

SERBIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES AND ARTS
INSTITUTE FOR BALKAN STUDIES

XLIX



2018

BALCANICA

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ANNUAL OF THE INSTITUTE FOR BALKAN STUDIES

UDC 930.85(4-12)

BELGRADE 2018

ISSN 0350-7653

eISSN 2406-0801



<http://www.balcanica.rs>

the war, the Germans spent more than 382 million marks on various covert actions in the enemy's rear. In the Russian case, another useful tool was the left, both in the country and in emigration. The main German agent tasked with carrying out revolution in Russia was the famous Bolshevik Alexander Parvus (Israel Lazarevich Helphand). His mission was to unify all anti-war Russian leftists and topple the tsarist regime with their help. However, it proved much more difficult than Parvus had hoped. The seven million marks he received proved of little use, for most Russians (Lenin included) refused his proposal. The Germans did provide the Bolsheviks with a sizable sum, hoping to sway Russian public opinion towards peace. The train Lenin took was not full of gold, as many contemporaries alleged, but the Bolshevik leader was aware of where some of the party's financing came from. However, he could not admit it for he had already been attacked by his adversaries

(both from right and left) as a German spy and a saboteur. He chose to lie. As Merriale concludes: "Instead of trusting the masses with the truth about his German funds, Lenin opted to lecture them. Instead of confiding in them, he lied." Lenin acted with the support of Germany, but he was not a German agent, their causes were complementary but not identical. When Lenin arrived in St. Petersburg a German agent sent a cheerful message to Berlin: "Lenin's entry into Russia successful. He is working exactly as we would wish." What they both wished was for Russia to exit the war, but their visions of its future were drastically different.

In conclusion, *Lenin on the Train* provides the readers with a riveting description of events surrounding the Russian Bolsheviks' ascent to power. The book is well written and hard to put aside. What it lacks in original research it makes up in compelling storytelling.

PASCHALIS M. KITROMILIDES, *RELIGION AND POLITICS IN THE ORTHODOX WORLD. THE ECUMENICAL PATRIARCHATE AND THE CHALLENGES OF MODERNITY*. LONDON AND NEW YORK: ROUTLEDGE, 2018, 130 p.

Reviewed by Aleksandra Djurić Milovanović*

The relationship between religion and politics, church and state, in different historical periods was complex and prone to change. The newly-published book *Religion and Politics in the Orthodox World* by Paschalis M. Kitromilides, a historian specializing in particular in the Enlightenment in Southeast Europe and Professor at the University of Athens, covers these complex relationships in the Orthodox world. The book was published in 2018 in the Routledge special series Religion, Society and Government in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet States. Foreworded by Ioannis Zizioulas, Metropolitan of Pergamon, and furnished

with the author's preface and introduction, the book is divided into seven chapters. In his foreword, the Metropolitan points to the chronological coverage of the book "analyzing changes endured by the Orthodox Church in the transition from the Ottoman imperial role to the age of nationalism" (p. vii). Professor Kitromilides follows the evolution of the Church in several important historical periods, especially the period of forming new nation-states in Southeast Europe. Using the example, or the case study,

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of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, the senior Church in the communion of Orthodox Churches, the author seeks to illustrate “a dissenting view pointing to the incompatibility of Orthodoxy and nationalism” (p. 4). Chapter 1, “The Orthodox Church and the Enlightenment”, is devoted to the relationship between the Orthodox Church and the movement of intellectual change and cultural secularization (p. 12). During this complex period, an example of the Enlightenment within the Church is associated with Patriarch Cyril V, who in the late 1740s founded a school on Mount Athos, and many others whose contribution was significant in developing Greek education and culture. In this chapter, Kitromilides offers examples of the interplay between Orthodoxy and the Enlightenment, including the correspondence between two important figures of the time, Ignatius of Ungrowallachia and G. P. Vieusseux.

Chapter 2, “The Orthodox Church in modern State formation in Southeastern Europe”, reconsiders the role of the Church in the formation of new states in this part of Europe. It is especially important to point out that the author offers the reader a historical background to the position of the Orthodox Church in the Ottoman Empire and its transformation from an institution of the Ottoman imperial order into national churches in the newly-created nation-states (p. 29). He conducts a comparative analysis of the attitude and response of the Church to the national liberation movements in Serbia, Greece, Bulgaria and the Romanian principalities. By the beginning of the twentieth century, there had been several autocephalous national churches in Southeastern Europe. He discusses the entanglement of Orthodoxy with nationalism as part of the nationalist projects of each newly-formed state and a significant element of their respective homogenization.

