downer monastery in Strong. Someone told him he would walk again. He won't be any worse, but we are sane people. Someone should tell him it number doesn't matter. You can pray intensively, but that role only priests can perform (CP4, m, 37yr old, philosopher).

Yeah, for sure. Rosary should be worn on your left hand, never to be taken off. If candle crackles, someone is going to die. How to give a towel to icon, how to cross yourself, what are you going to buss, where will you stand in temple (CP11, f, 25yr old, student).

You should do this, you should do that... There is lot of superstition, red rosary around child's hand against the evil eye. Bundles are being put under icons. People dealing with auguries, they won't light a candle with other candle, it's no good. They look for the match to light a candle on their own (CP12, f, 29yr old, administrative technician).

Priores from Đunis says that after holidays she always finds everywhere some writings, little threads... Trees and bushes near St. Petka's chapel on Kalemegdan are often ornate with writings and threads... Wherever they stand in church, there are certain energies in temple, underneath the dome... Faith is accompanied by superstition eternally. Astrology, augury, witchcraft are superstition. There is disbelieving and little believing. The problem is living faith experience. "It's good to be done". Money is being left on the icons, towels and other personal things (CP15, f, 45yr old, poet).

Yes, there is lot of that during pilgrimages and in church. Some people drag their hand over the icon and then over themselves. They approach the saint as a magical being, they don't understand incarnation of Christ. And how should they know when they never had catechesis (CP16, f, 45 yr old, religious teacher).

"You should to this... or that", intellectuals are more superstitious than believing (CP17, f, 52yr old, unemployed).

Catholic pilgrims share similar experiences as the Orthodox ones: they meet superstition in church, during pilgrimages, and they see themselves as superstitious. Some of them confirm that superstition is not only ours, Balkan characteristic, therefore it is widespread through the world.

Sometimes I can be superstitious. Making circles around main altar, living towels, superstition... People exaggerate, they want to stand underneath the dome, because cosmic rays allegedly intersect there. Or you find 100 dinars, pick them up, make a wish, I've heard so (CP2, m, 28yr old, student).

I mind always and everywhere. As a confectioner I make cakes for patron saints celebrations and when someone superstitious comes and ask me from whom he will pick up the cake, because last year was good (CP5, m, 45yr old, confectioner).

In Belgrade we have priest, exorcist, Pater Vinkov. I've seen many obsessed people, people who do augury, witchcraft, and sorcery. I've seen the case when person wanted to take wafer from the church, to defile, but believers have reacted to that (CP11, f, 30yr old, physiotherapist).

People are so superstitious, everybody on Balkans is. Islam is based on superstition, as well. Every man has a dose of superstition in itself (CP12, f, 34yr old, curator).

I used to live in Italy. Many people who go to church there, go to fortune-tellers also. Horoscope is superstition to me, as well. Italians wear horn, pagan sign, Satan's sign around neck as pendant. Priests in Italy have said not to wear that, but it's very widespread (CP13, f, 42yr old, Italian language professor).

Superstition represents attachment to some objects and customs which I don't understand. For example horoscopes, it's strange to me (CP14, f, 43yr old, translator).

Folks find it easier to assign magical devices to God. It is easier to go to prophet, then to give myself to God and to accept life. Everybody falls into superstition, we all have our rituals. I used to go to every exam wearing the same shirt, it was fortunate for me. That's how it starts, that moment when I knock the wood, I am opened to deeper superstition, for evil forces' attacks and then it's different subject (CP15, f, 49yr old, mathematics professor).

It happens, I saw them bringing some objects, pictures, rubbing altars with photographs (CP16, f, 50yr old, banker).

I haven't seen it during pilgrimages. There is some in church, this is good, this isn't. Child, pupil shouldn't pass underneath 2 poles connected, because he will repeat the grade. If you saw a priest, or a black cat, 3 steps backwards, spit 3 times. It's bad to put your bag on the floor, you won't get any money, knock on wood three times (CP22, f, 65yr old, retired).

### CONCLUDING REMARKS

According to the pilgrims' attitudes toward church and folk religiosity research results, pilgrims of both Christian confessions make church religiosity a definite priority. That is not surprising having in mind the fact that examined pilgrims were mostly church believers. Assured church believers who were born outside Serbia for whom customs and folk religion preservation meant identity protection, show that this issue is not that simple. On the other hand there are traditionalists who don't like certain customs and who begin to adopt church doctrine partially, for example patron saint celebration. Funeral customs are nowadays, and in villages especially, full of pagan customs, or those forcedly established customs, ever since Turks' rule.

Our respondents recognize those facts should be changed and the assured church believers, the ones who go to liturgies ordinarily, succeed it most. Examined pilgrims see the causes for collision between church and folk religiosity in huge folks' ignorance, folks who are not familiar with their faith, which is caused by the half a century communism rule. Respondents assume that priests do not have enough time to enlighten the folks. Catholic pilgrims express harmonious incorporation between church and folk religiosity in larger number than the Orthodox pilgrims. The way of the cross, folk chants or the Rosary prayer are more or less incorporated into church religiosity. Even Roman Catholics know that folks like to add their own things and that every region has its own customs. Responses of both confessions examinees about superstition presence in everyday life, in church, in holy places, were more equable. Superstition is widespread and is manifested by various forms. "Faith is accompanied by superstition" – one respondent said.

We have presented the qualitative research of pilgrims' religiosity in Serbia re-sults' interpretation segment with limited conclusions' generalizability. It makes necessary longitudinal empirical explorations<sup>6</sup> more important, because they make monitoring the unpredictable religious situation in Serbia in third millennia easier. On the other hand we cannot reduce exploration of complex religious phenomenon to percents and numbers, so the qualitative researches that abound with examinees' attitudes are very precious.

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<sup>6</sup> Research project "Religiosity in Serbia and EU Integration Process" from 2010 (HKC, KAS and CES) represents the first exploration of religiosity in Serbia during the third millennia. Almanac with the author's paper "Pilgrimages in the Beginning of the Third Millennia: Religious and National Identity of Pilgrims in Serbia within the two Empirical Explorations" is in the printing process.



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**ORTHODOXY IN THE FUNCTION OF SOCIAL CAPITAL IN  
CONTEMPORARY SERBIA – A TURN TOWARDS THE  
FUTURE OR A RETURN TO THE PAST\***

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**INTRODUCTION**

The revitalization of religion, through all the segments of its appearance – growth, intensification, and presence on the public stage (Gavrilović 2009, 27), is largely documented in the analysis of the reality of the contemporary Serbian society. However, that which seems not studied enough within sociological analyses is what religion does in the Serbian society, what its functions are, whether they are manifest or latent, and what they can tell us about the social moment in Serbia.

The initial question in this text is whether religion is used as a source of social capital in the contemporary Serbian society, and if so, what forms this social capital takes. This function of religion in the modern Serbian society has not been the subject of analysis in sociological literature until now. If religious integration is observed as a traditional form of social integration, a question is raised whether old forms of social capital are activated as a response to “social failure”, a great number of transitional losers, and weakness of social institutions. Social capital embodied in traditional networks of cooperation represents a substitute for state institutions which are weak (or do not function). On the other hand, a question is posed about the role of religion in the development of “moral density” of the civil society and whether it is possible to use religion in Serbia as this type of social capital. Analyses which connect these two phenomena point out that religion may indeed have the function of securing the integration of the modern society by developing the necessary humane character of the civil society, and teaching people to work for the general good. The Serbian society is multi-religious, and social capital functions within the confessions present in it. One should have in mind that the range of the use of religion as a source of social capital depends on the social teaching<sup>1</sup> of each of the present religious orientations. In such conditions, the use of religion for raising “collective awareness” of the social community can be limited to particular confessions and their internal cohesion.

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<sup>1</sup> Thus, for example in Orthodoxy, which is the dominant confession on the territory of Serbia, social teaching either lacks or is significantly less developed (see: Đorđević & Jovanović 2010), and that is reflected on the ability of the Orthodox to “generate” social capital.

Another important fact can contribute to better understanding of religion as a source of social capital in Serbia. Research shows that religious organizations, especially the Serbian Orthodox Church, are institutions which enjoy the highest level of trust from the citizens. Thereat, Serbia is also trying to build a civil, secular society with a specific status of the SOC as traditional and informally most dominant.<sup>2</sup>

Terms such as networks, trust, norms, strategies will be used in this text with the aim of hinting at what type of networking and trust the revitalization of religion in Serbia contributes to. It is a question of whether there are conditions for building a modern, democratic society in its new relevance on the social stage, or if this appearance, in fact, fosters retraditionalization.

The data analyzed in this text encompass 2008-2011, and comes from the following researches: European Values Study (Serbia 2008), Cultural Practice of Serbian Citizens conducted by the Institute for the Study of Cultural Development, Social and Cultural Capital in Serbia conducted by the Centre for Empirical Cultural Studies.

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When we talk about the modern society, we must emphasize that the theory of linear modernization based on the well-known model was abandoned in sociology a long time ago. That is why authors such as Jeffrey Alexander speak of neomodernization and modernization II, while Eisenstadt mentions *multiple modernization*.

The founders of the neo-modernization thesis refer to certain characteristics of contemporary modernization flows after the collapse of socialism, some of which are very relevant for the position of religion in modernizing societies.

Tiryakian has summarized neomodernization analysis (NMA) as follows:

1. Modernization is the result of actions by individuals and collectives, not an automatic development of systems;
2. They seek new ways to achieve their goals and fulfil their values; but whether these aims can be accomplished, will depend on their resources;
3. Modernization is not a consensual process, but a competition between modernizers, conservatives and bystanders;
4. Science is a major driving force, but religion and tradition must not be underestimated;
5. The general criterion for the success of modernization is the welfare development of the whole population;
6. Centres of modernization may change and move; and
7. Modernization is not continuous-linear; it has also cycles and regressive crises (Tiryakian 1998, according to Zapf 2003).

In such conditions, a debate on the relation between traditional and modern elements in social reality is being led, modern social relations are strived for, while traditional ones are mourned after. This debate exists in professional circles, as well as in the public opinion. The discourse which sees the approach to the EU as a threat to the sovereignty of Serbia and national identity occurs often in the Serbian public opinion. Thus, such debates fit into already present debates which characterize modernization and globalization processes as hazardous to traditional forms of life, "the

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<sup>2</sup> The 2006 Constitution did not mark the SOC as the only traditional community, enjoying a privileged position, but as sharing that status with six other, also traditional, religious communities.

Serbian way of life". "The imperative of modernization" echoes around Serbia. Incomprehensible by nature, the echo provides opportunities for various interpretations, while numerous interpreters call for mobilization recommending themselves as the saviours who will introduce Serbia to the array of modern societies. The tendency towards change represents a permanent obsession of the political elite, with the equally incessant cry of the people for "the old rights". The discord between the impetus of the modernizers and the desire of the people only amplifies the tendencies of the conflicted parties, further opening up the gap which appears due to mutually disappointed expectations, after short periods of enthusiasm and euphoria (Vuletić).

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Religion is considered an important source of social capital. Research and analyses which treat religion as a source and factor of social capital are generally based on the Putnam's tradition in dealing with social capital.

Recently, there has been an increase in the number of researches on social capital in Serbia. Two concepts of defining and interpreting the concept of social capital have crystallized in the theory. Both approaches belong to the holistic understanding of social capital. According to Bourdieu, social capital comprises a system of social relationships and acquaintances which can be converted, in certain circumstances, into economic capital (Cvetičanin 2010).

"Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, to membership in a group – which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectivity-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word (Bourdieu 2002, 286)."

Fukuyama, Coleman, and Putnam (normativists)<sup>3</sup> represent the other dominant theoretical direction which determines social capital as interiorized social networks, norms, and trust that allow for a spontaneous reliability in the society. Members of a social group interiorize rules and customs, therefore, gaining mutual trust in other members believing that they will respect the same rules of behaviour, which is the essence of the functioning of social capital (Fukuyama 1997, 19, 35). Putnam determines social capital as a force which helps members of a community to achieve collective goals by working together.

"Social capital refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arises from them (Putnam 2000, 19)."

In his book *Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community* from 2000, Putnam talks about the decrease in the level of social capital in the US that causes loneliness and alienation. In his later works (*Better Together: Restoring the American Community*, with Lewis M. Feldstein, 2003), he discovers that the force needed to bring back the "moral density" to the modern American society lies precisely in the role of religion. Putnam considers religion as a very important source of social capital.

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<sup>3</sup> A complex analysis of all these concepts and their points of convergence and divergence would take too much space, therefore, it is presented here in a completely simplified manner.

“Putnam (...) himself has recognized that faith communities in which people worship together are arguably the single most important repository of social capital in America (Smidt 2003, 2).”

The relation between social capital and religion is highly complex. Religion can be treated as a segment of integration of the civil society, as one of the actors and organizations, yet it can also be considered as a “traditional way” of social connection when it acts at the level of state and politics.

„Some, like Putnam, argue that the social capital so essential to democratic life and politics is eroding in the United States due in part to the decline in membership in voluntary associations of all sorts. Others argue that the form of our associations in neighbourhoods, communities, and other contexts is changing to adapt to new social realities. Consequently, the forms of social capital and how they are acquired and used are also changing (Mirolo 2006, 141).”

It is hard to discern when one or the other function of religion is in action based only on the analysis of indicators. Following Casanova’s analyses of deprivatized religion, Croatian sociologist Zrinščak poses a question concerning the possibility of reconciling functional differentiation of modern society and deprivatized religion (Zrinščak 2005, 82). He concludes that the action of religion compatible with the functional differentiation as a modern structural trend is possible at the level of the civil society. Other authors also share such Casanova’s propositions in their texts where they analyze the role of religion as a source of social capital.

“Religion is an important source of social capital in many modern societies. Religion as a body of beliefs, values and norms motivates believers to volunteer in community affairs to provide social services such as health care, soup kitchens, education, and helping the poor. Religion also provides a source of common identity to its followers and creates bonds between them. Obviously, religion is only one source of social capital or civic engagement, albeit an important one (Ugur 2007, 154–5).”

In this case, religion is recognized as one form which acts among other forms of organization and encourages solidarity in the modern civil society. Furthermore, the importance of religion for social capital in cities is also emphasized.

“Religion fosters community in a variety of other ways. Soup kitchens, clothing closets, mission projects are religious activities in support of community. Religious institutions also create and sustain local community development corporations, job training, youth programs, and daycare. In Greater Indianapolis there are countless connections between faith and community. Clearly, religion is an important source of social capital in this city (Bodenhamer, 1996).”

Thus, religious organizations encourage volunteering for the general good on the one hand, while instigating altruism through socialization on the other. In his analyses, Putnam has Protestant communities in the US primarily in mind.

Norris and Inglehart analyze the connection between religiosity and social capital in an array of modern societies by analyzing data from the European Values Study. The general impression gained after the insight into the data and the analysis itself is that it is very hard to observe “a regularity in observed irregularities” (Inglehart & Norris 2007). The regularities determined in the analyses show that there is a correlation between attending religious service and volunteering for charity acti-

vities. The positive correlation is observed in Protestants, Hinduists, and Judaists, while the negative correlation is noticed only in Orthodox believers. Norris and Inglehart conclude that belonging to religious organizations goes hand in hand with the engagement in community and democratic participation.

Serbia is very specific when it comes to the presence and functioning of religion. If one says that it is the case of a postsocialist society of “instructed atheism”, Eastern European, mainly Orthodox society, one still does not have all of the relevant data needed to enable a complex analysis of the “religious situation”. Some of the data which follows can contribute to producing a clearer picture.

The data obtained from our research shows that there are 86.7% of Orthodox examinees in the sample. The second largest group consists of Catholics (4.5%), then Muslims (3.1%), and atheists (1.9%). This distribution is mostly in line with the representation in general population.

Despite the high confessional identification (86.7% of examinees declare themselves as Orthodox against 2% of atheists), only 62.1% of examinees declare themselves as religious, while only 18.1% regularly visits religious buildings for prayers and rites. The analysis of data obtained from the World Values Survey (2002, 2005) and European Values Study (2008) research shows that this number of those people who declare themselves as belonging to any confession is stable and that it does not represent the current mood among the believers. All of these results confirm the findings of Blagojević (2009) and Zrinščak (2008) on the very low percentage of religious participation.

This ratio is much more balanced in Croatia (confessional identification 88.9%, those declared as religious 79.9%, visiting religious buildings for prayers and rites 52.8%), while the situation is somewhat similar to that in Bulgaria (confessional identification 70.0%, those declared as religious 46.7%, visiting religious buildings for prayers and rites 20.2%) (Zrinščak 2008, 33). If similarities and differences are observed, it can be seen that this is the case of postsocialist societies, and the mutual denominator for Bulgaria and Serbia is Orthodoxy.

If we return to the data from our research, we can see that 80% of examinees regularly celebrate religious holidays, while only 8% participates in charity activities of a religious community. Regularly or frequently: 7.5% reads religious literature, 16% fasts, and 17.3% prays.

We could draw a rough conclusion that the presence of traditional religiosity can be clearly seen, even over a small number of indicators, which is characterized by confessional identification connected to ethnic identity and celebration of religious holidays (where Patron Saint’s days are also important), as well as more significant days in one’s life, such as weddings, infant baptisms or burials of the deceased.

To make the picture complete, the data that only 17.5% of examinees consider religion important in their lives should be added. The family is in the first place, then comes the job, followed by friends and acquaintances, entertainment, and only then by *religion*, and finally politics.

When we look at the data on self-identification, only 1.3% of examinees choose religious identity as the primary identification marker when other identification options are available, for 6.9% of examinees it is the second most important source of identification, while 9.1% of examinees consider religion as the third most important source of identification (after the first two which they consider more important). This data can be interpreted as an indicator of the relatively rare “use” of

religious orientation as the first source of personal identity in the situation where this type of identification is observed in the context of other identity options. Religious identification is not one of the most important sources of personal identification in Serbia.

The data on the network of friends that our examinees have shows that in 90% of cases the first, second and third friend belong to the same confession. This means that confessions are mostly closed when it comes to making friendships.

Our examinees testify that people ask them for help all the time in 22% of cases, while occasionally in 52% of cases, but these are the people who are members of their religious community in 2.7% of cases, occasionally in 8.2% of cases. Such data is confirmed by the research of the Institute for the Study of Cultural Development and the CECS research. This shows that there is no practice of offering and asking for help when in trouble between members of the same religious group, primarily within the Orthodox community (for which valid conclusions can only be drawn due to the number of examinees). Most frequently it is the friends from their neighbourhoods, neighbours, relatives, and colleagues from work who ask for their help. In the focus group interviews (conducted within the project “Social and Cultural Capital”), examinees also emphasize how they most often turn to their friends and relatives when they have problems. Even though the Orthodox are the most numerous group, when we look at other confessions with the percentage of people asking for help in mind, we can see that Protestants are in front, followed by Muslims.

Only 11.2% of people think that they can rely on three members of their own religious community, 6.7% on two, a 1% on ten. It is also interesting that 30.6% of examinees believe that they cannot rely on any one member of their religious community, while 55% of examinees do not even consider asking someone who belongs to the same religious community for help. The connection in the sense of social networks of members of the Orthodox religious community is not specific for relationships within this group.

Special attention should be paid to the data which shows that only 8% of examinees claim that they participate in charity activities of their religious community. This type of activities is exactly what characterizes the practice of religious communities which function at the level of the civil society. When regular visits to temples for prayers and religious rites are related to charity activities, a certain connection between these parameters can be observed. Namely, with the decrease in the level of visits to religious buildings for prayers and rites, the participation in charity activities also decreases (Pearson Chi Square 1579.245, df 9, Sig .000). These findings confirm the connection that Norris and Inglehart point to. However, when it comes to Serbia, it should be noted that both of these parameters are very low.

Focus group interviews show that examinees do not recognize other people of the same religious orientation as similar to themselves in any case, but that they always take other characteristics into consideration, such as material status (class-layer belonging in the narrow sense) or personal traits. One of the cases even showed that someone who at one point started dealing with his or her own religiosity was ostracized from the group of friends!<sup>4</sup> If we consider the data from European Values

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<sup>4</sup> Two of the situations from the focus group interviews conducted within the project “Social and Cultural Capital in Serbia” testify to religion (more precisely, to religious fanaticism) being a “reverse resource” of social capital: one of the interviewees in Niš explicitly stated that she would “cooperate with everyone



Study 2008, where only 3.2% of examinees mentioned that they belonged to a religious community when choosing between various types of organizations, a picture of networks that can be established in Serbia on the basis of religious orientation is quite clear. Thereat, only 21.2% of examinees think that religion helps them solve social problems, while spiritual problems (62%) and moral problems (43.1%) are the ones solved with the aid of religion. Even family problems are not solved from the viewpoint of religion to a great extent – 33.5%. Religion in Serbia (above all among the Orthodox) is rather understood as individual ethics and relationship with the higher power, than as a source of social teaching and legitimization of social behaviour, which is in accordance with the fluid social teaching of the SOC where this world is perceived as only a second-class phenomenon.

It is important to mention that the level of activity within the civil society / civil activism is also very low. Only 2.3% of examinees participate in associations which deal with various forms of social care, 4.4% in cultural activities, 5.7% in unions, 2.1% in local community actions, 1.1% in associations for the protection of human rights. The situation is similar with the participation in associations for environment protection, and women or peace movements. No less than 77% of examinees claim that they do not belong to any group or association. In such conditions, the premise about the connection of belonging to a religious community and some other civil association (Norris & Inglehart 2004) does not hold in the Serbian case.

Neighbourhood is considered to be an important institution for accumulation of social capital. When asked who they would not want in their neighbourhoods, the examinees from Serbia single out criminals, alcoholics, drug addicts, mental patients, HIV-positive people, while confession does not belong to the most important markers. Even when it is the case of Muslims (having recent conflicts in mind), or Judaists (occasional anti-Semitic messages), they do not occupy a high position on the list of unwanted neighbours.

What should definitely be taken into consideration when studying social capital within religious groups is the structure of the authority inside the religious organization. John A. Coleman says the following on that matter:

“A crucial distinction to explain variance in religiosity and the generation of social capital lies in a differentiation between horizontal and vertical relations of religious authority. For example, some forms of religiosity, such as traditional Catholicism in Italy, remain intensely hierarchical in structure. They foster vertical relations (between bishops and priests and priests and people) of passivity and subordination. (...) Only horizontal authority structures, generally, seem to generate social capital (Coleman 2003, 36–7).”

The relations between different level clergy, as well as between clergy and laity in the Serbian Orthodox Church are mostly those of subordination, where an exaggerated condescension is noticeable in religious people when it comes to “church matters”. In that sense, there is no basis for creating social capital in the structure of the authority within the church.

Trust is one of the most important parameters of social capital, yet only 11.6% of examinees think that the majority of people in Serbia deserve their trust,

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except a fascist and religious fanatic”, while one of the interviewees in Novi Sad told how he “lost a friend who suddenly became all religious fanatic”, broke all his earlier friendships, and “was impossible to normally talk to anymore”.

while 86.2% of examinees believe that in Serbia one should “have eyes in the back of one’s head”. Such a low level of trust in other people is probably an indicator that religion does not enhance the feeling of altruism, bonding, and “moral density” in Serbia.

The data from the analyzed research implies a very limited use of religion as a source of social capital in Serbia. Our sample, guided by the structure of general population, offers the most comprehensive picture of Orthodox believers. Some other analysis, with its focus only on minor religious communities, would, perhaps, create a different picture of them. Even though religion is very present in various aspects on the social scene in Serbia, we cannot consider its functioning as a significant source of social capital. If we perceive the role of religion in the creation of social capital in Serbia as Bourdieu does, we can conclude that belonging to religious communities is not used as part of life strategies, that is, religion is expected to solve spiritual, and not social problems.

If, on the other hand, the basis of our analysis is Putnam’s concept of social capital embodied in norms, networks, and trust, we can again observe that people in Serbia do not create networks on the basis of belonging to religious organizations, because we do not count on members of the same religious community in difficult situations, neither do they count on us, even though we are limited by confession in our friendships. Focus group interviews in both Niš (dominantly Orthodox environment) and Novi Pazar (dominantly Muslim environment) show that friends are those we turn to in difficult situations. Nevertheless, if we bear in mind that our closest friends belong to our confession, this may implicitly point to the existence of such relationships.

When we talk about Serbia, the first conspicuous impression is that religion at the “level of the civil society”, the aspect present in Western cities, does not support the community. Namely, “Serbian Orthodoxy” does not nurture such forms that are characterized by charity activities and volunteering, and which strengthen the collective awareness of members of a religious community for the general good.

The basic communication within the Orthodox religious community is maintained by visits to Patron Saint’s days and birth, wedding or death rites, which once again points to the “four rite believers”.

The everyday presence of religion in events on the public stage in Serbia belongs to the area of state and politics (Casanova 2008).

#### **WHAT DOES RELIGION DO ON THE PUBLIC STAGE IN SERBIA?**

If we take a look at the data on trust of people in institutions in Serbia, we can observe that the SOC occupies a high position on the list of institutions that enjoy the trust of Serbian citizens. The research conducted in July 2010 on the territory of the Western Balkans showed that the military and church were the institutions most trusted in Serbia since 2008, however, the military took over the first place from the church in the last three years. The trust that the military enjoys increased from 63% to 77%, while at the same time the trust in church decreased from 75% to 66%. The church is followed by the police that enjoys the trust of 59,6% examinees in Serbia, while significantly lower numbers of citizens trust the media

(41,6%), the judiciary (38%), and the government (33%).<sup>5</sup> Such layout of percentages can bring us back to one of the initial questions and the setting of the revitalization of religion and its functions as a reply to the weakness of modern society institutions. Perhaps, the premise of the neomodernists on the well-being of a large number of citizens as an important condition for the success of modernization could find its use in the situation where we deal with an enormous number of transitional losers in Serbia. This high level of trust in the church can be found with almost identical percentages in Catholic countries, Croatia, Poland, Italy. Casanova takes religious tradition as an important determinant into consideration when comparing European states and levels of trust in the church. In Catholics and the Orthodox, the church enjoys a high level of trust, while it is not so in Protestants, as expected. When it comes to Serbia, one must also bear in mind the role of the SOC “in the creation and preservation of ethnic identity”.

The premises about religion as “a spiritual and institutional sanctuary and means of protection of local identity, local ethnos and state... religious foundations of national culture” (Radić 2010, 108) are well-known and often repeated. However, research show that the citizens of Serbia do not treat religious orientation as a basic denominator of their identity (as it can also be seen from the data on self-identification from the research of the Institute for Cultural Development in 2010). It is more a matter of political and church rhetoric. Yet, they believe that such rhetoric will help them gather a large number of followers.<sup>6</sup> Ethnic identity is also not the focus of their self-identification, as well as the identification of the other. It seems that the assessment of such role of religion in Serbia today overestimated both by theorists and politicians. The research on the dominant temporal perspective in Serbs (Kostić & Gavrilović, in print) shows that the dominant temporal orientation is the one towards the hedonistic present, while the orientation towards the past is the least prominent one!

There is a trust in the SOC in the people in Serbia, which can perhaps be considered a result of experiencing this institution as part of the collective memory, a type of symbol, that certainly does not mean that the same level of trust also exists when it comes to the SOC priests (Симић 2005), neither when it comes to the members of one’s own religious community. Our friends are dominantly Orthodox, indeed, but we turn to them because we come from “the same neighbourhood”, and not because we are Orthodox!

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<sup>5</sup> See *Gallup Balkan Monitor* research, pp. 32–3.

<sup>6</sup> In response to the question “*What is it the first thing that you want to know about someone you have just met?*” upon offering sexual, ethnic, religious, racial, professional, genre (music) identification and something else option, examinees in Serbia and Macedonia to the greatest extent decided that the dominant characteristic that tells them what they want to know about someone is the professional identification. Namely, 36.9% of examinees from the Serbian sample first opted for the profession. Then, 24.5% of examinees opted for personal traits under the something else option, while 6.7% opted for the system of values, that is, individual characteristics. Only 6.4% wanted to get the information on ethnic affiliation, 4.4% on religion, 5.6% on what kind of music the person they met listened to, 2.2% on sexual orientation, while race was significant to only 0.9% of examinees from Serbia (Gavrilović 2008, 30).

In response to the question “*How important is to you that people know – which people you belong to, if you have children, if you are married, which town you come from, your profession, your religious orientation, whether you are a European or Balkan, what music you listen to, your political orientation?*”. For the examinees from Serbia, it was most important that someone knew they were parents, where no less than 68.9% wanted the world to know that they had children and that is what they wanted to send as a signal about themselves, with 58.8% of examinees wanting others to know they were married.

