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The book *Double minorities in Serbia: the distinctive aspects of the religion and ethnicity of Romanians in Vojvodina* (henceforth referred to as *Double minorities*) is based on contemporary field research among the Romanian neo-Protestant communities in Vojvodina, Serbia's northern province. Its main goal is to describe and analyse the relationship between ethnic and religious identity among Serbia's Romanian neo-Protestants by using methods of historiography, ethnographic and anthropological fieldwork and description, as well as methods of discourse analysis. The specificity of these communities is found in their double marginalisation. On the one hand, they are a minority in Serbia because of their Romanian ethnicity, while on the other hand, they are a minority within the Romanian ethnic group on account of their religion, since the vast majority of Romanians are Orthodox. This specificity is theoretically conceptualized within the notion of 'double minorities', which was adopted as the title of the book.

Double minorities is divided into seven chapters, including a list of references and an index of personal names. Thus, the book covers distinct topics from the first to the last chapter, namely an introduction to the research (1), a history of Protestant and neo-Protestant communities (2), an overview of the Romanians in Vojvodina (3), an overview of the ethnographic studies into the neo-Protestant communities and their records (4), an analysis of fieldwork material focusing upon the complex relationships between religious and ethnic identity (5), a representation of contemporary theories on multiculturalism, religious pluralism and minority identity (6) and a final chapter outlining concluding remarks (7). From this brief content summary, it is apparent that various methods and approaches are combined – from historiography and anthropological theory, via ethnography, to discourse analysis – rendering this book a truly interdisciplinary study.

In the introductory chapter the author sets the scene for the emergence of new religious movements in southern and south-eastern Europe at the turn of the 20th century. On the one hand, this period saw the distancing of the state from the

¹ This review is a result of the Language, Folklore, Migrations in the Balkans project (no 178010) funded by the Ministry of Science of the Republic of Serbia and the Humboldt Research Fellowship for postdoctoral researchers 2016-2018 at the Institute for Slavic Studies, Humboldt University, Berlin.

Church and advancing secularization, while, on the other hand, it witnessed the spread of new religious movements and a religious revival. It was the period when neo-Protestant religious teachings spread through this part of Europe, like the Nazarenes, Baptists, Adventists, Methodists, and Pentecostals, changing the religious makeup of South-East Europe and contributing to its heterogeneity (p. 9-10). However, these new religious movements have borne social stigmas since they were established; they have been labeled as sects in public discourse, negatively connoted and discriminated against. Durić Milovanović hence explains that her research goal was to expand knowledge about these small religious communities and to contribute to an improved understanding of their followers and doctrines. The choice of the Romanians as subjects for the research was justified on the basis of their religious heterogeneity and the author's good command of Romanian. The introductory chapter offers an overview of previous research into small religious groups in Serbia, the theoretical and methodological framework of the research, the typology of religious organisations and the legislative framework regarding religion in the Republic of Serbia. The author discusses in detail the 2006 Law on Churches and Religious Communities that was passed in Serbia (Sec. 1.4). This Law sparked a debate in Serbian society since it distinguished between "traditional" and "non-traditional" religious communities. The Serbian Orthodox Church, the Roman Catholic Church, the Slovak Evangelical Church, the Reformed Christian Church, the Evangelical Christian Church, the Jewish Community and the Islamic Community belong to the former categorisation. Non-traditional or confessional communities, sixteen in all, are entered into the Register of Churches and Religious Communities. Most of these non-traditional communities, however, are various neo-Protestant communities. According to this law, only traditional communities are entitled to carry out religious education in Serbian schools through the module of facultative school subjects and to make use of funds from the state budget. In the Serbian public sphere, and particularly among experts on religious matters, it was argued that this law obviously discriminates against small and new religious communities (p. 46).²

The second chapter explains the historical background and doctrines of Protestantism and neo-Protestantism. Durić Milovanović gives a brief overview of the European Reformation and Counter-Reformation and points at radical offshoots of the Reformation, such as Anabaptists, and Pietists, who inspired and influenced the emergence of neo-Protestant communities. Dedicated subsections present the history and doctrines of Nazarenes, Baptists, Adventists and Pentecostals and their development in the historical setting of southern Hungary (p. 70-117). The relations between neo-Protestant movements (especially Nazarenes) and the Serbian and Romanian Orthodox Churches are discussed; it is shown that the Orthodox population's stance towards the new religious trends varied from tolerance and

² The 2006 Law on Churches and Religious Communities can be viewed at: http://www.paragraf.rs/propisi/zakon_o_crkvama_i_verskim_zajednicama.html; last time visited on February 22, 2017.

understanding to resistance and hostility. Durić Milovanović particularly points at the Orthodox counter-movements inspired by neo-Protestants (especially Nazarenes), namely the Serbian movement of God Worshippers (Srb. *Bogomoljci*) and the Romanian Lord's Army (Rom. *Oastea Domnului*) (p. 87-94).