The chapter “Ecumenical Patriarchate and the challenge of nationalism in the nineteenth century” deals with the challenges of

modern secular thought, confrontations between the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the forces of secularization and national modernity. Kitromilides argues that “Nationalism was a force of change transforming European societies in the direction of modernity and modernity meant fundamentally secularization. *Ipsa facto* therefore the nexus of modernity-secularization-nationalism involved a confrontation with the Church” (p. 45). In the period of drastic changes Southeast-European societies were undergoing between 1830 and 1880, relations with the Ecumenical Patriarchate were changing as well. The newly-established nation-states in the Balkans sought to integrate the Orthodox Church into their nation-building projects, declaring their autocephaly. The Ecumenical Patriarchate did not reject their autocephalous status, but they were struggling against the new secular states’ attempt to impose their will on the Church (p. 46). Providing a detailed account of the historical development of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and the governance of the Orthodox community in the Ottoman Empire, the author ends this chapter with an analysis of the Church, Orthodox identity and the Ottoman state.

The first decades of the twentieth century in the history of the Ecumenical Patriarchate are described in Chapter 4, “The end of Empire, Greece’s Asia Minor catastrophe and the Ecumenical Patriarchate”. This was a period of significant changes for the Church of Constantinople. In the first decade of the twentieth century, the Church of Constantinople comprised eighty-four dioceses in Asia Minor and the Balkans (pp. 60–61). “The proliferation of the number of dioceses in Asia Minor and Eastern Thrace was a clear indication of the rising Orthodox population in these regions which, after the detachment of major parts of the Balkans from the jurisdiction of the Church of Constantinople with the advent of the new autocephalous churches in the course of the nineteenth century, formed the primary

territorial basis of the Ecumenical Patriarchate,” Kitromilides argues (p. 61). The revival of Orthodox Christianity was observable in church architecture even in the deep interior of Asia Minor and in re-emergence of monasticism. After the age of flowering, as the author describes the first decade of the twentieth century, the years between 1912 and 1922 brought tragedy and crisis, persecution and displacement. In these turbulent years of “the Asia Minor catastrophe and the expulsion of the largest number of Orthodox flock from Turkey”, the Ecumenical Patriarchate had a significant role as a non-national Church sharing common belonging to Orthodox tradition (p. 69). In 1923, the Treaty of Lausanne ended the period of military confrontation between Greece and Turkey and a new period in the history of the Ecumenical Patriarchate began. This period was marked by the continuous struggle with “the Turkish authorities to recognize international character of the Ecumenical Patriarchate and its role as the senior see in the Orthodox Church” (p. 98).

Chapter 5, “The Ecumenical Patriarchate during the Cold War (1946–1991)”, shows that under communism in Eastern Europe, the Orthodox Churches operated as national churches despite persecution and marginalization. As for the Ecumenical Patriarchate, it “by contract remained free of state entanglements and this allowed it to cultivate unconditionally its canonical conscience and to make this the basis of its primacy in the Orthodox world” (p. 89).

Chapter 6, “A Religious International in Southeastern Europe?”, provides an overview of the pre-modern and modern understanding of an Orthodox “religious international”. Offering clear argumentation, Kitromilides explains historical developments that had an impact on the understanding of the international element in the Orthodox Church and creation of “national Orthodoxies” which attached religion to the nation-states of the Balkans. Writing about “pre-modern forms of religious *interculturalism* in

the Orthodox world”, the author describes two phenomena – pilgrimage and monasticism, giving these two examples of an expression of religious life and unity. The chapter ends with an overview of contemporary initiatives towards an Orthodox International after the Cold War and the international role of the Ecumenical Patriarchate under the leadership of the incumbent Patriarch Bartholomew (1992–). The concluding chapter of the book covers very significant developments in the Orthodox world after the communist period including the rise of ethnic conflicts in the former Yugoslavia and prejudices associated with religion and conflict in the Balkans.

The book of Professor Kitromilides is a very useful source for a more profound understanding of the history of the Orthodox Church in Southeastern Europe in the modern period. Pointing to the most important historical events, it provides in-depth explanations for the issues of entanglement between Orthodoxy and nationalism in newly formed nation-states in the Balkans. This book is not just another historical monograph on the Orthodox Church. It offers an interdisciplinary understanding of the complexity of international and national relations between religion and politics, both past and present. It will make useful reading for those interested in matters of religion and church, especially the Orthodox world today and the future prospects of the Ecumenical Patriarchate.