## RELIGION AND POLITICS

There is a familiar story that has the function of a genealogical explanation and, at the same time, legitimization of the secular character of European democratic societies (Berger introduces the term *Eurosecularity*), whose schematic structure is presented by Casanova:

“Once upon a time in medieval Europe there was, as is typical of pre-modern societies, a fusion of religion and politics. But this fusion, under the new conditions of religious diversity, extreme sectarianism, and conflict created by the Protestant Reformation led to the nasty, brutish and long-lasting religious wars of the early modern era that left European societies in ruin. The secularization of the state was the felicitous response to this catastrophic experience, which apparently has indelibly marked the collective memory of European societies. The Enlightenment did the rest. Modern Europeans learned to separate religion, politics, and science. Most importantly, they learned to tame the religious passions and to dissipate obscurantist fanaticism by banishing religion to a protected private sphere, while establishing an open, liberal, secular public sphere where freedom of expression and public reason dominate. Those are the favourable secular foundations upon which democracy grows and thrives. As the tragic stories of contemporary violent religious conflicts around the world show, the unfortunate deprivatization of religion and its return to the public sphere will need to be managed carefully if one is to avoid undermining those fragile foundations (Casanova 2008, 16).“

The use of religion for the purpose of legitimizing a political conflict has, unfortunately, been witnessed by all of us, and documented in the research by Ivan Cvitković “Confession in War”, yet the data from newer research, which we have processed, shows that a lot of parameters of religiosity have lost their identification and mobilization potential. It seems that religion is being treated as a “sanctuary for identity and foundation of national culture” only by politicians in their instrumentalization of religion for daily political purposes, or by extreme right-wing, parachurch or, as they are also called, clerofascist groups<sup>7</sup>, while the citizens of Serbia still rather perceive the SOC and Orthodoxy as having that predominantly symbolic effect, the role of the hoard of collective memory (Danièle Hervieu-Léger), than use religious orientation and religion as a living resource of social capital or part of the living strategy in any possible form.

## INSTEAD OF A CONCLUSION

If we return to Bourdieu who sees the social world as “accumulated history” and precisely because accumulated resources (capitals) in their objectivised and embodied forms show the tendency towards acting as objective forces, not everything is equally possible and impossible in the social world<sup>8</sup> (Cvetičanin 2010). We can rightfully say that religion is a part of that “accumulated” history, while the structure and distribution of various types and sub-types of capital in a given moment in time

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<sup>7</sup> Examples for this were the events occurring in relation to the Pride Parade held in October 2010 in Belgrade.

<sup>8</sup> It is interesting that Bourdieu’s understanding of capital (in all its forms) is based on Marx’s “labor theory of value”, which is otherwise considered out-dated and inadequate by economists and Marxists themselves. One of the key characteristics of capital is that it can be accumulated and, according to Bourdieu, since capital is nothing more than “accumulated work” in all its aspects, then when it is acquired on the private, that is, exclusive basis, it enables the acquisition of social energy in the form of actual or reified work.

represent, for Bourdieu, an immanent structure of the social world written into the mere reality of that world, determining chances of success of social practices (Bourdieu, *ibid*). After this consideration, we can say that religion in the Orthodox community in Serbia is not used as an important resource of social capital, and that not enough attention is paid to the forms of cultural capital which are objectivised. We hope that “not everything is still equally possible and impossible” in Serbia or, as Giddens would say, that the secularization has not taken too much of a toll to keep the fundamentalist forms of the return of religion on the public stage for a while. We hope that such times have passed, as we find the invitation in our e-mail inboxes to a charity concert of the church choir “Branko” and the dance school “Step” in the Saint Sava’s Centre (next to the Cathedral Church) in Niš, where all of the revenue will go to the poor of Niš. It is not enough for statistics, but it is enough for hope.

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**III**

**ORTHODOX FAITH AND CULTURE  
IN CONTEMPORANEITY**





UDK 271.2-48

271.2-725-46

Zoran Krstić

## **FAITH AND/OR CULTURE? TRADITIONAL BELIEVERS AS PASTORAL PROBLEM AND CHALLENGE**

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### **INTRODUCTION**

Enthusiasm is a presumption of every human activity so, without exception, is the office of parish priest. Many young and newly ordained priests starts off their duty with the verve, happiness and pure faith all the way down until the concrete parish situation puts them into a serious probation and sometimes even their own faith is at stake. Not so rarely sincere parish priests could be met with their conspicuously inherent feeling of powerlessness, nonplus and nonsense, for in their parish they are faced with many things but least the faith. During the course of baptism, wedding or burial services many of priests would feel themselves more as civil servants, magicians or even more often as parading clowns (see Aračić 2000, 745) but least and most rarely as priests surrounded by Christians, among the people who eagerly wait for the priest to finish 'his own' as they could in what follows do 'their own' like bearers of custom and form in which contests they are not interested. These situations question not only priest's vocation as such but his own human priest dignity as well. He and everybody else there are feeling as if they were trapped and they are all feeling uncomfortably and nonsensically not being able to run away. It is uncomfortable but yet inconceivable or at least still inconceivable.

Such unenviable spiritual status of a priest leads us into the goal of this thesis hiding behind the ambitious headline. It is consisted of an attempt to understand theologically some elements of religionness of the Orthodox citizens of Serbia. Regarding this starting position, analysis will be, in the first place, pastoral and thus should take into account at first the Church and then society. The data that will be used derive from the data of *Religionness Research of the Serbian Citizens and Their Standpoint Towards the Process of European Integrations* carried out in the year 2010 by Christian Cultural Centre and Foundation Conrad Adenauer based upon representative sample of 1500 examinees.

### **THEMATIC DETERMINATION**

I shall use the notions like faith and believe as artificial in their Evangelical meaning being rooted in self-understanding of the Church (see Πέτρον 2004, 38–41). They are artificial from sociological point of view for they consider a number of indicators that are being researched separately in empirical researches. It has been mainly talked about five dimensions of churchliness (see Balaban 1996, 405) as follows: acceptance of the truth of faith, religious practice, acceptance of moral

concepts of Christianity, living the faith in society and acceptance of the Church structures. I should use the following indicators: religious and confessional self-declarationness, religious practice, i.e. participation in liturgical gatherings and regular intake of the Holy Communion. In that since I could describe the faith as a definite and absolute trust in incarnated and risen the Son of God Jesus Christ Who calls upon all the people to get into the communion of the New Israel that is the Church and together with others foretaste in the Holy Communion the life of the Future Age until the Christ's second coming. Or should I define faith by the words of St. Paul that "faith is the assurance of things hoped for, the conviction of things not seen" (Heb. 11, 1) from which derives the fundamental characteristic of faith that it is turned towards the future things and thus has eschatological character.

The notion of culture I shall use in its sociological meaning as "the way of life of an individual in society or social groups" (Giddens 2007, 22), as a common context we live in and where we understand each other and cooperate.

By traditional or cultural believers I should understand those who keep in touch with their Church in a smaller or bigger intensity (gradatory religionness) but who are partially or wholly lacking in some of cited elements of faith which is in most churchliness. It is not possible to detect in them eschatological orientation but rather determination towards the past with the elements of natural religionness and thus religionness form the previous period of spirituality. Regarding our Serbian Orthodoxy such type of spirituality is based upon the spirituality of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The category of nominal Christians whose touch with the Church is narrowed on mostly two rites of baptism and funeral, I shall not take into observance in this analysis.

### **TRADITIONAL BELIEVERS THROUGHOUT HISTORY**

Traditional believers in a society could be created only by the major religion, especially the state religion and thus through a lengthy delivery of time where inculturation of certain religious values takes place. Of such kind of Christians we can talk about only after the 4<sup>th</sup> century AD. Anyhow in the previous period we can detect indicators of such behaviour among the not disciplined ones ore in those who provoke disorder as the Canonical tradition name them.

"If any bishop, or presbyter, or deacon, or any of those who are enumerated in the list of the clergy, or a layman, has no very grave necessity nor difficult business so as to keep him from church for a very long time, but being in town does not go to church on three consecutive Sundays – three weeks – if he is a cleric let him be deposed, but if a layman let him be cut off".

The cited canon 80 of the Quinisext (Trullo) Council in 691 AD which itself repeats the older canon 11 of the Council in Sardica (modern Sophia, Bulgaria) in 343 testifies but also determines and sanctions the extent of the Church discipline. The one who has no very grave necessity to prevent him to come to church for three weeks should be deposed if a cleric of any ranking, but if a layman let him be cut off from the Church i.e. the Holy Communion. The Church life in general, especially sacramental, has its own internal logic that is being manifested by outward order. To that effect baptism performs the turning point in the Christian life. The condition for baptism was repentance i.e. renunciation of the previous way of living, while the pre-

liminary faith was the answer to God's calling. The catechumen would begin the period of catechization i.e. preparation for baptism. On the Paschal night the christening would come to pass as a new birth and sacrament of entering the Church. The newly baptized thus became a member of the God's People (layman), festally entering the Eucharistic gathering, and on Easter they would receive the Holy Communion for the first time along with their new brothers and sisters, in order to continue with deepening the faith by participating in the sacramental life of his local Church. The whole process implies sincerity and conviction i.e. faith, so that for the Early Church but also to the present day, it was hard to imagine that somebody willingly secludes themselves from the Eucharistic gathering. In the mid second century the Holy Martyr Justin the Philosopher describes in his First Apology gathering that occurs on the "day of 'sun' in one place by *all* who live in towns and villages..." (1985, 192). This gathering *in one place* is a principle while absence of unjustified reasons is subject to "curing".

The fourth century, the Edict of Milan, the conversion of Constantine, proclamation of Christianity as a state religion by Theodosius, are the new and decisive points in further development of category of traditional believers, for they attach yet another, furthermore, decisive element which is a social benefit that normally produces hypocrisy. Throughout the centuries hypocrisy has been the greatest and the most dangerous opponent to Christianity. Christianity is continuously seeking an effort; ceaselessly filling the form by contents (Schmemmann 1994, 229). Every relinquishment of the effort means supposition of the form to the contents, meaning magical, cultural approach and points out the comeback into the state of natural religion, natural paganism, believing in the form and rite itself, a ritual which like a shadow follows Christianity and will follow it until the last day. The Church has clearly understood this danger throughout the centuries and has been battling it in the way that was spotted in canon 80 of the Trullo Council and that is to constantly emphasize what is right and what is an exception. She has never rejected any of those categories of the believers or the men of little faith, but never did She bring all kind of believers onto the same level, except in the last few centuries. She has clearly pointed out the sins which, in one hand, separate one from the Church where they can come back exclusively after a sincere repentance, and they are called grave sins – murder, adultery and apostasy. On the other hand, the sin regarding practicing the Church life is the already mentioned extent of absence from Liturgy and deprivation from the Holy Communion for three consecutive weeks. After that period of time the faithful has willingly excommunicated himself from the Church.

The changes and negligence of these essential attitudes emerged, I presume, in the period of irregular parish Church life (16, 17 and 18 century) and switching the accent from Evangelical faith and Church believers (who are certainly a minority) onto conventional faith and traditional believers. The 19<sup>th</sup> century was a culmination of such type of spirituality. However, the 20<sup>th</sup> century brought new, first of all, theological streams in the East as well as in the West. Theology, according to the words of Fr. Georges Florovsky, comes out of the "Babylonian captivity" and the faith as ontological category, as a fact of life and essential personal orientation, is yet again in the foreground. Such faith, being Evangelical, is indispensably manifested by regular churchliness and regular receiving of the Sacraments.

This macro-historical observance of the spiritual types has its huge insufficiency. It is hardly correct in its details but it is so in its characteristic essential em-

phasis. Most of our parish, first of all, urban churches in the last two decades have a thin shaped but yet solid Eucharistic gathering consisted of the believers who are, following their faith, increasingly distinguished from traditional believers. It does not in the least mean that the “interior” is ideal but the “exterior” is bad, but the Church distinguishes her primary concern and what is happening inside her, from what is, for the Church, secondary and occurs outside her.

### FAITH MARKED IN NUMBERS

Alongside of all specificities, according to research results, the Serbian citizens religionness shows, especially during the last two decades, convergence to and fitting in the global European tendencies. “Roughly speaking 30 per cent of the Europeans is still relatively devoted to their churches, the other 30 per cent live their lives almost entirely outside their homeland. Where is the middle group”? This is the question of the English sociologist Grace Davie (2005, 173).

Let us take a look at the results of the latest research done by the Christian Cultural Centre and Conrad Adenauer Foundation, comparing them, where it is possible, with the results of the European Value Research in Serbia of 2008.

Self-declared religionness – I believe there is God – 63,3%; the European Value Research – 80,5%.

Regardless of whether the examinee is or is not a churchgoer they can still think of themselves that they are: religious person – 76,8% (ChCC).

The Orthodox Confessional Identification – 78,3%, the European Value Research – 86,7%.

Table 1

#### *Religious Identification (in %)*

<i>The examinee can regard themselves as:</i>	<i>The Christian Cultural Centre</i>
Convinced believer who accepts all the faith's teachings	27,2
Religious, but does not accept all that their faith teaches	17,1
Traditional believer, participates in the rites, respects the habits but is not active in their religious community	36,9

Table 2a

#### *Indicators of Religious Practice (in %)*

Frequency of churchgoings	The Christian Cultural Centre	The European Value Research
Several times per week	4,1	1,6
Once per week	8,7	5,8
1-2 times a month	16,2	13,8

Table 2b

*Indicators of Religious Practice (in %)*

Frequency of attendance the Sunday Liturgy/Mass	The Christian Cultural Centre	The European Value Research
Ordinarily	9,8%	–
1-2 times a month	7,3%	–
Several times on the great feasts only	40,9%	–
Never	42%	–

The examinee takes the Holy Communion: yes – 36,7 %; no – 40%.

As far as we would like to emphasize some of the indicators in order to forming a general illustration, it would be as follows:

*Participating in Liturgy*, concluding with 1-2 times a month, which is the bottom line – all together 17,1%; several times a year – 40,9% which would correspond to the category of the traditional believer, and never – 42% – nominal Christians.

*Convinced believer who accepts all the teachings of their faith* – 27,2%, traditional believer – 36,9%.

Wishing to make an impression, not conclusion, from this data that will be certainly yet to analyse, I can say that, regarding the category of believers as we defined it, we should not be unsatisfied. About 20% of examinees who we can treat as believers in the narrow sense of the word, measuring by the ecclesiological criteria, is a big pre cent. The everyday experience speaks of a much less percentage. But what is to be emphasized is that an improvement is seen just in this category and it could solve the issue of revitalization of religionness in Serbia. It is reality in the sense that Mirko Blagojevic (2009, 105) points out, which is not spectacular but visible and measurable in the growth of participation in the Liturgical life of the Church.

**BREAK UP WITH TRADITION**

Let us come back yet again to the traditional believers and their perspective in the future. So far as one does not observe confessional trends in Europe on a long run, permanent growth is only marked by non-belonging to any of the confessions.

“As far as one more precisely observes the relations in the West, the impression is that there is no a planned suppression there but rather spontaneous erosion of the Christian traditions (Kaufmann 2003, 9).”

The faith is less and less present in Europe, not because the atheism is prevailing but she believes less in a traditional way. *Believing without belonging* as it would stress Grace Davie.

According to Daniel Hervieu-Lèger the Western societies are „momentary societies“, societies with a short memory in general, and thus with a short religious memory too. As this very influential sociologist of religion considers it, this happened due to weakening of the two crucial institutions that used to be conveyers of

a collective conscience in the traditional agrarian society and that is: family and parish (Hervieu-Léger 2000).

“Family is loosing much of its functions, upbringing and social ones, while parish is wasting its function of gathering a collective conscience of a local community (Crpic 2010, 787).”

The reasons for this are numerous, but the basic one is that in the urban environments even family, never mind the parish, do not function as communities, loosing thus their affective dimensions. Davie supervenes on this thought and sets up several models that could contribute to a better understanding of conveying religious memories into thus described momentary society (more on this Crpic 2010) and it is as follows: a) representative memory, b) unsure memory, c) mediatory memory, d) alternative memory, and e) esthetical, symbolic memory (Dave 2005).

As one can perceive, all interpretations use the notion *memory* and they are all, with no exception, turned towards the past and to the values from the past, and religion itself is understood from the point of their maintenance and conveyance. One should not put out of their mind that sociologist of religion contemplates religious phenomena from the point of society but not from the point of faithfulness or unfaithfulness in relation to original religious message. In the key of this interpretation role of the priest is to be a professional agent and mediator of all these different, already mentioned kinds of memories. The community expects from him to perform well and professionally entrusted his advocacy role for the use and maintenance of the community itself.

How could we and are we able to concretize these attitudes in our, Serbian life context?

In the Serbian society is still possible to detect coexistence of the elements of pre-modernity, i.e. traditional society, along with modernity supervened by the elements of post-modernity especially among the young generation. In the religious sphere it is manifested as an existence of different mentalities and different types of spirituality at the same place, i.e. in the same parish which makes the pastoral work even more complex. Although the Christianity is always the same in its essential themes, it will be not lived out in a pre-modern and in a society of modernity (see more on this at Jukic 1997, 501–08). In this sense we can distinguish two main paradigms in functioning different social groups, and even the Church communities – authoritarian and democratic.

Authoritarian paradigm is a multi-century way of maintaining and functioning of society by calling upon the reference to certain authorities – father in the family, the monarch, clergy, God in Heaven. These authorities have been, quite often, sustained deep in the people’s conscience. As Grubisic (1996, 362) considers, three features are characteristic for this paradigm regardless of what segments of society it pervades: monolog, monopoly, monolithness. These features use to characteristic for all the traditional societies including also the communistic reign.

Democratic paradigm is the result of modernization of society that has been lost in our country whet the communists came to power, and after the 90s continued to this day. Its characteristics are the dignity of the human personality, dialogue, pluralism and so on. It is interesting that Grubisic (1996, 362) called authoritarian paradigm naturally-religious, while the other one a Christian, although it is usually considered other way round. The process of modernization leads to the dominance

of the individual over society, the individual over collective, which are all manifested in religion as well. Individual, free choice of all has to do outweigh over the traditional elements of belonging. The societies of modernity are therefore called post-traditional societies (Giddens 1998, 105 and on) just because this moment of free choice can no longer rely on tradition.

After these general indications, I can say that in our country the state of religiosity, or shall I now, more appropriately, use the term faith, developed in a similar way. Those faithful in the narrow sense, whose number is small, because voluntariness can never be comprehensive as coercion, but is growing though, and their identity in each, mostly urban parish are such convinced Christians, who by free choice practice and live their faith in democratic paradigm. With traditional Christians, in addition to the characteristic element of spirituality in the past, usually lacks this crucial element of personal choice and commitment. In terms of this development of modernity that extends into post-modernity, it seems to be less and less space for traditional believers and they will probably move either to nominal believers or to the faithful. Besides, there are fewer priests who are willing to be the bearers and transmitters of national, folklore and common. They want to be priests of the living Christian communities, not the agents of the past. Their faith is seen as facing the eschaton and not the past. On that route tensions are already happening, and is possible that they also deepen and intensify, because such an attitude of priests can be experienced by traditional Christians as a betrayal of Orthodoxy, Serbian pride, and so on. But otherwise the Church would be in its fullness the victim of such traditionalistic but lifeless Christianity. Traditional believers, in any case, remain a problem and challenge for pastoral activity.

#### **RELIGION AND CULTURE: RECONCILIATION BEFORE THE DANGER**

Neither a theologian nor a sociologist of religion is the prophets. It is impossible to foresee how and where will the societies and within them our Serbian society, move with a respect for the sense of humour shown off throughout the history where the events happen just the way nobody expects. My question, to which the answer will also serve the conclusion of the experiment, is as follows: can the religions and cultures, in the form they have existed for centuries, reconcile the danger of disappearance of both, after all? A positive answer to this question, not as an option but as an imperative, gives us Marcello Pera in his book "Why do we need to be called Christians" (2010)? Severity of the author's opinions and contributions is covered by the letter of the current Pope Benedict the XVI. The author speaks about reconciliation of the two, for more than a century bitter enemies – Catholicism and liberalism (see more on this at Jukic 1997, 369–95) before the danger of the third one which is post-modernity, which with its relativism and narcissism threaten, as it seems to some, to destroy the very society and certainly to break definitely the so far recognised links between Christianity and culture, crossing and stepping outside the context of some kind of Christian culture.

"For those less than 35 years old, it seems that the Church has lost its all credibility (Davie 2005, 75)."

In essence, Pera, like many other authors determine a serious crisis of European societies, which is an expression and manifestation of post-modernity, and then in the absence of all other means one lays their hands on reaching back Christianity from which it is “expected actions to stabilize the cultural and moral landmarks” (Kaufmann 2003, 77).

“Europe is in a state of transition, the system is lost and there is no adequate substitute (Davie 2005, 173).”

For this reason, Pera believes that liberals have to declare themselves as Christians but, at the same time, it does not necessarily mean that they should believe (2010, 56).

“Different names help us to distinguish: Christians by faith are some, while Christians by culture are something else; or the followers of Christ and those who admire the Christian message; or simply believers and laymen. They disagree with each other, but they both believe, in a technical sense they have a religion (Pera 2010, 58).”

And yet again, but in a different way, we reached the cultural believers (see Zoumboulakis 2002 and 2010). This time as a political necessity. In fact, if Europe calculates to survive the relativism, multiculturalism, Islamic fundamentalism, she should remember her Christian origin, even if it is in political terms. This neo-symphony with the modern state might bring back the impressions of figures and secular power, but it would certainly stop the development of what we marked as the believers by conviction. Christ did not promise his followers worldwide fame, but rather life’s difficulties along with the promise that He will remain with them until the end of time. And when He comes back will He find the faith among people or merely custom and tradition?

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David Perović

**THE SPIRITUAL PASTORSHIP TODAY  
IN THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH  
(THE PATRIARCH OF SERBIA KYR-PAVLE  
AS SPIRITUAL SHEPHERD)**

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The word of the Apostle Paul is selfcommandment  
of the Patriarch Pavle:

*So you will be able to lead the kind of life which  
the Lord expects of you,  
a life acceptable to him in all its aspects;  
showing the results in all the good actions you do  
and increasing your knowledge of God. You will  
have in you the strength,  
based on his own glorious power, never to go in,  
but to bear anything joyfully.*

(To Colos, 1, 10-11)

**A HUNDRED THESES OF SPIRITUAL CONTEMPLATION AND  
PASTORAL MORALS**

**Pastorship**

**1.** To leap over the abyss in the first place we have to make a connection between what it is and what it should be; we must start from the things as they are and gradually reach the things as they should be.

When the Holy Apostle Paul entered Athens, he did not speak from the start: I preach you and led them by the nose but he chose the right moment; Areopagus as the link between the heathen gods with the Unknown God. Then it is not an abuse, not a moment to steal their thunder nor his way to reveal Christ. We do not have to follow the Bible always; we may start from the things and the events as they are in the world. Exactly as the Apostle says: *If you eat, if you drink, if you do something else, you should do all these in the glory of God...*

If we administer too strong medicine, its effects will be opposite of what we wanted. If we lead the people by the nose, we shall disrespect their personal freedom. That is why we should choose their ways... and by all means make the room for God. If the soil is well ploughed, we should not worry. It is vain effort to sow into the weeds. First we should prepare the soil and then sow. We cannot prove anything to anyone against one's will. God invites us all, but if we are not willing, neither He is.

The main principle is not to take part in evil... So, we should avoid taking part in sin. Here we can always face double danger: to be harmless and to be taken in by everybody or to calculate but again not to be wise. The trouble is how to teach people, but first of all yourself.

We should say that we are always responsible in decorous way so that it could be understood. Either we did not think or say or do. Mother of the blessed Augustine, Monica, had irascible husband. But she spoke when the time was right. Therefore, the principle of listening to is important: speak when everything calms down. We should be patient with the irascible and then set out our word. Otherwise it causes the quarrel. And when it comes to an argument, there is also a split.

We should not be too sentimental with our children: *One who loves his father or mother...more than me, he is not worthy of me!* On the other hand, we should not be too strict; we should justify them and have pity on them, but not to be harmed by them. That is why there should be as many prayers as possible. There is a danger that a cause can be diluted, cooled, decreased. We are all related to one another; so neither we can break up our relationships completely nor there is justified reason for that.

**1a. Consolation.** The Christians do not believe in death. Christ speaks about death as a dream – constricted consciousness. The saints Apostle Paul and John the Chrisostom speak about death as a transition to life to alleviate the sharp pain of the word death.

**1b. Heart.** The heart is the center of human being, deeper than the reason. A peasant does not say words but feels them in his soul. He is not responsible for incomprehension of everything that reason designed if he did not have the opportunity to master it; that is, if other people did not help him in that effort.

*Child moveth with joy in my womb.* Still unborn child felt the advent of God's Son. The Saint Elisabeth felt the movements in her body which were different from the others. There is still no explanation of how just born child does not know by the way of reason as the other center of a being and does not know to say it, but he can feel the essence and respond to it.

Helen Keler, PhD, had meningitis when she was 2. She became blind, deaf and dumb; she was wounded, cut off from the world by her whimsical parents. Her teacher worked with blind children using the braille alphabet. She typed that God existed. Helen replied that she always knew it, only that she did not know His name.

The soul carries the seal of the fundamental things and ideas – convictions. For example, the idea of optimism tells us to believe in God and men, but it is the matter of our will whether we shall err or not. If we can, we should also develop intellectually our reason.

Deeper fathoming into the thoughts and deeds of Fathers is a matter of accepting experiences and absolute obedience to the spiritual father who can lead us along the path which he himself passed.

Does the Holy Tradition have the profound basic truths? What is their relation to our condition? The better we bring them into life, the more we shall know and understand them. The better they are brought into life, the better they are understood.

The lamp of the body is eye, but the internal spiritual eye which contemplates God is heart (Mt. 6,22; 5,8).

### On Faith

2. The faith is universal and all are invited to it. But some people are unbelievers; therefore, they realize it as infidelity.
3. Who could bear and accept such suffering, his own and of his neighbours, were it not for faith to give it meaning?!

### On Theology

4. Our contemporary theology is of double quality:
  - a. it is either mundane like all life around us and it does not nourish the soul,
  - b. or it is too deep and the human souls cannot reach it.So, it has to be popular.
5. Thought should be thoroughly meditated in order to be said entirely; we should follow it until the end to overcome the temptations. For the unmeditated is the same as the unjudged, and the unjudged is the same as the undone.

### On the Holy Scriptures

6. Neither speaking nor writing of the loftiest theological discourses will not help us unless we bring the Gospel into our life.
7. To be in peace with everyone as it is up to us means that we should not wait for the others to declare peace and then we do it, but the other way around. Whether the former will be the first to declare peace or not, it depends on them. But we who obey to the commandment to be in peace with everybody should be the first to declare it. The fact that somebody does not want peace does not absolve us of our duty to declare it.
8. To be wise as snake and harmless as dove means that we should be both at the same time. For if we are only wise, we will become wicked and if we are only harmless, we will become stupid.
9. The highest and the best thing done for the people is: *Let people see our good deeds and worship our Father in the Heaven.*
10. If someone does not understand the meaning of the words: *Do not do unto the other what you do not want to be done unto you*, he may simplify them and say: Do unto the other what you do unto yourself or better, I will do unto the other what I do unto myself.
11. If Cain killed his brother Abel, then every murder is fratricide! So, the first murder is fratricide perpetrated from envy. Satan pronounced his envy for people in the drama he directed with Adam and Eve and continued with Cain and Abel.
12. To speak evangelically means to speak from one's soul; you can either speak or be silent, one can feel your faith. And it also means not to impose it nor to be ashamed of something. Every word has its meaning and it just flows. And this is so because it was handed down and it took root. Such faith helped us to survive.

### On Eucharist

13. *Who eats from my flesh and drinks my blood, he hath the eternal life and I will resurrect him because my flesh is the right nourishment and my blood is the*

*right drink.* The worldly bread, water and other drinks have temporary function and use: to maintain our worldly life but not the eternal one. That is why we can say that in spite of the fact that it is food and drink themselves, their use leads to – death. Contrary to that, the result of the nourishment with Christ's Flesh and Blood is – the eternal life.

### **On the Kingdom of God**

- 14.** We all need to feel the blessed Kingdom of God already in the worldly life.
- 15.** We should come near God with our thoughts, words and deeds.
- 16.** We should tread on the path which leads to the Kingdom of Heaven and go along it until we reach the Lord Himself. Then He will recognize us as His own. It is horrible not to go along the path until its very end and Lord tells us: *I do not know you!*
- 17.** A man with a heart which is overwhelmed by pride is not ready for the Kingdom of Heaven. It means that who remains overcome by vanity and pride will not enter the Kingdom of God.