The third chapter brings data on the Romanian minority in Serbia. Although the Romanian presence in Vojvodina dates back to the Middle Ages, the colonisation of this region occurred during the 18th and 19th centuries, after the withdrawal of the Ottomans, when various groups of Czechs, Bulgarians, Germans, Hungarians, Romanians and Slovaks were settled in the region by the Habsburg rulers. The Romanians, predominantly cattle breeders, as Durić Milovanović describes, were colonised in their older settlements from communities drawn from across different parts of Romania, including Oltenia, Transylvania and Krishna (Crişana). That is why the Serbian Romanians can be divided into three main groups, namely Banat, Transylvanian and Oltenian Romanians, differing from each other according to their dialects and customs. The two biggest Romanian settlements were founded at the beginning of the 19th century – Uzdin (1800) and Petrovo Selo (1808) (p. 119-121). Durić Milovanović therein presents the development of the Romanian school system and cultural institutions in Vojvodina, particularly emphasising the significance of the emancipation of the Romanian Orthodox Church from the Serbian Orthodox Church (1864), the resistance to Magyarisation in Austro-Hungarian schools (1868-1918) and the establishment of Romanian cultural and musical groups and societies all over Vojvodina (1869-1885) (p. 122-123). The breaking point for the Romanian national minority came after the end of the First World War and the Treaty of Trianon (1920), when the Banat was divided and more than 60,000 Romanians remained in the Serbian part. From then onwards, the number of Romanians began to decline for a number of reasons, the author listing assimilation, extreme ethnic endogamy, low birth rates, emigration to the United States, Germanisation of the Romanian Catholics and population exchange between the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and Romania in the 1920s (p. 121-123). At the beginning of the 20th century, an important cultural institution for Romanians in Vojvodina was Astra. After the Second World War, the Cultural Society of the Romanians from the Yugoslav Banat was founded and stationed in Vršac. During that period, as Durić Milovanović stresses, Romanian language theatres and journals, like the political-informative *Libertatea* and the literature magazine *Lumina*, played a significant role in the cultural life of the Romanians (p. 126-127). The author also presents the present state of affairs: according to the last Serbian Population Census in 2011 there were 25,410 Romanians in Vojvodina, most of them living in the South Banat in the municipalities of Vršac, Alibunar and Pančevo. The Community of Romanians was founded in 1990 in Kuštilj encompassing more than 25 cultural and artistic societies and organising a number of cultural festivals (p. 131-132). Separate sub-sections are devoted to heterogeneous religious affiliations among the Romanians in Vojvodina, such as

the Romanian Orthodox Church, the Romanian Greek-Catholic and neo-Protestant communities (Nazarens, Baptists, Pentecostals, Adventists) (p. 144-151).

The fourth chapter is ethnographic description of the neo-Protestant communities based on the author's field research, conducted from 2008 to 2011 in Vojvodina. This included participant observation and qualitative, semi-structured interviews. Durić Milovanović describes the fieldwork as a highly sensitive, having in mind the stigmatisation of the researched communities and their relatively cloistered way of life. In such precarious fieldwork everything matters: from the way a researcher initially presents his/her research to the community to the way he/she dresses, behaves, and talks. Durić Milovanović stresses that it is very important for the researcher to have a "gatekeeper", a person who introduces the researcher to the community and helps him/her during the research. However, when researching closed communities, the researcher must embrace the risk of failure and may even expect to be subjected to proselytism (p. 157-165). The ability to use the native language in interviews, exhibit elementary knowledge about the researched communities to their members and win the trust of the community members are outlined by the author as the most important criteria needed for the success in the field. In this case, the researcher was expected to partake in religious services and to introduce herself and her research after the service and sermon in front of the church's congregation (p. 164-165). The ethnographic description is organised so as to give a basic presentation of the practices and doctrines of the neo-Protestant communities, focusing on the topics that interlocutors themselves stressed, explicitly or implicitly, as important, or that the author judged to be distinctive for these communities. These are: the history of the local community, biblical themes and doctrines, eschatology, conversion, religious practices (such as language use, the singing of hymns, prayers, evangelisation and missionary work), the celebration of religious holidays and the cycle of life – including birth, marriage and burial. In the description, the voice is given to the communities' members, who describe their religious community in their own words, while the author supplements these descriptions with data and academic commentaries. Durić Milovanović emphasises evangelisation practices and missionary work, pointing to strategies of mimicry, employed in cases when religious gatherings are advertised under the alternative auspices, such as being meetings for healthy eating habits (p. 193-199). The author argues that neo-Protestants are looked upon with more tolerance and mainly spoken of neutrally in the Romanian Orthodox Church, while in the Serbian Orthodox Church they are treated with less tolerance and labeled pejoratively as *sects* (p. 216). The relation between neo-Protestant communities and the state has brought them into numerous conflicts. Namely, it is stressed that all neo-Protestant communities oblige themselves to pay taxes but reject army service. While Nazarenes also reject voting and any political engagement, Baptists and Pentecostals are politically active (p. 221-224). Conflicts with the state resulted in neo-Protestants' imprisonments, expulsions, public stigmatisation and political emigration.

