

edited volumes

DIFFERENT FORMS OF RELIGIOSITY AND THE MODERN WORLD

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Natural Medicine in the Form of New Religiosity

Abstract

The text shows the expansion of the natural medicine practice and acceptance of principles of a new religiosity, which is based on return to nature and natural lifestyle which draws its value from the theistic worldview. Since the practice is relying on the beliefs, in the theoretical part of the paper, religious values that refer to the Old and New Testaments are presented, on which the belief of the promoters of natural medicine is based. In the research part of the paper, the historical development of the institutions that have applied the principles of natural medicine and educated medical missionaries in America are presented. Special attention is directed to the practice and belief of independent groups and individuals who promote this type of beliefs and lifestyles. The development path of acceptance of natural medicine ranges from theology of God to theology of the body and from theology of the body to theology of God, which places a man's body or a man's being at the center of concern for the preservation of good health, which expresses respect for the creator. In the practice of natural medicine, monotheism and pantheism meet, but they differ in theoretical explanations of the nature of the divine being.

Keywords: natural medicine, new religiosity, nature, healing as a lifestyle, theology, the Bible.

Introduction

■ Religion of the natural medicine, which is based on the theistic worldview, distances itself from the modern ways of treating the symptoms, of conventional medicine and techniques violating the integrity of the body, but also distances itself from traditional

medicine and alternative movements that belong to a group of pagan rituals and techniques.

The practice of natural medicine seeks wisdom in the biblical sources, and puts its focus on the body, on the wisdom of the creation to be able to follow the laws of nature and to foster divine creative potential in each person. The emphasis is on self-healing, on a healthy lifestyle.

Supporters of natural medicine generally believe that the treatment with conventional medicine has its place when it comes to acute cases and even chronic diseases because it can serve as a bridge to continue with the treatment in a natural way. The movement of natural medicine treatment begins as criticism of endangering life in efforts to “fix” God’s work of creation, or to exploit it and use it to the detriment of the natural balance that exists in nature. On the other hand, they want to distinguish their identity from other forms of religiosity such as pantheism, in which God’s transcendence is excluded, although the methods of treatment and relationship to nature are very similar.

In the spirit of positive psychology, the emphasis is on health, not disease, on that which is good, and not on the problems. The emphasis is not on what one must not do, eat, drink, but on what one should do, eat, drink, and speak. The disease is accepted as an attempt of the body to heal itself. Especially, patients for which conventional medicine has no solution are encouraged, by pointing out to them that there are not any incurable diseases only incurable people, and are not ready to fully accept the treatment of the whole body working at once in all spheres of awakening of the immune system, emphasizing the faith in God and trust in their own body which God made perfect.

This return to the old religiosity is associated with understanding the concept of creation in six days. The path to returning to the paradise condition implies reinstatement of the diet consisting of fruit consumption. The food of those who came out of the paradise is based on raw plants, fruits and vegetables, without killing animals for food, and without using animal products for human consumption. The after-flood time is considered as a third-class way of eating in which life expectancy rapidly became shorter and where the meat was used for human consumption. The reasons for

the abandonment of such a diet in the contemporary context are primarily diseases among animals. The belief is based on the idea that the created world can be self-sufficient.

The Old Testament Concept of Health

Biblical narrative is the foundation from which the contemporary supporters of natural medicine start. Looking at the stages of diet that are written in the Bible, according to the original plan, the man was meant to eat, in paradise, all the fruit after its kinds, except the fruit of knowledge of good and evil. This fatal “apple” regarding nutrition and regarding obedience, brought the knowledge which carries disease, aging, violence, death. From the context of freedom of choice, there is still a daily conflict about whether the man wants to be healthy and whether he can cope with the constant destruction that has since been present in the world.

The Old Testament concept of health, written in the Bible, primarily relies on preventive part through rules and laws. When God brought the chosen people out of slavery, they first sang and rejoiced, then encountered problems in the wilderness and in the absence of water, they began to grumble, to ask for help, which came from God who showed Moses a tree that will clean the water (Ex. 15:1-3; 20-25).

Being in harmony with one’s nature involves a natural state of expressing emotions and satisfying human needs. There are verses describing the forming of a religious community, who freed from slavery, started a new life by expressing their emotions. The song is the personification of worship, song in the form of canon where men and women sing. For whatever God has done, the people, led by individuals, sing and thank God, and exalt his power and goodness. Musical instruments were in use and are mentioned in this text. Playing the music was the collective expression of emotions, especially of positive emotions.

However, they soon encountered trouble, the desert around them, the desert inside them due to thirst. As the second principle of health, there is the expression of negative emotions. Complaining, scolding, noticing needs, then seeking solutions by addressing

the leader who cries out to God for help, for a solution. The man asks, the God responds by referencing to the resources that can help make the bitter water potable. Thus, gaining experience with God in distress is another way to strengthen mental health. They might have not grumbled, they might have waited with trust, and we would have perhaps condemned them for unfaithfulness, however, if our understanding of these texts is open to different options, then one of them is that it is necessary to show also negative emotions, because they lead to solving the problems that have caused them. The answer to complaining due to lack of potable water was not a punishment for the people, but a solution. In addition to expressing their emotional state, we also recognize the importance of prayer. Moses cried out to the Lord to solve the problem of water. God did not clean the water, but gave instructions what Moses should do to clean the water (Ex. 15:24-25).

Faith had its place in the desert also when it came to heal the hardest diseases, which the certain death from poisonous snake bites surely was. Symbolically, we can say that it is associated with the story of the fall into sin and the serpent in Paradise, who deceived Adam and Eve (Gen. 3:13) that they would not die if they eat the fruit from the tree of knowledge of good and evil, which brought them into the spiral of death (Kuburić, 2018a). In that desert, ungrateful for manna falling from heaven, people have realized that there was something worse than hunger and thirst, and repented for their ingratitude and sought a cure from death. Then they received instructions on how to save themselves. God did not remove the snakes, but he gave a cure, and it was enough to look directly in faith in the erected monument (Num. 21:8).

Judaism is a religion that builds a relationship with God in the form of a covenant. God has called one by one person and formed a people who built the union with God. History of this dynamic relationship is written in the Bible. At the same time, the man as an individual and the nation as a community, gathered around the belief in one God, are constantly facing temptations. The covenant was mutual, if the man listened and done what was right, if he listened and kept the commandments, God would not let any disease harm them and would be their doctor (Ex. 15:26).

Religion in the modern world is determined by two processes: revitalization and globalization. Upon the dominance of secularization theory, which was very well established in the second half of the twentieth century, nowadays the revitalization of religion provokes not only sociological debate and valuable attempts to theoretically clarify what is happening empirically, but religion manifests itself in various forms both on an individual and a social level. Discussions continue as to whether we are witnessing only the revitalization of religious discourse in religions of the world or the revival of religious ritual practices as well. Are institutions being revitalized or is there a revival of religious communities? On the other hand, the contemporary position of religions in the world is strengthened by the process of globalization, both of traditional forms of religions with orthodox beliefs and practices and of national religions, but also of various forms of new spirituality as heterodox, urban and commercial forms of religiosity as opposed to institutionalized churches. It is a permanent task for researchers to get us acquainted with the latest trends in expression of religiosity in national, regional and even global contexts.

Dragan Todorović



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God presents himself as a doctor to his people, a doctor who works on prevention by instructing them to listen and to act according to instructions and rules, to keep everything that ensures their health. Bread and water, and birth with blessing are the three keywords given as a promise of health and promise that the diseases would be removed if they respected the laws of health (Ex. 23: 25-26).

Along with blessings in everyday earthly life, the Old Testament announces the promise of the coming of the Messiah, the Savior with the mission that transcends earthly reality, referring to the final solution of the problem of human suffering caused by disease and death, in which the underlying problem of sin exists. The Book of the Prophet Isaiah says that the announced Messiah would know the pain and see what disease is, and that he will carry our sickness and take our pain on himself, for our peace and healing (Isa. 53.3-5).

The mission of the Messiah is to bring peace, healing, justice. These texts show the need of human beings that is projected in the word salvation, and the key words are "pain," "a man of pain", "disease", "sin" on the one hand, and then the overtaking of this burden of disease followed by "peace" and "healing". Thus, it becomes clear that Judaism based its religion on the understanding of sin as a universal problem that causes both physical and psychological and mental discomfort, that death is the result of sin and that man alone cannot deliver himself, without the intervention of God who will send the Messiah to deliver them. In the period of waiting for the Messiah, people were supposed to nurture faith and hope and love, they should have not given up faith in God to fulfil his promise, even in the most difficult diseases such as the one that befell Job. The man was invited to bless the one who forgives all offenses and who heals all diseases (Ps. 103:1-5).

The New Testament Concept of Health

In the New Testament, we have a message of fulfillment of the Old Testament concept which consists of integrating all the rules in an abstract value that comes from the inner state of the being, and that is the word love. Love for God, love for yourself, love for others. We find this love for life, this search for health, this

trust in the power of healing, in almost every case, and there are too many of them written in the New Testament, to quote them all here. A common question that Christ asks is: *Do you want to be healthy*, and he does not say to the healed man: *I healed you, go and tell everyone*, but says that all of them were healed by their faith. The power of personal faith is the one that leads to healing. And what has caused the greatest resistance to Christ as the one who heals all their illnesses is that he took it upon himself to forgive sins (Lk 7:47-50).

At the end, I cite the event of healing ten lepers, one of whom, and a Samaritan no less, returned to thank him. And this kind of attitude towards one's own healing and to the one who contributed to it is one of the therapeutic techniques that takes appreciation as a lifestyle, even gratitude for the disease that has occurred and which has contributed to a person's turning to a "new life" (Lk. 17:17- 19).

Theistic and Pantheistic Conflicts Within the Natural Medicine

We shall look at the identity of the new religiosity that promotes old religious practice in the concept of healthy lifestyle, in relation to the demarcation which they represent in relation to other religious beliefs. In the book *Mystical Medicine, What Are the Dangers Hidden in the Background of Acupuncture, Acupressure, Homeopathy, Iridology and Other Related Skills*, Warren Peters¹ explains the philosophy of Eastern religions on which the healing practice is based. The author believes that the attitude to just tell the truth is not enough, that it is necessary to explain clearly what are the dangers for believers of theistic worldview from the pantheistic worldview, which is based on the belief in an impersonal force rather than in personal monotheistic God, in reincarnation and not the resurrection, in personal possession of a deity rather than in a personal God who is the creator of that person. All mystical and magical practices are clearly

¹ http://prirodnamedicina.org/knjige/V.Piters--Misticna_medicina.pdf (accessed on August 14, 2018)

separated from the beliefs and practices of theistic believers with the intention to protect them from scams.

The leading role in the promotion of natural medicine took a religious movement that originated in America, after the great disappointment that Jesus Christ did not come in 1844, which was preached by William Miller based on Daniel's prophecy of 2,300 days (Daniel 8:14).

From authorities pointing to religiosity, along with the Bible, the most influential writings are those of Ellen White (1827-1915). The book *Counsels on Diet and Foods* by Ellen G. White² is the compilation of texts that she wrote based on the visions she had in 1863, and which was then published in articles and books. In 1926, a compilation was published that was used as a textbook for students and researchers of dietetics and medicine of the Adventist University Loma Linda in California. Since the Adventists in California are one of the groups of people with the longest longevity on the planet, numerous studies were made that have examined the lifestyle that attributed to that longevity and Adventists in California, on average, live longer up to 12 years from the general population (Kuburić 1995; Kuburić, 2014).

Key characteristic of the Adventist lifestyle is putting great importance to health and food, which relies primarily on the Bible and observance of Jewish laws about clean and unclean foods, and then the recommendation to switch to a vegetarian lifestyle which excludes meat and promotes a vegan diet. The Adventist lifestyle could be called temperance, since the diet does not use any stimulant means, meaning it is strictly forbidden to smoke, drink alcohol, coffee, and teas that have a stimulating effect. In the scientific community, when the empirical study of risk factors posed by cigarette smoking started, the Adventists were suitable as population for the control group (Kuburić, 2014).

Ellen White herself, claimed that she obeyed in her private life what she was preaching. She claims that she was weak and she prayed to God for help and then got instructions regarding health reforms which included respect for the commandments of God, and that in moderation in eating and drinking people can keep

² https://religija.me/ellen_white/Elen_Vajt-Saveti_o_zivotu_i_ishrani.pdf (accessed on August 14, 2018)

their mind and body in the best of health. In her writings, she argued that despite her age, she had better health than in her younger days (Vajt, 1975:279).