### **Christ and We**

- 18.** The Christians cannot have the other faith or the other measure except faith in Christ and Christ as the measure.
- 19.** It is easy to love Christ as a miracleworker, healer, breadwinner. But to love crucified Christ?!
- 20.** We shall reach the agreement only if we fit the differences of age, upbringing and experience into our worship of Christ and thank Him and glorify Him.
- 21.** We are responsible before God if we burn out or drown because of negligence. But to drown or burn out for Christ's sake is praiseworthy.
- 22.** We are obedient and dutiful when we follow Christ and also the person who knows the Path. It is disaster when we change the direction.

### **On Christ's Man or on True Christian and Christianity**

- 23.** Christ's man is in everything decent but the saint fool is something else: he fights against the world. He is humble, truly humble and acts among the worldly people to make them lower their sights. The true humbleness comes from within and it spontaneously dresses our body. So, there is someone with crude features but he can be nice and vice versa. Both the good and the evil radiate from us.
- 24.** Calm man is one who does not speak that he is the worst and so on but who silently bears somebody else's insults.
- 25.** The Christian is one who actively lives evangelically and thus preaches the Christianity.

### **On Holiness**

- 26.** Our sense of holiness and holy thing thoroughly changes our attitude to the world and people.

**27.** Our wish that someone be holy is one thing but it is different thing one's holiness itself. Where the martyrdom is provoked, there can be no word about the saint martyrdom no matter whose martyrdom it is.

### **On God's Providence**

**28.** If we were not supported by God in every moment of our hard life, we could not bear these hardships. Therefore, the awareness that nothing happens without His permission should be our consolation. Of course, there are many hardships for which we are to blame. Our duty is to make it different so that God can recognize us as His at the Doomsday with all our thoughts, intentions, words and deeds.

### **God's Will**

**29.** Before we want something we should see if it is in accordance with God's will or it opposes It. If the latter is the case, then we should not want it any longer. It is our task to find out if God's good will is connected with what we want and again to see if it is His will that our wish should be realized. If it is not so but we pursue it with all our powers, it will not turn out right.

It was good God's will to preach the Gospel but, on the other hand, when the Apostle Paul set out to Lysia, the Holy Ghost forbade him to go. Therefore, it was not the right time to preach the Gospel there.

Is our wish suitable? Is it the right time to be realized? Is our wish consistent with God's wish? – Well, these are the guidelines regarding this issue.

**30.** If we fulfill God's will with our best will and power, we achieve the holy aim of our life. If we oppose God's will and commandment, we desist from following His road and we go in the opposite direction – toward the eternal hell (*where their worm will not die nor their fire go out* – Mk. 9, 44. Is. 66, 24).

**31.** God's will does not comprise only our good but also the good of our enemies – they should see the path of repentance, charity and salvation, too.

### **On Personality**

**32.** You can become personality both in basketball and football but only if you do not cross the limits; that is, if you do not become someone's means or mechanism.

**33.** Baptism is not the baptism of sex but of personality and the change of sex is not the change of personality but of sex. In the phenomenon of changing of sex we deal with incomplete maturation and formation of the sex – it is not fulfilled and completed as personality.

**34.** The greatness of woman as personality proves in serving, just as with the Holy Virgin. She cannot be priestess in the Christianity and in the church, but she can be priestess in her home.

### **Concept of the Neighbour and Love for thy Neighbour**

**35.** Christ is my neighbour and my every neighbour is Christ. If I do not love my neighbour, I do not love Christ either because my neighbour is Christ.

Brotherly love is not loading of my brother's soul; or even worse, the salvation of my soul is not the murder of my brother's soul. We will not become sophisticated on the expense or by inflicting harm to the Church.

If someone is loaded, you should not make it worse for him. That is, if our neighbour is loaded with sin, you should not add your sin to his.

Let us be careful! It is better for a guilty man to slip by than to make right person suffer.

If I am a fool, I should improve myself, if I am not, I should pass. Good man remembers the good and forgets the evil.

There is no man without sin nor without good deed. Every man should be treated as neighbour and we should love him even as an enemy if not as a neighbour. Love for an enemy is not feeling but awareness that he can be ruined completely if he does not sober up and repent. In addition to love for him, it is our duty to pray for him and to bless him because God gives rain and sun both to the good and the evil.

Moral and social issues are inevitable and constantly present in life. It is not allowed that the multiply secured people are insensitive to those who are not secured at all.

### **On Synergy and Collaboration with God**

**36.** We should be God's collaborators doing what it is up to us and God will help us to be spared of things we cannot oppose to.

**37.** We should not be careless in our words and sayings because we do not know everything we are prone to and what we can cause! If we were not supported by God in every moment of our hard life, we could not bear the hardships. That is why the awareness that nothing happens without His permission should be our consolation. It goes without saying that there are many difficulties which are our fault. It is our duty to fight against it so that God recognizes us as His own on the Domsday including all our thoughts, intentions, words and deeds.

### **On Judging and Selfcontrol**

**38.** Man becomes inhuman because of his ideas, concepts and words. To slaughter innocent people because others massacred innocent people?! We cannot act inhumanly because of the inhuman deeds of other people.

**39.** If we expect dangers to our life, then we should be completely devoted to what enriches us in every moment so that we can cope with the dangers calmly and accept them without fearing of the double harm: to be caught napping while the end is near and of the spiritual loss because we did not perform our duties.

**40.** When God tells someone to do the possible, he can look for the impossible and so begins to pursue the impossible and so ceases to interest in the possible. Thus he gets into trouble again because he puts the impossible before the possible.

**41.** A benefactor is useful to everyone: first, to himself, then to his parents, to many other people and finally to the whole world.

**42.** The saying *To be in peace with everybody as it is up to us* also has this meaning: One should put forward his opinion calmly and should not be angry if it is not accepted by the others. Otherwise we would express our vanity through our anger because we are provoked by somebody else's rejection.



**43.** Let us be God's collaborators by doing things which depend on us always following the order: to start with things as they are, through making things as they can be and finally making them as they should be and God will help us to occur so. Different or reverse order – to begin with what should be at the end – is impossible!

**44.** If it is equally difficult to do either good or evil, to be either human or inhuman, is it not more worth one's while to do good and to be human? Although both are difficult, still, it is only one choice which pays off and which is useful.

### **Acriby and Economy**

**45.** The relation between acriby and economy is the same as the relation between wisdom and harmlessness. Acriby is wisdom and economy is harmlessness. If we judge them evangelically, the former is unimaginable without the latter.

We should be eager in our doings, but reasonable. We must be aware of this necessity in our pastorship.

Everybody has the principle of economy and acriby, mildness and strictness in one's soul. But until we grow up spiritually, we will not know exactly which action is right. And when we grow up spiritually, we will know exactly how to use the best and the greatest solution in the given moment.

When our people grows up as Church and in spiritual sense and when we know exactly what is the best and the greatest for us, we will know the rightest and the best way for us. Of course, we should be reminded that under the given circumstances we should do as much and as well as we can. That is: neither the less, nor the more than possible, neither below nor beyond the measure.

Finally, we should be aware that there is no good nor salvation which would be realized by the loss of our soul and by inflicting harm to the other. *For what is it worthy to man to get the whole world but to lose his soul?*

Acriby implies responsible and conscientious carrying out of all God's commandments. And by carrying out commandments we acquire love (Jn. 14, 15. 1. Jn. 5.3) by which the Kingdom of God enters our soul (Jn. 14, 23).

Condescension to spiritually infantile and weak as well as imputation of the hard times and circumstances and demanding less and easier from the Christians is called the principle of economy.

The Christian who does less but in accordance with his powers still fulfills God's will and at the same time he is growing stronger until he achieves the fullness and rigour of carrying out orders in accordance with acriby. It should be mentioned that *everyone who knows what is the right thing to do and doesn't do it commits a sin* (Jk. 4, 17. Lk 12, 47).

### **Eagerness**

**46.** Too much pursuing good is eagerness. But we should not cross the limit. The Christian principle: *Be wise as snakes and harmless as doves* is valid only under the condition that we should develop wisdom and harmlessness endlessly but evenly.

Otherwise, according to blessed Jeronimus, wisdom without harmlessness will turn into wickedness and harmlessness without wisdom into stupidity.

The second example is the story about a sheep among wolves. The sheep can survive among the wolves as a sheep only under the condition that it does not sharpen its

hooves and does not become a wolf. It should act in such a way that it does not let be torn apart by the wolves nor that it itself becomes a wolf.

The third example is about the constantly filthy: Everybody stains and I am crushed by work and vice versa: I stain and the rest are crushed by cleaning. It makes no sense that one is clean, but others stain and the other way around: the others are clean, but one stains.

If one is good, do not abuse his goodness and if someone is strict, do not make him angry.

The true eagerness is reasonable, evangelical, appropriate to God's one. If we only stick to it, we will avoid every form of fanaticism and exaggeration (Jn.2, 13-17. Rom. 10, 2).

### **On Reason and Feelings**

**47.** The relation between reason and feelings is our basic and the most important relation. Only the cooperation of both of them makes us sober, conscientious, warm person. And if we follow only one of them, we shall become either relentless critics or hothead and intolerant judges.

### **On Freedom and Responsibility**

**48.** The issue of freedom is the most difficult one and if we do not solve it, we cannot understand the issue of the responsibility and then neither the issue of personality. Without personality as such, again, there would be neither man nor angel nor God.

**49.** Some living beings appear and are born with freedom, like angels and men, and some, animals, without it. According to it is the issue of our responsibility. In the Christianity all predeterminations: male and female, Jew and Greek, slave and free man are irrelevant when they become connected with the freedom in Christ. The last obstacle is the issue of the choice of the way of life: with Christ or without Him.

**50.** Freedom and predestination in regard of ourselves are always connected and interact. It is not up to us if we will be born but it is up to us how we will live. Essentially, we are born to live. To live with meaning and aim or, if we want so, without aim.

### **On Will and Malice**

**51.** If we use our energy as persons of good will, then we shall make that even malicious men turn their energy into the good will.

**52.** Let us pray also for the malicious people in order to become people of good will because they, too, need the salvation.

### **On Use and Abuse of our Energy**

**53.** Man is neither devil nor angel. He is a being who should not commit a sin not to become devil but to live virtuously to become like the angel.

**54.** If one member of the Church progresses, then its whole body progresses; if one of its rational members suffers from personal losses, then all of its members suffer from personal losses, too.

**55.** Doing of evil cannot yield any good fruit; therefore, evil deeds cannot produce any good results.

**56.** The category of enjoyment is inverted category of suffering and sacrifice. The enjoyment encourages vanity and vanity encourages enjoyment. That is why the vanity is curbed by sacrifice; that is, the meaningful use of energy is reestablished.

### **On Restraint and Temperance**

**57.** If we start restraining our passions earlier, later we will have easier struggle against them and more permanent triumph over them. And the other way around: if we start our struggle against them later, we will overcome them harder because they have already prevailed over us once.

**58.** The extremities are unnatural conditions: if everything is earnest, it will be unbearable, if everything is funny, it will be the same. We should use the comical not to be petrified by earnestness, we should apply the earnestness not to be diluted by comical.

**59.** We can be either strict in our behaviour or permissive, both ways are extreme. The mean is the measure.

**60.** We are not against the world but against living in the world only and exclusively.

### **On Accomplishments and Temptations**

**61.** The temptations can help us in finding out the real condition of our soul – without them we could become very proud. With them we can fairly well sober up and return to our reality. Again, at least we know our condition and we are struggling and want to change.

**62.** If the temptations are small, they are not unreal. It is now their order. Later big temptations will come upon us.

### **On Age, Conditions and Men**

**63.** The age does not make us human or inhuman but we ourselves do it. If we are human, inhuman age will become human; if we are inhuman, the human age will become inhuman.

**64.** Our age is full of hard temptations and suffering. But Lord knows why He lets them happen to us. Certainly not to make it harder than it is. Some people behave as if they wish the temptations and suffering were bigger and harder.

**65.** Morally weak people in hard times cannot abstain from evil when it grows. Morally strong people in such age oppose the lies with truth.

**66.** There are two sides to everything. An inhuman person appears among the humans under auspicious conditions for humanity and a human person appears among the inhumans in the adverse conditions for humanity. It is up to us if we are going to be human regardless of the conditions. Freedom guarantees our choice. We should treat humans humanly and we should treat the inhumans as a human up to the certain degree.

**67.** Among the inhumans there are humans and among the humans there are inhumans.

### **On Duties, Obligations and Oaths**

- 68.** We should perform our duty without wish to prove us as dutiful persons; it is the only way to perform it.
- 69.** Person who does not distinguish vanity from duty can pass from duty to vanity. It is a short step from vanity to real value. Some people can show vanity as an ability and they strive to provoke envy with the others.
- 70.** It is better to do without promise than to promise and not to do it. Taken oaths must be done.

### **On Endurance**

- 71.** All problems start with human needs.
- 72.** Everyone needs the endurance, especially those who, suffering, should endure till the very end.

### **On Sexes, Sexuality and Sexual Life**

- 73.** Where the explosive love occurs, it can turn into the eruption of hatred. Therefore, in these circumstances return to love is rare but not to bigger hatred and rage and finally to oblivion unless in the meantime everything finishes with murder and suicide.
- 74.** Woman is looked upon as a being of suffering, enjoyment and guilt. However, the greatness of woman proves in serving.
- 75.** When the spouses can have children, they do not want them, and when they cannot have them, they want them. Must we always be reminded of the saying that there is time for everything?!
- 76.** Egotism causes various diseases. The cause of various diseases with the spouses is egotism and intolerance, too. However, if they had children or if they could have them in many marriages, the spouses would successfully withstand the diseases in their presence and with their help. For instance, they would not face the danger of turning their love into hatred and causing the tragedy, too.
- 77.** When woman humiliates herself, she humiliates in herself all her greatness: as a human person, mother, priestess of her home.
- 78.** The wider framework of God's commandment about bearing children and multiplying and filling or settling of Earth was and remains – life. But man and woman turn it into enjoyment and tears.
- 79.** Woman cannot be priestess in the Orthodox Church because she is predestined to be priestess in her family. She is the one who leaves the indelible seal on the child. Therefore, she has to accept a child in order the child accepts her. It requires sacrifice; one cannot become personality without willingness to endure the sacrifice.

### **Sinner**

- 80.** A sinner is an unhappy man, especially when he is full of himself.

### **On Repentance**

- 81.** Person who does not confess the guilt and sin cannot repent.

### **On Calming Down and not Condemning**

**82.** All of us are too much a sinful man when it comes to putting oneself into the center instead of acquiring evangelical calm and virtue. It is absurd to feel as a righteous person on the expense of the sin which other man commits. We are too much remote from the future calming down we are after. Although we strive to it, still, our steps are too small. Only when we form the basis of calming down, we will be able to build up – the evangelical love unto God and unto the neighbour. We should feel the sin of the neighbour as painful but we should not be personally struck and be harmed. It does not matter if we are with people who commit sin but we should be concerned not to become the accomplices of their sin.

**83.** Why should we praise Victor Hugo's novel "The Miserable"? There are so common things in it which enable us to understand other peoples and men. Man is closer to the other when he understands other and others understand him.

**84.** It is our duty to talk to everyone because we can afford it since we own the truth: Godman Christ who is the road and the truth and the life. Thus we have to talk with everybody who does not own the truth but we wish they too became saved. While they can experience the loss of salvation, we can experience only rebuke.

### **On Vanity and Pride**

**85.** We all cope with pride and all of us suffer from pride as of an accrue.

**86.** Man swims in pride as a fetus swims in the womb.

**87.** Person who does not distinguish duty from vanity does not know to pass from vanity to duty. There is no long distance nor many steps from the real value to vanity and the other way around.

**88.** Person who is proud in his heart and overwhelmed by it is not ready for the Kingdom of Heaven. Therefore, person who remains overwhelmed by vanity will not enter the Kingdom of God.

### **On Habit**

**89.** Essentially, people are wonderful but the bad habits spoil them.

**90.** God gave us the power of habit but it is up to us what habit and which habit will prevail.

### **On Passions**

**91.** When a man is sunk in passions, his aims, if they are evil, encourage him to sink in evil as much as it is widespread.

### **On deception**

**92.** The sins bring habits, habits bring passions and passions bring in the false needs.

### **On Hatred**

**93.** Hatred is this: previous stupidly used or wasted love and insufficient exercise of will.

**94.** Why is someone able to hate somebody endlessly? When someone is positioned high, his first principle is not to make the first step falsely! If he makes a false step, fall from such a height is accelerated and it is uncertain where it will end because love turned into hatred. The aftermath is bursting from all sides of what is not love.

**95.** Where the explosive love occurs, it turns into eruption of hatred.

#### **On Humour**

**96.** Humour is the reverse of earnestness.

**97.** The appropriate humour and joke should cheer us up.

#### **On our Immortality**

**98.** Man and his will – that is the eternal issue. If we look at this topic from the perspective of the Bible, we will see the following: The first humans are told that they are allowed to try any fruit in the Garden except that one from the tree of knowing the good and evil. For, when they try it, they will die: not on the same day but later. Therefore, we are created not to die but to live eternally. That is why the idea of resurrection is not alien to us. But we err and thwart what should be normal and natural; what is more natural than eternal life?!

**99.** The immortal life is conditionally possible; only when what we do is in accordance with God's will and with God's blessing. Therefore, God's will and His blessing are our immortality. Otherwise, everything is death.

#### **On Remembering the Doomsday and God's Final Justice**

**100.** If we would constantly think on our appearance before the righteous Judge, we would spare both ourselves and the others from many troubles and misery.

**100a.** Lord will put all of us where no one will praise us nor criticize us as we ourselves would like but everything will be in accordance with justice. For, He is road, truth and life.

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## **ORTHODOX PRIESTS AND THE PROTESTANT ROMA (A Bit of Empirical Research from the South of Serbia)\***

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### **INTRODUCTION**

“Winding are the roads leading to Roma souls, and each and every one who claims that their souls are easy to ‘conquer’ makes a mistake at the very outset. It seems that religious dignitaries are aware of that fact, but it is solely on them to decide whether they will, as a result of their worldwide altruism, take the right road to their souls.”

It is in the nature of religious and faith groups to spread and grow stronger. Without this they are in danger of stagnation or faced with an even worse outcome, declining and dying out. Apart from all the hardship it has had in the last century, Orthodox faith has been faced with the influx of protestantisation of the population inhabiting traditionally Orthodox areas. Protestant denomination is especially appealing to the so-called national minorities.

In Serbia, especially in the south where the spreading of four Protestant denominations – Baptist, Adventist, Jehovah’s Witnesses and Pentecostal has gained momentum – the Roma are the desired target of missionary work, conversion and proselytism. If the Protestant communities are aiming at this target, why aren’t the Orthodox ones doing the same? We shall attempt to determine this by analysing the interviews with three Orthodox priests and several Protestant Roma.

### **IGNORANCE ON BOTH SIDES**

People are often not familiar enough with, or misunderstand the Orthodox faith, which leads to its misinterpretation. This is especially true for seminary and laymen studies of the West. As sociologists of religion, we know for a fact that Eastern Christianity has received far less attention than its Western counterparts, Protestantism and Catholicism. Recent renowned handbooks in sociology (Cambridge and Oxford ones for example) only occasionally mention the Orthodox faith and Church, whereas the latest study entitled *American Sociology of Religion* (Blasi 2007) leaves it out altogether.

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This should not be confused with the fact that valuable comprehensive studies of the Orthodox faith and recognised Orthodox churches are published at regular intervals, mostly those which regard them from the seminary and historical point of view. These are the following: *The Blackwell Companion to Eastern Christianity* from 2007, or a monograph by James R. Payton entitled *Light from the Christian East: An Introduction to the Orthodox Tradition*, from the same year, as well as numerous correct interpretations of the Orthodox faith by distinguished Catholics (Đorđević and Jovanović 2010b).

Protestant theologians have been trying to catch up with the factual state and present the Christian faith – which claims to be the only orthodox one – to its believers in its true light, because:

- (a) they do missionary work on “traditionally” Christian territories,
- (b) they come across it more and more in what is “traditionally” their field, and
- (c) they come across it and use it in the evangelisation of the third, neutral territory.

Truth be told, different encounters resulted in a better relationship between Orthodoxy and the so-called Old Protestantism, than between Eastern Christianity and Neo-Protestantism, which were marred by small disputes, as well as serious misunderstandings and severe conflicts. (For the purpose of softening the conflicts a book entitled *Orthodoxy, in the light of Evangelism* by a Serbian Baptist Ivica Stamenković (2010) was published, aimed at various kinds of readership, not just at those sharing the same faith – religious brothers). This book should be read by many: Orthodox believers, for they will find a lot about their faith that they do not know or have not been told, Orthodox theologians, so they would see how their faith is perceived by a “different Christian”, Catholic theologians, so that they can witness the pluralism of views on a confession their faith is fighting for the supremacy with, and sociologists of religion, so that they would find empirical evidence of religious experience which they would be unlikely to encounter by sticking to their science (Đorđević 2011).

Orthodox theologians, to put it bluntly, do not know much about Protestantism and are afraid of it, which is inconsistent with the historical instances of mutual cooperation. They not only shy away from, but reject Neo-Protestantism altogether – especially American denominations, labelling them openly as cults; they openly fight against it and wish it would simply cease to exist (Đorđević and Stajić 2011). However, Orthodoxy is doomed to coexistence with Neo-Protestantism from United States to Australia, Russia to South African Republic, and all the way to South Serbia.

### RELIGIOUS LEADERS ABOUT THE ROMA

As their brethren scattered around the globe, our Roma are degraded in most of social subsystems: economy, legal and political spheres and culture. We hold that outbursts of xenophobia and racism, although skilfully veiled, are fully expressed and harmful in the cultural field in its broader sense (culture as a narrower concept + education, means of mass communication, religion...).

The position of the Roma in the religious field is especially delicate, even more so due to the fact that all sorts of hostilities towards them should have died down by now – which is not the case. It might be that the attitude of the majority people (Serbs) and major national minorities (Albanians, Muslims, Hungarians, Croats) is crucial for the attitude towards Roma as believers. Maybe it is the nature of religi-



ous (Christianity and Islam) and confessional systems (Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism, and Protestantism, that is, Sunit Islam and Siit Islam), or is it religious structures that should bear most responsibility? Having examined the first two reasons in our other books and papers, we present the reader with the outline of *the dignitary opinion about Christian Roma* (Orthodox, Roman Catholics, Adventists and Pentecostals) and Muslims (Sunit Muslims). The starting point is the following: if the dignitaries of our religious communities cherish a 'sensible' attitude toward Roma believers, there is a chance of improving the attitude of the surrounding and the majority believer groups. It is from this assumption that a possibility for the growth of intercultural practice arises, thereby entailing the elimination of religious intolerance. In that way both religious and confessional acceptance of Roma on the part of ethnic and religious majority would result in a large-scale tolerance, that is, integration. They would become our neighbours indistinguishable from ourselves except for the colour of the skin, which stands for a sort of anthropological and cultural advantage.

Now, We would like only to quote some of the typical excerpts and analyze in the outline the interviews on the Roma as classical believers granted by five dignitaries of our religious communities (Đorđević and Todorović 2000).<sup>1</sup> The interviewees were: Hamdija Jusufspahić (H. J.), the Belgrade mufti, Andrija Kopilović (A. K.), Ph. D. and provost of the Theological-Cathestistic Institute of Subotica Bishopric, Lazar Stojšić (L. S.), the then president of the Evangelical Union of Serbia, Rađša Antić (R. A.), Ph. D. and the then president of the Executive Board of Christian Adventist Church, and Irinej (V. I.), the bishop of Niš.<sup>2</sup>

All dignitaries, in keeping with the recent democratic changes in Serbia, expect a better treatment for the church from the newly – formed republic and federal Governments. The representatives of Adventist and Evangelical churches express their opinion in a conciliatory tone, as is appropriate for such great and widespread religious communities.

The greatest number of Romani believers is among the Ortodox and the Muslims, there are few of them among Roman Catholics, and their number among Adventists and Evangelical communities is constantly increasing.

A. K.: "Accordingly, I maintain that their inner religious being is very strong, yet they are weak when it comes to religious practice. Or, as we put it, they are not regular believers. They adjust to religious customs as such in order to make them their own.";

H. J.: "I teach my Romani believers that they migrated to this territory as Muslims; they originally came here as Muslims. We Muslims from this area and Muslims from Bosnia and Hercegovina, both Bosnians and Albanians, we adopted the religion from Turks and Roma. Therefore, they are not bad people. In my opinion, they used to be the best believers.";

R. A.: "There are believers among Serbs who join the church and leave it after a short period of time, but there also Roma people who have always been there and who are good believers.";

L. S.: "When they adopt Christianity, the Romas significantly change their way of life. If they are the Romas converted many years ago, the aforementioned change is more apparent. Of course, we come across certain problems regarding the practice of religious customs, which are very simple for us, Evangelical believers.";

V. I.: "Not only the Romas, but each and every man who is only a declarative believer and a member of our Ortodox church, and each and every man whose faith is reduced to a mere celebration of his/her Patron Saint's day – which is usually the case – is not a good believer."

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<sup>1</sup> See the book containing integral interviews *Roma Souls* (Живковић и др. 2001).

<sup>2</sup> The Patriarch of Serbia since last year.

The dignitaries emphasise the equality between the Romas and the other believers. However,

V. I.: "I think that it is high time that population acquired the cultural features and I hold that both the Church and the society commit an unpardonable sin by not investing more effort in cultivating that population.";

A. K.: "I have also experienced very pleasant moments with them in their simple way of life, in such an almost clan – like way of thinking. In my parish, there is no difference between the Romas and other people. They are not marginalized.";

L. S.: "Christian Romas are looked upon with scepticism by their non – Christian compatriots, and the rest of the church members treat the newly – converted Romas in the same fashion as well. Such situation lasts until newly – converted Romas prove they have become sincere and loyal believers by adopting a new lifestyle. After a while, however, one can tell whether a man is a true convert or not."

Bishop Irinej and A. Kopilović put the stress on Romas' liberty to choose where to be buried; Mufti complains of the lack of parcels in which burials could be carried out according to religious regulations; R. Antić insists on burying in exclusively common urban and rural cemeteries, and L. Stojšić notices:

"In certain regions there are the so called separate Romani cemeteries, that is, remnants of Muslim cemeteries in which the Romas are still buried today, be they Muslims, Ortodox or Protestants."

The Bishop states he has not heard of any examples of the intolerance between the Romas of different confessions.

Mufti says: "I have not noticed anywhere that sort of antagonism, but even if there is any, it is not unnatural, and it occurs all around the world between those who understand religion and those who do not.";

L. S. claims: "However, in rural regions Ortodox believers sometimes are more suspicious more than Roman Catholics. When Muslim Romas are being converted into Christianity, it is Muslims who grow distrustful.";

A. K. asserts: "As a matter of fact, there occurs a shift from the religious towards the national, and the intolerant group excludes the other group, believing that a man from that other group has denounced Romani religion, which, to tell you the truth, does not exist in Europe as an independent Romani religion."

Catholics, Ortodox, and Muslims still assume an unfriendly attitude towards minor religious communities – they call them sects and convict them of aggressiveness and forcible conversion. Such attitude is accounted for by the low level of religious education and poor social condition (this especially goes for Roma). Protestants stress the fact that the conversion of the Romas is not such a large – scale process as believed, and that when it does occur, it means a voluntary conversion from one religious community into another one, first of all due to a more acceptable and intelligible Christian teaching.

Only Roman Catholics have the Special Committee for caring about Roma.<sup>3</sup> ("On the top of the Church in Rome there is a separate Section for the pastoral of the nomads, Romani nomads. And our bishopric has the Committee for Catholic Roma headed by Marko Forgić, msgr., who is a delegate appointed by the bishop to take ca-

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<sup>3</sup> See *Guidelines for the Pastoral Care of the Roma* (Pontifical Council for the Pastoral Care of Migrants and Itinerant People 2008).

re about the pastoral and Roma. At the former Yugoslav Conference, the bishop of Đakovica was charged with taking care about Roma on the whole ex – Yugoslav territory. Catholic church, therefore, has a separate sections and a separate pastoral for Roma in a bishopric, and it does take care about them.” /A. K./)

Religious dignitaries agree that the translation of religious sacraments and performing certain religious rites in the Romas language may contribute to the creation of religious identity of the Romas of a given confession, yet they point to the need to standardize their language, as an important prerequisite leading to the removal of linguistic barriers between Roma from different regions. None of the dignitaries disapprove of specific expressions of some Roma religious feelings, which are in contrast to their actual confession. The mufti explains this phenomenon: ”It is easier to fight against religion than customs.”

Although they have not said much about the Romas as adherents of two great world religions and their confessions, the religious dignitaries obviously think that the Romas could be ‘good’ church believers, devout Orthodox, Catholics, Protestants and Muslims.