Based on the interviews with interlocutors, in her fifth chapter, Đurić Milovanović analyses the different discourse modalities that shed light on the multifaceted relationship between religious and ethnic identity. The author adopts Foucault's notion of doctrinal discourse which is authoritarian, highly cohesive and normative. As a special discourse genre, she analyses homily, which transmits not only quotations from the Bible but also conveys interpretations of the surrounding world. The author outlines a typical structure of homilies and stresses that it is based upon an "us / them (religious Other)" relation (p. 228-229). While homily is directed at in-group members, the other type of religious discourse, which the author names *missionary*, is directed at out-group members. Its aim is to teach and attract new believers (p. 229). The common features of all types belonging to religious discourse are eschatological and apocalyptic descriptions and the use of symbols and metaphors (p. 230). Discourses on ethnic identity are analysed with the help of Brubaker's triangular model of the minority community, its institutions, and the land of origin. As Christian Orthodoxy constitutes an important part of the modern Romanian national identity, neo-Protestants do not conform to being "ideal Romanians". Thus, they tend to establish a hierarchical supremacy of religious over ethnic identity (p. 233). Although they subordinate ethnic to religious identity, neo-Protestants still have a good command of the Romanian language, a passive knowledge of Romanian traditional culture and take pride in preserving Romanian material culture (e.g. traditional costumes). Dominant discourses in neo-Protestant communities underline community coherence and suppress internal differences based on ethnicity, age or social status. It is in this respect that these communities could be classified as non-national or supranational (p. 237). The author concludes that the strongest bond between neo-Protestants and Romanian identity lies in language, which is why special attention is devoted to the analysis of the discourse on language identity. Đurić Milovanović stresses the importance of the use of the native language in religious services and sermons among neo-Protestants. She notes that several factors have contributed to the language vitality among neo-Protestants, such as: homilies in native Romanian, missionary activities from Romania, religious literature in Romanian and the media (p. 243). A special thematic unit is devoted to the narratives on conversion, since they are very important in identity construction among neo-Protestants (p. 250-255).

In the sixth chapter the author gives an overview of the contemporary theories on multiculturalism and argues that religious communities play an important role in debates on multiculturalism, although a national paradigm dominates (p. 277). She criticises negative reporting on the neo-Protestant communities within the Serbian press, and particularly the equation between neo-Protestants and satanic and other mystic cults, which is often explicitly or implicitly made in public discourse (p. 279-280). Đurić Milovanović draws attention to the charity work of many neo-Protestant communities during the period of war and severe economic crises (p. 280-281). She also stresses the need to distinguish between the regular missionary work of these

communities and proselytism. If a society treats small religious communities with intolerance, the author argues, it will lead to religious ghettoisation and emergence of hidden subcultures. Although Vojvodina can boast about ethnic and religious diversity and advanced legislation in terms of individual and collective rights, Durić Milovanović points at incompatibilities between the Serbian Constitution, which guarantees equal rights to all citizens, and the 2006 Law on Churches and Religious Communities, which favours traditional religious communities (p. 288-290). The establishment of the Interreligious Council of the Ministry for Religion in the Republic of Serbia, which took place in 2010, could, according to the author, contribute to the improvement of religious dialogue and religious rights, but only if non-traditional religious communities are also included in any dialogue.

In conclusion, Durić Milovanović's book is an interdisciplinary study which expands the fund of knowledge on neo-Protestant communities, offering original fieldwork material and insights from in-group members. It also gives an historical and anthropological background for approaching these small religious communities, and contributes to our understanding of the complex relations between ethnic and religious identity. Finally, it is a book which advocates heterogeneity and calls for an open dialogue and the improvement of mutual understanding in the society. Although the book contains a 12-page summary in English, the translation of this book into Romanian would certainly be a welcome step, since it would contribute to a better understanding of Romanian-Serbian relations and the status of Romanian communities in Serbia.

Marija MANDIĆ

Maria Candale Grosu, *Arhivele de folclor și memoria culturală* [Folklore Archives and the Cultural Memory]. Timișoara: Editura Universității de Vest, 2017, 178 p., ISBN 978-973-125-554-5.

This book¹ renders, in a modified form, the content of the author's PhD Thesis,² which analyses the practice of archiving field notes in the second half of the twentieth century, within two folklore archives located in Cluj. More specifically, it provides a diachronic approach to the manner in which the research and archiving methodologies undertaken by scholars in these archival repositories have given rise to a certain *discursive rhetoric* of ethnographic documents. As Maria Candale Grosu points out in the introduction, the topic of this volume gained shape in particular within the framework of a research project in which she participated: a project

¹ This volume has been awarded the ASER Prize (Ethnological Science Association of Romania) in 2016.

² See Candale (Grosu) 2013.