The basic principle on which natural medicine is based is to stop with bad things and to give to the body what it naturally needs: "The nature will require some time to recover from the abuse it suffered; give it a chance and it will again regain its composure and perform its job well and in a noble way (Vajt, 1975:242). "Let no one think himself a criterion for all - that everyone must do exactly as he does. Never cheat the stomach out of that which health demands, and never abuse it by placing upon it a load which it should not bear. Cultivate self-control" (Vajt, 1975:104).

Is Faith in God in Opposition to Trust in Man?

A plan for good health includes primarily trust in God. Trust in God is transferred to the trust in the wisdom of the body. The immune system is a bulwark in the fight against the disease, which is considered a divine concept that leads to self-healing in the human body. Believers take greater trust in God than in human beings, they believe in complex existence and the structure and function of the body than anyone's ability to comprehend all the complexities of the human body.

If we have faith in God as the absolute power that still loves the man like a parent, then the emotional stability is the one that protects it. Various researches indicate the importance of the psychological state for occurrence of disease but also for healing (Stout & Bloom, 1982). Stress increases blood cholesterol levels (Dooren & Orlebeke, 1982). The problem of guilt has a significant impact on health disorder. The example of King David in the Psalms is the experience of a weakened immune system because it suffered the consequences of guilt (Psalm 38:3- 10).

Unhealthy emotions have negative affect, and the feeling of guilt is the most powerful negative emotion that a person can experience (Lynch, 1979). In religious sense and terminology, we can use the concept of a sense of sinfulness. Studies show that a sense of sinfulness, which is manifested by high moral demands, is

significantly more present among the believers (Kuburić, 1995; Kuburić and Zotova, 2014). Despite the fact that believers are conscious of Christ's sacrifice for sins, instead of this belief freeing them from guilt, it is converted into a new blame for the suffering of Christ, because it is "our" sins that took him to the cross. The intent of the religious teachings is to abolish man's guilt in order to overcome sin, which is in the function of healing. An example of forgiveness to oneself is in the example of King David who sang about his mental suffering but also about joy in the Psalms (Psalm 40:2-3).

Natural medicine of theistic worldview develops trust that God guides people's lives and that nothing happens without his will. In this sense, there is a conviction that this world is a safe place to live in, because it is written in the Bible that all things work together for *good to those who love God* (Romans 8:28). From the attitude of trust in God, also the practice of prayer develops. And as the Apostle John wrote, health is the result of the well-being of the soul (3. John 1:2).

The relationship of trust in natural medicine then comes down to man, but not to another man but to oneself. This wisdom of individualism is based on a verse from the Old Testament where it says that he that ruleth his spirit is better than he that taketh a city (Proverbs 16:32). Moderation in natural medicine involves avoiding harmful substances and habits, as well as a moderate and wise exercise of what is useful.

Sometimes it seems impossible that a man keeps his life under control. Fear of illness, disability or death will not permanently change habits. What methods are used in natural medicine to motivate people to change their lifestyle that led them to the disease? On what principles the healing treatment in natural medicine is based?

Healing Efficiency of the Natural Way of Life

How does natural healing look like? As part of the motivational introduction to the book *Be Calm, You'll Be Healthy*, Richard Schulze shows that the earthly life is a short-term offer, that it does not last forever, and it represents the test whether we are interested in eternal life. He expressed his attitude towards life in these

words: "I want to live a quality life, to feel good, and I want to live as long as possible" (Šulc, 2015:136).

Richard Schulze writes that what he teaches people is how to heal themselves naturally, how to improve health and to build a strong immune system. The first step on this path is to understand the basic principles and philosophy of natural healing. What a doctor of natural medicine does, is to calm down a man who panics about his disease first, telling him that he will be healthy, then to assure him that his body is able to heal itself, and in the end to teach him a new, healthy lifestyle that heals all diseases, promotes self-healing, and even leads to self-healing (Šulc, 2015: 19).

Healing efficiency of the natural way of life has a few important steps. In the book *Health Power* (Diehl and Ludington 2007) as natural remedies are listed: nutrition, exercise, water, sunlight, temperance, air, rest and trust in divine power. Ellen White in her book *In Search of a Better Life* says that natural remedies include: fresh air, sunlight, temperance, rest, exercise, proper diet, use of water, trust in divine power (Vajt 2004:67).

Although the world is terrified of skin cancer, natural medicine does not give up on the importance of sunlight. The Sun has many qualities that are good for health, both for its maintenance and for the treatment. The ultraviolet rays have effect in reducing harmful bacteria, provide vitamin D, contribute to the control of levels of calcium and phosphorus in the body (Rauschkolb, Farrell, Knox, 1967). If someone is acutely or chronically ill, it is recommended, in natural medicine, to get every day a "dose" of sunlight.

But, just as sunlight, people also take air for granted, not trying to save this precious air layer from pollution. However, it is better to have a polluted air layer than to have none. Trees, vegetation and water help in the purification of air and add useful negative ions. Therefore, the foundation of healing is in the active life outdoors in nature.

Water is important for both inward and outward use. It is stated that human body has a composition of 70% water. This precious bodily fluid is economically consumed by the system for circulation, but still, a certain amount of water must be added to the system every day to replace losses through respiration, perspiration and excretion. Recommendation for healthy lifestyle is to drink

eight glasses of water each day. Cold water is not recommended for drinking, because energy is spent for heating, and it is not good to drink water with a meal, but half an hour before or two hours later. Hydrotherapy treatment or water treatment is used outwardly, and may be a simple remedy for the patients. Use of water reflects well in common cold, flu, pain (Thrash & Thrash, 1981).

How important is food for life and health? Is the information about healthy food present in the public enough? A person who is prone to coronary heart disease will more easily get sick if they consume a diet rich in animal protein, fat and cholesterol. Since foods of animal origin are the only source of cholesterol, plant-based diet provides the opportunity to avoid this risk factor.

Work and physical activity are now more than ever a neglected duty. The slogan that if we do not use something, we will lose it is directly related to our body. With a lack of physical activity, not only our muscles, but our bones as well become weak (Peck, 1984).

While a person is awake, the body concentrates on work and movement. However, there is a time for working and a time for resting. In the Biblical concept of a healthy lifestyle as well as in Judaism as a religion, a day starts at sunset. Aside from that night's rest, the fourth commandment of the Decalogue brings recommendation to rest on every seventh day. Natural medicine treatment includes the obligation of going to bed on time.

Medical Missionary Work

Uchee Pines Institute³ started operations 50 years ago. The founder is Agatha Trash, a physician, a pathologist, a believer from SDA and her husband Calvin, an internist. Her lectures are available

³ <https://www.ucheepines.org/> (accessed on April 28, 2018). On the official site, they introduce themselves, among others, with these words: "We are a team of Seventh-day Adventist Christian laypersons and physicians specializing in natural methods of healing for the uplifting of humanity. Our desire is that each person coming to Uchee Pines may have total health; health of body, soul, and mind. We also want them to go home and teach others the good things God has done for them here." (<https://www.ucheepines.org/lifestyle-center/program-cost/>).

on a YouTube channel⁴. The treatment involves a healthy vegetarian diet (with its organic food), hydrotherapy, the use of tea, wraps, massages, sun, fresh air, and exercise. Patients work on the institute's farm as a kind of therapy.

At the Uchee Pines Institute there are also two educational programs for medical missionaries,⁵ and on-line options for those who want a more flexible schedule. The ideological basis is in the writings of EGW, and it suggests that the hope for a better life is in the education and respect for the principles of correct and healthy lifestyle.

The Uche Pines Institute has 659 lectures on its channel. Lectures were filmed during public appearances of the lecturers.

The lecture by Dr. Mark Sandoval on the epigenetics and researches that suggest that lifestyle affects the changes in genes that can be changed and transferred to offspring, shows how contemporary the lectures are. Lectures are based in scientific research.

It is common for patients to stay 17 days or three weeks, which is considered enough to change their lifestyle and to adapt to the rhythm that the Institute supports. Two meals are considered optimal, vegetable diet is represented, low in protein. The treatment includes mandatory walking and gardening and being outdoors.

One of the medical missionaries, Alberto Vrgoč (nutritionist, masseur therapist)⁶, who is originally from Serbia (Belgrade), after 20 years of living and working in the United States (Los Angeles and Uchee Pines Institute, Alabama), returned to Serbia with his family. One of the goals was to find a place in nature where people could come for recovery and recreation. Activity of a medical missionary, like that of the greatest medical missionary (Jesus Christ), who spent time with people wishing them well, consists of helping people in their needs but at the same time holding public lectures indicating risk factors for health and a healthy lifestyle. Medical

⁴ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WpccjVZrRNA> (lecture on reducing pain).

⁵ Medical missionaries are people who have accepted the invitation to preach a healthy lifestyle and healing within the Christian mission of preaching the Gospel. Often, they already have experience in medical work, such as MDs, nutritionists, physical therapists and others.

⁶ I did the interview on April 25, 2018

missionaries offer the possibility of recovery for people who come to their home.

Alberto Vrgoč recommends use of activated charcoal. He also organized and translated the lectures held by a medical missionary Dr. Donald Miller. His lectures can be found on other websites⁷ that are set up by different health centers in Serbia and Montenegro. The topics he dealt with are related to the connection between religion and health, the favorite subjects are eternity, longevity, psychosomatic diseases, immunity, cancer, diabetes. The latest interview was published on the website of Radio Svitanje, along with Albert Vrgoč who translated for this occasion, and where he answered questions about the importance of faith to the restoration of health.⁸

Conclusion

Religion, fulfilling its philosophical function, has the strongest motivational power to move a man to believe in life and to maintain it according to the rules of faith. For all religions, life is the highest value and maintaining health sacred duty of every man. The Bible is a book upon which the religious faith was established and on whose values various theologies are built. The result of initial attitude that God created the Earth and life on it in six days, that ends in the day of remembrance, which provides rest, is in opposition to the theory of evolution, changes of biblical teachings and pagan practices. Medical missionaries build a philosophy of a healthy lifestyle and philosophy of healing by reading the Bible and being up-to-date with scientific research.

⁷ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=3EvdwR-yKA>; https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kLS_JWkoJ5Y; <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Vvh40n-LiNiQ>
<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=epJvhlF83xA&list=PL71DlI3axqDZx-PRZ4CCKyaeACBZiY1etO>

⁸ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=dtemGt50aJk> "With Donald Miller, a missionary from Uchee Pines Health Institute, who for many years successfully worked in the USA, we talked about the importance of faith in the restoration of health. How important is it to understand the biblical message of salvation, if we want to gain and improve psychological and physical health" (published on August 9, 2018).

The philosophy of natural healing is increasingly being spread through the Internet and it changes lifestyles of people. For humans, there is a greater fear of misdiagnosis and harmful effects of synthetic drugs than from the disease itself. With the Internet, a monopoly on knowledge is released and a growing number of people are trying to cure themselves by reading various forums and personal experiences. Believers of monotheistic religions, wanting to remain faithful to God in what contributes to their good health, rely on the scriptures even when they explore new paths, and they take care not to fall into the magical practice.

Natural medicine gives preference to everything that God created in the natural state, believing that he who made man knows best what is good for him. Keywords for natural medicine are trust in God, trust in one's body and its ability to regenerate itself. Taking care of your health means satisfying of all human needs in a natural way and in natural conditions of life which do not alienate man from his own essence.

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Pilgrimages and Religious Tourism: Exhibits to Research of (Non) traditional religiousness¹

Abstract

Subject of our paper is modern pilgrimage, on case studies of the chosen Holy Places, both in the world and Serbia. The aim of this study is to determine the features of religiousness in the modern Pilgrims and their motives for visiting Holy Places. First, we define and demarcate the terms of Pilgrimage, as Pilgrimage known from the early ages and religious tourism, as modern form of travel and holiday. Second, we outline different concepts and theoretical approaches in studying Pilgrimage. Majority of authors used to categorize Pilgrimage in the folk (non-institutional) religiousness. Since 1990, in the Western science Pilgrimage was firstly perceived as arena of different, religious and secular discourses, as space of the *Communitas* (Turner's term), but also conflicts, and later on as a paradigm of the modern world on the move and changeability of identity within. Case study of Serbia: Holy Places, Pilgrimage places were mostly visited during the greatest, politically imposed secularization of our society; hence we can say it was stronger than ideology of atheism. We state the key findings of several empirical researches in Serbia (Radisavljević Ćiparizović, Nikolić, Radulović, Sikimić). Although development of traffic has modified and facilitated Pilgrimage journey, motives of the Pilgrims remain the same throughout history. Holy Places have their developmental dynamics from 'discovering the Holy Place', Pilgrimage to religious tourism. Serbia is not lacking in discovery of Holy Places and Pilgrimage journeys to monasteries, while religious tourism is underdeveloped.