### **IGNORANCE ON BOTH SIDES – ORTHODOX PRIESTS AND THE PROTESTANT ROMA – IS THIS REALLY THE CASE?**

Orthodoxy in south Serbia is not only doomed to coexistence with Neo-Protestant Serbs, the national majority, but also with the growing protestantisation of the local Roma, who are well on the way of outnumbering all other peoples and minorities in the “third branch“ of Christianity. Their conversion has been massive ever since the last decades of the previous century, with no indications that this trend will cease any time soon, if ever. Group conversions to Pentecostalism are also quite common. Local Pentecostal Roma communities, such as the one in Leskovac – the famous “church under the tent“ with several hundred believers – led us to justifiably rename the conversion from protestantisation to pentecostalisation (Đorđević 2005).<sup>4</sup>

Whatever the truth, the fact remains that the so-called small religious Protestant communities have greater success amongst the Roma than the Serbian Orthodox church. *Their success is in direct proportion to the interest of the Serbian Orthodox Church for the overall integration of the Roma people.* And SOC is represented by its priests in the field, which means that the whole situation heavily depends on *the behaviour of the Orthodox clergy.* This is how the Roma from Southeast Serbia perceive it and what they think of it: <sup>5</sup>

HAVE YOU EVER TURNED TO PRIESTS FOR ANY RELIGIOUS RITES?

BAPTISTS

“No, no. You see, to be honest, we had our doubts about the priests. See, this is where we live now. We have always lived away from everyone else, at the outskirts of the village. Whatever we needed, we asked from our Serbian neighbours. None of the Roma from Gornji Komren has ever asked anything from a priest. They were only called in for the family’s patron saint celebrations, funerals, baptisms and celebrations of the

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<sup>4</sup> You can read more about this in Dragan Todorović’s PhD thesis entitled *The Protestantisation of the Roma in Southeastern Serbia*, which is soon to be presented at the Faculty of Philosophy – University of Belgrade.

<sup>5</sup> Parts of interviews conducted by D. Todorović in 2009 and 2010 for his dissertation.

village patron saint. No other connections existed. We were distrustful due to our seclusion, we thought they were priests of the Serbs.”

*Milovan Bećirović, 61, Baptist, Gornji Komren (Niš)*

“No.”

*Nefiza-Dragana Bekirović, 39, Baptist, Bela palanka*

#### JEHOVAH’S WITNESSES

“As far as I know, my family hasn’t. They’ve never come either. Judging by what some people say, when something happened to someone, they would go to church to light a candle. Some still do it, but it was certainly more common in the past than it is now. When someone has a bad dream, when something bad happens or someone is ill, then it’s a sort of a superstition, belief, they light or turn the candle.”

*Zenko Saitović, 35, Jehovah’s Witness, Vranje*

#### ADVENTISTS

“If I remember correctly, if anyone had a problem, an illness, which called for a prayer, they would ask a priest to pray to God, but I’m not really sure, I’m not familiar with these practices. It has never happened in our house, no one has been seriously ill or bed-ridden for so long that they would need to turn to a priest for healing. There have been no other reasons to do this either.”

*Boban Tošić, 35, Adventist, Gornji Matejevac (Niš)*

“We were completely discriminated against, as if we didn’t exist. You know what they said? You have, they said, eaten your cheese church. I remember going to Stopanje with my husband, before we became Adventists, it was Saint George’s Day, and there was this custom in which you circle three times round the church, and then I heard my husband ask for a crucifix to be placed on him, and they said: ‘No, you don’t belong to any religion, you are not entitled to that.’”

*Nerija Ajdarević, 58, Adventist, Vinarce (Leskovac)*

#### HOW DID THEY TREAT YOU? DID THEY COME TO YOUR DISTRICT?

#### BAPTISTS

“No, not that I can remember. If I understand correctly, being in my sixties, it was every Orthodox believer’s duty to go to church, priests considered it our duty and didn’t think it was up to them to invite us or anything.”

*Milovan Bećirović, 61, Baptist, Gornji Komren (Niš)*

„Priests came only for the family’s patron saint celebration, to cut the bread and nothing else.”

*Nefiza-Dragana Bekirović, 39, Baptist, Bela palanka*

“No, they only came for festivals or to cut the bread and not on other occasions. Or when we arranged for a baptism, and couldn’t go to church, they would come to our house, perform the baptism and that was it.”

*Milenko Mirković-Miško, 44, Baptist, Berilje (Prokuplje)*

#### JEHOVAH’S WITNESSES

“They came to the village, but not to Roma houses, if I remember correctly. They come here, bless the water, but they never come to us.”

*Saša Bakić, Jehovah’s witness, Taskovići (Niš)*

“I have no recollection of any priest coming to us. Erm, at that time, the priest would come to our house and then my mother would tell him that we did not celebrate; he used to go from house to house at the time.”

*Perica Demirović, 58, Jehovah’s witness, Žitkovac (Niš)*

“Priests never made the first step to help with anything that has to do with religion.”

*Zenko Saitović, 35, Jehovah’s Witness, Vranje*

“Well, no one ever came. I don’t know what to say, maybe they thought the Roma were Muslim, that they would have difficulty accepting some Orthodox things, related to Orthodoxy. They considered the Roma Muslim, no need to confuse things.”

*Trajče Veselović, 57, Jehovah’s witness, Leskovac*

“Let me tell you how it was. My father lived in Medvedja, and we had an imam there, and he might have taken some of the children to him. But, when we came to Pusta reka, there wasn’t an imam there. There were priests, but we weren’t of the same faith to have them talking to us. The situation was similar with other Roma people.”

*Zimka Zekić, 68, Jehovah’s witness, Vinarce (Leskovac)*

### ADVENTISTS

“No, we lived together with Serbs, there were two Roma families there, my father’s and his relatives’. Priests never came to our house. I only have a memory of my grandma, who had something to do with them, and that’s it. My dad didn’t celebrate anything afterwards. To tell you the truth, I have no idea how they treated the Roma in their district, since I have never lived in the district, but here with Serbs.”

*Slavica Asanović, 50, Adventist, Niš*

“No, they didn’t, but there was this priest, Toma, who was like a friend to us. He loved our family and grandma and grandpa respected him. He still phones occasionally, we have stayed in touch. He hadn’t invited us to church until we converted to Adventism, but now it’s too late.”

*Anita Simić, 29, Adventist, Niš*

“They used to pay us visits. The previous priest, Rade was his name, he came to every house, just to visit, he even came to Roma houses. I don’t remember how he behaved when he came to our house, I probably wasn’t there, I was at work, I didn’t see him. We had a few priests. There was this Blagoja, I vaguely remember him coming to our house, apart from when he came for the patron saint celebration, he was a sort of a family friend, since he was influential in the entire village. Blagoja, erm, Blagoja is in Pantelej now. Rade the priest came to see us often, but God forgive me, he’s not here now, so it’s no use talking about it, but I didn’t like his behaviour. When he came once when I was at home, don’t know if it was to cut the bread or to bless the water, someone remarked that he charged too much, saying: ‘You used to take as much as we had to give, but now you have set prices’. And since we are musicians, he replied: ‘Well, you make money by playing the lute, guitar, violin and what not, and this is how we make money! You are the same – you play your flute, you ask for a bag of flour.’ Somehow, I didn’t like what he was saying, he should have been calmer, more docile, merciful and polite, and he wasn’t any of these....”

*Boban Tošić, 35, Adventist, Gornji Matejevac (Niš)*

“Priests never came to Roma houses. Not because they weren’t interested, but because the Roma didn’t go to church. Here, we pray to God and we go to church, and then the priests visits us, our priest, and we talk to him. I don’t know if anyone still goes to the Orthodox church.”

*Zoran Zekić, 28, Adventist, Međa (Leskovac)*

“What I said is that they only went to priests for holy water, to baptise their children there. I’ll be honest with you. Orthodox priests at the time had the same attitude towards the Roma as everyone else. Poor, wretched, why would they come to us to do anything, you need to pay the priest, they won’t come for free. This is the reason priests never visited the Roma. They were extremely poor, they had only one room to live in, two at most. If they had two, they kept flour and wood in one and slept in the other.”

*Života Mirković, 62, Donje Brijanje (Leskovac)*

“No, never. Where I used to live, they would visit only the Serbs, and never the Roma.”

*Biljana Demirović, 50, Adventist, Dragovac (Bojnik)*

“They only came for the money, and they never invited the Roma to church. They never asked whether we had the Bible in the house; until recently they asked no one about the Bible, let alone the Roma.”

*Zoran Rušitović, 44, Adventist, Kosančić (Bojnik)*

“If I can speak frankly, I will tell you how it was at the time. One day, the priest who was supposed to bless the bread, and every Roma knows the part of the Bible which says that they should not charge according to this commandment. However, the priest charged so much, that people didn't have enough money for food and living expenses afterwards. I'm talking about the Roma households. And then everything got out of control, so that the Roma don't have any purpose or cooperation with them. However, the Serbs found out what the priest had done to the Roma, and they started ignoring him, so that even to this day they don't call priests in Dubovo, regardless of the patron saint and other celebrations. For, a priest is not supposed to charge according to the laws of the Bible.”

*Goran Afirović, 45, Adventist, Žitorada (Prokuplje)*

#### PENTECOSTALS

“Priests never came to our district.”

*Časlav Kadrić, 50, Pentecostal, Leskovac*

“No, no, no. They never ever came. On 9 April we used to go to Kumarevo, that was it, nothing else.”

*Nazif Bakić, 61, Pentecostal, Leskovac*

“No. Maybe the priests themselves offered it, but they never accepted it. Do you know what they based their decision on? Here, and not just here, I heard it was also true for some other places, priests drink and talk nonsense, which is completely out of place. Maybe they would have accepted it, but seeing those priests and such bad behaviour, I can't tell for sure. They came, they socialised, but they didn't accept anything at all, they laughed at priests. They didn't want any encouragement from the priests.”

*Alisa Tončić, 33, Pentecostal, Leskovac*

“No, never. Since I was born and as far as I can remember, never. Neither did imams, nor anyone....”

*Ivan Maksimović, 37, Pentecostal, Leskovac*

“No. They never came. Even today, to my knowledge, these people are nowhere to be found. They don't come to my house to tell me the word of God, to convert me, so I can come to church. You need God. They never came. Not even when my family was celebrating, for example, they could have come, they know we celebrate. But they didn't. I don't know whether we called them, whether my family called them.”

*Šerif Asanović, 45, Pentecostal, Vranje*

“Not as far as I can remember. If you saw a priest walking down the street, you'd say 'hello', and that was that.”

*Kadira Asanović, 50, Pentecostal, Vranjska Banja (Vranje)*

“Clergy, priests? To my knowledge, they never came. I am quite sure they didn't.”

*Demir Demirovski, 32, Pentecostal, Vranje*

“Unfortunately, they didn't. Even if they came, they only called on their friends. When it comes to my family, they only came as friends, not as priests, not to tell us about God or teach us anything. I can still remember how they used to threaten us when they came. They threatened us that they would call a priest to chop off our ears with scissors if we misbehaved. And when they came, the first thing they would ask was whether we had money. Ok, this never happened with my family, but I heard it on several occasions. They would ask: “Do you have any money to have the house blessed?”. Or: “I'll bless the house now, but when you bring the bread, make sure you bring the money too. Otherwise, I won't cut your bread’.”

*Siniša Cvetković, 29, Pentecostal, Vranje*

“I don’t know how much the children mingle. I’ll tell you something, there are instances, but they’re very rare, of children hanging out together when they’re out of school. It would be so much easier if the population was mixed... Children don’t learn Serbian in the ghetto. And there are so many smart, apt, clever children here, who could go to good schools. And they go to special schools because they can’t speak Serbian. I blame the parents. Why? It is their duty to prepare their children to speak both Serbian and Romani. If, God willing, I have children one day, I will teach them Serbian first, because they will need it more. And they will certainly learn Romani in the family.”

*Vesna Demirović, 39, Pentecostal, Vranjaska Banja (Vranje)*

*DID THEY USE THEIR VISIT AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO INVITE YOU TO THE LITURGY?*

### ADVENTISTS

“It never happened that a priest who came to us recommended that we read the Bible, and he never told us anything from the Bible. He only came to bless the water, cut the bread, sing something we didn’t understand, pray for every individual family member and in the end take the money. He never said: “Here, read something from the Bible.” I was a child at the time, but I remember when he used to come, we were all there and he never said a word about it.”

*Anita Simić, 29, Adventist, Niš*

“No. We didn’t have a copy of the Bible at home, until I went and asked for the truth. I would be lying if I said he came to invite us to the liturgy. His behaviour was very formal. That’s why I’m looking for my version of truth, which I wasn’t able to get from them. But I will give you a different answer to the previous question: I did go to the liturgy. I did what the priest told me to, we all did it in our ignorance, he didn’t even open the Bible to quote from it. To this very day, he sings, they say ‘amen’ and that’s it! He never talks about Christ, who is the centre of our faith, the priest does not talk about Christocentrism. He talks about patron saint celebrations and saints; it’s true that he mentions Christ, but Christ should be the basis, like a foundation is when you build a house. This is why my heart didn’t flutter when the priest was preaching... However, the priest said something I found offensive. He told my father when my uncle Ilija died and he came to commemorate the first forty days after the funeral, and he had heard about me and asked how I was doing. And then they asked him something, to which he probably replied: ‘Eh, he’s probably going to sacrifice his daughter, that’s what they do, they’re like a cult!’ He, the spiritual leader of the village, who is supposed to teach people, should not be allowed to say such things! I don’t know what gave him the right and courage to say such a lie! A lie it is, I gave life to my child! I never got married, I didn’t bring anyone to be her mother. It’s not like I am incapable or anything, that I can’t get married, I could easily do it tomorrow, it’s just that I cannot ensure a mother who would nourish that child. So, I make sacrifices for my child, do everything to please her; I would never sacrifice her, God forbid! This is what my family told me he said, and I feel awkward going there to ask him what he meant by that and whether he even said it in the first place. I suppose he would deny it, since I don’t think he sticks to the seventh commandment. As for his wife... My daughter told me, she teaches catechism at school.

And through catechism my daughter noticed many truths that I told her. ‘Daddy, she tells us the same things you do’, were her words. An that husband of hers, the priest, only cares about patron saint celebrations, the bread, candles... ‘She’s expecting Christ just like you are’, my daughter tells me. She’s attending catechism classes. When they were given a choice between two elective courses, civics and catechism, I told her to choose catechism so she’d learn something about God. In Solomon’s tales it is said: teach your children while they’re young, so they wouldn’t go astray later on....”

*Boban Tošić, 35, Adventist, Gornji Matejevac (Niš)*

And how do Orthodox priests see their neighbours, the Roma?

HOW ARE THE ROMA, AS BELIEVES, GENERALLY TREATED BY THE REST OF THE ORTHODOX/ISLAMIC BELIEVERS? IS THEIR PRESENCE IN CHURCHES/MOSQUES DESIRED? DO YOU GLADLY PERFORM RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES AND CELEBRATE FESTIVALS WITH THEM? FOR, THERE ARE CERTAIN CLAIMS THAT THE ROMA CANNOT BE GOOD BELIEVERS, THAT THEY'RE NOT CONSISTENT IN THEIR FAITH AND DO NOT PRACTICE THE CEREMONIES, ETC.

“SVETA JOVIĆ (protopresbyter stavrophore, the head of the Orthodox Cathedral in Leskovac): There are no Roma believers in our parish. However, the situation is different in the neighbouring villages, in Grdelica, Lebane and Vlasotince. These are the principal places where they got converted. Orthodox names are rare here, they give names known only to them, Muslim or whichever, even though generally they do not know which faith they belong to, I stand firmly behind my words when I claim this. For, they celebrate Vlasuljica, Saint Basil the Great, Saint George, I see that they're buying turkey now. At the same time they invite imams over, not all of them, but some certainly do. Or in 90% of the cases they perform funerals without anyone present, and put the crescent moon and star on their graves, on tombstones. Practically, they do not know which religion they belong to. I'm talking about the Roma living in cities now. However, I know for a fact that in Lebane they all have Serbian names, as well as in Vlasotince, where they celebrate Orthodox patron saints; all of them have been baptised in Orthodox churches in these areas. So, generally speaking about the town of Leskovac, they are not Orthodox here. But it was by their own will that they got isolated here. No one is forbidden from coming to church here. But their habits and attitudes towards the religion itself have contributed to this. In the end, it is easy to talk to literate people and prove some things to them. But if someone is ignorant and inert, you cannot allow them to... There was a very striking case of this little boy who used to push his invalid granddad around in his wheelchair. His name was Demir, he's a young man now. When he was younger, he used to stand at my gate all the time and ask for something. And we used to give him all the time, money to buy bread, cheese, salami, anything, five, ten dinars, as much as we could afford to give. Whenever he saw me in the parish, I always gave him something. One day, he was grown by then and our relationship had changed, he sees me and says: 'Give me 50 dinars', he wasn't asking for change anymore. And I say: 'Demir, you're grown now, it's shameful for you to go around begging, you can now chop wood for people, you can do many things.' He replies: 'I'll beat you up.' 'You should', I reply, thinking to myself that I would never allow for that to happen, but I still say: 'You should beat me up', since I invested into someone without any regret for doing so. It is obviously, as I had told him earlier, a bottomless pit. Whatever you invest into it, judging also by what the municipality has invested, attitudes in life do not change... We are still not giving up on plans to build a church near the Spiter graveyard in the next 10 years, and this is where their transit is, leading either left or right. But all this will be done primarily because of the need for a church, because of the graveyard, and not for the purpose of getting closer to them. We don't have a problem with this, but there were problems with the local indoor swimming pool here, where all people would leave when the Roma came.”

“LAZAR BARAC (protodeacon, appointed by the archbishop at the Holy Great Martyr Procopius' Church since 1982): They are well accepted. You know that priest give communion after the liturgy, well no one went away here because a baptised Orthodox Roma was in front of them in the line, no one said they didn't want to use the same spoon just because a Roma had used it before them. All people are brothers in Orthodoxy, we have a lot of African black people who are Orthodox as well. Faith goes beyond nations, our Lord did not say: 'May only Serbs come to me', so it makes sense that the Church should teach people that they are brothers. The Roma are very superstitious, Serbs regard them as equals.”

ALEKSANDAR JOVANOVIĆ (the rector of the Holy Trinity Orthodox Cathedral in Vranje since 1994): There are no problems and there have never been any. There are no differences, I have never noticed any animosity. Unfortunately, in Serbian Ortho-



doxy there are many who belong to the Church only by the power of baptism, and who do not live in accordance with their faith in everyday life. That's why there is no zealotry on the part of many of the Serbian believers. However, neither them nor the true believers show any signs of animosity towards the Roma believers."

DO YOU SPREAD EVANGELISM OR QURAN IN ROMA DISTRICTS ON THE TERRITORY OF YOUR PARISH? DO YOU EVER INVITE THE ROMA TO ATTEND LITURGIES/PRAYERS AND CATECHISM CLASSES AND DO YOU PERFORM CERTAIN CEREMONIES IN THEIR HOUSES? IF NOT, PLEASE SAY WHY.

"SVETA JOVIĆ: Personally, I don't. And no one else has done it, because they left no space for it, they weren't interested. All that is politicised to the maximum. The state too only visits their districts before the elections when they give them some flour."

"LAZAR BARAC: Unfortunately, we have never done this. It might be our mistake that we didn't do missionary work amongst the Roma. The situation was similar with people from Bosnia, those who were at some point forced to denounce Orthodoxy, we didn't lend a helping hand afterwards and we didn't say: 'You are my brother, you were forced to do this, it's all right now', no – we called them 'converts'. Even Njegos wrote about the persecution of converts."

"ALEKSANDAR JOVANOVIĆ: I have a few households that want to practice Christian faith more and more, those are some of the baptised families. They invite me to bless the water before the patron saint celebration, at Easter, they show great respect towards priests, I can honestly say, even more than Serbian families. They have the will, but I noticed that they are not consistent in it; sometimes they come to the liturgy, but they fail to come regularly. Some of them try to read from the Bible occasionally. And the reason behind this is the Pentecostal cult, which made them read the holy books more... When I see them in the street I often tell them that it would be good for them to get baptised, I explain to them what baptism means, but it usually ends in their promising to do so or saying that they will think about it and come, which they never do. I don't think they have a firm attitude towards religion, any given one."

DO YOU EVER VISIT ROMA HOUSEHOLDS FOR PURELY HUMANE REASONS, TO SEE HOW THEY ARE DOING AND WHAT'S BOTHERING THEM, I.E. IF THERE ARE ANY CONCRETE WAYS IN WHICH YOU COULD HELP THEM?

"SVETA JOVIĆ: No. I have to admit this: I have an aversion towards all that, precisely because they are irresponsible, dirty, squalid. They put you off, when you walk down their street, through their district, especially in the summer, there are foul smells coming from everywhere. And it might be a sin if, I am talking from my own standpoint here, if our church embraced such a scruffy, dirty and smelly bunch. And imagine yourself standing for an hour next to such people, that would be the end of it, you would simply turn your back and leave without any second thoughts, and even change your opinion of the church itself.

As a man, a priest, as someone who... for Christ we were all equal. The Old testament distinguishes between Greek people, Jews, slaves and masters, but he said: 'But I tell you, from now on nobody is more beautiful or better than anyone else, there are no Greeks and Jews, no slaves and masters, all stand equal before Christ.' But they became isolated of their own will and they don't want to be integrated into the society. I believe, hearing what their representatives in the government are saying, that they are trying in vain...I mean, it's all viewed from the side, it's all based on nationalism... A few months ago there was a fight in the prison in Leskovac, do you remember that? The fight was between the Roma and the Serbs, but it wasn't publically talked about so it would not be revealed that it was on the national basis. They are very aggressive. Even those who don't have anything, they have been informed that they can always defend themselves by claiming that their rights are being violated, because they are Roma, which is complete nonsense. Because they build what they want without a permit, no permits are asked from them, they don't pay any living expenses, anything. All this thanks to the occasional elections, when they vote and give a certain percen-

tage of votes to whoever, this is what they get. Everything else, I say, I may be small and insignificant to give my judgment, but I believe that any attempt... Because, we have a few teachers, apart from that Bakic guy, we have another one in a polytechnic school, Tane Kurtic is his name. One of our priests here, whose daughter was in his class, wanted to beat the living daylights out of him, because he was keen on tormenting his daughter at school at all costs. They are very aggressive, those who went in for politics, for business, they are very aggressive, very rude. I'm not saying, there are both good and bad amongst our population as well, but they are on a very low intellectual level, they don't have anything to use for thinking.

They are guided by their instincts, when they're hungry they ask for something to eat, that's when they beg, ask, steal, same thing happens when they're thirsty, and nothing else matters. It's as if they are a bit backward in a way, they minds are not broad enough, that's what their life philosophy is like. If they have some bread, 200 g of salami, a bottle of beer, there, they spend all summer in front of the grocery store close to my house. They don't have money for anything they need, but they have to buy a six-pack of beer, and then when they drink it they become loud and talkative and that's their life. And now we should come and offer them guidance, I think it's Sisyphus' work and doesn't lead anywhere.

There, that is my personal opinion, but also the opinion of the Church when it comes to taking any action. It might be a good idea to build a Roma church, but then again who would do something like that..."

“LAZAR BARAC: Those who are religious have great respect for the priests. I think it's even easier for them to accept the things I tell them than it is for Serbs. And they like to ask a lot of questions, is this right, is that good. They ask about the dreams they had, they dream about something and they come to venerate icons, and they ask where different saints and icons are. There has to be some logic there, God certainly gave them soul which yearns for God, and the fact that we don't know how to approach them, that we're bad at missionary work, that's our problem. And there have been no appeals to us from above to go to their homes. And so we don't visit them often.

They understand religious issues. For example, if someone doesn't what to hold the candle at a funeral, they just step away, they don't get in the way of those who do want to, there is understanding, tolerance. I had an opportunity to go to Roma households where half the people were unbaptised, Muslims. And they didn't mind this, even though they never told me why half of them were Orthodox, and half weren't. There are cases where they become blood brothers, and they know they cannot do this in church if they're both not baptised and they respect this.”

“ALEKSANDAR JOVANOVIĆ: Well, I live close to their district, I see them all the time, some of them I know well, we talk about many different things. Most of them have hard lives, but things have changed for the better in comparison to how it was twenty, thirty years ago, when I was a child. Some of them made some money in the meantime, they live better, or some of their relatives work abroad, so they managed to help them improve their living standard. There are many musicians amongst them, Roma musicians from the south are quite famous, they have a special gift for music, song and dancing, and they really do it with passion, I have to admit that.”

WHAT SHOULD YOUR RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY DO TO BE JOINED BY A GREATER NUMBER OF THE ROMA?

“SVETA JOVIC: Nowadays everything boils down to material things. Having in mind that our church is faced with the crisis as well, this is normal, like country, like church; our church cannot offer much at the moment. The material aspect is the primary one, there's nothing else.”

*How about going to their districts and offering the word of God more often?*  
I'm sure they don't have any idea what that is.”

“LAZAR BARAC: Missionary work, that's where we have failed. People living next to us, who should be our brothers, we neglect them. Nowadays we're sending missiona-

ries to black peoples' countries, and we do not see people living in our neighbourhood. We didn't offer our hand, we didn't say: 'You are our brothers', for Christ didn't die only for this priest or that, he died for an unbaptised Roma as well.

I wouldn't know why we did thus. There were times when it was forbidden to perform baptism at people's homes, we weren't allowed to go to funerals in times of communism. If a mother brought her child in for baptism, for example, other parent's permission was asked as well. A priest would perform the ceremony as quick as possible, charge what he had to in order to make a living, and withdraw to the church, he wasn't allowed to do missionary work."

"ALEKSANDAR JOVANOVIĆ: Not in our parish, but I know a lot has been done by Bishop Irinej of Backa in Novi Sad, the liturgical book has been translated into Romani and priests were appointed to perform ceremonies in Romani. However, I'm not sure all this yielded any results. There was initial enthusiasm in the Roma population, but it soon died down, and I haven't heard anything about them continuing to build this 'house of spirituality' on the aforementioned foundations ever since.

Orthodoxy primarily revolves around liturgy, it is a way for Orthodoxy to spread outwards, faith is best presented through liturgy, it's more about the gospel principle 'come and see', just like our Lord said to the Apostles, and not so much about doing missionary work amongst people. It's not that we don't invite the Roma, or explain to them what this means, it's just that there's no response. The Roma are primarily occupied with secular life, material problems. Existential struggle is their number one problem. They also have this mentality of living for today only, it has been prevalent in them for decades, they don't feel the need for a deeper, spiritual life. Maybe if there was an Orthodox priest who has been canonised, and if he was willing to live actively amongst them, not just next to them, maybe he would be able to make some significant changes."

Yes, winding are the roads leading to Roma souls, and each and every one who claims that their souls are easy to 'conquer' makes a mistake at the very outset. It seems that religious dignitaries are aware of that fact, unlike pastoral priests who should be spreading their word amongst the believers, and who should have understood that it is up to them to choose the right path to the Roma soul. The Protestant Roma know Orthodox clergy far better than the clergy knows the Roma. What is even worse, Orthodox priests – not all of them, of course – are still prisoners of stereotypes and prejudices relating to the Roma.

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Translated from Serbian by Ivana Vlajković

Zorica Kuburić

## ORTHODOX EPISCOPAL DEANERY IN KRUŠEVAC FROM 2000 to 2010\*

In this article I would like to present a religious life in Kruševac in the period from 2000 to 2010, by comparing data managed by Municipal office of Kruševac with those kept by the Church. I have acquired the data from the Municipal office of Kruševac at the written request, which I sent on October 25, 2010, while the data from the ecclesial records were give to me on the same day by the priest and Episcopal Dean Adam Stevanović, who received me at 7.30 a.m. in the morning in his office and showed me the kept documentation and read to me the reports for the each year. Although retired, he was asked to continue to perform the duty of the Episcopal Dean.

The Orthodox Episcopal Deanery in Kruševac is a part of the Eparchy of Kruševac ([www.eparhijakrusevacka.com](http://www.eparhijakrusevacka.com)), established by the Serbian Orthodox Church (SOC). It can be found on the web page of the Eparchy of Kruševac that the new Eparchy was founded on February 13, 2011 with the seat in the former capital of Saint Tsar Lazar – Kruševac. The decision on establishing the Eparchy of Kruševac was made during the autumn session of the Church Council, which started on 17.11.2010; the newly formed Eparchy has five Deaneries: Kruševac, Čičevac, Trstenik, Župa, and Temnić. There are 88 parishes in the Eparchy, which includes Kruševac, Brus, Aleksandrovac, Trstenik, Varvarin, Čičevac, and Ražanj. In this article a special attention is given to the Eparchy of Kruševac and the Parish of Dvorane.

According to the 2002 census, over 97% of population in Kruševac is orthodox (Municipalities, 31.3.2002; Census 2002).

Table 1.

Religious affiliation of the Kruševac population is as follows:

Total	131.368
Islam	85
Judaism	-
Catholic	167
Orthodox	128.063
Protestant	45
Pro-oriental cults	2
Religious affiliation is not included in the list	513
Religious, but without any affiliations	-
Undeclared	556
Nonbeliever	146
Unknown	1791

\* It has been done as a part of the project “Changes in Social Structure and Mobility as a Factor of European Integration of the Republic of Serbia, with special reference to AP Vojvodina”, No 179053 (2011-2014), which is financially supported by the Ministry of Science and Technological Development of the Republic of Serbia.

Possibly the most important thing for a town and its future is a number of newborns. In Kruševac not only women from Kruševac and the surrounding places give birth to their children, but also women from Aleksandorvac, Brus, Varvarin, Čičevac, Trstenik, as well as women from Kosovo and Metohija with residence in Kruševac. It is also important to mention that since 2005 there has been a number of subsequently added people, who were born in the former republics of Yugoslavia.

Table 2.

Number of newborns in Kruševac (period – town – suburban neighborhoods-villages)	
1. 1. 2000 – 31. 12. 200	2182 (592 – 438)
1. 1. 2001 – 31. 12. 2001.	2294 (641 – 438)
1. 1. 2002 – 31. 12. 2002.	2176 (646 – 425)
1. 1. 2003 – 31. 12. 2003.	2135 (649 – 418)
1. 1. 2004 – 31. 12. 2004.	2084 (634 – 446)
1. 1. 2005 – 31. 12. 2005.	1875 (517 – 276)
1. 1. 2006 – 31. 12. 2006.	1759 (415 – 248)
1. 1. 2007 – 31. 12. 2007.	1664 (557 – 354)
1. 1. 2008 – 31. 12. 2008.	1821 (611 – 354)
1. 1. 2009 – 31. 12. 2009.	1816 (606 – 330)
1. 1. 2010 – 18. 10. 2010.	1475 (436 – 224)

The numbers in Table 2 clearly show the gradual decrease in the birth rate; however, it is not a reason for quoting these data, but the fact that they enable the comparative overview on the number of baptized children. Namely, by looking in the state and church registers we can understand the religious life of citizens of the town with a rich history and with relatively homogenized population in regards to religion.

Table 3.

The deceased with the residence in Kruševac in the period 1. 1. 2000 – 25. 10. 2010.  
(Period – town – suburban neighborhoods)

1. 1. 2000 – 31. 12. 200	507	132
1. 1. 2001 – 31. 12. 2001.	432	139
1. 1. 2002 – 31. 12. 2002.	459	146
1. 1. 2003 – 31. 12. 2003.	496	157
1. 1. 2004 – 31. 12. 2004.	495	151
1. 1. 2005 – 31. 12. 2005.	460	165
1. 1. 2006 – 31. 12. 2006.	522	163
1. 1. 2007 – 31. 12. 2007.	493	175
1. 1. 2008 – 31. 12. 2008.	566	169
1. 1. 2009 – 31. 12. 2009.	569	181
1. 1. 2010 – 18. 10. 2010.	445	121

The number of the deceased in Kruševac (table 3), either in hospital or at home, is given for the territory of the town and surrounding suburban areas, such as Dedina, Lazarica, Pakasnica, etc. and without villages, because the statistics for villages is kept in local offices, and I have acquired these data in the Municipality Office. In ave-

rage, in Kruševac die 450 people a year in the town and 155 people in the suburban neighborhoods. According to researches, the citizens observe all the usual ceremonies, regardless of whether they are religious or not.

Table 4.

The number of married people in the Municipality office of Kruševac:

1. 1. 2000 – 31. 12. 2000	677
1. 1. 2001 – 31. 12. 2001	650
1. 1. 2002 – 31. 12. 2002	644
1. 1. 2003 – 31. 12. 2003	651
1. 1. 2004 – 31. 12. 2004	609
1. 1. 2005 – 31. 12. 2005	575
1. 1. 2006 – 31. 12. 2006	626
1. 1. 2007 – 31. 12. 2007	769
1. 1. 2008 – 31. 12. 2008	725
1. 1. 2009 – 31. 12. 2009	687
1. 1. 2010 – 18. 10. 2010	487

It was explained to me that since 2007 the number of married people has been increased, because many Serbian citizens of Albanian nationality from the Prizren region in Kosovo and Metohija are being married in Kruševac.

#### **ORTHODOX EPISCOPAL GOVERNORSHIP IN KRUŠEVAC**

Before proceeding to the social characteristics of religious life, it is important to mention that the number of churches has been increased in entire Serbia. An example of the Deanery in Kruševac also testifies to the return to religion and a kind of compensation for the last fifty years of stagnation.

A number of built churches, bell towers and ecclesial houses in Kruševac during the period from 1979 to 2009 show the *following*: 31 churches, 30 houses and 12 bell towers have been consecrated. In a document that I acquired, 17 parishes have been mentioned, which cover 58 places, where some kind of work has started, and it is also mentioned if a church has been consecrated.

The names of the parishes in the Governorship of Kruševac are the following:

MAJDEVSKA: Majdevo, Grkljane, Štitare.

JABLANIČKA: Jablanica, M. Kupci, Šavrane.

LOMNIČKA: V. Lomnica.

DVORANSKA: Dvorane, Trmčare, Petina, Poljaci, Stanci, Poljaci, Modrica.

MUDRAKOVAČKA: Mudrakovac, V. Golovode.

KRUŠEVAČKA: D. Stepoš, Parunovac, Gaglovo, Kapidžija, Gari, Staro kruševačko groblje, Novo kruševačko groblje, Crkva Lazarica, Crkva Sv. Đorđa, Bivolje, Kobilje.

ČITLUČKA: Čitluk.

VUČAČKO-PEPELJEVAČKA: Vučak, Pepeljevac, Lukavac, Bekčići, Cerova.

MAČKOVAČKA: Mačkovac, Globoder.

VRBNIČKA: V. Vrbnica, Doljane, Meševo, Laćisled, D. Stupanj, Golubovac.

MAKREŠANSKA: Makrešane, Dedina.

ŠANAČKA: Šanac, V. Kruševica.

JASIČKA: Jasika.

PADEŠKA: Padeš, Krvavica, Šašilovac, Globare.

KUKLJINSKA: Kukljin

BELOVODSKA: Bela Voda, Brajkovac.

KONJUŠKA: Konjuh, Komarane, Lazarevac.

In the listed places there are over 50 churches that were built between 1979 and 2009, both consecrated and unconsecrated. Being also characteristic for the SOC, I will list their names; some of the names are repeated even several times. The names of the churches are: St. Agatonik, St. Trinity, Sveti Vračī (Saint Cosmas and Damian), Protection of Our Most Holy Lady Theotokos, St. Joachim and Anne, St. Prophet Elijah, St. John, St. Sunday, St. Fathers, St. Pantaleon, St. Apostles Peter and Paul, St. Archangel Gabriel, St. Petka, Resurrection, St. Margaret the Virgin, St. George, St. Archangel Michael, St. Apostle Thomas, Ascension of Jesus, St. Luke, St. Apostle Andrew, St. Athanasius the Great, St. Nikolas, St. Constantine and St. Helena, and St. Apostle Mark.

There are 33 priests working in the Deanery of Kruševac. Records on the number of ceremonies performed by each of them are kept for each year separately. The largest number of them are requiem masses, then baptism and least performed are nuptial masses. In 2009 there were 1.232 baptisings, 309 marriages and 1.265 requiems in the entire Deanery. Therefore, there are almost 2.500 ceremonies performed during a single year.

Looking at a single parish, this number of ceremonies is different. For example, a priest in a village has much smaller number of ceremonies. The 2008 records show that 1.232 baptizings were performed by 33 priests during the year. That means that each priest performs averagely 37 baptizings a year. However, distribution is uneven: the largest number of baptizings was performed in St. Georg Church in Kruševac by priest Miroslav Milenković, and the smallest number – three baptizings for the whole year – in the parish of Lomnica. The number of marriages in 2008 was 435, which means that in average 13 marriage ceremonies were performed by each priest. The distribution here is also greatly uneven: there was only one wedding in the parish of Lomnica; priest Dragan Ilić performed 29 marriage ceremonies in the Church of St. George, and priest Rade Milovanović in the Lazarica Church performed 34 weddings in 2008. These churches both compete with each other to perform more ceremonies in better fashion at a lower price and they work together. During the visit of the Patriarch Irinej's to Kruševac (October 3, 2010), the choir of Lazarica Church sang in the Church of St. George. All priests of the Episcopal Deanery of Kruševac were together with people without any hurry or anxiety.

#### **VILLAGES DVORANE, PETINA, POLJACI AND LOVCI AND PARISH OF DVORANE FROM 2000 TO 2010**

According to the report on activities of the local office in Dvorane for the period 2009-2010, this local community is comprised of four villages: Dvorane, Petina, Poljaci, and Lovci. The territory of this community has an elementary school, which was formed in 1892, a doctor's office with a pharmacy, a post office, a vet, four general stores, two agriculture pharmacies, three auto repair shops, two taverns, cultural artistic society "Bistrica" and a football club "Dvorane".

Dvorane is also the seat of the Church congregation of Dvorane, which was formed in 1885, and which is divided into two parishes with ten neighborhoods in to-



tal. There are twenty churches on the territory of the Congregation, five of which have been consecrated. The 2010 report says that there was a significant work on ecclesial buildings. For example, the road that leads to the Church of St. Fathers in Poljaci was built in the length of 700m and the church was consecrated. The roof on the church of St. Petka was repaired and the facade was finished. A concrete path was made around the Church of St Mučenice Nedelje in Petina and decorative greenery was planted.

Table 5.

Demographic structure of population in Dvorane, Poljaci, Petina and Lovci

Village	Number of households 2000 (2010)	Number of inhabitance 2000 (2010)
Dvorane	193 (147)	735 (584)
Poljaci	109 (90)	494 (397)
Petina	99 (82)	423 (356)
Lovci	66 (53)	264 (192)
Total	467 (372)	1916 (1529)

Table 6.

Occupations of population in Dvorane, Poljaci, Petina and Lovci (2000 and 2010)

Employed	28,49% (13,60%)
Unemployed	4,30% (8,24%)
Retired	31,18% (18,38%)
Farmers	29,03% (21,91%)
Abroad	2,15% (12,00%)
Self-employed	1,08% (0,46%)

Table 7.

The age structure of the population (2000)

5-14	9%
15-24	11%
25-34	12%
35-44	13%
45-54	17%
55-64	14%
65-74	17%
75-84	7%
85-99	4%

Table 8.

The age structure of the population (2010)

0-5	57	3,73%
5-14	163	10,66%
15-24	129	8,44%
25-34	247	16,15%

ORTHODOXY FROM AN EMPIRICAL PERSPECTIVE

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35-44	177	11,58%
45-54	180	11,77%
55-64	269	17,59%
65-74	144	9,42%
75-84	157	10,27%
85-99	6	0,39%
ukupno	1529	100%

Table 9.

Age structure of the population (Dvorane, 2010)

Age	%
0-5	4,62%
5-14	8,90%
15-24	7,02%
25-34	14,15%
35-44	13,53%
45-54	13,70%
55-64	18,15%
65-74	7,53%
75-84	11,47%
85-99	0,51%

Table 10.

Number of households – % 2000.

Number	%
1	12%
2	20%
3	11%
4	14%
5	12%
6	17%
7	10%
8	3%
9	1%

Table 11.

Number of households – % 2010.

Number	%
1	15%
2	16%
3	9%
4	11%
5	19%
6	17%
7	7%
8	4%
9	0,8%
10	0,8%
11	0,4%

Table 12.

## Number of households – % 2010. Dvorane

Number	%
1	14%
2	17%
3	12%
4	12%
5	19%
6	18%
7	5%
8	5%
9	-
10	1%
11	-

There are 1529 inhabitants in these villages today, while ten years ago there were 1916 people. The total number of households is 372, while it was 467 ten years ago. There are on average four members in a household, although the real number of household members is much different. The most numerous households are those with five members (19%), then those with six (17%), then two members (16%) and only one member (15%). There are 11% of four-member households, and 9% of households with three members. Households with seven members make additional 7%, and there are 4% of eight-member households. In each village there is one household with nine members and one with ten members. In the village of Poljaci there is one household with eleven members.

By comparing the data from ten years ago and those from today we can find that 28.49% of people were employed, while today only 13.60% of people work. The number of the unemployed has been doubled, it was 4.30% ten years ago, and it is 8.24% today. The number of the retired people has been decreased from 31.18% to 18.38%. The number of farmers has been decreased from 29.3% to 21.91%. The number of people who live abroad increased from 4% to 12%. There are also self-employed people in the village, and there is a tailor shop that works for a foreign market. According to the age structure of the population, the largest group falls within the category of 55 to 64 year olds (18%).

Since I have already written about the village of Dvorane (Kuburić, 2000a), my return to the village was motivated by the need to observe the changes in the last ten years. I spoke this time presbytera Rada, the wife of priest Hristoljub, on October 2, 2010. They have been living in Dvorane for eighteen years; they have two sons and four grandchildren. Before they came to Dvorane, they had lived in a village near Blace. I found her cleaning the parish house – they were preparing for an inspection, which was announced for the following Tuesday. She told me it was just the same as in any company: the bills were checked, all books were checked, and it was a usual procedure every year.

“People don’t know that, they think that a priest can do whatever he wants. Every church keeps books. For every penny it must be known where it comes from, and where it goes; from the candles, books, contributions...”

Taking about changes that happened, she said:

“It appears as if people returned to the Church. But they didn’t. Those who have been coming to Church, they still come. The media force it a bit, so the public thinks that the people have returned to the Church.”

Two perspectives were intertwined in the discussion. She compared what she knew, based on her personal experience, about the period before the ‘90s and about the village near Blace and this one near Kruševac.

Her story brought us back in the period of the ‘70s and in their previous parish.

“We were in Blace for 20 years. People there didn’t bring cakes to Church, there weren’t feasts, just christenings and funerals and sanctifying water for Slava. There were people going the wrong way, there wasn’t anyone to guide them. After we came to Blace, we christened more the old than the young ones, people didn’t dare to, but then again, they didn’t allow it to be forgotten. I am annoyed when someone says *to whom it was forbidden*. How can you say that? Look, nowadays teachers come to church, and back then they didn’t want to bid good day to a priest, it was humiliating. That is well known. When my children started school, their teacher was asked by a colleague: *Zora, how will you manage to teach a priest’s children?* I asked her: *Are my children really so different from the others?* And she says: *Well I told her: there’ll be no problem, our priest is a modern man, he does it just for money; it has nothing to do with religion.* I don’t understand that. Other children weren’t allowed to come to us. And children will be children. It was in the village of Draguša, sometime around 1971. There were just two TV sets in the village, one of them was ours, and children wanted to watch television, but they weren’t allowed. If a child came to watch TV with us, he would be criticized the next day in school.”

Apart from comparing the past and the present, and the described attitude towards faith, she compared the two villages:

“I was truly happy when we came here, because people here come to church. In Žitni Potok it was only a presbytera with children who welcomed the Episcopo; people here would never allow something like that to happen. If only a rumor is spread that the Episcopo is coming, people gather. These parts, up to Krupce, have a tradition of gathering and preserving the faith. When you look at children going to school, there is no one who doesn’t cross himself, and children leave some money, change money, but they know that one should give money to the Church. They grow up knowing that. Religious instruction is not obligatory, and there are children who don’t take it. Why don’t they introduce it, as it was before, like the Serbian language, so that everyone studies it? Religious instruction is taught by theologians without parishes, it would be difficult for a priest to teach it, because he has a parish and many responsibilities.”

Talking about the life of a priest’s family, presbytera Rada said that there were cases when a spouse leaves a priest, and he cannot remarry, and he tried hard to be a priest but someone ruined it for him. She gave an example of a priest who told his future wife: “Think it over; if someone tells you that a presbytera has an easy life, he lies. Responsibilities are responsibilities.” Rada thinks that this should be the case in any marriage, come what may, one must persist. Everyday there is something wrong, and who wants to keep the marriage, must resist everything, no marriage is without troubles.

Answering the question on how presbyteras live, she says:

“Long ago presbyteras lived well. I remember, my late father-in-law worked in Jablanica in a church and he said that in those days a teacher and a priest were held for something higher than others. My father in law said that in the morning he would go to

a presbytera to bring her water and light her fire and just then she would get up. Now we laugh at that story. I lived in a family which respected that.”

Comparing her life with what was before she says she is well even when she is not well.

“I never show when I have problems; I have always lived among foreign people, and my grandmother taught me: you are among foreigners, you have no one and you have to keep quiet. It will pass and then it’s over. I keep to myself and that’s all, no one is always fine, and my priest is a very just man, and I don’t like to share with him, because I know he cannot bear it. And I like it better to keep quiet, and it will pass. When you know that God said that today the Sun has to shine, and tomorrow it has to rain, it is not so difficult.”

When discussing what is special about a priestly family, she tends to observe it through several practical problems of common life style. Namely, everything she said pointed to her as a woman who truly lives Christianity, and to her devotion to her family and the Church. The easiness of existence and the wisdom not to make a drama about the life lie, as she recognizes, in a traditional upbringing within a family.

“It was nothing new to me, because my family was religious and we fasted since I can remember, and you couldn’t eat while fasting. I had a grandmother who felt sorry for us, because we were very young. But we didn’t dare to take anything; we fasted also, although we were children. People say to me: Rada, you are a presbytera, so you have to fast. Why do I have to? I don’t have to, I want to. When someone says: I could barely fast, that is not it. If you force yourself to fast, that is not fasting. A person has to make a bit of effort. In the monastery Crna Reka, they wouldn’t give you communion, if you didn’t fast. There has to be an order, and a person has to make an effort in order to appreciate it, when he has it, and to understand when he has nothing. Not anyone can step into the altar and to perform a ceremony – that is one thing, but in any other sense we are just people like any other.”

The thing that makes her different from other women is the fact that she can neither wear just anything nor be seen in any company. About her duties around the church she says:

“I have to go to every service, no matter whether I want to or not. Whether it is Sunday or a holyday, a wedding, feasts, funeral, I have to prepare all that is needed. However, it is not so difficult. I am satisfied when I see people coming and then staying to receive communion after fasting. It is completely normal and it is not difficult.”

Discussing an employment, she says that a presbytera can, naturally, work either in the Church or outside of it. There was a man working at church earlier, but he grew old so presbyteras took over the work around the church. She explains it in her own way:

“I clean my house, why wouldn’t I clean the holy place? It is an honor. It is not a humiliation for me, I am not ashamed to work, but no one else wants to clean the church, because people want pension insurance. I had to do some work around the church around the feast day of St. Petka, we had to repair the exterior of the priestly house as well, and it all takes time; I am not as young any more so to be able to manage all by myself. I was born in 1953, and I have three granddaughters and one grandson. I have to sons – one lives at his wife’s, the other is with us. The eldest granddaughter is in the second grade. I have to look after them. My daughter in law works.”

Answering my question if the house where they live is theirs or belongs to the Church, she said it belonged to the Church, and it would remain its property; they would go to their own, as they had planned.

“My both daughters in law are here, we are close, thank God; God’s will be done, I will be fine anywhere. It hurt me that there was no one to look after my children, and then I was looking forward to my grandchildren. Now I am being criticized that I fulfill their whims. I don’t remember my mother, so I allowed a lot both to my children and my grandchildren.”

This was my conversation with presbytera Rada, whom I met in the churchyard while she was preparing for an inspection. It was a story of a wise woman, who lived for her family, her children, her husband, and her Church. She knew how to accept what is given in life and to find her place in it. She told me her life spontaneously; she depicted the role of a woman in the Orthodox Church as a part of churchly life of the believers in Dvorane.

The ceremonies performed by the priests in the parish of Dvorane

Numbers of baptises		Numbers of weddings		Numbers of funerals	
2000.	43	2000.	16	2000.	43
2001.	32	2001.	11	2001.	39
2002.	40	2002.	11	2002.	40
2003.	40	2003.	15	2003.	40
2004.	50	2004.	14	2004.	50
2005.	40	2005.	13	2005.	40
2006.	37	2006.	13	2006.	38
2007.	36	2007.	7	2007.	36
2008.	30	2008.	16	2008.	30
2009.	29	2009.	16	2009.	29
2010.	22	2010.	5	2010.	22

I had an access to the church records on 4<sup>th</sup> October, 2010 in Dvorane, in the parish house. The records are well organized, the data on the number of weddings and funerals for each parish. All data are easily accessed by years. I copied the numbers of baptizings, weddings and funerals from 2000 to 2010. The data for 2010 are not complete, since it was still not the end of the year.

The ceremonies performed by the priests in the parish of Dvorane are also interesting for a religion researcher. The total number of baptizings in Dvorane from 2000 to October 2010 was 399, which means 36 ceremonies during a year for each of the two priests in the parish. The number of weddings since 2000 until October 2010 was 137, averagely 12 weddings a year. The total number of funerals is 407 – these were performed by the two priests in Dvorane, which means 37 funerals a year. The Episcopal Deanery in Kruševac gave me data for each priest separately for all parishes. The parish of Dvorane is one of the better. The religious tradition has always been evident.

The churchgoers’ movement has always had its followers in the village of Dvorane. Talking with the locals I’ve learned that people in the village organized themselves and studied the Bible. Some of them have read the Bible more than 40 times. They love to discuss spiritual issues. They go regularly to church and they try to live as the religion taught them.

## RELIGIOUS EDUCATION IN KRUŠEVAC AS IT IS SEEN BY THE PRIEST AND RELIGIOUS TEACHER DRAGAN ILIĆ

Many pages can be written about Kruševac and its history. The church has also rich heritage from the past centuries. The present moment offers rich material as well. Among all this abundance I have decided to have another live conversation. The date was important for the Church. On the day of the enthronement of the Patriarch Irinej I was in the church of St. George in Kruševac. The church was full of people, all the priests of the Episcopal Deanery in Kruševac gathered, except for those who went to the Patriarchate of Peć to be personally present at the ceremony. His arrival was expected between 6 and 7 p.m. We waited until 9 p.m. A light rain was drizzling. Believers were waiting patiently while comfortably chatting. Youngsters, who sing in the choir of the church Lazarica, were rehearsing; reporters interviewed people, interested in what are their expectations from the Patriarch.

My collocator was Dragan Ilić<sup>1</sup>, the priest and religious teacher. My first question related to the promise given by the Patriarch Irinej concerning the Eparchy of Kruševac. The answer was that it was a historical, theological and cultural question, that the Patriarch had mentioned it on several occasions, and that the idea about ecclesial circles had existed for over 15 years. Since it was the Patriarch who had started publicly to talk about it, it was expected a realization to commence. The reasons which were brought up by Dragan Ilić were historical: the Eparchy of Kruševac existed before, which is confirmed by the names of two bishops of Kruševac. Before that Kruševac had belonged to the so called Episcopate of Bela Crkva. Its seat was in today's Kuršumljija. Nemanja, before he became Grand Prince, while still just Prince, had held Toplica and he had built two monasteries there, the monastery of St. Nikola and Presveta Bogorodica (Our Lady) monastery. This is where his wife, Ana-Anastasija, the mother of Saint Sava, became a nun, after Saint Simeon went to Hilandar, and this is where she ended her earthly life. This is the reason why Saint Sava, while creating a network of episcopates, established the episcopate in Bela Crkva, i.e. in Kuršumljija in 1219. Kruševac had belonged to this Episcopate until the Episcopate of Kuršumila was formed, sometime in XV-XVI century. Another reason is spiritual. Kruševac is, due to historical circumstances, known as a center of Morava School of architecture, so this idea is supported by the efforts to unite the Morava School.

Concerning religious education in Kruševac, Dragan Ilić said:

“The gymnasium of Kruševac had a break since 1946. There were two religious teachers in the gymnasium back then. The first one was Pavle Pudlo, the father of the writer Ivan Pudlo, a man who was one of the best informed people in the town, maybe even the smartest one, I claim. He had come to the town before the World War II. They are from the Imperial Russia, the white émigré. Due to circumstances, he got the gymnasium of Kruševac to teach, and he married here with a colleague and was in a group of teachers of the gymnasium, who were the most respected ones. An interesting thing about him happened during the Occupation (it is written in the history of the gymnasias, in one of two books): in 1943 he opposed the order of the Ministry of education of the Nedić's government to process all the students who were internationalists, i.e. communists. He explained in front of the teachers that they could not do that, for they were not the Ministry of internal affairs. But after the war he was deported for a year and longer by those same communists. He rests on the cemetery of Kruševac. The other one is Živan Savić, the priest and writer. He taught also at gymnasium and he is interesting because the whole issue of his book *Knez Lazar* was burned

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<sup>1</sup> The integral interview is published in: *Religija i tolerancija* (Religion and Tolerance), VIII/14:403-410

in this town in 1975, which is a unique example maybe in the history of civilization – a book on the town founder to be burned, written by a priest serving in Lazarica, the courtly church of Knez Lazar. After those people, when the time came, I was the first to enter the gymnasium of Kruševac. It was facultative in the beginning, and after that it was optional. There are 60% of student of the gymnasium who choose religious education, and 40% civil education, and there are two of us who teach, so the notion about it is slowly coming back.”

When I asked him how other teachers treated him as a priest in school, Dragan Ilić said he did not have any problem of the kind. There were some unclarities, and confusion. But everyone wanted to help, and he felt even quite comfortable in school. He went with them on a graduation excursion last year. Teaching fulfills him and he likes his job. Students don't mind him wearing a cassock. The number of students who choose religious education in Kruševac remained the same in the past 7-8 years – around 60%. Concerning the teaching program, I was interested to know whether he only has to follow the program, or he is free to create it himself. He answered that every teacher had to write down every teaching unit and to discuss it in the class, but this didn't limit his freedom. The method of teaching new units was lecturing, but he preferred children asking questions, and he liked when it is something current.

Since priest and religious teacher Dragan Ilić is also a writer, I asked him if he could discuss his books and topics he writes about with his students. He answered:

“Well, I cannot say that I speak about my books. Many of them don't even know that I write until they hear it from someone else. But the characters that are present in my books are present also in my lectures, and these are mostly people from this part of the world, from the church, who have been forgotten and neglected. One of those people is Pavle Pudlo, about whom you couldn't hear anywhere. Another one is Ilarion Vesić, buried on the old cemetery in Kruševac in 1906. He was a religious writer, a rector of Faculty of Theology in Prizren and Belgrade, a teacher of the Saint episcope Nikolaj of Žiča, born in Pepeljevac. There are many of them, who are forgotten, but who were religious authorities, aristocracy of the spirit. It is that old Kruševac, about which we have just a notion that existed, that middle class, communication, relationships.”

The next question was about the relation between the Church and the State today. Can we say that we have a state religion because we have a religious education in public schools, and there are no more problems created by the state? The answer was:

“We cannot speak about the state religion, nor do we tend to become one. But we can say that we have a normal religious life. So, there was a Christian Science and then religious instruction in Serbia since the beginning of the school system until 1946/47, now we have filled that void and we have a religious education in all schools for all students that choose it. It is about 60% in the gymnasium, but there are schools where there are more students, especially in schools in villages – there are over 70%. We are obliged to present the data each year. But we have come far from the beginning when the religious education needed to be defended. You know, there was a question who would teach it. It is as if physics is taught only by Albert Einstein and Mileva Marić – no one in this country asks who teaches physics.”

Before the religious education was introduced into schools, there were regular religious instruction classes in church. When I asked him whether it was being carried out simultaneously in school and church, he said:

“I have been a priest here since 1995, and we have had it all the time. Even this first book *Poslušanja* gives reports on those religious instructions. After it had been introduced into schools, it wasn't organized in church. We thought about it whether to keep it or not. I was for keeping it, but I was in a democratic minority.”



In addition to question on educating the young ones, I asked him about the influence of the Church on the believers, their belief and their religious practice. The priest quoted Vladeta Jerotić, saying that it is important that every person has their pagan, Old Testament and New Testament layer.

“Neither do we expect some fast change, not a change can be fast. It is a process of maturation in the public consciousness. Within that process there will be place for the religious education and believers in another way. Yes, we know it. What we call pagan, it is so called natural religiousness. That natural religiousness encompasses a wide range of practices, even magical, occult ideas, prejudice, heterodoxy, superstitions, and our people is full of it during the centuries, and even today. But in order to come to some higher level of cognition, in order not to have just that natural religiousness, then you have to make a sacrifice, to learn something, to visit some place, to see. We have a lecture hall in the church Lazarica, in the new house, in the basement. There we organize lectures, Jerotić came also. Therefore, there are more events in Kruševac for those who want to hear than in other places.”