Keywords: Pilgrimage, Holy Places, Religious tourism, (non) traditional religiousness, Serbia.

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Introduction

■ Pilgrimage may be interpreted as spiritual experience, form of orthopraxy and social act. This ancient form of religious expression is present in almost all world religions, both past and present. Subject of this paper is modern Pilgrimage, on case studies of the chosen Holy Places, both in the world and Serbia. Goal is to learn more about the features of religiousness in the modern Pilgrims and their motifs for visiting Holy Places. We use interdisciplinary approach for scientific explanation and understanding of modern Pilgrimage and the Pilgrims, in context of post-secular religious concept. Given that Pilgrimage journeys are more frequent form of tourist movements in our country, there is a need for systematic studying not only as a scientific but also as practical significance.

Millions of people of different religious visit known sanctuaries worldwide, which goes in favor of expansion of both Pilgrimage journeys and organized religious tourism. Lourdes, a small French market town with 16,000 inhabitants is known for a sanctuary where, according to legend, the Marian Apparition occurred, is annually visited by 6 million tourists spending 400 million € (Anđić 2007, 7). For tourist purposes, in the vicinity of Lourdes were constructed the international airport, Tarbes and fast railways. Various manifestations takes place in Lourdes throughout 2018 celebrating 160 anniversary of the Marian Apparition (1858-2018).² In his first book entitled "The Diary of a Magus" (1987), Paulo Coelho, famous Brazilian writer of numerous bestsellers, described his Pilgrimage 830 km journey on foot on medieval road from the Pyrenees via Northern Spain to Santiago de Compostela cathedral, the burial place of Saint James the Great. This author states that in the first millennium of Christianity three roads were considered as Holy. The first led to the tomb of Saint Peter in Rome; people who were on this Pilgrimage used a cross as symbol and were called the Romero. The second road led from the Holy Jesus tomb in Jerusalem; people who were on this Pilgrimage were called the Palmero for using palm branches used for greeting Jesus when entering the city. The third road led to relic of Saint James the Great laid to rest

² More on <https://www.lourdes-pro.com/lourdes-2018>.

on the Iberian Peninsula. A place where on night a shepherd saw a shining star above the field became a destination for the Pilgrims of whole Christian community. A symbol of these 'Pelegrins' is a shell (Coelho 2006, 19).

In Orthodox countries, Pilgrimage is also on the rise. In October and November of 2011, more than 3,5 million Pilgrims in 14 Russian cities went to pay their respects when the cincture Belt of the Mother of God was brought from Monastery of Vatopedi, Mount Athos, Greece.³ Pietro Tarallo portrayed 35 Christian sanctuaries in 22 countries in his book entitled "Close to God: Journey to the Places of Christian Spirituality". Among the chosen Holy Places is Ostrog, the most famous Pilgrimage place of the Serbian Orthodox Church (Taralo 2010). In quest for healing, believers often go to numerous monasteries in Serbia. One of the most popular places is the Tuman Monastery, due for its healing powers people called "Ostrog on Đerdap".⁴

Pilgrimage and Religious Tourism: Overlapping and Demarcation of the Terms

The term Pilgrimage comes from Greek word *hodos* – meaning journey, referring to a trip of believers to certain Holy Places. In Russia is used a word *palomnik* (from *palmovnik* – the one holding a palm branch). Italians use the term *palmat*, *palmager*, *palmar*, *pelegrin*. Medieval English term *pilgrim*, Old French *pelegrin* from Latin *pelegrinus*, depicting a stranger. Peregrination in the past has been inextricably from Pilgrimage. In German are used 2 terms: *Wallfahrt* betoken traditional gathering and movement in cortege, while *Pilgerfahrt* or *Pilgerschaft* is used for individual, non-organized pilgrimage journey. French use *pelerin* for believer (Krstajić 2011, 9). *Hadžiluk* (*Hagg*) is a word of Arabic-Turkish origin, meaning to elope somewhere (finding a sanctuary). The term *hadžiluk* is accepted by

³ Sergey Trofimov, professor from Lomonosov Moscow State University provide this information on his lecturing "Religious Situation in Russian: challenges and perspectives" at University of Belgrade in 2017.

⁴ About the Tuman Monastery, see: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7uckxpbV-ic>.

the Serbian Orthodox Church (here in after referred to as SOC), so for those who visit the Holy Land and Holy Places is commonly used the term *hadži*, short for *hadžija*. Based on *gramata* received from Jerusalem Patriarch on acceptance to the residency, upon returning home the Pilgrims may add prefix *hadži* to their name, as succeeded by their descendants afterwards.

Basic motive for Pilgrimage is desire for physical or spiritual healing. Number and modernity of early Christian Pilgrims, including women, is surprising. Disregarding historical elements and architecture of sanctities in period between 4th and 6th century, allow observing tendency for miraculous healings that ancient Pilgrim sought for, same as contemporary one (Cvetkovska Ocokoljić 2010).

By performing Pilgrimage, a religious person, both literally and symbolically makes a journey to the Holy destination, there by confirming his identity as a member of specific religious tradition. As many other rituals, Pilgrimage implies ambivalence and polarity. Pilgrimage has some common traits with all *Rites of Passage* by implying separation and departure and merging or achieving new status indicating his passing over potential "Pilgrimage is a journey to a Holy Place adopted by the believers as Holy (sanctuaries and holy hills are the main places for Pilgrimage) or to place believed to have miraculous healings: Lourdes, Fatima, Međugorje" (Cvitković 2009, 450). This great sociologist of religion divides Pilgrimage by relevance to local and regional, national and universal. To the first two are headed on foot, by praying and singing religious songs. In time, local and regional places can turn into international; for instance, Lourdes, Međugorje, as places of the Marian Apparition, often visited by the sick. Millions of people visit these sanctuaries (Cvitković 2007; Belaj 2012).

Pilgrimage is used in all religions, confessions and cultures and is related to the journey outside of the place of residence, with purpose of stay, participation in religious ritual and praying in the Holy Place. There are essential differences between journey with religious contents and genuine Pilgrimage journey; it is necessary to diverse their conceptual and particularly legal and economic aspects regardless of numerous common external features. Pilgrimage journey has clear conceptual difference from hedonistic, adventurous and educational touristic journeys although many of

them include visits to the Holy Places and attending services in some segments. Although many external elements are the same or similar, as well as visited destinations, Pilgrim essentially differ from religious tourist by motifs, goals and feelings (Krstajić 2011, 47-48). For Pilgrim is more important to attend the services, pay respects and participate in the ritual than sightseeing historical landmarks and attractive church arts in sanctuaries. Field trips, excursions, sightseeing of cultural and educational nature cannot be equalized with vivid religious experience of believer, Pilgrim. Pilgrimage is not organized for fun, recreation or relaxation, but it has God seeking motive. We have conceptual and legal diversification of the two terms (Pilgrimage and religious tourism) in Russia. On initiative of the Russian Orthodox Church in 2003, the Interreligious Council of Russia has considered a status of Pilgrimage in Russia and unanimously reach a conclusion that the Pilgrimage has nothing to do with touristic activity. In the National Duma of the Russian Federation and the Russian Federation Agency for Sport, Physical Education and Tourism were formed task groups for solving problems in tourism, which included representatives of the Russian Orthodox Church. This is the reason why only the trained professionals can organize the Pilgrimage journey. But, in spite of stated essential difference between these terms in practice, a pilgrim and religious tourist inevitably meet because they visit the same destination at the same time.

Gisbert Rinschede, a German geographer, has grouped forms of religious tourism based on duration of visits to the Holy Places (Rinschede 1992).

Firstly, there is brief religious tourism, limited short distance journey, where the goal of journey is usually to travel to a religious center on the local, regional, supra-regional level with tendency of participating in some celebration, conference or Convocation. In Orthodox Church these are usually Convocations and fairs taking place in predetermined schedule. In addition to church, they had trading and cultural significance as oppose to present when this relevance is more touristic. This also includes another form of touristic movement, and that is visiting the monasteries, that has been very developed form of the journey in our country during the last years (Radisavljević Čiparizović 2016).

Secondly, there is long religious tourism, so called the Great Pilgrimage that includes visiting religious centers for several days or even weeks. Fluctuation of the Pilgrims grows during the time of ceremonies or holidays, and lessen during the economic crises or wars. One of such centers is Jerusalem visited by the Pilgrims of three religions: Christianity, Judaism and Islam.

Boris Vukonić, the first in ex-Yugoslavia dealing with the relation between religion and tourism states that for proper understanding of religious tourism and tourist the believer (as specific type of tourist user) is very important to distinguish the terms religious and believer. The difference is basically in the scope and intensity of belief and feeling. In this way is determined a category of tourist Pilgrim.

1. "*Tourist the believer*" is a believer convinced in his religious attitudes whose regularly fulfilling his religious obligations. On selection of tourist destination it is very important to have access to sacral facilities (regularly attends all Services).
2. *Religious tourist* is by motivation the closest to classic tourist. Comparing to the first type of tourist, it has some reservations according to religious principles, is less familiar with theological norms, and do not visit the Holy Places just for religious reasons, but curiosity as well. Here dominates cultural and educational aspects of the journey (Vukonić 1990, 98).

If we were to evaluate modern Pilgrimage we could say that their character ranges from authentic spiritual act to one form of tourism (Cvitković, 2014). For practical believer, a place of Pilgrimage has spiritual dimension, while it is touristic destination for others. Željko Mardešić states that it is not the same when believers are going to Pilgrimage to reassert their faith and when young travelers of sacral tourism go to adventure of seeking the sense in conditions of complete uncertainty and temporality (Mardešić 2007). In addition to the Pilgrims, other visitors of the Holy places can group into the following categories by their motifs: fans of sacral arts, admirers of the national tradition and customs, picnickers from nearby towns, excursionists during vacation, and admirers of cultural and historical monuments (Krstajić 2011, 56).

Religious Tourism in Serbia

Serbia, as multireligious countries with predominant Orthodox population is rich in monasteries, churches and other religious temples, shortly, in the Holy Places. On the contrary, Serbia has great cultural heritage, the greatest in medieval architecture and unique frescoes, as confirmed by the UNESCO World Heritage List including: monasteries Studenica, Sopoćani, Dečani, Gračanica, Bogorodica Ljeviška and Patriarchy of Peć (Kesić Ristić 2010). It is known that particular attractiveness for tourist are the cultural goods from the World Heritage List (Nedeljković 2006, 4). Tourismologists such as I. Stamenković and S. Nedeljković state that Orthodoxy and tourism are only mergeable if requirements of touristic economy do not violate church dogmas and values, i.e. evangelist life principles in church. In terms of religious tourism, church and monastery units, it is not advisable to modify their basic purpose. Given they are included in form of brief religious tourism, monastery complexes are encompassed in secondary destinations, because tourists only stay for couple of hours with exception of some gatherings or celebrations who stay for several days. In Orthodox Church only those blessed by the monastery abbot can stay in monasteries for longer period of time (Radisavljević Ćiparizović 2015, 222). To this point, development of tourism as economy branch hasn't sufficiently recognized and supported special place for religious tourism.

Different Concepts and Theoretical Approaches in Studying Pilgrimage

Most authors used to classify Pilgrimage into folk religiousness (non-institutional). Historically speaking, in practice folk believes and Christianity had functioned parallel. Those who practiced had no sense of contradiction (Radić 2009). Although insufficiently, SOC wanted to incorporate orthodoxy in folk believes. In the basis of church reform, as written by Miroslav Timotijević was intention to replace folk religion with private devotion (Timotijević 2006). Some old form of folk tradition was forbidden (charm), some were tolerated and Christianized, and some incented. Private devotion was related to belief in miracles

(miraculous springs, icons, relics). Superstitious inevitably goes hand in hand with faith and is universal. For instance, we have a practice in Ireland 'to leave something of the sick' in the Holy Place (Griffin, K. 2010).