I was interested, in the end, if he talked about other religions in his class. There are not many “religious others” in Kruševac, but I was interested if it was planned by the program. Dragan Ilić responded:

“Program does not provide it, not in a sense that we teach a history of religion, but some burning issues have to be mentioned, and if nothing else – there are students’ questions, for example who Zukorlić is, and so on. They hear it over media, and they ask what it is all about. So it is present, especially Islam. Finally, how can we not mention Islam in Kruševac, when Bagdala is still there, and that is a Turkism for Allah’s view? The best view over the town is a Turkism. But we have that sentiment and that openness to accept it. People here are not burdened with those problems so that they look upon other religions radically. And there are really no radical groups in the church life, like in Belgrade – ‘Obraz’ and football fans. We don’t have it in our religious life. Besides, you cannot avoid the fact that you are born here, and then – you know what Serbia is, and you can live wherever you want. We are wired that way, born on this longitude and latitude, and we are not extremists, nor we plan to become ones, but we are what we are, and that is our identity. I can speak for myself: I am sometimes surprised when someone attacks my identity. Sometimes I don’t even know it well enough to react, so I am not surprised that I have an attitude.”

The last question was if there were indications whether the Church was going to divide or unite itself. Dragan Ilić said:

“I can only say my opinion. After all that has happened to the Serbian people, the Serbian Church, although it exceeds the national borders, is still the Serbian Church. As we know, the Christianity is not a national category, but the Serbian Church is for centuries within these borders. In that sense, the Serbian Church unites in a person of one man all Serbian people, wherever they live. Both our friends and also our enemies are aware of that. And since our enemies use their positions and influence throughout centuries, it would be nothing new if some disturbances occur inside the church.”

### **ACTUAL HAPPENINGS, CHANGES AND SPLITS IN THE ORTHODOX CHRISTIANITY**

During the last twenty years I used to go to Faculty of Theology and to listen to lectures. I did some researches with students answering my questionnaires and I published several articles. So I got to know theology better and met some people. A general impression which I have points out to the idea that changes within the elite

group of the clergy are the most important, and that they are being gradually accepted by the rest of them by educating new generation of future priests who then keep the spirit of Orthodoxy in their direct work on the field. The differences and splits within the Church also exist. Since I am dealing with Orthodoxy in Kruševac in this article, I was interested to learn how close to the center it is, and how much it is involved in current happenings. As we saw in the beginning, the Patriarch Irinej himself paid respect to the Episcopal Deanery in Kruševac by visiting it. I talked with several priests in Kruševac on that occasion.

I have discovered more about actual happenings within the Serbian Orthodox Church discussing with a priest whom I interviewed in Kruševac on 21. November, 2010; it was very briefly, after baptism, without even announcing any interview. I said I was a professor of sociology of religion and asked him to explain to me the recent happening in the Church. Since this was a conversation that helped me understand the actual happenings better, and not an official interview, I won't give the priest's name. I have caught three important moments during that conversation.

The first thing which a young theologian told me was:

"I am sorry, but I am not going to address you formally. I don't like formal addressing, and I don't allow people to address me formally, because when people don't address each other formally, a personal relation is established. Formal addressing is maybe valid, but I don't like it, because we don't address even God formally, we say *God, help me*."

I asked him if that is a standard in the Church now, but he said:

"No, it is not. I thought it through, why it is like that and how it should be. During the liturgy, when we address the episcope, we don't address him formally. Formal addressing creates a sense of respect of one person toward the other, but in the Church, which is the union of people, it creates distance, which shouldn't exist."

We discussed the current problem of division within Orthodoxy. The problem of the episcope Artemije, which was the main news during those days, had its theological roots.

"First they fancied they were something great, and after that they fancied that they were defenders of the Orthodox faith, and because of the pride they fell into sin of disobedience and they became what they are today. The main reason is disobedience to the Church. Also they deviate a lot. Bishops who went to Ukraine during the communism didn't acquire good theological education. Theology that came from Ukraine, and we believed that everything coming from Russia was sacred, brought us principles of Catholic thinking; they speak against the Pope all the time, but their ideas are those of the Pope. We have been recovering from those influences for years, and we are successful only because of the priests who studied in Greece and those who went to the West. Those are the priests who had a strong foundation of the Orthodoxy, and when they went to study at the Protestant universities they knew who to maintain their faith. Many of our present monasteries learnt that what they keep is an antiquity; however, that is not an antiquity, but a novelty, that has appeared only three centuries ago, and there is something older than three centuries."

A theological question that appears important to me is the theory of the soul. A group of theologians represent the school according to which the soul is immortal. That teaching is not the only one. The young theologian explains to me:

"The Episcope Artemija teaches that *the soul is immortal*, but the Episcope Ignjatije teaches *the soul is mortal*. So, what is the truth? They claim the soul is immortal, but

we say it the soul is immortal by nature, what do we need God for? Then it is a god itself. We say the soul is mortal, but God wants it to become immortal and He will give it immortality, but in its nature the soul is mortal and it can disappear, to return to nonbeing. They cannot understand that, so they say: *father, have you heard that the soul is mortal?* And I say to them: yes, it is mortal. *So you also say it is mortal.* How to say otherwise? You do not understand the profound theology. Is the separation of soul from body after death the whole being?"

Concerning the changes within Orthodoxy, these are silent, gradual and he does not expect any revolutionary changes.

"Let's say that since the '90s great reforms have been implemented in the Church and theological education. Concerning liturgy and returning to the primordial truth, the Orthodoxy is in the right path of truth, and in the future that kind of bishops will be chosen, so there is no need for revolution, although we had some oscillations. We have to reexamine what is being said in the name of the Orthodox Church."

I asked him if it was a proper thing for people to cross themselves when passing a church, and he said:

"People cross themselves passing a church is one of quasi-religious phenomena, such as printing icons with plastic wrapping, rosaries with icons, and other things that bring material benefit."

### CONCLUSION

Orthodoxy in the context of social changes faces numerous changes itself. During the ten year period, from 2000 to 2010, even though the population is becoming older, poorer, and less employed, the number of churches has been increased. Investments into Orthodoxy are large in the material sense of the word. Organization of ecclesial life is very good and the clerics offer a structure that provides security and helps in dealing both with eternal existential needs of man to overcome meaninglessness, and common difficulties in life. After observing religious life in the Episcopal Deanery in Kruševac I become aware of the importance of a certain kind of behavior coming from priests and believers. However, having made those interviews I discovered that the faith is even more impregnated with theological teachings which enrich the religious life of the believers. Educated theologians from the Faculty of Theology in Belgrade bring us a new spirit of Orthodoxy which relies more on the Gospels and attach greater significance to teachings. Religious education, which has been present in the education system in Serbian in the past ten years, also contributed to these changes.

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Marija Kuburić Borović

## CHURCH AND RELIGIOUS MUSIC IN THE EASTERN ORTHODOX TRADITION

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Since Christianity was developed from Judaism, it is Judaism where one should look for roots of its music. Zoja Kučukalić wrote that the first Christians had accepted a sizeable number of their religious chants, but further shaping of Christian music was influenced also by Syrian, Armenian, Egyptian, and Greek cultural traditions. Two basic performing styles come also from the Orient: alternate singing by a soloist and a choir and alternate singing by two choirs.

During the initial Early Christian period of the development of the church music, which lasted until the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, slavery still existed as a system of social stratification. Music in the Church was monophonic and vocal, and all believers participated in singing. In order to avoid any resemblance to paganism, any body movements were removed and instruments were also not allowed. Melodies of the Early Christians had two different characters: psalmodic, which was developed from the ancient Jewish psalmody, and which had the word as its main expression element; and melismatic that was derived from ancient Syrian style, with developed melodic line.

Branka Radović (1992, 96) wrote that since Christianity began to spread, music culture has been divided into Church and popular music. The center of the entire Serbian ecclesiastical life, art, and music in the Middle Ages was Hilandar Monastery on Mount Athos, with its Athonite chant, which was developed under strong influence of Byzantine chant. Data about the ecclesiastical music from that period are mostly reliable, while those about the popular music from the same period do not exist.

*The Encyclopedia of Orthodoxy (Енциклопедија православља)* (2002, 2060) reports that the church music in the Orthodox tradition encompasses monophonic and choral liturgical chant (church singing), then vocal and even vocal-instrumental pieces, which originated from the church chant tradition, but were written for non-liturgical and concert performance. These musical compositions were written to texts of liturgical songs, sometimes to incomplete texts, and they did not meet canons, requirements and character of ecclesiastical ceremonies.

The beginnings of the religious music that evolved outside of worship services can be found in: a) religious song – cantatas; b) religious concerts; and c) school theatrical shows. These forms were brought into our culture by teachers coming from Russia and Ukraine in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The Church music within Serbian musical tradition was developed from ecclesiastical choral chant. These are most commonly a cappella choral compositions written to ecclesiastical texts, sometimes even to motives from church chants, but they are still independent pieces intended primarily for concert performances. The main characteristic of religious music is that authors use ecclesiastical contents as an inspiration, or building material, but these composi-

tions were not designed for church worship services. Examples of such religious compositions are those of Petar Konjović, Miloje Milojević as well as liturgies of Stevan Hristić, Kosta Manojlović, Marko Tajčević...

There is a detailed description of Liturgy in the *Dictionary of the Orthodox Theology (Rečnik pravoslavne teologije)* (1999). It is said that, in its narrower sense, it is an act of Eucharistic Worship or the Sacrament of Holy Communion; and in its broader sense it is identified with a public prayer in a group organized and supervised by the Church.

“In the beginning the word had much more encompassing sense and it referred to worship practices which the Church performed jointly, publicly in the worship places using a particular set of rituals, words, symbols and ritual gestures (Brija 1999, 288).”

Church chant is singing liturgical texts, prayers, within daily, weekly and annual liturgical cycles according to the rules of the Orthodox Church. It is directly related to different forms of worship services, and therefore to liturgics. Texts can be taken from the Old Testament, most usually the Psalms, and from the New Testament, but also from numerous texts by Byzantine, Greek, and medieval Slavic hymnographers. The Constitution of the Church, the Typikon, precisely regulates the form and content of worship services for every day of the ecclesiastical year (*Енциклопедија православља 2002:2066*).

Musical literacy was a privilege of very few individuals in the past, and monophonic medieval church chant in the Byzantine Empire, as well as in Slavic and other local churches, was chiefly a part of oral tradition. Sung texts were written, since the late 15<sup>th</sup> century also printed, and melodies were adjusted to texts in accordance with standard models (*Енциклопедија православља 2002, 2068*).

The Serbian Church adopted Russian Church Slavonic as the official language of worship services by using Russian worship books and students textbooks. Melodies of Serbian chants were adjusted to the new language, but accents and pronunciation were not standardized (*Енциклопедија православља 2002, 2071*). Serbian national church chants were written in musical notation by composer Kornelije Stanković for the first time in the mid-nineteenth century.

Before the World War I mostly clerics and musicians from the Mitropolitane of Karlovci were dealing with chanting. It was only composer Stevan Mokranjac in the Kingdom of Serbia who approached this issue highly professionally and published his first collection, *Osmoglasnik* (Eight Tones), in Belgrade in 1908. It was the basic textbook for Belgrade Seminary students, and after the WWI it was used in other seminaries of the Serbian Orthodox Church as well. Therefore, the chant version written by Mokranjac became the dominant one, and older versions were suppressed and even forgotten (*Енциклопедија православља 2002, 2072*).

Ira Prodanov Krajišnik (2008, 51–6) commented that political positions on religion had changed in Yugoslavia even in regard to musical works. For example, the Belgrade Opera pre-World War II production of *Licidarsko srce* (Gingerbread Heart) by Krešimir Branković had a scene of people “in front of a church”, but after the WWII that scene “disappeared” from the set. The post-WWII revival of opera *Knez od Zete* (The Prince of Zeta) by Petar Konjović was politically condemned because of chorus of monks. “Rearranging” certain, older musical pieces was not the only problem, also a place where religious music was performed was considered problematic. Although it is obvious that the most suitable venue for performing religious music is a church,

even if the music is not intended for worship service, it was not easily done in Serbia. Until recently it was unacceptable, and even dangerous, for concerts of religious music to be performed in a church. An exception was a concert given by female choir *Collegium musicum* during 1978 Days of Mokranjac – they performed Mokranjac's *Liturgy* at Old Church in Negotin. Six years had to pass before a concert of religious music at New Church was permitted, after many arguments and convincing. During the following three years the church premises were again out of the question. Similar things happened also in education – all content related to the Orthodox spiritual tradition was excluded from the music courses. Since the 1980s religious issues have become less dangerous field, mostly because of the celebration marking the 600<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Battle of Kosovo, when, by remembering that important historical date, the public attention was drawn to the religious sphere.

Works inspired by the religion can be classified into two groups: the first group consists of works which use Orthodox religious “means” in order to arouse national consciousness of listeners, and the second group are compositions which intend to conjure up the religion per se, without any intentions to affect national feelings.

The 16<sup>th</sup> century was a milestone in the development of the Russian religious music, because it was probably then that polyphony appeared for the first time. At the beginning it was two-voice, then three-voice polyphony, and in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century four-voice polyphony was also created (Josip Andreic 1951, 422). Partesnoe singing (lat. partes = parts, i.e. independent singing parts), as the church polyphonic chanting of that time was called, entered the Church rather difficultly, but it evoked such interest, love and enthusiasm, that it was officially introduced into church musical practice by the mid-second half of the century... Certain popular tunes were used in partesnoe singing and it is also interesting to mention that secular tunes were also used for composing cantus firmus (Josip Andreic, 1951, 423).

#### **INTERVIEWS WITH SEVERAL REPRESENTATIVES OF ORTHODOXY**

As I needed to understand contemporary trends in the Serbian Orthodox Church, I had interviews with several representatives of Orthodoxy, who, each from their perspective, helped me recognize the role of church and religious music, as well as to observe how the process of secularization of the society reflected upon the church music. The interviews were conducted with a longtime professor at the Faculty of Theology in Belgrade, a young theologian, who recently graduated from the Faculty of Theology, and simultaneously studied pedagogy at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade, with a conductor of one of the choirs of the Serbian Orthodox Church and principle of a music school in Vršac, with a priest from Belgrade who wanted to stay anonymous, and finally with a young woman who graduated from the Faculty of Theology in Belgrade and earned her MA in New York, where she now lives.

Listening their answers I got an impression that the music in the Serbian Orthodox Church is regulated by rules on ceremonies that haven't shown any signs of change for centuries. Briefly, there are no instruments in the church music, the human voice is the most perfect instrument that God has created and that is used to communicate with God through a prayer that is sung. Since worship services are held and organized by professionals, there are no risks of unpredicted outcomes, such as the case in Protestant denominations, where, based on a voluntary work, worship services are organized by lay believers (Kuburić and Kuburić Borović 2009, 2010).

Religious and church music in Orthodoxy is special in its sound and its use. Church chant is defined by canons and unchangeable, while religious music can be performed both at a church and in concerts, independently from worship, as well as in public halls and schools, especially when celebrating St. Sava's Day. The third level is individual: believers independently from the Church and the State listen to and enjoy the religious music. According to the results of this research, this level is the least developed in Orthodoxy when compared with other religions. It is characteristic for the Orthodoxy religious music that it is separated and independent from the church music, which is, as already said, completely organized and used by clergy and people appointed to sing during the liturgy.

The process of secularization is not present in Church music, i.e. the Church has remained protected, the winds of social changes have blown against the church's doors, but they haven't affected its ceremonies and worship services. Ecumenism is an issue which is recognized as possible by many believers, and it is well known that, if it happened, the Western Church would get primacy.

Here is a short version of the interviews given by selecting important parts that don't overlap. Approaching from different perspectives, the responses complement each other in regard to the Church and religious music in the Serbian Orthodox Church. Thus I want to show them separately and to the extent which gives the essential answers to the issue in question.

#### **Interview No. 1**

Belgrade, Mart 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2009. Pribislav Simić, a retired professor at the Faculty of Theology, and honorary professor at the Department for church music at the Music Academy in East Sarajevo, where he teaches the science of worship services.

*What is the difference between church and religious music?*

Well, it is difficult to tell, to draw a precise line, and there is no sharp line between church and religious music. The term religious music is, however, somewhat broader, and when one says church music, they usually consider the music that is sung in church, in other words, music that is used to present prayer texts through music... Actually, it used to be some kind of a supplement, or as people say today, a substitution for inactivity, for inability for believers, especially those in the country, to take more active part in worship services. The services have been spoken in the Church Slavonic language, which hasn't been comprehensible enough, they haven't been able to sing in Church Slavonic, nor to read sufficiently; I mean, they have understood it, but not sufficiently. I used to see people singing those songs while coming out of a church, but this is no longer the practice. And that is what we call religious songs. There is also spiritual lyric poetry, as Episcopo Nikolaj named one of the collections of such poems, which used to be sung even at home. I clearly remember, for I come from such a family, that people used to stay after supper, they all gathered, and they all used to sing those songs together.

*What are the characteristics of religious music in the Eastern Orthodox Church?*

Well, you know, the main characteristic is that it can be performed in unison by a soloist and a choir. This is one of the characteristics in relation to performing form. We have, however, singing as a subject in our schools. Standardized musical notation is used, so it is much easier now, and people with relative pitch, and those who want to, can learn those tunes by heart. Another thing that is characteristic, but maybe it is not interesting, I don't want to bother you... Concerning this previously mentioned classification, we call that unison singing, which is not completely unison, singing from a choir. You know that part of a church where people stand separated both left and right from the altar, if there are enough people who can sing, so that they can sing antiphonally... There are different forms of performing, such as responsorial singing in the Catholic Church.



## Church and Religious Music in the Eastern Orthodox Tradition

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*What is the reason for the absence of instruments in the Eastern Orthodox Church?*  
Well, there are no special reasons, only because it is believed that it is solemn and more gratifying to God to sing than to create music from artificial instruments. That is all; there are no theological reasons.

*Could it be that instrumental music has contributed to secularization of other churches, and that Eastern Orthodoxy has remained unsecularized?*  
Well, it is also difficult to tell. The organ is used in the Catholic Church and in some Protestant churches. It gives intonation and provides musical backup that helps people to sing. But this is not the instrumental music that you speak about. It is the music performed during Solemn Pontifical Masses using other instruments, and not only the organ. During Bach's time, the organ was, and today it still is, used for daily masses and services, but I wouldn't say it is the reason of secularization. It is such a broad term, you know, and completely different sphere of life. Instrumental music is... you know it better than I... when you say instrumental music today, although I don't know, I'm an older man and I'm not familiar with new singing bands. What is that? Is that instrumental music?

*How do you draw a line between religious and secular music, if there are no lyrics, i.e. if it is instrumental?*  
It is very easy in the Eastern Orthodox Church, because free interpretations are not allowed in the Orthodox worship service. It is also impossible to freely choose a text. You know, there is a regulation what and how to read, what to sing; so it doesn't apply to the Orthodox.

*That means, there is no secularization because everything is regulated and a changing impact of the world is not possible because of the closed system?*  
Well, that's right in some way...

*Are there any developments in the church music?*  
Well, yes, there are. There are changes concerning choir singing, and that unison singing from a choir. For example, the Greeks don't have choirs in Greece. They've just started introducing them. They have choirs in the USA, but not in Greece. They have chanters, as they call them, some of them are even paid, and they are familiar with traditional Byzantine chant. And there are still those singers who even put on some kind of togas and they stand on both sides like some clerics; they are lower in the hierarchy; they have names. Our old texts write about them as well: proximos, domestikos, primikorios, psaltis, etc. They knew who would sing which part. You know that the only kind of religious music that was allowed here was black spiritual music. It was religious music, but sung in English, so people couldn't understand, so it wasn't considered to be religious propaganda, and it was tolerated.

*When was that?*  
That was during Tito's era. Radio stations broadcasted it, and I think that some black women came, and they sang about Jesus among other things. People didn't understand it, and the tunes were really modern. That is an attempt to modernize church music, but, like any other fashion, it is now over, in some way. They sing in Africa as they are used to, their tunes; I've heard it, because I've been there.

*In the Orthodox Church?*  
No. I speak mostly about Protestants, Anglican, Methodist, Baptist and Catholic Churches. Instrumental music was mostly connected with the Church, and it wasn't so popular that it could cause... it also couldn't kick itself off the stage, so that a new style of music is needed. The Catholic Church, and when we say Catholic, we mean Western churches, because there are the largest differences between us – the Orthodox and the Protestants. But the Catholics also allowed it, and it was the case in some churches and in church magazines in foreign languages, to sing songs to religious texts and to pop tunes; I don't know the names of what youngsters sing. Therefore, it is a big mishmash.

*What comes first in the Orthodox religious music: rhythm, tune or words?*

Words come first, and how they would be sung, in which rhythm, to which tune, that's secondary.

*In your opinion, is the use of instruments in other churches an advantage or not?*

We don't use them, and I don't know if that is an advantage or not. It is a matter of culture, taste, tradition, that's individual, i.e. national matter, if I can say it like that. The Africans could hardly fit in their religious music without instruments, because they... Like in the Old Testament, King David played and danced before the Ark of the Covenant.

*What is your opinion about the drum as an instrument?*

Well, they use drums in Africa, and that's music, too. Even today we sing from the Book of Psalms; we read from the Book of Psalms during services: "praise him with the psaltery and harp".

*The use of instruments is mentioned in the Bible, and the Christian Church proceeded from Judaism. Why weren't instruments accepted like a tradition?*

It cannot be said that they weren't accepted. The term Christianity is insufficient to encompass all Christian denominations, all churches. Those in Africa are also Christians; I mean those who know our Lord Jesus Christ, the Christian God, but the customs and traditions... You know it as well...

*Does it mean that a national culture adjusted Christianity to itself?*

Well, naturally. And to many pagan customs, too.

*What would be the Church's reactions to more dynamic, more energetic music?*

There is such singing during longer services; you can see it in Russia. There are tunes that are sung slowly, and those that are sung staccato, these can be sung fast. The Russians have introduced that short chant, unlike the Greeks and us, who have kept old Greek tunes usually with oriental character. The Russians have it much shorter and more practical, so they read more prayers.

*What do you think about rock and pop songs to lyrics by Nikolaj Velimirović, performed in Sava Centar in 2006, and about jazz and gospel cover of the Mokranjac's Requiem "Tebe pojem" performed during the Days of Mokranjac.*

I think that's normal. Only, the spiritual poems of Episcopate Nikolaj can have different values depending on who sing them, whether it is a theologian, or some lay person. They cannot be, however, of the same rank and they cannot be sung at church during the liturgy. One can sing at church what... I don't know if you have had a chance to see the whole collection of church books in the Church. The Eastern Orthodox Church, unlike any other Western church, has an abundance of worship, ritual songs.

*What would be the essence of church music?*

The core idea is liturgy. The Eucharist is the main central service performed in every church, when Communion is celebrated with consecrated bread and wine.

*What function does singing have during the service, to celebrate or because of some greatness?*

Well, because of the greatness, but also in order to bring those present into some kind of spiritual mood. Earlier it wasn't sung in monasteries, just a little bit, they used to read quietly, incomprehensibly and they prayed to God. Any blessing by a priest or the sign of the Cross was just a visible attempt of a man to remember God and to pray to Our Lord. The greatest theologian, John Chrysostom says that if the man were a spiritual being, God would give him His blessing directly; but since the soul resides in the body... Now, this is interesting, it concerns mostly the Orthodox, partially the Catholics, but mostly the Orthodox and the Protestants, and the visible fashion of showing spirituality... For example, by singing, with the sign of the Cross, by bowing, reading, we express our love to God, so that God would give us His invisible boons. The Western Christians do that differently. That's the tradition.

**Interview No. 2**

Belgrade, May 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2010. Nemanja Milinović, a young theologian of the Serbian Orthodox Church, graduated from the Faculty of Theology in Belgrade and student of pedagogy at the Faculty of Philosophy in Belgrade.

*What are the main characteristics of religious music?*

Music in the Serbian Orthodox Church can be monophonic or polyphonic. The songs were composed with elements of folk music, and there are hymns that are sung during the Liturgy, which are polyphonic and performed by choirs.

*What comes first in the Orthodox religious music: rhythm, tune or words?*

Words are the most important. Therefore, a chanter masters the Church Slavonic language, because there is a small percent of texts translated into Serbian. A voice, vocal capabilities, rhythm, etc. are less important. It is seen as a talent that one, more or less, possesses; the important thing is the heart of a chanter and that what he sings.

*How do you draw a line between religious and secular music, if there are no lyrics, i.e. if it is instrumental?*

The Orthodox worship music is sung without instruments, because it is believed that the voice, as a God's gift, is the most precious instrument. The accepted criterion is the music we can hear during services. It most closely resembles folk and classical music. Everything else falls outside of what is considered church music.

*Is that kind of music (instrumental) suitable for worship services?*

Instrumental music can be performed during festivals and in concerts, but never during the service.

*Is the use of instruments during the service an advantage or not?*

I believe it is an advantage, and I think the answer would be the same from the musical aspect as well.

*Would the process of secularization be any different if instruments were involved? Would it be faster?*

I don't believe that instruments can influence the process of secularization, because the music that we have today used to be a trend of some other era, so the Church is not secularized (relatively speaking, but we can open a whole new issue here). I would say that the essential thing lies in what is sung (said), not how it is sung.

*What is your opinion on modern religious music?*

My opinion on this is quite liberal. I support modern music, and by that I mean pop or other kinds of songs composed to Christian texts. I don't like some attempts of rock song, because I just don't like that kind of music. But I have nothing against it if someone likes it. I like what has been done here by Balkanika, Bilja Krstić, Vesna Bio- rac, and some gospel choirs.

*What do you think about jazz and gospel cover of the Mokranjac's Requiem "Tebe pojem" (Centar Sava 2008, and Days of Mokranjac, Negotin, 2007)?*

I've heard it, and personally I like it. But I don't think that those songs are prospective in a sense that they could never be used during services.

*Does the Church condemn or accept it?*

Some members of the Church accept it, and some condemn it. As far as I know, the Serbian Orthodox Church does not have an official position.

*How do young Orthodox believers react to shifts and changes?*

It is an individual matter, but I've got an impression that there is a more positive attitude among young Orthodox believers toward shifts and constructive changes. Maybe I am wrong.

*Are there holy and unholy instruments?*  
Only God is holy.

*Is there a difference between holy and not holy instruments (like in ancient Greece: the lyre – sacred, the aulos – secular)?*  
No, there isn't. Something is sacred (or unholy) depending on how we use it – whether to the Glory of God or in service of the Unholy.

*Is there a difference between sacral music (that is used during the service) and religious music?*  
There is religious music that is not intended for the service by the Typikon.

*What are the differences?*  
I don't think there are any differences concerning the meaning of texts or even the type of music. It is just that certain music is intended for the service by the Typikon (certain hymns, prayers, troparia), and other is not, so it is not used.

*How does the process of secularization reflect on the music in the Eastern Orthodox Church?*  
There are authors who compose to some religious texts. Lately, Episcopo Nikolaj has become popular as a lyricist. Their work can be accepted, but it will remain out of worship services. A good example is a concert with a slogan "Podignimo Stupove" (Let's raise the Pillars). There were many new songs, but none of it affected the principles (the Typicon) of the services.

*To what extent is music needed in the Church? Would it be possible without it?*  
It would be possible without music, because words are essential. But there is a place in the Bible which says that one should sing to Our Lord.

*What is the role of music in religion?*  
I guess the role of music is to spread the message of the Gospel in a creative way. That is one of the roles of icons, too, and finally of any art inspired by religion.

*Do religious people listen to religious music outside the Church and services?*  
Some do, others don't. I've noticed that there are some newborn Christians or fanatic Christians who listen to religious music all the time, even denying and rejecting any other kinds.

*Are public halls places where religious music should be performed?*  
Of course, it is an opportunity to spread the Gospel message.

*Is it possible to determine religious belief of a person based on the music they listen to?*  
No, it is not.

*Is it possible to determine the level of religiosity based on the preferred type of music?*  
No, it is not. It would be generalization and primitivism.

*Does religious music increase religiosity among believers?*  
Based on testimonies (or some religious conversions) I would say that music can be an important factor in introduction to and maturation in religion. I heard a story about some people who heard music from a church, went in, became very enthusiastic, and remained believers until the rest of their lives.

*What is your opinion on people singing along during the services? Is it necessary and what is it for?*  
It is one of the aspects when the community appears. I think it is very important and lovely event.

*Is music better indicator of religiosity than confessional affiliation?*  
A good friend of mine, who is a Baptist, told me a story about two soldiers who were different sides in a war. They were sitting for hours against one another but they coul-

dn't see each other. Eventually one of them began to sing one of Christian tunes, which the other one also knew. They threw their weapons, approached each other and hugged. This example, which I cannot back up with a reference right now, shows that music can be a really good indicator of religiosity.