Relation between church and folk religiousness is especially interesting on example of the modern Pilgrimage. In 2007 research we had theoretical stronghold on conceptions of Dušan Bandić for orthodox folk religion and religiousness, and Jakov Jukić for Roman Catholic religion and religiousness. Concept of 'folk orthodoxy', to which he dedicated empirical researches of 1990, is quite new approach to studying religion in national science, since he is dealing with reception and interpretation of messages of Orthodox church by the widest population stratum and in this way successfully penetrates research levels of religiousness remaining hidden in previous researches (Radisavljević Ćiparižović 2014; 2016).

In Western European anthropology, during the 90s Pilgrimage was studied much wider, foremost as universal cultural phenomenon and as extremely heterogeneous and multi-meaning phenomenon. Numerous empirical verifications and critics of Turner's determination concept of the *Communitas* has led to paradigmatic twist on anthropology of Pilgrimage. Since the 90s, Pilgrimage was firstly observed as arena of opposite discourses, religious and secular – as space of consensus and the *Communitas*, but also separations and divisions (Hayden 2002; Duijzings 2005); more and more as a paradigm of the modern world on the move and changeability of identity within (Mardešić 2007). The researches shifted their focus from Pilgrimage as institution *per se* to Pilgrimage as case study of dynamics of some modern socio-cultural phenomenon and process. The most famous world sociologists of religion mostly agree that modern forms of religion require different approaches. Daniela Hervieu Léger in a book entitled "A Pilgrim and a Convert" distinguish a Pilgrim and a Convert as conceptual models. Author speaks about phenomenon of religious practice of 'the new type', confirming that comprehending religious starting from the movement and distribution of believers, mobility and affiliation is difficult, because a figure of religious person *par excellence* remains an image of stable and clearly identified 'practical believer'. She confronts this image of stable and clearly identified church believer to type of a Pilgrim and a Convert (Hervieu Léger 1999).

Table 1. Typology of Believers

Practicing Christian (Le pratiquant)	Pilgrim (Le pèlerin)
Mandatory practicing	Willing practicing
Practicing proscribed by the institution	Independent (autonomous) practicing
Permanent (stable)practicing	Adjustable practicing
Common (in unity)	Individual
In one place	Movable, mobile
Regular	Adjustable (occasional)

Most often, Pilgrimage was not treated as indicator of religiousness since it is not mandatory in Christianity (Radulović, 2010, 40). In *Encyclopedia of the New Religions* were given the new Marian sanctuaries (established from 1940-), that are now one of the mostly visited pilgrimage places although not formally recognized by the Roman Catholic church (example of Međugorje) (Margry 2005, 98-102).

On the other hand, Pilgrimage to Mecca is one of the five fundamental ceremonial obligations of the Muslims, which is at the same time, inalienable religious grounds of Islam. Believer is excused only under special circumstances (in juridical detailing given cases in Sharia law). All adult Muslim who has the funds is obliged to visit Mecca at least once in lifetime. He should circle within the walls of *Ka'abe*, to kiss the black stone and drink water from Zemzem spring, to mount to the Arafat hill and make animal sacrifice in the Valley of Mina. In addition to mentioned Great Pilgrimage that is called *hadž*, the believers often undertake small religious journeys - *umra* (Jukić 1987, 118).

Motives for Going on Pilgrimage

In some religious communities there's a written obligation for believers to visit some places relevant for religious life. "Religious tourism" developed from this. Some go on pilgrimage to reassert their faith, some people to find it. Most believers go from spiritual reasons not touristic. Pilgrimage always had redemptive

sense. Pilgrimage can be used for asking for absolution of sins, and motif can be the testament. The most frequent reason for pilgrimage is praying for healing (spiritual and bodily, personal or close people), because it is believed that the prayer said in the Holy Places is more effective. Group of Pilgrims nowadays majorly became the most typical figures of "religion on the move" (Mardešić 2007). Modern Pilgrimage is by its many features different from pilgrimage journeys in the past, which is conditioned by traffic development. In addition to movability, pilgrimage groups are characterized by temporality. Pilgrimage contribute to development of tourism by affecting interreligious and international communications. *Homo turisticus religiosus* travels from different reasons, i.e. motivation can be: participation in religious ceremonies (visiting fairs or relics display), need for direct touch with the Holy Places, exceptional respect for the saint to whom the place is dedicated to, paying respect to the saints relics and expecting practical effect (healing) and learning about the root of own religious community – living in different religious surrounding and arriving to the country to get to know culture, language and religion of their ancestors (Stamenković 2006).

Pilgrimage allows believers to get an insight into history and power of the religion they belong to, but also to reassure they are on the right path in their confession and reasserting their positions. Vukonić was one of the first in ex-Yugoslavia to study relation between tourism and religion. "Believers go to Pilgrimage due to two fundamental reasons: due to satisfying their spiritual and own material needs... Majority of them are going to Pilgrimage due to their spiritual needs... Strong spiritual motifs are person's desire for immortality and happy afterlife. Due to this they use Pilgrimage to the Holy Places for performing different religious ceremonies" (Vukonić 1986).

In theoretical approach of Pilgrimage phenomenon we meet theoretical debates about the most important social processes and theoretical explanations of the modern social and religious changes. Impact is on explaining the phenomenon and process of secularization and desecularization, i.e. revitalization of religion. Berger states that relation between religion and modernity is rather complicated. According to this author, modern world, with some

exceptions, is rigidly religious as it always was, but in some aspects more than before. Secularization on social level is not necessarily related to secularization of individuals (Berger 2008).

Empirical Researches of Pilgrimages in Serbia:

Pilgrimages were characteristic for famous the God Worshipper movement, particularly after the Great War. The mass assemblies were held on annual basis, under the guidance of Bishop Nikolaj Velimirović between 1926 and 1938. These large prayer gatherings, mostly held at monasteries, involved several thousand members of the movement (Radisavljević Ćiparizović 2017, 220). After the Second World War, during the greatest, politically imposed secularization of our society travels to the monasteries continued. Even when churches in Belgrade in the 70s and early 80s of the last century were half full, on Saint Petka holiday, held on October 27th in Kalemegdan people were patiently waiting in queues for hours to pay respect to the relics and take the water (Radisavljević Ćiparizović 2016, 120).

We will outline some of the key results of several empirical researches in Serbia:⁵

1. In paper "Pilgrimage in the 21st Century: Case Studies Three Sanctuaries in Serbia" was written about two pilgrimage places belonging to Orthodox (the Holy Virgin Cover in Đunis and Saint Petka on Kalemegdan) and catholic sanctuary (Our Lady of Tekije in Petrovaradin). These are mixed pilgrimage because all three are visited by the people of different religions. Attention has been paid to the Romani, the Muslims. Although ethno-religious differences do not have to be obstacles for achieving certain scope of the *Communitas* (Turner 1974; 1978), harmony and tolerance are not always present in pilgrimage sanctuaries. In this aspect of the analysis the basis was theory

⁵ In addition to sociologist (D. Radisavljević Ćiparizović), here are the results of researches made by economist (V. Nikolić), anthropologist (L. Radulović) and ethno-linguist (B. Sikimić).

of competitive sharing and antagonistic tolerance (Hayden 2002). For example, on the Assumption of Holy Mother, which is catholic holiday on the 14/15th August, Gipsy Muslims massively pilgrim to the monastery in Đunis. This maladjusted timing seemingly caused certain misunderstanding between the monastery sisterhoods and pilgrim Gypsies. Because of well known two weeks difference between Gregorian and Julian calendar valid in SOC, on that date Orthodox believers celebrate Makaveji, fast begins, and monastery sisterhood retires for deeper prayer (Radisavljević Ćiparizović 2016).⁶ Goal of research was to familiarize with some features of modern Pilgrims in Serbia, their motives, religious experience and effect of Pilgrimage to daily life. The second source of evidence was obtained by in-depth interviews with open-end questions. In-depth interviews were made in Belgrade in 2007 on samples consisting of 25 Orthodox and 25 Catholic Pilgrims. Field research took place in three sanctuaries on central holidays. Contribution of this paper is on studying religious life of the minority church believers (Radisavljević Ćiparizović, 2016).

2. In paper "Religious tourism and the Serbian Orthodox Church", Vesna Nikolić made a empirical research on the sample of 400 examinees, visitors of monasteries of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Serbia and Croatia in 2010. This author proved a hypothesis that visits to sacral facilities of SOC do not belong to either religious tourism or pilgrimage, but the visitors experience them as "visits to

⁶ During the day we have relaxed conversation with Gypsy Muslims from Niš, who were nearby monastery waiting for evening and night. Their children were running to church and entered it. They wanted to gift the monastery. They say they come for the health and to thank "Our Lady because she helped them with something". They don't understand fast and why they can't enter the church yard by night. When questioned why they don't come in two weeks, on August 28th, when Orthodox Assumption of Holy Mother is, they said that, even thou they are Muslims, for them tradition is to go on August 15th. They used to go to Letnica (Kosovo) before. Since they can't go there anymore, they switched to Đunis. In the evening it was more intense situation, because police was standing near the monastery yard entrance.

cultural and historical monuments”, because the majority of examinees (47%) feels it is great opportunity to meet cultural heritage. Based on this, Nikolić concludes that it is a cultural tourism, which is a result of the communist treating monasteries as cultural and historical heritage (Nikolić 2010, 310). If visits to monasteries are part of cultural tourism, is not it tourism again, with subtype of religious tourism! Seeking for motives of visiting sacral facilities of SOC, she reaches the conclusion that visiting the sanctuaries in Orthodox Christianity as seeking for spirituality is a substitute for inadequate parish life. More than 70% of the monastery visitors do not go regularly to the services, while only 28% go regularly to church, but almost 80% of visitors went to more than 6 monasteries (Nikolić 2010). Since the poll was not performed on representative sample, generalization of conclusion was not possible.

3. In paper “Feminization of Pilgrimage”, Lidija Radulović indicated gender aspects of pilgrimage religious experience in context of revitalizing religion in Serbia. Authors has researched a group of dedicated believers in Knjaževac. It shows that the women are more numerous and zealous believers, participated majorly in pilgrimage journey, where most of them had visions and apparitions. She observes and analysis Pilgrimage from perspective of gender anthropology as theoretical starting point and theory of *Rites of Passage*. Radulović feels that since the 90s in Serbia is constructed hegemonies masculinity implying high valuation of men as warrior, who is also religious because he equalizes the national identity with a religious one. His ‘mission’ is to protect the country, nation and family - it is his Pilgrimage. Discourse of femininity is a type of wife and mother and her ‘mission’ is to get birth to preserve the nation by being responsible for reproduction, to keep home and family, take care of health of its members. One of the ways of achieving this during the crisis, uncertainty and wars is trough Pilgrimage, verifying her role as God given and natural (Radulović 2010, 46).

4. In paper "Holy Journeys: Letnica on Kosovo", Biljana Sikimić studies transformation of this known catholic pilgrimage place who used to attract people of different religions. In addition to Catholics, Letnica was regularly visited by the Orthodox and the Muslims, the Romani in particular. In twenty-year time lapse, in transition of XX to XXI century was transformation of pilgrimage place: first its declining during the 90s wars, sudden stoppage of Pilgrimage in 1999 and his gradual revitalization which transforms a local cult to regional and global phenomenon – by media presentation on the Internet. Once heterogeneous contents of the Pilgrims – where many came for miraculous healing on the Assumption, August 15th, was completely transformed over the course of time: Some ethnical groups – the Serbs from Southern Kosovo and internally displaced the Romani and the Serbs, who came to Letnica for miraculous healing – turned to other sanctuaries; internally displaced Croats visit abandoned homes on their arrival to the sanctuary. Goal of pilgrimage journey nowadays become close to Turners concept of the *Communitas*: permanent participants of Pilgrimage became KFOR soldiers (Kosovo Force), international military forces under NATO command, stationed in nearby military basis, belonging to other cultural circles and already have experience of 'fellowship in faith'(Sikimić, 2014).

Instead of Conclusion

Pilgrimage and religious tourism are complex phenomena – 'religious on the move', attractive to all religions, both in past and present. For one, it is religious obligation, for others private devotion, for some, relaxation from daily life. The Pilgrims are both traditional and church believers, but also those who visit the Holy Places as tourists – for sight seeking cultural and historical monuments. Although traffic development modified and facilitated Pilgrimage journey, motifs of the Pilgrims remain the same throughout history. Pilgrimage is genuine identity laboratory with potential meeting

and conflict between religions. Regardless of theory we favor, in scientific explanation and understanding of modern Pilgrimage in context of post secular religious situation, interdisciplinary approach and well-designed (quantitative and qualitative) empirical researches are favored. Religious tourism is presently on the rise, as confirmed by empirical data about visits to the Holy Places as cultural and religious facilities. Global social crises goes in favor to this segment. In different parts of the world, desecularization gets and appears in different forms. Daniel Bell talked about return to the Holy by satisfying two needs: safety and sense, while 'risky society' is synonym for modern world (Bek 2001). Since a person cannot achieve safety and sense on his own, but also not without religious promise, it seems that the future of the Holy in society is secured. In Serbia, one form of returning religion to the public, so-called cultural defense (Steve Bruce) "preventing decay of the national, ethnical, local or some other culture. In this case, religious identity is bonding with ethnical in symbiosis that still has great emotional legitimacy in modern society" (Gavrilović 2008, 71). Serbia do not lack in discovering the Holy Places nor pilgrimage travels to the monasteries while religious tourism is the least developed. To this point, development of tourism as economy branch has not sufficiently recognized and supported special place for religious tourism (Radisavljević Ćiparizović 2015). In addition to unquestionable actuality, complex phenomenon of Pilgrimage in Serbia is still not systematically studied by sociologists, anthropologist, tourismologist and religious scientists, but rests on enthusiasm of individuals. According to Blagojević, this conclusion is related to very few sociologic empirical religiousness in Serbia (Blagojević 2015, 245).

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Faith, Ideology and the Information Age: Universal Spirituality of Generation Y

Abstract

Observing the period of recent history, it is clear that no previous generation has ever lived with such information accessibility and in such a connected world as the millennials, an age cohort of those who were, roughly determined, born between early '80s and late '90s. This is a generation that is, according to the data of *Pew Research Center*, characterized by a high degree of individual spirituality without a formal religious affiliation, best described by the motto *spiritual but not religious* (SBNR) that is often associated with them. Ideological attitudes of millennials reflect their distance to church membership since they are, at the surprise of conservative and economically right-wing baby boomers and Gen X members, predominantly leaning towards left-liberal progressivism, which was evident during 2016 US election. Exploring millennial religious beliefs opens up a series of interesting questions. First, is this exclusively an Anglo-American phenomenon and how deep are generational divisions today? How is the spirituality of a leftist generation defined by consumer logic? Do millennials really suffer more from depression and anxiety and how can that be attributed to overchoice, an almost 50-year old concept of American futurologist Alvin Toffler? Finally, is the spiritual world less important to those of age between 18 and 35 than it was to their predecessors, or do they have more in common than they think?

Keywords: Generation Y, Spirituality, Atheism, Progressivism, Overchoice, Information overload, *SBNR*, Consumerism.

Introduction

■ *Every culture is shaped by its fundamental core beliefs, and in America today there are a few values more fiercely held than the importance of self-admiration* (Twenge, Campbell, 2009). This excerpt

from a 2009 book *Living in the age of entitlement* is probably the shortest and most precise description of what could be defined as a fundamental world-view of Generation Y, an age cohort born between the early '80s and late '90s. Growing up in the dawn of the information age, young, tech-savvy *digital natives* who see themselves as the *spearhead of progressivism*, are *de facto* the first generation to seriously challenge many social norms and values that have for centuries served as the foundation of the Christian Western civilization. At the same time, however, no other generation has ever been talked about with such negative connotation and disapproval. By looking at different media, it is not uncommon to see a plentitude of derogatory terms used to describe millennials – they are portrayed as *lazy*, *seeking instant gratification*, *narcissistic* and above all, *entitled*. Far from being just an online expression of personal opinion, such claims are in fact, in many cases substantiated by empirical evidence (Twenge, Campbell, 2009). Also, different studies conducted by the American *Pew Research Centre* confirm that there indeed are significant differences between millennials and their predecessors when it comes to matters such as marriage, abortion, drugs, same-sex relations, migrations and others (Fry, Igielnik, Patten, 2018). To put it simply, new generations of young voters are setting the stage for a major change of the societal *weltanschauung* in the USA and other western countries. By all evidence, this change is already taking place.

Apart from politics, the other main arena of the ongoing *culture war* (a term which, in the author's opinion, is not an overstatement) is religion, for a long time an inseparable element of the western way of life. The growth of this age cohort is likely to further erode the authority of Catholic and Protestant churches, as Generation Y gave rise to an interesting new umbrella term to express new forms of millennial religiousness: *spiritual but not religious* or *spiritual but not affiliated* (SBNR/SBNA). The term itself originated in the 1960s but has gained popularity recently. We shall see how Alvin Toffler's idea of an information overload might have explained the link between SBNR and consumerist capitalism almost 40 years ago (Тоффлер, 2002).

The abovementioned specificities of Generation Y bring up a number of interesting questions. Firstly, what are the root causes

that shaped their beliefs the way they are? Secondly, how far can the Americanized, mainstream form of millennial left-liberalism expand, and more importantly, could it affect the youth of other, *non-western* civilizations? Thirdly, is there any plausibility for the claim that a neo-conservative backlash will happen at some point, or is *God really dead* as far as the digital natives are concerned? Finally, it is interesting to see how the millennial *liberation* from outdated institutions and norms did come at a certain price.

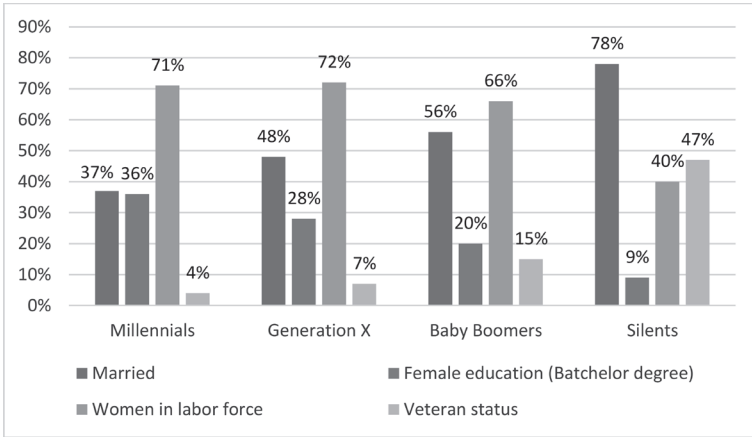
Millennialism, a (non-exclusively) American phenomenon

Generally speaking, Generation Y is an age cohort that comes after Generation X and before Generation Z¹, which puts their years of birth between the early '80s and mid to late '90s. America's leading demographic institution, *Pew Research Centre*, narrows this cohort down to years 1981-1996, (aged 22-37 in 2018), marking the year 1997 as a threshold for entering the next cohort: the post-millennials (Dimock, 2018). With more than 62 million members in 2016, they are expected to become the largest living adult generation in the USA in 2019 (Fry, 2018).

Similar to the XIX century, today's social changes seem to derive from a technological breakthrough. One of the key determiners that make millennials drastically different from all the previous generations is their dependence on modern communication technology. Having grown up in a world of cable-TV, video games, cell phones, and instant messaging services, they are the first age group that has almost no memory of an *offline world*, thus earning the name *digital natives* (Dimock, 2018). As we will see, the technological revolution of the early 21st century that has enabled the instant flow of information, combined with the narcissism driven consumerist logic of modern economies, may be the key driving forces behind this cohort's disinclination for of religious life.

¹ The term *Generation Y* was first used by a company called *Advertising Age* in 1993, as a convenient way to describe a generation that follows Generation X. The term, however, *didn't age well* (Main, 2017), and was largely replaced with the term *millennials*, coined in 1987 by social scientists Neil Strauss and William Howe.

Chart 1: Marital status, female education, female labor force participation, and veteran status of several American generations when they were ages 21-36 (%)



Source: Fry, Igielnik, Patten, 2018

Consequently, growing up in a highly consumerist capitalist society with self-centeredness as the unofficial ideology, millennial lifestyles were shaped to be quite different from that of their parents and grandparents. Empirical evidence shows us that millennials are more educated, more urban, more racially diverse, less likely to be married and less likely to experience war than all the previous generations. They also seem to be *much more detached from major institutions² such as political parties, religion, the military and marriage* (Fry, Igielnik, Patten, 2018).

In terms of Generation Y’s psychological characteristics, their negative and positive aspects are the subject of an ongoing debate. A 2012 study of generational differences regarding life goals has shown that American millennials are more materialistic and less concerned about the wider community. On the other hand, the *generation of perpetual children* is more open-minded and

² An information that illustrates this well is that just 28% of religiously unaffiliated, (a group whose significant part are members of Generation Y) say that it is very important to them to belong to a community that shares common values and beliefs, compared to 49% of general public (Funk, Smith, 2012: 24).

less prejudiced (or simply disinterested?) about race, gender or sexual orientation (Twenge, Campbell, Freeman, 2012), which could also be ascribed to their individualist mindset.

With its narcissism and individualism in mind, it is unsurprising that in regard of faith millennials seem to be *by far the least religious generation in the previous six decades*, as San Diego State University researchers concluded by analyzing data from several national surveys from 1966 to 2014 (Downing Chee, 2015). Pew Research Centre's 2014 *Religious Landscape Study* indicates the same: 41% stated that religion is very important to them, 42% pray daily, and just 27% regularly attend religious service (Alper, 2015). By both practices and beliefs, Generation Y is less religious than its predecessors. To some degree, religion was replaced by *spiritualism* as the most personalized belief system.

Although millennials worldwide live in a very connected world, assuming that they are a globally homogenous category by ignoring the Huntingtonian concept of civilizational differences would evidently be wrong. If we take into consideration the ideological, political and religious traits of this group, it becomes clear that the ubiquitously used world *millennial* almost exclusively refers to a specifically First World phenomenon even when it is not openly stated. Furthermore, some differences (although not very significant) can be identified even within the *Western world*, since American, Canadian and (Western) European millennials somewhat differ on a number of questions. Considering the fact that a specific political culture of a certain area also had an influence in the shaping of a European, non-western millennial, it is clear that moving eastwards, differences between millennials grow. In Poland for example, *cultural politics do not fit a neat model of young liberals versus old conservatives*, since 2/3 of polish young people describe themselves as believers and have a negative opinion about homosexuality and abortion (The Economist, 2016), even though they are *westernized* in many other ways³. In Europe, Christian

³ In terms of spending time online, polish young people don't fall behind their western peers – a full 100% of Poles in the age group 18-24 and 96% of those who in the age group of 25-34 are internet users, while 54% of the former are online constantly (CBOS, 2018).

self-identification among 16-29-year-olds is also strong in countries like Lithuania, Slovenia, Ireland, Austria and Russia (Sherwood, 2018).

It is fair to say that millennials in non-western cultures, such as Islamic, Orthodox or Sinic (Confucian) largely retain the cultural characteristics of the *civilization* they were born into⁴ regardless of modern consumerism and connectivity. Here, the religious moral and communitarian values still hold an important place in the collective psychology⁵ while at the same time, these countries have the resources and the commitment to preserve their way of life in the digital age. Of course, except the few extreme examples, the majority of non-western countries are not hermetically sealed off from all external influences, so the presence of groups of (mostly urban) youth who try to emulate the lifestyles presented by the western model it is not uncommon. Still, the atheisation and *narcissification* of non-first world millennials are happening at a much slower rate: here, the power of the internet has a very strong adversary in the power of tradition.

Birth of a millennial and the rise of the *SBNR*

If we are to understand how millennial *spiritualism* pushed aside religiousness, we should look in the past and examine some processes that started more than 10 years before these the oldest Millennials were born. Two of those arise as the most influential:

⁴ Interestingly, this is also the case with millennials from some minority groups in the USA. Jewish millennials, for example, are showing a reversed trend: about a half of them consider their Jewish identity *very important*, 44% subscribe to Judaism exclusively and 75% are at least *some-what spiritual*. The interest for their ancestral faith is stronger in households with both Jewish parents (Barna, 2017).

⁵ Another example is that of the Asian-American millennials, who *score lower on narcissism than any other ethnic group* (Twenge, Campbell, 2009: 184). This is understandable since for the past 2,500 years Asian cultures have been shaped by Confucian ethical philosophy, a *civic religion* that relies on values radically different from the modern western ideological matrix: loyalty, filial piety, humaneness, incorruptibility, dedication to the collective (Berling, 2018). As in the Jewish example, the mindset of Asian American millennials has apparently kept many of its native cultural specificities.

the secularisation of the educational system and the major ideological shift that happened in the 1970s.