*What is the attitude of the general population toward religious music?*

Approaching it as to an art, there is always a place for comments. Generally, I think it is a matter of taste. Many people whom I meet outside the Church are somewhat retrained, because they think that religious music is something special (they have the same attitude toward classical music), and they don't really want to get into it. That is, at least, my impression.

### Interview No. 3

Vršac, May 26<sup>th</sup>, 2010. Olga Šinković, conductor of a church choir in Vršac and principal of Music School "Josip Marinković" in Vršac.

*How do you draw a line between religious and secular music, if there are no lyrics, i.e. if it is instrumental?*

It cannot be instrumental, and the line cannot be drawn if there are no lyrics: maybe sometimes by a tune i.e. melody, like in a response such as ektenia without text, but this is rarely used.

*Is that kind of music (instrumental) suitable for worship services?*

Yes, it is.

*Are instruments used in the Church during the services?*

No, they are not. Only the voice is used in the Serbian Orthodox Church.

*Is the use of instruments during the service an advantage or not?*

Yes, it is. The Russian Orthodox Church uses them.

*Would the process of secularization be any different if instruments were involved? Would it be faster?*

No, it wouldn't.

*Does the church who accepted instruments have an advantage, and does it affect the congregation better to accept the Church, religion, and God?*

Yes, it does.

*How does the congregation react to more dynamic and energetic music?*

Everyone participates when it is more dynamic.

*What do you think about jazz and gospel cover of the Mokranjac's Requiem "Tebe pojem" (Centar Sava 2008, and Days of Mokranjac, Negotin, 2007)?*

I haven't had an opportunity to hear it, but I'm sure I'd like it.

*Does the Church condemn or accept it?*

The majority condemns that kind of ideas and liberty!

*Would the congregation react better, if the liturgy were served in their native language?*

Yes, they would be more involved! (It's been suggested to print all the texts of the song, with signs where they should take part, in order to follow and to participate in the service easily.)

*Are modern songs sung during the services?*

Sometimes.

*Is there a difference between sacral music (that is used during the service) and religious music?*

No, there is not. We can perform almost everything during the liturgy, but more virtuosic compositions are kept for concert performances.

*To what extent is music needed in the Church? Would it be possible without it?*  
No, it wouldn't.

*What is the role of music in religion?*  
The role of music in religion is very impressive and inviolable, regardless to the fact that many priests think it would be possible without it!

*Do religious people listen to religious music outside the Church and services?*  
No, they see it as a punishment. But that's only pure ignorance about religious music!

*Is it possible to determine religious belief of a person based on the music they listen to?*  
No, it is not.

*Is it possible to determine the level of religiosity based on the preferred type of music?*  
No, not essentially.

*Does religious music increase religiosity among believers?*  
Certainly!

*What is your opinion on people singing along during the services?*  
It's the best thing! All that is needed is a translation into Serbian, so that people could participate!

*If the Churches united, the Eastern and the Western, which one would take the primacy and decide which music is sacred and ritual?*  
That won't happen, but if it did, the Western Church would take over.

*In your opinion, what is the attitude of the general population toward religious music?*  
When you say religious music, everyone refuses even to listen to it, but when the name of the piece i.e. composition is given, then they accept it and talk positively about it.

### **Interview No. 4**

Belgrade, Mart 15<sup>th</sup>, 2010. An interview with a priest from Ružica Church.

*What can you say about secularization in church music?*  
You cannot expect that an ascetic, monk, hermit would change his attitudes, views, and course of life. It is simply impossible. I don't see any possibilities for some kind of fashionable behavior and secularization to appear. This applies to the entire East. Music and Eastern Orthodox Christianity – it is very difficult to define, it all sums up to worship rituals and prayers that celebrate the Holy Trinity.

*Are there concert performances of religious music in the Church?*  
No, Eastern Orthodox Christianity finds it too secularized. There are spirituals evenings, events when choirs perform church worship songs, but these are not concerts. It has rather the character of a prayer, when church songs of great composers are performed. It is usually organized shortly before Pentecost. This year it's been on May 23<sup>rd</sup>, Sunday before Pentecost. There were some writers and several members of the Serbian Academy, and they spoke at the Church. These events are not attended by a large number of people. That's how it is in Serbia.

*Does it happen regularly at the same time, is it regulated, or is it just someone's good will to organize such events in the church?*  
A blessing from an episcope is required. Serbia is divided into eparchies, so it is well known who is in charge.

*Are there some joyous songs?*

Yes, there are. Such are Christmas and Easter songs. The birth of Jesus Christ and the Resurrection are joyful announcements. These songs are sung in Russian Church Slavonic, which is called the Church Slavonic language, and the most joyful are the paschal songs.

*How was the liturgical text formed?*

Church Slavonic remains the liturgical language, but patriarch Pavle proposed that prayers spoken by priests should be in Serbian, so that people could understand them.

### **Interview No. 5**

Julijana Kojić, theologian, New York, interviewed on May 25<sup>th</sup>, 2010.

*Could you, please, tell me if there are differences between church music in the Orthodox Church in the USA and church music in Serbia?*

Concerning music in the Serbian Orthodox Church, I am really not very familiar with many different practices. I have been at a church in New York, and it is the same church music. Not using instruments is characteristic for Eastern Orthodox Christianity, and choirs (together with congregation) usually sing responses to priest's chant. I am really not aware of any differences, especially not within the Serbian Orthodox Church.

### **CONCLUSION**

Early Christianity, which is based on Judaism, also in domain of music and the use of music in rituals, inherited a significant number of chants from Judaism. For centuries many different cultures have been shaping Christian tunes. In order to distance itself from paganism, the Church have omitted everything resembling paganism, which is, among other things, the use of instruments and body movements and women serving during worship.

During the Middle Ages, Serbian Orthodoxy maintained its tradition in Hilandar Monastery, where Athonite chant developed under the influence of Byzantine chant. The traditional Orthodox music, which was developed from church chant, is divided into liturgical and non-liturgical performances. Religious music is written to church texts, but it isn't a part of worship service. Church chant is singing liturgical texts within worship cycle according to the regulations provided in the Typikon, which determines the service in detail. Numerous variants of church chant used for centuries were suppressed when a new collection of chants came into use, edited by Mokranjac in Belgrade in 1908.

A church is a holy place according to the Serbian Orthodox Church, and performing non-liturgical religious music in a church was opposed. Furthermore, religious music was marginalized after the Second World War and it had difficulties finding its place in public. After the 1990s, however, the process of revitalization of religion brought also misuse of religious music and put it into service of nationalism and strengthening the patriotic feelings in order to produce political changes.

With that in mind, critical position toward such misuse of religion can be recognized in theological circles of the Serbian Orthodox Church, and the process of secularization is seen as an opportunity, rather than a challenge. Christianity is essentially based on the example of Jesus Christ, an ideal, who renounced the desire for power in the society (Temptation of Jesus in the desert, Mat. 4: 9-10) and therefore,

“the process of secularization of the society by ta-king social domains one after another from the Church, paradoxically, brings it back to its basic function, which is

to testify in word and deed to the Kingdom of Heaven. Domains of this world belong to this world. By exaggerating its love toward the state, the Orthodox Church can raise a question whether Christ is enough, or the authority of the state is important to accept the Truth? (Krstić 2010, 514).”

In the light of assessing the development of the society, the Church, and music, we can look at the results of this research concerning the process of secularization observed through church and religious music. This preoccupation with the process of secularization within the ecclesiastical life can be recognized in the domain of music and worship services, where the music becomes too close to secular models. Church music in the Orthodox tradition has strict regulations of its use during liturgy and the process of secularization hasn't brought any changes that are characteristic for Christian churches and congregations with more liberal form of worship, and especially for those where lay people are free to participate and perform the worship service.

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## ABSTRACTS

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Alexios Panagopoulos

### **SOCIO-POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE OF CUSTOMS AS THE SOURCE OF LAW IN EASTERN CHURCH**

#### **Summary**

Customary and religious order and the beginning and development of custom as a source of ecclesiastical law. Constellation of relationships for survival and quality of customs. Diversity and uniqueness of the institution of church customs, than any other customs. Non-native custom – disappearance and exception. The work of Basil the Great-Cappadocian (330-378 AD) – answers About nomo-canonical regulation of the Church. Characteristics of customs, the term of source. Connections between canons and customs, the importance of connections in order to preserve the character of the missionary Church. Ecclat, as custom and religious ritual. Byzantine state – social canons in the service of the Church. Antithesis between the modern state and the church – the conflict and resistance. "Avaton" – Mount Athos regulation, customs practice of Greek courts, customs at the time of the fall of Constantinople and Ottoman-cacy. Medieval Serbia, St. Sava Nemanjic, a carrier of spiritual and civilizational affiliation of Serbia.

**Key Words:** Custom, The Custom of the Church, Basil The Great-Cappadocian, Modern State and Church, Medieval Serbia and Nemanjic's Dynasty.

### **СОЦИЈАЛНО-ПОЛИТИЧКИ И РЕЛИГИОЗНИ ЗНАЧАЈ ОБИЧАЈА КАО ИЗВОР ПРАВА У ИСТОЧНОЈ ЦРКВИ**

#### **Резиме**

Обичај и црквени поредак и почетак и развој обичаја као извора црквеног права. Констелација односа за опстанак и квалитет обичаја. Различитост и јединственост установе црквеног обичаја од ма којег другог обичаја. Неизворни обичај – одступање и нестајање. Рад Василија Великог-Кападокијског (330-378 н.е.) – одговори везани за номоканонско уређење Цркве. Карактеристике обичаја, термин изворности. Веза канона и обичаја, значај везе за очување мисионарског карактера Цркве. Крсна слава, као обичај и религијски обред. Византијска држава – друштвени канони у служби Цркве. Антитеза између савремене државе и цркве – сукоб и отпор. "Аватон", светогорска уредба; обичаји у пракси грчких судова, обичаји у доба пада Цариграда и туркократије. Средњовековна Србија; Свети Сава Немањић, одредник духовне и цивилизацијске припадности Србије.

**Кључне речи:** обичај, црквени обичај, Василије Велики-Кападокијски, савремена држава и црква, средњовековна Србија и Немањићи.

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Dragan Novaković

### **FROM "NAČERTANIJE" (DRAFT) ON CLERICAL AUTHORITIES TO THE LAW ON CHURCHES AND RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES (170 Years of the Serbian Orthodox Church Legislation)**

#### **Summary**

The independence of Serbia marks the beginning of the comprehensive study of Serbian state tradition in goal of establishing historical tradition with foundations set by Karadjordje and the rebels in 1804. The study of legal history has an important place in such studies; certain results demonstrate surprisingly modern legal acts lying hidden behind archaic language over one hundred years of age. This work has come to existence following such orientations in order to present legislation regulating the status of the Serbian Orthodox Church, from the Draft on Spiritual Authority of 1836 to the latest Law on the Legal Status of Churches and Religious Communities of 2006. The thesis of four distinctly demarcated periods of constitutional status of churches and religious communities will be proven by legislative text analysis, socio-historical origin context situation as well by identification of the dominant political forces influential in shaping the legislation. The first period corresponds with the Principality (and later Kingdom) of Serbia in which Orthodoxy was the state religion, the second with the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (later Kingdom of Yugoslavia) which applied the concept of conditional separation retaining state sovereignty over the Serbian Orthodox Church, the

third marked complete separation during the existence of the socialist state and the fourth, ongoing from the October 2000 changes, aims at affirming certain specificities stemming from Serbian history and tradition as well as removing the nefarious effects of socialist ideological rule, all the while respecting constitutional separation and accepting the highest European standards.

**Key Words:** Serbian Orthodox Church, Serbia, State, Constitutions, Laws.

**ОД НАЧЕРТАНИЈА О ДУХОВНИМ ВЛАСТИМА ДО  
ЗАКОНА О ЦРКВАМА И ВЕРСКИМ ЗАЈЕДНИЦАМА  
(170 година законодавства о Православној цркви у Србији)**

**Резиме**

Самосталношћу Србије започињу свеобухватна изучавања српске државне традиције са циљем успостављања историјске вертикале са темељима постављеним од Карађорђа и устаника 1804. године. Важно место у тим проучавањима заузима и историја права, тако да поједини резултати показују да се иза архаичног језика и старости од сто и више година крију акти са изненађујућом модерношћу. Следећи та опредељења настао је и овај рад мотивисан жељом да се представи законодавство којим је уређиван положај Српске православне цркве од Начертанија о духовним властима из 1836. до последњег Закона о правном положају црква и верских заједница из 2006. године. Анализом законских текстова, ситуирањем у друштвено-историјски контекст у којима су настајали и идентификацијом доминантних политичких снага, које су одлучујуће утицале на њихово обликовање, доказиваће се теза о четири јасно омеђена периода проистекла из уставног статуса црква и верских заједница. Прво раздобље подудара се са Књажевином и Краљевином Србијом у којима је православна вера била државна, друго са Краљевином СХС-Југославијом која је примењивала концепцију условне одвојености уз задржан суверенитет државе над Српском православном црквом, треће обележено потпуном одвојеношћу за време постојања социјалистичке државе и четврто после октобарских промена 2000. године у коме се, уз поштовање уставне одвојености и прихватања највиших европских стандарда, настоје афирмисати одређене специфичности проистекле из српске историје и традиције и отклонити негативне последице из доба владавине идеолошког система.

**Кључне речи:** Српска православна црква, Србија, држава, устави, закони.

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Sergej Flere

**ARTICLE 9 OF THE EUROPEAN CONVENTION ON HUMAN RIGHTS:  
DISCERNING AN ORTHODOX PATTERN OF PROBLEMS?**

**Summary**

The judgments, where petitioners invoked art. 9 (freedom of religion) of the ECHR passed in the period 2000-2010 by the European Court for Human Rights have been reviewed. There was a total of 56 judgments invoking violation of art. 9 (those pertaining to countries with a Muslim tradition were excluded). Some judgments were passed with legal grounding differing from the one petitioners invoked (or dismissing the petition in entirety).

It was the aim to determine whether a special pattern of situations tends to appear in case of countries with an Eastern Orthodox tradition, one which could be traced to the Caesaropist tradition of State-Church arrangements in Orthodox environments, indicating a special accommodation and harmony among the two, of state guardianship for its church, which should differ from the situations arising as subjects of litigation in Western Christianity.

One half of the judgments invoking a violation of art. 9 (28) pertained to situations countries with an Orthodox heritage (their governments being defendants), which is relatively high. Although in cases coming from all countries, one may discern, following Stark and Finke (2000), an indirect support for the traditional church(es) of the country, some cases from Orthodox countries are peculiar, indicating a more direct intervention into religious life and its organization, where the state intervenes into the internal life of the major religious groups (Metropolitan Church vs. Moldova, Holy Synod vs. Bulgaria, Holy Council vs. Bulgaria, Chaus and Hasan vs. Bulgaria), indicating a trace of the traditional relationship between church and state, with 'state as interfering guardian' in contrast with the ECHR understanding of the matter.

**Key Words:** Judgments of the ECHR, Special Pattern, Church-state Problems, Orthodox Heritage.

**ЧЛАН 9 ЕВРОПСКЕ КОНВЕЦИЈЕ О ЉУДСКИМ ПРАВИМА:  
ДА ЛИ СЕ ОТКРИВА ПРАВОСЛАВНИ ОБРАЗАЦ ПРОБЛЕМА?**

**Резиме**

Пресуде у којима су се подносиоци позивали на члан 9 (слобода религије) ЕСЉП су размотрене за период 2000-2010. у погледу праксе Европског суда за људска права. Било је укупно 56 пресуда у којима су се подносиоци позивали на повреду чл. 9 (у односу на земље са неком од хришћанских наслеђа). Неке пресуде су, међутим, исказивале другачију правну основу, или пак никакву (одбацавање захтева у целости).

Циљ овог рада био је да се утврди да ли се исказује посебан образац у случају држава са источним православљем, а који би се могао тумачити наслеђем везаним за цезаропапистички модел државно-црквених односа, где се ради о посебном прилагођавању и складу те две, о државној бризи за цркву, која би била другачија од ситуација које се исказују као предмет спорова у земљама западног хришћанства.

Једна половина свих спорова (28) у којима се подносиоци позивају на кршење чл. 9 (слобода вере) ЕСЉП долазе из земаља са православном традицијом (владе су тужене), што је релативно високо. Суд може да измени правну квалификацију спора.

Мада и у случајевима који долазе са запада такође преовлађују ситуације које би Старк и Финке (2000), означили као подржавање традиционалне цркве(ава), али неки примери из православних држава указују на директније интервенисање државе у верски живот и његово организовање, па и у државно интервенисање у унутрашњи живот главних верских заједница (Метрополитанска црква против Молдове, Свети синод против Бугарске, Духовни савет против Бугарске, Чауш и Хасан против Бугарске) указујући на траг традиционалног односа између цркве и државе, „где је држава интервенишући старатељ цркава“, у супротности са разумевањем ствари од стране ЕСЉП.

**Кључне речи:** Европски суд за људска права, посебан образац, црквено-државни проблеми, православно наслеђе.

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Helen Mchedlova

**HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE STATE OF RELIGIOSITY IN RUSSIA**

**Summary**

Providing of HR is the element of social responsibility, the high degree of attain of low civic democratic society. Groups of HR, existing in different spheres, are the subject of sociology of HR, and sociology of religion may study religious rights.

Sociology of religion examines the person as together with God and as an individual, capable to change the world. Human relations, psychological climate, general atmosphere depend on person. The main – his or her dignity. The degree of responsibility is important too, the responsibility in front of society, in front of God and in front of themselves.

Richness and diversity of spiritual life, imperfection of social relations, hard socio-political and socio-economical situation, absence of issues, sometimes the fashion, keep on growing of religiosity.

**Key Words:** Human Rights, Sociology of Religion, Person, Spiritual Life.

**ЉУДСКА ПРАВА И СТАЊЕ РЕЛИГИОЗНОСТИ У РУСИЈИ**

**Резиме**

Обезбеђивање људских права представља елемент друштвене одговорности, високи степен остваривања основног грађанског демократског друштва. Груписана људска права, која постоје у различитим сферама, чине предмет истраживања социологије људских права, док се социологија религије може бавити проучавањем верских права.

Социологија религије проучава особу и у јединству с Богом, али и као индивидуу способну да промени свет. Људски односи, психолошко окружење и општа атмосфера зависе од особе. А оно што је најважније је њено достојанство. Степен одговорности је такође важан, одговорности пред друштвом, пред Богом и пред самим собом.

Богатство и разноликост духовног живота, несавршеност друштвених односа, тешка социополитичка и социоекономска ситуација, недостатак проблема, а понекад и мода, утичу на даљи пораст религиозности.

**Кључне речи:** људска права, социологија религије, особа, духовни живот.

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Ivan Cvitković

**CERTAIN METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEMS IN A  
SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH**

**Summary**

An introductory part will explain my choice of the subject in focus "Certain methodological problems in a sociological research of the Orthodox Church" for my elaborate. It is followed by a brief review of the difference between "religious Sociology" and "Sociology of religion" in the approach to researching the religious life. A few lines on considerable orientation towards empirical researches. What a sociologist can research in the Orthodox Church? Levels of a sociological research in the Orthodox Church. On all what a sociologist needs to take due care of while preparing for a research and about all what a sociologist should take into account when determining the specimen. A few lines on methods and techniques in a sociological research of the Orthodox Church. A brief review of what should be taken with due care when applying the content analysis, attitude scales and the statistical method. How to choose a field researcher (poll-taker, interviewer etc.)? What was omitted to be researched or was insufficiently researched in the area of the Orthodox Church at the territory of ex Yugoslavia?

**Key Words:** Sociologist, Sociology of Religion, Research, Orthodox Church, Specimen, Methods.

**НЕКИ МЕТОДОЛОШКИ ПРОБЛЕМИ  
У СОЦИОЛОШКИМ ИСТРАЖИВАЊУ ПРАВОСЛАВЉА**

**Резиме**

У уводном дијелу бит ће ријечи о томе зашто сам за своје саопћење одабрао тему „Неки методолошки проблеми у социолошком истраживању православља“. Следи краћи осврт на разликовање између „религијске социологије“ и „социологије религије“ у приступу проучавању религијског живота. Понешто о израженијој оријентацији к емпиријским истраживањима. Што социолог може истраживати у православљу? Нивои социолошког истраживања у православљу. О чему све социолог треба водити рачуна у својим припремама за истраживање, а о чему приликом утврђивања узорка. Понешто о методама и техникама у социолошком истраживању православља. Краћи осврт на то о чему требамо водити рачуна при коришћењу анализе садржаја, скала ставова и статистичке методе. Како одабрати теренског истраживача (анкетара, водитеља интервјуа...). Што је пропуштено истраживати, или је недовољно истражено, у православљу на подручју ех. Југославије?

**Кључне ријечи:** социолог, социологија религије, истраживање, православље, узорак, методе.

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Sergej Lebedev

**CULTURAL INTERACTION OF SECULAR AND RELIGIOUS TYPES IN SOCIETY  
TODAY: A METHODOLOGICAL ANALYSIS**

**Summary**

The article attempts to justify the methodology for the study of the religious situation in contemporary society, such as from the standpoint of interaction between the secular culture, forming a social and cultural mainstream, and religious cultures, undergoing "revitalization." Established four key principles of designing a methodological model of cultural interaction of secular and religious types: social and cultural, the principle of system integrity, the principle of representation and the principle of reflection. These principles are disclosed in the three methodological approaches to the study: sociodynamics, sociocognitive, cultural and comparative.

**Key Words:** Intercultural, Religious Culture, Secular Culture, Society, Modernity, Social and Cultural Principle, Reflection, Socio-dynamics Culture, Social Knowledge.

**ИНТЕРАКЦИЈА СЕКУЛАРНИХ И РЕЛИГИОЗНИХ ТИПОВА КУЛТУРА:  
МЕТОДОЛОШКА АНАЛИЗА**

**Резиме**

У овом тексту аутор покушава да оправда методологију изучавања религијске ситуације у савременом друштву са становишта интеракције између секуларне културе која пред-

ставља друштвени и културни ”мејнстрим” и религијских култура које пролазе кроз процес ”ревитализације”. Утврђена су четири кључна принципа формирања методолошког модела културне интеракције између секуларних и религијских типова културе: друштвени и културни, принцип системске интегрисаности, принцип представљања и принцип одражавања. Ови принципи откривају три методолошка приступа изучавању: социодинамички, социокогнитивни, културни и упоредни.

**Кључне речи:** интеркултурално, религијска култура, секуларна култура, друштво, савременост, друштвени и културни принципи, одражавање, социодинамична култура, друштвено знање.

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Nonka Bogomilova

**“CONFESSIONALIZATION” OF THE SCIENTIFIC STUDY OF RELIGION: FORMS AND LIMITS /EASTERN ORTHODOX CASE/**

**Summary**

The emergence of modern philosophy of religion and of the sciences of religion, or religious studies, (in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century) were among the expressions of modern Man’s emancipation from dependence on God. In modern times phenomenology and hermeneutics have proposed a radically new philosophical approach to the phenomenon of religion, which attempts to interpret religion by tracing its inner logic, its specific invariants and language, its attitude to Man. Researchers have found shortcomings in these new approaches, in which – they believe – the philosophical horizon is lost. These authors stress the imperative need for a multidimensional approach to the complexity of religion; that the principle of religious pluralism should be grounded through a philosophical approach that transcends specific religions; and that, on this basis, an “ethics of dialogue” between religions should be built, of the kind that could hardly be achieved in the framework of the separate branches of specialized study of religion, nor within the limits of theology, which is usually connected with a specific religion. On this methodological basis a trend of confessionalization of the scientific study of religion is analyzed, related to the Eastern Orthodox studies too.

**Key Words:** Scientific Study of Religion, Philosophy of Religion, Confessionalization of Religious Studies, Religious Pluralism, Eastern Orthodox Studies.

**“КОНФЕСИОНАЛИЗАЦИЈА” НА НАУЧНОТО ИЗСЛЕДВАНЕ НА РЕЛИГИЈАТА: ФОРМИ И ГРАНИЦИ /СЛУЧАЈ С ИЗТОЧНОТО ПРАВОСЛАВИЕ/**

**Резюме**

Появата на модерната философија на религијата и на науките за религијата /в средата на 19-ти век/ са признаци на еманципацијата на модерниот човек од зависноста од Бог. Во Модерното време феноменологијата и херменевтиката предлагаат радикално нов филозофски подход кон религиозниот феномен, којто се опитва да интерпретира религијата преку внатрешната ѝ логика, специфичните ѝ инварианти и јазик, одношението ѝ кон човека. Немалко истражувачи посочуваат недостатоците на тези филозофски подходи, при които се загубува филозофскиот хоризонт. Тие обрќаат внимание на важноста од многуизмерен подход кон сложниот религиозен феномен, и кон принципот на религиозниот плурализам следва да се основава на филозофскиот подход, којто трансцендира одделните религиозни традиции; кон само на таа основа може да биде изградена “етика на дијалогот” меѓу одделните религии, која тешко може да биде постигната во рамките на одделните клонови на специјализираното знаење за религијата, ниту во границите на теологијата, која е сврзана обично со една одделна религија. Врху таа методолошка основа се анализира една од тенденциите во научното истражување на религијата денес, која условно наречена е конфесионализација, имајќи одношение и кон Источното православие.

**Клучови думи:** научно истражување на религијата, философија на религијата, конфесионализација на истражувањето на религијата, религиозен плурализам, истражување на Источното православие.

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Julija Sinelina

**VALUE ORIENTATIONS OF RUSSIAN ORTHODOX AND MUSLIM BELIEVERS**

**Summary**

In this essay, the author presents the results of the comparative analysis of value orientations of Russian Orthodox and Muslims (from Tatarstan and Bashkortostan). The analysis of value system that prevailing in contemporary Russian society seems one of the most importing in Russian sociology. Are there any values in this society that could unify the population of Russia and what are they? Russian society faces different problems today and one of them is disintegration. There is a prejudice all over the world, and in Russia too, that orthodox believers and muslims have very little in common if we speak about the values system. Our empirical research proves that in Russia there is no great difference between orthodox and muslim (from Volga Region) values system. The empirical research was conducted on a stratified sample of 1848 responders in 14 regions of Russia. We used methodology worked out by V. Chesnokova. It contains four blocks: Material Well-being, Sociality, Individualism, Religiosity. Each of these blocks consists of four variables. The great majority of both orthodox and muslims chose the same values from Sociality and Well-being blocks. The more detailed analysis and the reasons for received results will be described in this study.

**Key Words:** Orthodox Believers, Muslims, Value System, Value Orientations, Material Well-being, Sociality, Individualism, Religiosity.

**ВРЕДНОСНЕ ОРИЈЕНТАЦИЈЕ РУСКИХ ПРАВОСЛАВАЦА И МУСЛИМАНА**

**Резиме**

У овом раду аутор излаже резултате компаративне анализе вредносних оријентација руских православаца и муслимана (из Татарстана и Башкортостана). Једна од најважнијих анализа у руској социологији јесте анализа вредносног система који доминира савременим руским друштвом. Постоје ли у овом друштву вредности које могу ујединити становништво Русије и које су то вредности? Руско друштво се данас сусреће са различитим проблемима а један од њих је дезинтеграција. У свету је, као и у самој Русији, широко распрострањено предубеђење да православци и муслимани деле врло мало заједничких вредности. Наше емпиријско истраживање показало је да у Русији нема много разлике у вредносним системима православних и муслимана (из региона Волге). Истраживање је спроведено на стратификованом узорку од 1848 испитаника из 14 региона Русије. У овом истраживању користили смо се методологијом коју је развила В. Чеснокова. Она садржи 4 аспекта: материјално благостање, друштвеност, индивидуализам, религиозност. Сваки од ових аспеката састоји се од 4 варијабле. Велика већина, како православних тако и муслимана, опредељује се за исте вредности са становишта материјалног благостања и друштвености. Детаљнија анализа и објашњење добијених резултата садржани су у овом раду.

**Кључне речи:** православни верници, муслимани, вредносни систем, вредносне оријентације, материјално благостање, друштвеност, индивидуализам, религиозност.

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Mirko Blagojević

**ORTHODOX RELIGIOUSNESS**

**AT THE END OF THE FIRST DECADE OF THE 21<sup>ST</sup> CENTURY**

**Summary**

First indicators of the change in conventional religiousness among the people of Serbia were recorded in late eighties and early nineties of the previous century. Although the changes were recorded among all confessions, they were most evident in the religious and spiritual area of Orthodoxy, the predominant confession in Serbia. From early to mid-nineties of the previous century, owing not just to tendencies in the spiritual area but to wide socio-political circumstances in the territory of former socialist Yugoslavia as well, religious situation in Serbia was classified as an unquestionable revitalization of tradition, religion and church. However, even after the war in the territory of former Yugoslav Federation, empirical sociological research studies in Serbia revealed that not only that revitalized traditional religiousness had not set back, as it could have been expected considering its primary sources, but the religious situation stabilized in a way, and the stabilization implied a high level of confessional and religious

self-identification of the population, that is, among the interviewees, a high level of belief in the basic dogma of Christianity – the God, participation in some traditional Orthodox religious rituals (requiem, celebration of religious holidays, baptism, church weddings), great reliance on Serbian Orthodox Church and apparent religious changes in the scope and intensity of certain current religious actions (church visits, presence at liturgy, praying and fasting), compared to the records from the early eighties of the previous century. All that is accompanied by an increasing public role of the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Orthodoxy itself in the social and political milieu in Serbia and their connections with the state, particularly after 2000. Current sociological research studies reveal that the particular religious situation evidently stabilized on a path of slow, but continuous growth of the number of believers who materialize their personal religious and confessional identification through participation in traditional and contemporary Orthodox rituals. The process of the return of nominal believers to the church can be identified quite clearly, and what is so specific about this process is a continuously high religious and confessional identification, extended growth of belief in dogmatic premises of Christianity and modest, but steady growth of church and ritual practice

**Key Words:** Serbian Orthodoxy, Indicators of Religiousness, Traditional Religiousness, Current Religiousness, Serbia.

### ПРАВОСЛАВНА РЕЛИГИОЗНОСТ НА КРАЈУ ПРВЕ ДЕЦЕНИЈЕ XXI ВЕКА

#### Резиме

Први знаци промене конвенционалне религиозности грађана Србије евидентирани су крајем 80-их и почетком 90-их година прошлог века. Иако су промене важиле за све конфесионалне просторе, најевидентније су биле на религијско-духовном простору православља, доминантне конфесије у Србији. Током првих година десете деценије прошлог века па до средине те деценије, захваљући не само тенденцијама у духовној сфери већ и најширим амбијенталним, социјално-политичким околностима на просторима бивше, социјалистичке Југославије, религијска ситуација у Србији се одређивала као несумњива ревитализација традиције, религије и цркве. Међутим, и после завршетка ратова на простору бивше југословенске Федерације емпиријска социолошка истраживања у Србији су показала да се обновљена традиционална религиозност није повукла, као што би се могло очекивати с обзиром на примарне изворе њене обнове, већ се религијска ситуација на неки начин стабилизovala а та стабилизација је подразумевала високу конфесионалну и религијску самоидентификацију становништва, односно испитаника, висок проценат веровања у основну догму хришћанства – у Бога, изразиту заступљеност учествовања у неким традиционалним религијским обредима православља (опело, прослављање верских празника, крштење, црквено венчање), велико поверење јавног мњења у СПЦ и очите религијске промене у обиму и интензитету неких актуелних религијских радњи (као што су посета цркви, посета литургији, молитва и пост), кад се подаци за ове обреде упореде са подацима са почетка осамдесетих година прошлог века. Свему томе треба додати и све већу јавну улогу и повезаност са државом коју су православље и СПЦ имали, посебно после 2000. године, у социјално-политичком простору српског друштва. Актуелна социолошка истраживања показују да се наведена религијска ситуација још изразитије усталила са тенденцијом скромног, али континуираног пораста броја верника који своју личну религијско-конфесионалну идентификацију опредмеђују учешћем у традиционалним и актуелним ритуалима православља. Процес учествовања номиналних верника се сасвим сигурно идентификује, а специфичност тог процеса је у стабилно високој религијско-конфесионалној идентификацији, у продуженом расту веровања у догматске поставке хришћанства и у скромном, али постојаном расту конвенционалне, црквено-обредне праксе.

**Кључне речи:** православље, религијска ситуација, индикатори религиозности, процес учествовања, Србија.

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**RELIGIOSITY OF THE ORTHODOX YOUTH IN MONTENEGRO**

**Summary**

In this research, we start from the statement that Orthodoxy is dominant religion in Montenegro. According to the census from 2003, 74, 23% of citizens identified themselves with the Orthodoxy. In this respect, religious empiricists can assume that it is an area of low religiosity, because most empirical researches show that areas where Orthodoxy is dominant note low score of religiosity. According to those researches, Montenegro is very specific environment, where empiric researches, although modest, record very low percentage of the religiosity, not only in comparison with surrounding countries, but even wider. Therefore in the introductory part of the work, we examine chronological development of the religiosity and we conclude that the religiosity of the Montenegrins has varied, mostly in dependence on social-political influence.

During the Socialist period, Orthodoxy was particularly deprived, persecuted and marginalized from social life. Situation changed after the fall of Socialist system, when religious power and influence revitalized among both individuals who find sense of life in religion and society in total. That is the period when research interest in religion is emphasized. According to those indicators, revitalization of religion occurred mostly among the youth. Thus, the goal of our research is religiosity of Orthodox youth, as well as to examine if the religiosity still persists among that population.

In that sense, we made extensive questionnaire with number of indicators. On the basis of received data analysis, we notice that the religiosity of Montenegrin youth is at considerable level, if we take into consideration indicators of religious self-identification and belief in God. Situation changes when we analyze indicators which refer to orthopraxy or some dogmatic theses such as belief in life after death, where the percentage of religiosity decreases. Therefore we notice that orthopraxy is not the key factor of the religiosity. We can conclude that the religiosity of the Orthodox youth in Montenegro has more characteristics of transcendental, formed by traditional association with Orthodoxy, than characteristics of spiritual diving into the depths of faith and respect for church ritual *practice*.

**Key Words:** The Youth, Religiosity, Orthodoxy, Transcendent, Church Ritual *Practice*.

**РЕЛИГИОЗНОСТ ПРАВОСЛАВНЕ ОМЛАДИНЕ У ЦРНОЈ ГОРИ**

**Резиме**

У овом истраживању полазимо од констатације да је Црна Гора доминантно православно подручје. Према попису становништва из 2003. године, 74,23% грађана се идентификовало с православљем. С тим у вези, религиолози емпиричари већ могу да наслуте да је ријеч о подручју ниске религиозности, јер већина емпиријских истраживања показује да се на православно доминантним подручјима испољава низак скор религиозности. Према тим истраживањима, Црна Гора важи за врло специфичну средину, гдје искуствена истраживања, иако скромна, биљеже веома низак постотак религиозности, не само у компарацији са државама из окружења, него и шире. Стога у уводном дијелу рада разматрамо хронолошки развој религиозности, и закључујемо да је религиозност Црногораца варирала, најчешће у зависности од друштвено-политичког утицаја. У социјалистичком периоду, нарочито је православна вјера била депривилегована, прогањана и маргинализована из друштвеног живота. Ситуација се мијења обрушавањем социјалистичког система, када долази до ревитализације моћи и угледа религије како за појединца који у религији налази смисао животу, тако и за друштво у цјелини. То је период када долази и до наглашеног научно-истраживачког интересовања за религију. Према тим показатељима ревитализација религије је највише захватила популацију младих. Стога и наше истраживање за циљ поставља религиозност православне омладине, као и да истражимо у ком обиму се религиозност данас задржала међу том популацијом. У том смислу, направили смо опсежан упитник са већим бројем индикатора. На основу анализе добијених података, примјећујемо да је религиозност православне омладине у Црној Гори на завидном нивоу, ако у обзир узмемо индикаторе религијске самоидентификације и вјере у Бога. Ситуација се мијења када се анализирају индикатори који се односе на ортопраксију или на неке догматске поставке као што је вјера у живот после смрти, гдје проценат религиозности опада. Стога примјећујемо да ортопра-



ксија није кључан чинилац религиозности. Можемо закључити да је религиозност православне омладине у Црној Гори више трансцедентног карактера, уобличена традиционалним везивањем за православље, него духовно понирање у дубине вјере и поштовање црквено-обредне праксе.

**Кључне ријечи:** млади, религиозност, православље, трансцедентно, црквено-обредна пракса.

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Dragoljub Krneta  
Aleksandra Šević

#### **ATMOSPHERE IN THE FAMILY AND RELATIONSHIP TOWARDS THE ORTHODOXY**

The initial premise in this study is that the family is exceptionally important in children's development and in the creation of their view of the world. A child learns and imitates its parents and in that way forms its personality, views of life, its stands, values as well as its relationship towards the orthodoxy. Considering that relationships between parents and children occur at different family conditions, through different educational actions of which the children is exposed in the family, there can be expected the differences in their stands, views as well as shapes of their religious behaviours.

In this study are shown the results of the empirical research on relationship between perceived atmosphere in the family and stands towards the orthodoxy at elementary and high school students. The sample was made of students at finishing classes in elementary schools (8th and 9th graders) and students in various high school classes (1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th).

Family atmosphere was analyzed from the aspect of cherishing of religious tradition and customs: prayer practicing, reading of books with religious content, fast, confessionings and giving contributions. To examine the general stand towards the orthodoxy, the shorten version of scale of my own construction for examination of the general stand towards the orthodoxy, has been used. The coefficient of reliability of this scale was calculated using the Spirman-Brown formula and is 0,76; the coefficient of internal consistency Cronbach's alpha is 0,78.

The results of the preliminary research show that there are differences in intensity of regular practicing of religious rituals with fast as the most spreaded, then prayers, contributions givings and others. It is found that 4,17% of surveyed students has negative, 56,94% ambivalent and 38,89% positive stand towards the orthodoxy. It was also found that positive stands towards the orthodoxy had the examinees that lived in the families where religious tradition and rituals were being cherished rather than examinees in whose families the tradition wasn't practiced. Those differences are statistically significant on the level of 0,01.

**Key Words:** Atmosphere in the Family, Relationship towards the Orthodoxy, Practicing of Religious Rituals.

#### **АТМОСФЕРА У ПОРОДИЦИ И ОДНОС ПРЕМА ПРАВОСЛАВЉУ**

##### **Резиме**

У раду се полази од тога да је породица изузетно важна за развој дјеце и формирање њиховог погледа на свијет. Дијете учи и опонаша своје родитеље и на тај начин формира своју личност, погледе на живот, ставове, вриједности па и однос према православљу. С обзиром на то да се односи родитеља и дјеце одвијају у различитим породичним условима, кроз различите васпитне поступке којима је дијете изложено у породици, могу се очекивати и разлике у њиховим ставовима, погледима па и облицима религијског понашања.

У раду су приказани резултати емпиријског истраживања релација између перципиране атмосфере у породици и ставова према православљу код ученика основне и средње школе. Узорак су сачињавали ученици завршних разреда основне школе (VIII и IX разред) у ученици различитих средњих школа (I, II, III и IV).

Породична атмосфере анализирана је са аспекта његовања религијске традиције и обичаја: практиковања молитве, читања књига вјерског садржаја, поста, исповиједања и давања прилога. За испитивање општег става према православљу кориштена је скраћена скала властите конструкције за испитивање општег става према православљу. Коefици-

јент поузданости скале, израчунат примјеном Спирман-Браунове формуле, износи 0,76, а коефицијент унутрашње конзистенције алфа Кронбах (Cronbach alpha) 0,78.

Резултати прелиминарног истраживања показују да постоје разлике у интензитету редовног практиковања вјерских обреда, те да је пост најраширенији, затим слиједе молитва, давање прилога и други. Установљено је да 4,17% анкетираних ученика има негативан, 56,94% амбивалентан, а 38,89% позитиван став према православљу. Такође је установљено да позитивније ставове према православљу имају испитаници који живе у породицама гдје се његује религијска традиција и обичаји него испитаници у чијим се породицама традиција не његује. Те разлике су и статистички значајна на нивоу 0,01.

**Кључне ријечи:** атмосфера у породици, однос према православљу, практиковање вјерских обреда.

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Dragana Radisavljević Ćiparizović

**PILGRIMAGE IN EMPIRICAL PERSPECTIVE:  
PILGRIMS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS CHURCH AND FOLK RELIGIOSITY AND  
SUPERSTITION IN SERBIA**

**Summary**

Relation between church and folk religiosity is particularly interesting when we take contemporary pilgrimages as example. This work defines firstly concepts of folk religion and religiosity. Theoretically we lean on D. Bandić's conceptions of Orthodox folk religion and religiosity, and Jakov Jukić's conceptions of Roman Catholic folk religion and religiosity. Therefore we present the results' segment of empirical qualitative research about pilgrims' attitudes towards folk and church religion and superstition in Serbia that was accomplished in 2007. In depth interviews were accomplished with 50 pilgrims, 25 Orthodox and 25 Roman Catholic. We were interested if church and folk religiosity harmoniously pervade or are they in implacable conflict? In few words, according to the results acquired in multiple case studies, Catholic pilgrims express harmonious church and folk religiosity incorporation more often than the Orthodox pilgrims. Responses of both Christian confessions examinees about superstition presence in holy places were more equable.

**Key Words:** Pilgrimages, Pilgrims, Folk Religiosity, Church Religiosity, Superstition, Serbia.

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**ХОДОЧАШЋЕ У ЕМПИРИЈСКОЈ ПЕРСПЕКТИВИ:  
СТАВОВИ ХОДОЧАСНИКА ПРЕМА ЦРКВЕНОЈ И НАРОДНОЈ  
РЕЛИГИОЗНОСТИ И СУЈЕВЕРЈУ У СРБИЈИ**

**Резиме**

Однос између црквене и народне религиозности је посебно интересантан на примеру савремених ходочашћа. У раду се прво дефинишу појмови народне религије и религиозности. Теоријски се ослањамо на се концепције Д. Бандића за православну народну религију и религиозност, и Јакова Јукића за римокатоличку пучку религију и религиозност. Затим се презентује сегмент резултата емпиријског квалитативног истраживања спроведеног 2007. године о ставовима ходочасника у Србији према народној и црквеној религији и сујевреју. Дубински интервјуи су рађени са 50 ходочасника, 25 православних и 25 римокатолика. Интересовало нас је да ли су црквена и народна религиозност складно прожимању или су у непомирљивом сукобу? Најкраће речено, према добијеним резултатима из вишеструке студије случаја, ходочасници римокатолици у већем броју изражавају складну уклопљеност црквене и народне религиозности од ходочасника православца. Уједначенији су били одговори испитаника обе хришћанске конфесије о присутности сујевреја на светим местима.

**Кључне речи:** ходочашћа, ходочасници, народна религиозност, црквена религиозност, сујевреје, Србија.

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Danijela Gavrilović  
Miloš Jovanović

**ORTHODOXY IN THE FUNCTION OF SOCIAL CAPITAL IN CONTEMPORARY  
SERBIA – TURN TOWARDS THE FUTURE OR RETURN TO THE PAST**

**Summary**

Revitalization of religion is a process which has been diagnosed by sociologists in the modern world, which is also very present in Serbia during the transitional and post-conflict period. Religion plays an important role in the social life of the inhabitants of Serbia, and performs very important functions in meeting their needs and designing private and public life. Religion transcends its function of establishing relationships with a higher power and exerts influence on all social spheres. Religious institutions also have an important place in the public arena of contemporary Serbia. Daily insights show that religious practices in Serbia are an important source of social grouping and social differentiation, and also that through religious practices (common religious rituals in devotional temples, participation in humanitarian activities of religious communities, mutual visits during religious and family celebrations, religious tourism, etc.) social networks, later used in all segments of social life, are often being formed.

Our paper is based on the research results (obtained from interviews and focus groups implemented in the project "Social and Cultural Capital in Serbia" [2010] and European Value Survey for Serbia from 2008). Our research aims to determine the extent to which religious practices in the Orthodox religious community actually contribute to the formation of social networks in Serbia and building trust within them; whether participation in these networks shapes the strategies of actors on the social scene and whether they contribute to the integration of religious minority groups in the Serbian society or contribute their closure and (self)isolation.

**Key Words:** Orthodoxy, Social Capital, Serbia, Religious Practice.

**ПРАВОСЛАВЉЕ У ФУНКЦИЈИ СОЦИЈАЛНОГ  
КАПИТАЛА У САВРЕМЕНОЈ СРБИЈИ –  
ОКРЕТ КА БУДУЋНОСТИ ИЛИ ПОВРАТАК У ПРОШЛОСТ**

**Резиме**

Ревитализација религије јесте процес који социолози дијагностицирају у савременом свету, а који је такође веома присутан у Србији у транзиционом и постконфликтном периоду. Религија игра важну улогу у друштвеном животу становника Србије и врши врло важне функције у задовољавању њихових потреба и конципирања приватног и друштвеног живота. Религија превазилази своју функцију успостављања односа са вишом силом и врши утицај на све друштвене сфере. Верске институције, такође, заузимају важно место на јавној сцени савремене Србије. Свакодневни увиди показују да у Србији религијске праксе представљају важан извор социјалног груписања и социјалног диференцирања, као и да се кроз религиозне праксе (заједничке верске обреде у молитвеним храмовима, учешће у добротворним акцијама верских заједница, међусобне посете приликом верских и породичних прослава, религиозни туризам, итд) често формирају социјалне мреже које се потом користе у свим сегментима друштвеног живота.

Наш текст базиран је на резултатима истраживања (интервјуа и фокус група реализованих у оквиру пројекта „Социјални и културни капитал у Србији“ [2010], European Value Survey за Србију из 2008. године). Наше истраживање има за циљ да утврди у којој мери религијска пракса у оквиру православне верске заједнице заиста доприноси формирању социјалних мрежа у Србији и изградњи поверења унутар њих; да ли учешће у овим мрежама обликује стратегије актера на друштвеној сцени и да ли оне доприносе интеграцији мањинских верских група у српско друштво или доприносе њиховом затварању и само/изолацији.

**Кључне речи:** православље, социјални капитал, Србија, религијска пракса.

---

Zoran Krstić

**FAITH AND/OR CULTURE?**

**TRADITIONAL BELIEVERS AS PASTORAL PROBLEM AND CHALLENGE**

**Summary**

Upon contemporary social researches the author considers the very concept of *traditional believer* along with a possibility of classification within this vast group of the Church members. In what follows, the relation between traditional believers and the believers in more narrow sense is being analysed from pastoral prospect. Is it complementary and hence can we talk about faith and culture, or they are only magnitudes that exclude each other and thus make tensions and serious problem in pastoral work and Church life, making in that way the results of empirical research of religionness relative? The problem is detected when the believers turn themselves towards the past, while the believers in more narrow sense do so towards the future, it is to say towards the Kingdom of God, employing the pastoral work to reorient the first group.

**Key Words:** Culture, Traditional Believer, Believer in More Narrow Sense, Pastoral Work, The Kingdom of God.

**ВЕРА И/ИЛИ КУЛТУРА?**

**ТРАДИЦИОНАЛНИ ВЕРНИЦИ КАО ПАСТИРСКИ ПРОБЛЕМ И ИЗАЗОВ**

**Резиме**

Аутор, на основу савремених социолошких истраживања, разматра сам појам *традиционални верник* као и могућности класификације унутар ове велике групе чланова Цркве. У наставку се из пастирске перспективе, анализира однос између традиционалних верника и верних у ужем смислу. Да ли је он комплементаран, па онда можемо да говоримо и о вери и о култури или су, пак, ово величине које се искључују и тако стварају напетост и озбиљан проблем у пастирском раду и животу Цркве, а такође и релативизују резултате емпиријског истраживања религиозности? Проблем се детектује у окренутости традиционалних верника ка прошлости, а верних у ужем смислу ка будућности, тј. ка Царству Божијем, те би се задатак пастирске службе састојао у преоријентисању првих.

**Кључне речи:** култура, традиционални верник, верујући у ужем смислу, пастирска служба, Царство Божије.

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David Perović

**THE SPIRITUAL PASTORSHIP TODAY IN THE SERBIAN ORTHODOX CHURCH  
(The Patriarch of Serbia Kyr Pavle as a Spiritual Shepherd)**

**Summary**

Our contribution to the Symposium, which this year has been summoned in the Christian theological center of the monastery in Boze with the intention to enlighten the problem of spiritual father and mother, and spiritual fatherhood and motherhood in the Orthodox tradition, deals with the spiritual portrait of the Patriarch of Serbia, Kyr Pavle.

The spiritual portrait of the Patriarch of Serbia Kyr Pavle as a spiritual shepherd and spiritual father emerges from his mere spiritual morals and thoughts, sayings and witty “weaving of the words”. We wish to draw the attention of the hearers and readers to these spiritual morals and thoughts which he pronounced during the period between 2005 and 2008. He pronounced them with one goal only, and that is the guidance of all those Christians and the people of good will who in that period turned to him as to a spiritual shepherd and an elder.

The spirit of his morals and thoughts, sayings and witty “weaving of the words” is the spirit of the Orthodox Tradition: biblical and liturgical, pastoral and paternal, philokalical and missiological,... In other words, the spirit of all his words has the aim to arouse Christian conscience, to strengthen it, to cheer it up, and build it up. Finally, what prevails in all that the Patriarch of Serbia Kyr Pavle pronounced is the traditional piety and serenity, love for mankind and the care for the salvation of all the people, restraining, modesty, and sobriety of thinking, permanent remembrance of the Judgement Day and of the Kingdom of God.

**Key Words:** Christ, Eucharist, The Holy Scriptures, Sanctity, Kingdom of God, Freedom, God’s Commandments, Vanity, Habits, Will, Modesty, Personality, Endurance.

**ДУХОВНО ПАСТИРСТВО ДАНАС У СРПСКОЈ ПРАВОСЛАВНОЈ ЦРКВИ  
(Патријарх српски кир-Павле као духовни пастир)**

**Резиме**

Наш прилог овогодишњем Симпозиону, сазваном у хришћанском богословском центру манастира у Бозеу ради осветљавања теме *о духовном оцу и матери, и о духовном очинству и материнству у православној Предању*, односише се на духовни портрет патријарха српскога кир-Павла.

Духовни портрет патријарха српскога кир-Павла као духовног пастира и духовног оца израња из самих његових духовних поука и мисли, изрека и духовитог плетенија словес. Пажњи слушалаца и читалаца ми управо у светлости тих духовних поука и мисли и желимо да представимо, а које је он изговорио у периоду између 2005. и 2008. године. А изговорио их је искључиво ради руковођења свих оних хришћана и људи добре воље, који су му се у том периоду обраћали као пастиру и духовном старцу.

Дух његових поука и мисли, изрека и духовитог плетенија словес дух је православног Предања: библијског и литургијског, пастирског и отачког, филокалијског и мисиолошког... Заправо дух свих његових речи усмерен је на то да пробуди хришћанску савест, да је укрепи, разгали и назиди. Коначно, у свему ономе што је патријарх српски кир-Павле изговорио, преовлађују предањско благочешће и смирење, човекољубље и брига за спасењем свих људи, уздржање, скромност и трезвеноумље, непрестано сећање на Страшни Суд и на Царство Божије.

**Кључне речи:** Христос, Евхаристија, Свето Писмо, светост, Царство Божије, слобода, Божије заповести, сујета, навике, воља, умереност, личност, трпљење.

Dragoljub B. Đorđević

Dragan Todorović

**ORTHODOX PRIESTS AND THE PROTESTANT ROMA  
(A Bit of Empirical Research from the South of Serbia)**

**Summary**

It is in the nature of religions and religious communities to expand and strengthen. Without it, they face the danger of stagnation and, in the least favorable outcome, deterioration and disappearance. The Orthodox confession has to deal with the growing Protestantization of population on its traditional territory, apart from all the other adversity that affected it in the last century. The so-called national minorities are particularly interesting for Protestant denominations.

In Serbia, especially in its South, where the expansion of four Protestant denominations has taken its toll – Baptist, Adventist, Jehovah's Witnesses, and Pentecostalism – Roma are the desired reservoir for missionary work, conversion, and proselytism. If the Protestant communities are draining it, and indeed they are, why is the Serbian Orthodox Church not doing the same thing? That will be determined through the analysis of the interviews conducted with three Orthodox priests and several Protestant Roma.

**Key Words:** Orthodoxy, Serbian Orthodox Church, Orthodox Priests, Protestant Roma, South of Serbia.

**ПРАВОСЛАВНИ ПОПОВИ И РОМИ ПРОТЕСТАНТИ  
(Нешто емпирије са југа Србије)**

**Резиме**

У природи је религија и верских заједница да се шире и учвршћују. Без тога долазе у опасност да стагнирају и, у најнеповољнијем исходу, копно и нестају. Православна вероисповест поред свих недаћа, које су је стрефиле у прошлом веку, ових се деценија мора носити и са надирућом протестантизацијом становништва на својим традиционалним просторима. За протестантске деноминације нарочито су интересантне тзв. националне мањине.

У Србији, посебно на њеном југу, камо је далеко одмакло распростирање четири протестантске деноминације – баптистичке, адвентистичке, Јеховиних сведока и пентекосталне – Роми су тај пожељни резервоар мисионарења, преобраћања и прозелитизма. Ако га црпу протестантске заједнице, а црпу га, зашто то не чини и Српска православна црква?

То ћемо утврдити анализом интервјуа са тројицом православних попова и неколицином Рома протестаната.

**Кључне речи:** православље, Српска православна црква, православни попови, Роми протестанти, југ Србије.

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Zorica Kuburić

**ORTHODOX EPISCOPAL DEANERY IN KRUŠEVAC FROM 2000 TO 2010**

**Summary**

This article deals with religious life of Orthodox Episcopal Governorship in Kruševac, with special reference to the Parish of Dvorane during the period from 2000 to 2010. The research was conducted by visiting churches and interviewing representatives of the churches in Kruševac and in the village Dvorane. The interviews, which are given in the article, were conducted with a priest and religious teacher, Dragić Ilić, a priest's wife, Rada, and a young theologian. The results suggest that the Orthodoxy, in empirical reality, has been revitalized in the Episcopal Governorship in Kruševac, both in the form of rebuilding churches and in numerous rituals and packed churches. The Orthodoxy in Kruševac has preserved its elite independence and openness.

**Key Words:** SPC, Kruševac, Dvorane, Clergy, Rituals.

**ПРАВОСЛАВНО АРХИЈЕРЕЈСКО НАМЕСНИШТВО У КРУШЕВЦУ  
ОД 2000. ДО 2010.**

**Резиме**

У раду је приказан верски живот Православног архијерејског намесништва у Крушевцу с посебним освртом на Дворанску парохију у периоду од 2000 до 2010. године. Истраживање је рађено путем посета црквама и разговорима са представницима цркве у Крушевцу и селу Дворани. Приказана су три интервјуа који су вођени са свештеником и вероучитељем Драгићем Илићем, с попадијом Радом и младим теологом. Резултати истраживања указују да је православље у емпиријској реалности у Крушевачком намесништву доживело ревитализацију, како у обнови храмова тако и у бројним обредима и пуним црквама. Православље је у Крушевцу сачувало своју елитну самосталност и отвореност.

**Кључне речи:** СПЦ, Крушевац, Дворане, свештенство, обреди.

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Marija Kuburić-Borović

**CHURCH AND RELIGIOUS MUSIC WITHIN THE ORTHODOX TRADITION**

**Summary**

Church and religious music within the Orthodox tradition encompasses monophonic and choral liturgical chanting, but also vocal and vocal-instrumental works, written for non-liturgical and concert performance, with roots in traditional church chanting. The article presents interviews with the representatives of the Serbian Orthodox Church (SPC) discussing the church and religious music. The answers suggest that the music in SPC is regulated by the liturgical norms, which have not been changed for centuries. There are no instruments in the church music; human voice is the most perfect instrument that God has created, and it is used for dialogue with God, through a prayer that is sung. Church chants are defined by canons and immutable, while the religious music can be performed both at church and concerts, independent of liturgy. The process of secularization is not present in the church music; the Church has remained separated; waves of social changes have approached the doors of the Church, but they did not affect its rites and liturgy.

**Key Words:** Church Music, Religious Music, Orthodoxy, Secularization.

**ЦРКВЕНА И ДУХОВНА МУЗИКА У ПРАВОСЛАВНОЈ ТРАДИЦИЈИ**

**Резиме**

У раду су приказани интервјуи с представницима СПЦ који се односе на црквену и духовну музику. Према одговорима стиче се утисак да је музика у СПЦ прописана правилно о обреду који се ни у знацима не мењају већ вековима. У црквеној музици нема инструмената, људски глас је најсавршенији инструмент који је Бог створио, и којим се с

Богом разговара у молитви која се пева. Духовна и црквена музика у православљу имају своју посебност по звуку и употреби. Црквено појање је канонима дефинисано и непромењиво, док се духовна музика може изводити и у цркви и на концертима, независно од богослужења. Што се тиче процеса секуларизације, он није присутан у црквеној музици, тј. Црква је остала одвојена, таласи друштвених промена јесу долазили до врата цркве али нису утицали на њене обреде и богослужења.

**Кључне речи:** црквена музика, духовна музика, православље, секуларизација.

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