As Twenge and Campbell point out, unsubstantiated self-admiration was not always the main ideological dogma of western societies. Instead of that, it was *self-reliance*, a typically American value that perfectly corresponded with basic postulates of protestant work ethic by which *hard work demonstrates one's worth in the eyes of God and others* (Twenge, Campbell, 2009: 47). Since the foundation of the USA, this was the main maxim of the *American dream* which attracted millions of migrants of many different religious and cultural backgrounds. This ideological pattern continued well into the XX century: after the Second World War, America still emphasized *...getting things done instead of admiring yourself* (Twenge, Campbell, 2009: 48).

The 1970s however, saw a major cultural shift in the American society. The emerging of the New Age movement and the anti-establishment counterculture of the Vietnam era gave rise to the popularity of everything mythical and unconventional, rebellious, spiritual, liberating and empowering. The '70s were the time of mind-altering drugs, Huxley's *Doors of perception* and the human potential movement that explored self-actualization, the highest level in the Maslow's hierarchy of needs. This was the time when the service economy started to dominate over manufacturing, birth rates started to decline, and divorce rates started to rise (Twenge, Campbell, 2009: 52). This was also the period when the formulation *SBNR* first became popular as a term to describe the popular *spiritual seekers* of the time (Bahan, 2015).

Although it is not possible to pinpoint an exact moment when this change took place, we can legitimately identify this decade as a beginning of what was to become nothing less than a narcissism epidemic that had a profound effect on millennials 30 years later. Nurtured by failed parenting strategies, fueled by celebrity culture and transmitted through social media (Twenge, Campbell, 2009) self-admiration became the cornerstone of millennial identity. Simultaneously, narcissism has proven to be very compatible with the consumerist logic of modern economies, where one's identity is defined by the products they consume. Christianity, having lost its monopoly as the main belief system,

now had an unfavorable position in the *open market of ideas*. Since religious moral was traditionally opposed to self-centeredness, religious organizations were not the places where millennials could fulfill their narcissistic needs (Twenge, Campbell, 2009). They became obsolete as they simply failed to fit in the new model of supply and demand.

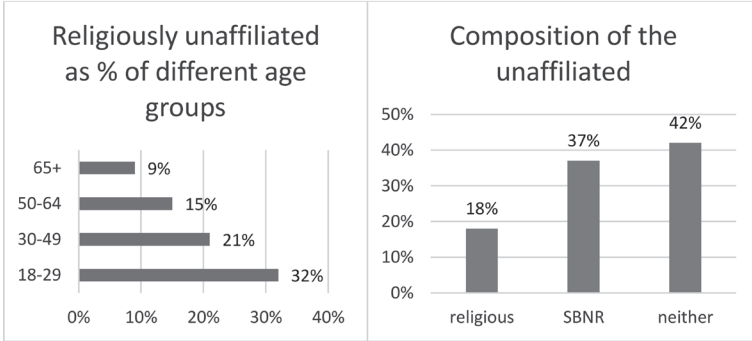
In addition to that, some millennials had less exposure to religious teachings, so their abandonment of religion is as much a result of religious illiteracy as of a rational decision based on perfect information. In Canada, a liberal country where the *social repercussions of not belonging to a religion* are not as serious as in the USA, the rise of the *nones* and the SBNR went hand-in-hand with the secularization of the public-school system⁶ (Bahan, 2015). Aside from not being able to learn about religion in school, Canadian millennials were also less exposed to religion at home. This could have led to a certain *spiritual laziness*, which is why those who don't belong to any religion are also the least spiritual (Bahan, 2015).

As for those who reported being SBNR, this was the most appropriate formulation, given their generational preferences. Spiritualism *does not depend on any institutional setting*, it does not include any dogma, tradition or doctrine (Bahan, 2015). Being hyper-customizable and personal, it perfectly corresponds with Generation Y's individualist mindset. Also, the rise of the *nones* and the SBNR could also derive from perceiving religion to be synonymous with conservatism, and thus *judgmental, homophobic, hypocritical, and too political* (Funk, Smith, 2012), which is acknowledged even by scholars who are religiously affiliated and devoted⁷ (Newmann, 2015).

⁶ In 1982, Canada passed the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* by which all religious practices, instructions or festivities were banned from all public classrooms. From 1971 to 2011, the percent of Canadians who reported *no religion* rose from 1% to 24% with the tendency of growth (Bahan, 2015).

⁷ Expectedly, ideological divisions of American politics seem to go along the lines of religious ones. The unaffiliated are *heavily Democratic in their partisanship and liberal ideologically* since *six in ten describe themselves as Democrats or say they lean to the Democratic Party* (Funk, Smith, 2012: 25). On the other hand, *eight-in-ten self-identified white born-again/evangelical Christians claim to have voted for Donald Trump* in the 2016 elections (Smith, Martinez, 2016).

Chart 2: Percentage of religiously unaffiliated in different age groups in the USA and the composition of the unaffiliated



Source: Funk, Smith, 2012

It is clear that young people today *are more likely to be unaffiliated than previous generations at a similar age*: in the USA, one third of people under the age of 30 have no religious affiliation⁸, compared to just 9% in the 65+ group. Moreover, just 17% of religious Americans are millennials⁹, which is less than their share among SBNR's (23%) or among those who fall into the *neither* category (35%) (Funk, Smith, 2012: 10-45). With all this in mind, it is fair to say that the abandonment of religion mostly refers to the abandonment of Christian churches (Newmann, 2015).

The meaning of spirituality and the consequences of information overload

One of most easily overlooked facts regarding religiously unaffiliated people is that they are not necessarily completely uninterested in spiritual matters, since more than a third of America's

⁸ The religiously unaffiliated (or *nones* as they are referred to) comprise of 3 subgroups: agnostic, atheist and *nothing*, with the last more often identifying as SBNR than the first two.

⁹ The extent to which technology has penetrated everyday life can be observed from the fact that even religious millennials have *shifted their focus to...online presence* (religi-online) or alternative megachurches that are more like entertainment centers than classical churches (Welch, 2017).

46 million religiously unaffiliated identify as *spiritual, but not religious*¹⁰ (Funk, Smith, 2012:10). With all the (political and institutional) differences between millennials and their religiously affiliated grandparents, a number of very interesting similarities about spiritual beliefs still remain. For instance, 46% of millennials feel a *deep sense of wonder about the universe at least once a week*, 55% *think about the meaning and purpose of life*, 76% *have a strong sense of gratitude and thankfulness* and 51% *feel a sense of spiritual well-being* (Alper, 2015). All these figures are roughly the same as those regarding the previous generations, indicating that millennials (or at least a significant number of them) are no less spiritual despite being less religious. Finally, a staggering 92% of SBNR people believe in the existence of God (Funk, Smith, 2012).

Of course, the most important question is how to precisely define millennial spirituality? What would be a common spiritual denominator in a generation where everything is about diversity and uniqueness? According to Samantha Bahan from the University of Victoria, the New Age conception of SBNR as *mixing of metaphysical beliefs and practices from different religious traditions* simply does not apply to modern conditions: by all evidence, millennials are not the *spiritual seekers* of the 1960s and '70s¹¹ (Bahan, 2015). Spiritual eclecticism which would include borrowed concepts and practices would still be a *system*, meaning that it would still require dedication and adherence to rules, which is something atypical for Generation Y. Instead, contemporary spiritualism is even more personalized: it is a completely individual *pursuit of something transcendent of the self*, which is why Bahan suggests that SBNR should be replaced with *postmodern secular spiritualism*¹² as a more adequate term (Bahan, 2015: 73).

¹⁰ An interesting fact is that 15% of those who are affiliated also identify as SBNR (Funk, Smith, 2012: 44).

¹¹ The disinterest among the unaffiliated for any kind of standardized religious pattern is backed by empirical evidence, because 88% of those whose religion is *nothing in particular* are not actively seeking for a suitable religion (Funk, Smith, 2012: 10).

¹² As Samantha Bahan writes, earlier researchers have identified 4 discourses related to the SBNR: *the theistic package, the extra-theistic package, ethical spirituality, and belonging spirituality*. Those who best explain millennials are, in her opinion, the extra-theistic package (spiritual experienc-

Finally, one possible explanation for the aforementioned lack of commitment to the otherworldly could be the *information overload*, a phenomenon described almost 50 years ago by an American futurologist Alvin Toffler. When his book *Future Shock* was first published in 1971, hyper-consumerism was in the early stages and the internet was still 4 decades into the future. Still, his description of what later became a typically millennial problem seems almost prophetic and accurate today more than ever.

Unlike agricultural and industrial capitalism where identities were defined by production, in modern consumer capitalism where everything is about choice, identity is defined through consumption. This definition could also be valid when it comes to religion: consuming *religious products*, rather than belonging, is what defines one's religious identity. Through the decades, the development of information technologies increasingly diversified the *supply side* in all fields of life, including religion. But this opened a new problem, the one described by Toffler. With almost endless diversification and customization options, an individual consumer is put under tremendous stress, one that would have been completely unknown to a French farmer from the XIV century that had no dilemma *whether he should be a Catholic or not* (Newmann, 2015). Being bombarded with information from all sides while constantly worrying about the opportunity cost¹³ leads to information overload and analysis-paralysis. Ironically, in an abundance of choices, a consumer, utterly overwhelmed with too much information to process, is reluctant to make a choice at all. Psychologically, such decision stress certainly takes its toll in form of regret, indecision, and unhappiness (Hererra, 2018). Toffler even ascribed the increase of LSD and heroin use to young people who were *frantically looking for ways to simplify their existence* (Тоффлер, 2002: 182).

es related to *something transcendental and extraordinary*, experienced through seeking an individual life meaning, but unrelated to divinity, explanation or life after death) and ethical spirituality, experienced through helping others and random acts of kindness (Bahan, 2015: 70).

¹³ It was in 2003 that Patrick McGuiness coined the term FOMO (*fear of a better option*) that later became the widely accepted pop-culture slang for the psychological stress that a person faces when presented with an abundance of options (Herrera, 2018).

Spirituality, therefore, could be a modern coping mechanism against the crippling effects of overchoice in this field. When the information about virtually all religious teachings is just a *few clicks away*, a curious millennial, by opting to be spiritual, does not have to make a firm and irreversible life decision. SBNR is an umbrella-term, imprecise, vaguely defined, open to modifications and change along the way and a sort of a *Swedish buffet* of religious practices or values from which one can freely pick whichever part one sees suitable (or none at all). It could be nothing more than *another simple way of dealing with the growing complexity and general overstimulation* (Тоффлер, 2002: 182).

Conclusion

A suitable conclusion for any debate that discusses the questions of millennial religiousness and ideology could be a notion that the author holds to be impossible to overlook. It is an obvious fact that Generation Y's world is a world of an atomized individual; the world of the one who *bowls alone* and who enjoys more liberty from imposed collectivist norms than any previous one. It is a world where it is hard for a self-centered individual to conceptualize the idea that private life was once guided by institutions that are today seen as repressive, outdated, or even tyrannical.

What is also a fact is that the millennial credo of *do whatever you like* and *believe in whatever you want* seems to have come at a high price. Their disengagement from communal activities and social organizations has lessened their social capital (Funk, Smith, 2012: 30) and the natural process of real-life socialization that was normally occurring within religious (and other) institutions are now replaced with increased screentime, which, according to many psychologists, has a very detrimental effect on one's mental health. Seeking instant gratification by continual online presence made this cohort especially vulnerable to depression, anxiety and loneliness, whose adverse effects are comparable to those of smoking and obesity and the scale of which is such that it is sometimes labeled as the *silent plague* of Generation Y (Gil, 2014). On the *UCLA Loneliness scale* of 20 to 80, with 45.3 points millennials are second

only to post-millennials, who score 48.3 (Chatterjee, 2018). As the renowned Canadian psychologist Jordan B. Peterson put it simply, *loneliness is pain* (Peterson, 2018).

However, as Peterson also noticed, structure is something that people need and naturally seek (Peterson, 2018). Structure and rules are the default state of human existence. That leads to a logical question: when the millennial consumerism, narcissism, and social detachment reach their zenith, could we at some point expect a neotraditional backlash or a revival of conservative interest for the church life? It was not historically uncommon to see a pattern of liberal parents followed by conservative children who were shaped and disciplined by hardship. Such a change could be incited by globally significant political events, as it happened several times in modern history. After all, members of the *Greatest Generation* who fought the Second world war were the progeny of those who lived in the narcissistic *roaring twenties* (Twenge, Campbell, 2009: 195).

With the further development of information technologies as the main *infection point* for the spread of narcissism (Twenge, Campbell, 2009: 55), Generation Z is already overtaking millennials as the most affected by the aforementioned problems. Having this in mind, one could ask the following question: with millennials becoming the largest cohort in the electorate and the workforce, could they, having experienced precariousness and the effects of social detachment, look at the post-millennials in the same disapproving manner that they themselves were subjected to? This could lead to an even bolder assumption – that potentially, the First World millennials themselves (or a part of them, at least) could make a full circle, come to realize that it is the high time for a *reset* and set the stage for a major neotraditional comeback.

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The Influence of Traditional and Modern Religious Movements on the Position of an Individual in the Modern Society

Abstract

Fragmentation, coexistence of myth and religion, man's alienation and the elements of popular culture dominate the literature of Modernism since they most faithfully express the turmoil and the state of chaos that pervaded the world in the break of the World War I. "The Waste Land", a poem by T. S. Eliot (1922), represents the author's artistic take on the post-war atmosphere and his attempt to introduce the new concept of religion that would eventually lead to the process of regeneration and rebirth. The aim of this paper is to identify and analyze religious allusions in the poem and offer a fresh perspective to their interpretation by introducing a modern understanding of religion that combines fragments of Christianity, Buddhism, Upanishads, ancient fertility cults and contemporary fortune tellers. By exploring the religious allusions that incorporate both hope and despair, we intend to show that a man who lost his goal in life could survive by adapting the religious rituals to his own needs, thus linking present and future, tradition and new practices. Another aim of this paper is to identify and explore new religious movements, and point out their importance in the 21st century. Though written 100 years ago, "The Waste Land" warns us against the threats of the 21st century and reminds us that, in the time of troubles, religion (traditional or in the form of new religious movements) is not something people should give up on easily.

Keywords: The Waste Land, religious allusions, new religious movements, Christianity, modern society

Introduction

■ T. S. Eliot's poetry is full of religious and mythical allusions combined with fertility rituals through which the poet endeavored to pass on the subtle message to the world devastated by the terrors of the First World War. This message was perhaps the most vividly expressed in *The Waste Land*, the poem that represents both the most alarming call for people to hurry up, since the end of the world is coming, and the most optimistic call for rebirth and regeneration through reunion of traditional and modern religious practices that would arm people with renewed faith. Eliot depicted his *Wasteland* as a microcosm of the war-stricken world and its panic-stricken people whose faith is lost or shaken, and whose land mirrors their poor physical and mental well-being.

Namely, in the war between 1914 and 1918 more than 10 million people lost their lives and over 2 million people were unemployed in England. By the end of 1918 much of the countryside in Western Europe that has been an inspiration for generations of poets, writers, artists, painters and musicians was in ruins. The prominent social theorists, literary and political figures such as Darwin, Marx, Freud and others were forcing people to accept that war has less to do with angry Gods than with angry humans. It became increasingly difficult to see the glory in the WWI. It was even more difficult for people to renew their faith in God. Therefore, the process of regeneration after the WW1 was a not an easy task.

Eliot suggests that the healing ritual should include restoration of human faith through people's submitting to the mixture of alternative religious practices, including the fragments of Christianity, Hindu chants, Buddhist speeches and pagan ceremonies. The religious universality is achieved through Eliot's respect for the literary tradition, traditional religious practices accompanied by the use of different languages in the poem (English, German, French, Sanskrit, and Latin), as well as his awareness of the modern religious tendencies and spiritual manifestations of the modern individual caught between the past (his security comfort zone) and the future, that shook the

determined premises of the past to its roots and envisioned stepping out of such comfort zone. As a result, the only things the present must have offered to the 20th century man were alienation, fear of unknown and constant questioning of his religious beliefs.

The 21st century is also marked with the similar doubts and questions that trouble the modern society; therefore, this poem composed almost a century ago could serve as a suitable intertext for all the negotiations of the modern man with life and death that appear as a result of all of his real and metaphorical struggles lead on behalf of religion, science or freedom (the war in Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria; the initiation of the Arab Spring, immigrations, nuclear weapon threats, et cetera). It is a metaphor of the quest for something that is a counterpart to the Holy Grail, the quest for the self-knowledge and meaning of life. The question that bothers the citizens of the Wasteland who are devoid of faith is the same one that bothers a 21st century man - is there anything left to fight for? The people's realization that something is wrong is the first step to the restoration of their faith and acquisition of that self-knowledge.

The question Eliot attempts to answer is the one asked by an old man who sits in an empty house in *Gerontion*, the poem composed two years before *The Waste Land*: "After such knowledge, what forgiveness?" (*Gerontion* 33) *Wasteland* offers no single interpretation of this question. There is no single truth because "son of man" knows "only a heap of broken images" (*The Waste Land* 21-22). Eliot addresses a modern individual who is cynical, learned and experienced enough to doubt all answers. Conversely, could man be optimistic enough to hope that they are all wrong, that there might be an answer after all? If fragments are all we have been left with, should we make the world out of these fragments? The concept of a human as an art-making animal is here evoked. But creation without acquiring self-knowledge and meaning in life is in vain. Eliot hoped to find the meaning beyond the disorder that is collective. He sensed that the world lacked order that could be re-established. Could that order be re-established by the emergence of new religious movements? Did he envision the rising of new

religious movements that would counterfeit traditional ones? Is the occurrence of new religious movements the result of people's inability and failure to establish firm connections with traditional religions? Would regaining of faith only be possible through people's embracing differences, modification of traditional religions, constant adjustments to the new age, blending of traditional and modern religious practices and glorification of shared values aimed at putting faith in humanity instead of waging wars for combating the people's differences? Would forgiveness be granted after the quest for the self-knowledge comes to its end and could the new world be created on the ashes of the previous one? Perhaps God could forgive, but is there God in *The Waste Land*, and more importantly, how could people find God in the 21st century?

Past and Present, Traditional and Modern

The author drew his inspiration from the old myth about the Fisher King whose health is directly connected to the well-being of his kingdom. The land is barren because its king suffers an injury to his genitalia. Conversely, the land loses its ability to regenerate since its people struggle with infertility problems. The Fisher king could be healed through the sacrifice of an effigy. The king is linked to the Holy Grail, the drinking vessel used at the Last Supper according to the legend, an important motif in Arthurian legend, and a symbol of an object or a goal sought after for its great significance. Both the king and the land could be saved if the quest for the Holy Grail turns out to be successful. The quest for the Holy Grail originates from pagan fertility rituals in which the grail was female sexual symbol used in accompaniment with its male counterpart the bleeding lands. The story of the Fisher King establishes the order and implies that beneath the broken images of the destroyed city, and the waste land, there is an old story that we all know even though it is now in fragments.

The poem composed of fragmented images begins with the fragment itself – an epigraph in Latin taken from Gaius

Petronius's work *The Satyricon*¹, a Roman manuscript from the late 1st century A.D. The epigraph is about the Cumaean Sybil, the prophetess and a gate keeper to the Underground (the gates of Hell), who was granted the eternal life. Sybil the prophetess guards the entrance to the *Wasteland*, foresees the future and wishes to die. The poem opens with the image of death in spring, the season that celebrates life and regeneration. However, the atmosphere is not that gloomy because the Cumaean Sybil also foretells the coming of a savior whom Christians identify as Jesus, so life could be still restored. The central protagonists cry for life and death at the same time. They are also sentenced to life. April, the living picture of the beginning of life and the month of Christ's resurrection, is the cruelest month for the citizens of the *Wasteland* since it reminds them of something they could no longer call life.

Eliot offers a picture of the 20th century Europe full of Russian immigrants - the internally displaced people - who flooded the Unreal City (London). However, the Unreal City becomes at the same time a universal metropolis of the Eastern and Western civilization. It represents all the things the man has built and created. In the Unreal City the people walk round in a ring, life and death go hand in hand and a barman in the pub informs the customers that it is time for them to go home. The people under the London Bridge who walk in circles are commuters who are leaving the City (London's financial district). These people resemble the people in Dante's *Inferno*, who are waiting in front of the gates of Hell. The modern consumer society is on the verge of falling into the abyss, since its people are condemned to alienation, loss of faith, lack of morality and absence of basic human values.

The unfortunate throng under the London Bridge visits a modern version of the Cumaean Sybil the prophetess - a clairvoyant, Madame Sosostriis, who is "the wisest woman in Europe" (*The Waste Land*, 45). Madame Sosostriis makes horoscopes and can tell the fortune to the citizens of the Unreal City from the

¹ Apart from being one of the most extensive witnesses to the Roman novel, *The Satyricon* is also regarded as useful evidence for the reconstruction of how lower classes lived during the early Roman Empire.

“wicked pack of cards” (*The Waste Land* 46). Paradoxically, she warns the protagonist of the *Wasteland*, a sailor whose life is water, to fear death by water. She also sees the one-eyed merchant who carries on his back something she is “forbidden to see” (*The Waste Land*, 54). The merchant is a modern individual who is unable to tell what troubles him. Madame Sososttris cannot find “the Hanged Man” (*The Waste Land*, 55), an allusion to Jesus. We learn that the land is ‘waste’ because it represents a world without God.

Our faulty interpretation of Christianity has led us to the illness that pushes us closer to the spiritual death (Nikolić 2013, 114). The dualism of body and soul, our misperceived concept of sin, odd interpretation of love between man and woman, the questionable concepts of purity, chastity and morality are the causes of spiritual failure (Nikolić 2013, 114). In such world it is expected that death gives birth to a new life. The unnamed protagonist poses a question: “That corpse you planted last year in the garden, / Has it begun to sprout? Will it bloom this year?” (*The Waste Land*, 71-72) Surely, it is both tragic and absurd to expect from a dead body to become alive. The answer to the question whether God exists might be hidden in the following lines: “O keep the Dog far hence, that’s friend to man, / Or with his nails he’ll dig it up again!” (*The Waste Land*, 74-75) If we assume that ‘Dog’ is read backwards as God, then people lost their faith by God and that God would not let life be recreated. The blooming of the corpse is prevented by its digging up. Therefore, God does not function as a creator of life. The people are spiritually dead regardless of their social position.

The second part of the poem entitled “The game of Chess” is about different forms of violence against love, fertility, and life in general. We are shown that in the world without God, a husband and a wife lead Beckett’s dialogue – they are unable to communicate. The woman tries in vain to drag her partner into a conversation and get him back to the real world (*The Waste Land*, 121-123), but he is unable to connect with his wife. However, there is no world and life she could offer him for a change. Her threats and questions directed towards him are both banal and doom-laden:

'What shall I do now? What shall we do?'
'I shall rush out as I am, and walk the street
'With my hair down, so. What shall we do tomorrow?
'What shall we ever do?'

(*The Waste Land*, 131-134)

These ordinary and dreadful questions occupy the minds of people that belong to both higher and lower classes. Tomorrow is no different than today: we will continue "pressing lidless eyes and waiting for a knock upon the door" (*The Waste Land*, 138). Barmen's last call in the pub 'HURRY UP PLEASE IT'S TIME' (*The Waste Land*, 141) is also Eliot's announcement that the civilization is about to seize to exist. It is a death sentence to the civilization in general and the announcement that it's time for a new world to come into existence.

The absence of dialogue between husband and wife is then replaced with the dialogue between two friends: Lil, whose husband "got demobbed" (*The Waste Land*, 139), and her friend who criticizes her for looking "so antique" (*The Waste Land*, 156). Lil's friend advises her to "make herself a bit smart" for the husband who "has been in the army for four years" and who now "wants a good time" (*The Waste Land*, 148). This dialogue reveals the true nature of female friendship and husband-wife relationship. Lil had spoilt her good looks by using the birth control pills²: "It's them pills I took, to bring it off, she said. / (She's had five already, and nearly died of young Georg)" (*The Waste Land*, 159-160). Her friend calls her a "proper fool" (*The Waste Land*, 162) and wonders why she got married if she did not want children. The final lines imply that the friend got use of the situation and ended up with Lil's husband. The images of violence against fertility, nature, love and human life are also present in the stanzas to come.

Religious Allusions in the *Waste Land*

The religious allusions apparent in the poem come from both western and eastern teachings. There are numerous references to the Holy Bible, the New Testament, Buddhist sermons,

² The Birth control movement developed in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Upanishads, God, Jesus Christ (the Hanged Man), St. Augustine, the Gospel of Luke, pagan fertility cults, the Last Supper, the Apocalypse, the quest for the Holy Grail, Christ's crucifixion and resurrection. These allusions serve as a fertile ground for triggering both optimistic and pessimistic ideas about the possibility of man's salvation, thus shedding light on the ambiguous nature of the open-ended poem.

The events depicted in the poem took place in April, the month of Christ's resurrection (*The Waste Land*, 1). Christ, the Hanged Man (*The Waste Land* 55) at first not found in the Wasteland (*The Waste Land* 53-54) reappears later in the scene echoing the one from the Gospel of Luke (*The Waste Land* 340-346). The words "HURRY UP PLEASE IT'S TIME", that appear five times throughout the poem suggest the apocalypse - the world's end should come any time soon and make sure you are prepared for it (*The Waste Land* 141, 152, 165, 168, 169).

The subtitle of the third section of the poem, *The Fire Sermon*, is the Buddhist sermon that carries the implications of purification (*The Waste Land* 173). It stands as a bridge the author seeks to establish between the East and the West, thus bridging the gap between different religious practices and offering to the 20th and 21st citizen an optimistic message of everlasting acceptance of differences and triumphant embracing of shared values. Namely, the final lines of this section of the poem with the reference to Buddha and St. Augustine, the two representatives of eastern and western asceticism, that is, to the Buddha's Fire Sermon which consists of repetition "Burning burning burning burning" (*The Waste Land* 308) and St. Augustine's *Confessions* "O Lord Thou pluckest me out" (*The Waste Land* 309) read more optimistic meanings to the poem. The world has sinned a lot. It needs repentance, purification and forgiveness. The mere realization and acknowledgement of existence of the sin is a precondition for the creation of a new life.

The salvation is possible if the Eliot's protagonist takes the identity of the Christ the Sufferer who was crucified: "He who was living is now dead/ We who were living are now dying" (*The Waste Land* 328-329). The Christ suffers on the behalf of his own and the sins of the whole world. The idea of man's

reuniting with God is suggested through the man's touching bottom that is, his facing the worst possible state or condition. Man is literary and symbolically thirsty. He desperately needs water and knowledge, but no such things are available to him in the Wasteland, at least not until he goes through the whole process of purification through suffering: "Here is no water but only rock" (*The Waste Land* 331); "If there were water we should stop and drink/Amongst the rock one cannot stop and think" (*Waste Land* 335-336); "If there were only water amongst the rock" (*The Waste Land* 338); "If there were water/ And no rock/If there were rock/And also water/And water" (*The Waste Land* 346-350); "If there were the sound of water only" (*The Waste Land* 353); "Drip drop drip drop drop drop drop/ But there is no water" (*The Waste Land* 358-359). There is no water in the place where the man is now. There is only desert and the fevered mind, moving to and fro between two worlds, the mind that begins to hallucinate.

The possibility of man's communication with God is echoed in the passage depicting the Biblical episode from the Gospel of Luke:

"Who is the third who walks always beside you?
When I count, there are only you and I together
But when I look ahead up the white road
There is always another one walking beside you
Gliding wrapt in a brown mantle, hooded
I do not know whether a man or a woman
But who is that on the other side of you?"

(*The Waste Land* 360-366)

This scene described in the Gospel of Luke takes place on that first Easter Sunday, when two of Christ's downtrodden disciples, while on the road to village some seven miles from Jerusalem, discuss catastrophic events and witness Jesus's sudden presence. It was only later when the disciples did recognize Jesus.

The Fire Sermon skillfully combines the above-mentioned elements of Christianity with Hinduism and ancient fertility rituals

depicted in *What the Thunder Said*, the final section of the poem. These elements may have been brought together for issuing a warning about the end of the (old) world and suggesting a possibility of creation of a new one. Eliot's religious references to Hindu holy books, the Upanishads, occupy the central place of the final section of the poem, where the phrase originating from these books ('DA') is repeated three times (*The Waste Land*, 401, 411, 418).

The Upanishads include a story about gods, demons and humans who ask Brahman, the highest deity, what the most important lessons for them to understand are. Each of them gets the same answer from the Brahman and it reads 'DA'. Demons interpret the word as 'compassion', humans as 'give' and gods a 'self-restraint'. Different meanings of 'DA' are the author's commentary on the human race as a whole. The ending of the poem coincides with the ending of the Hindu Upanishads, 'shantih, shantih, shantih' (*The Waste Land*, 434), translated as 'the peace that passeth understanding'. Unlike the previous sections of the poem that deal with death and the waste land, the last section relishes freedom and peace. Eliot refers here to Paul's words: "And the peace of God, which passeth all understanding, shall keep your hearts and minds through Jesus Christ" (Philippians: 4:7).

Shantih, Buddhist equivalent of peace, can be experienced but not understood and shared. The poem seems to suggest that the world has changed. Eliot laments for the loss of a shared value, something that might hold us together, be that freedom, peace or religion. Can *The Wasteland* be a poem of our time? By directly addressing the reader: "You! Hypocrite lecteur! – mon semblable, - mon frère", Eliot issues a warning that *The Wasteland* is something that also happens to the 21st century man who witnesses schisms of traditional religions and the rise of many innovative religious groups.

New Religious Movements

Eliot's poem, composed after the WWI, envisioned the appearance and rise of the new religious practices of the 21st century. In the world where man's reliance on traditional

religion is on the verge to burst at the seams, one cannot but wonder whether new religious movements might be a powerful means to help man regain his faith. In his sociologist study entitled *Religious Sects* (1970), Brian R. Wilson discusses the origin of the new religious movements and their typology. The idea why they are formed coincides with the idea this paper relies on. Namely, the new religious movements (NRMs) are the result of instability and uncertainty that are omnipresent in people's lives, especially after the World War II (Wilson, 1970). The period after the WWII is marked by the great process of destabilization of religious structure in Serbia, too (Blagojević 2015: 109).

Eileen Barker's definition of NRMs also confirms the time of their expansion. Namely, Barker explains that „a NRM is new in so far as it has become visible in its present form since the Second World War, and that it is religious in so far as it offers not merely narrow theological statements about the existence and nature of supernatural beings, but that it proposes answers to at least some of the other kinds of ultimate questions that have traditionally been addressed by mainstream religions. Questions such as: Is there a God? Who am I? How might I find direction, meaning and purpose in life? Is there life after death? Is there more to human beings than their physical bodies and immediate interactions with others?“ (Barker 1999, 16). The end of the 60s and the beginning of the 70s of the 20th century is marked by the greatest expansion of NRMs. NRMs promote the sense of belonging, charismatic leaders, exotic origin, the new life style, and great participation of young people. At the core of new religious movements are the uniqueness of each human being, ethical, or moral reasons, and the expression of one's personality (Stojković-Zlatanović, Sovilj 2017, 182). Barker also includes the unambiguous clarity and certainty in the belief systems as wells as strong Them/Us and/or Before/After distinctions (Barker 1999, 20). Some NRMs developed from the eastern religions. However, there are also various Christian movements such as (Neo) charismatic Movement, Prayer Movement, Christian fundamentalism/ ecumenism/ Family Movement/ naturism/ Torah- submission/, Zionism, Evangelical movement, folk religion, etc. Brian Wilson provided a sociological

typology to analyze NRMs: Conversionist (Salvation Army and Pentecostalism), Revolutionist (Seventh-Day Adventists, Jehovah's Witnesses), Introversionist (Hutterites and Amish), Gnostic-manipulationist (Christian Science and Scientology), Thaumaturgical (Spiritualism), Reformist (Quakers), and Utopian (Oneida Community) (Wilson 1969, 1970, 1973).

Today, society and law rely on the same principle, the principle of securing humane, non-degrading and equal treatment of social groups and/or individuals who differ from the majority (Stojković-Zlatanović 2015, 388). NRMs differ from each other in their origins, beliefs, practices, organization, leadership, finances, life style, and attitudes to women, children, education and moral questions, so it is not so easy to generalize about them or to produce typologies (Barker 1999, 20). In the study *The Elementary Forms of the New Religious Life* (1984), Roy Wallis presented the typology based on the relationship each individual group has towards society in general. There are world-rejecting movements (Hare Krishna, God's Children, Peoples Temple, Manson Family), world-affirming movements (Scientology, Transcendental Meditation, Silva method, Soka Gakkai, New Age movement) and world-accommodating movements (Subud, Aetherius Society, Charismatic Renewal movement, Neo-Pentecostalism).

The world-accommodating movements are the closest to the traditional religion. Neo-Pentecostals believe that the Holy Spirit can be heard through the mediums that can speak incomprehensible worlds in the state of trance. The expansion of Pentecostal movement in the West is marked during the 60s of the twentieth century (Williams 1991, Đorđević 2007). Even though the first missionaries appeared in Serbia relatively early (Bjelajac 2003, 2010, Todorović 2011), the spirituality of the small religious communities was still under the influence of traditional religions (Todorović and Đorđević 2017). The largest number of Pentecostals has been traced in southeastern Serbia, especially with the Roma population as ethnic minority (Đorđević 2005, Todorović 2012).

There is a constant rise of new religious movements in modern era. In Gordon Melton's *Encyclopedia of American*

Religions, originally published in 1978, religious groups are divided into families and 1,200 different religious organizations were identified. Amazingly, the number of entries has grown to more than 2,300 independent religious groups as of 2008 (Melton 2009). However, Melton excludes the human potential groups from his Encyclopedia (Barker 1999). In Japan the number of NRMs varied from 800 to a few thousand (Shimazono 1999, 3), while there were 10,000 new religions with 12 million more adherents in among the tribal peoples of Americas, Asia, Africa and the Pacific (Turner 1984, 232). However, these numbers are relative since untold numbers of new religions may be found in India; several hundred exist in South America, Australia, New Zealand, the West Indies, Korea, and the Philippines (Barker 1999, 16).

In 2004 Christopher Partridge presented a new typology of religions entitled *The Encyclopedia of New Religions: New Religious Movements, Sects and Alternative Spiritualities*. Partridge divided alternative religions into nine groups according to the basic religious traditions or ideologies in which their origins can be traced: new religions, sects and alternative spiritualities whose origins can be traced in Christianity, Judaism, Islam, etc. (Partridge 2006).

Stark and Bainbridge draw distinction between 'sects' and 'cults', whereby sects are likely to appear when traditional religions are strong, while cults emerge when traditional religions are weak (Stark and Bainbridge, 1987).

As Barker pointed out, it is difficult to make generalizations regarding NRMs. Almost all typologies have their flaws. Even though Roy Willis's typology provides relatively useful distinction of NRMs, it fails to help us to anticipate the "empirical characteristics that might follow from the *defining* characteristics of each category" (Barker, 1999, 20). Namely, Wilson's typology does not recognize some religious communities since they do not fit into any of the categories mentioned, while some of them may simultaneously be put into more than one. Wallis's typology is too broad, and it does not leave any room for differences in religious teachings and practices. Melton's classification, apart from overlapping of some categories, pays

too much attention to the family of the saints and leaves out numerous new African or Japanese religious movements. As the number and types of religious organizations are constantly changing, the question of re-considering the existing forms comes to mind.

NRMs can undoubtedly contribute to our understanding of the society (Barker 1999, 26). According to Barker, NRMs may function as “a barometer of at least what some members of a society feel they need but is not being supplied by other means” (26). Namely, NRMs offer enthusiastic rituals of worship and healing and acceptance of something because it is there rather than because it is sought. Barker also claims that it is the repressive nature of the regime that made people become attracted to NRMs (26). On the other hand, since cults and sects are on the rise together with people’s concern with certain negative aspects of their teachings, i.e. brainwashing, break up of the family, financial considerations, traditional religions may use the challenges of the NRMs to incorporate changes into their own practices.

The processes that occur within the movements and between them and the wider society, as well as the societal reaction to them are undoubtedly to be better studied and understood in the future.

Conclusion

In the last few decades religion has become a part of man’s private and individual sphere and the religious position that many people in the West hold boils down to the statement: “You don’t have to go to Church to be a good Christian”. The true religious man is aware of the contradictions that exist in different religions and knows that theology is the creation of both, man and God. Church is, therefore, God’s instrument given into man’s hands (Nikolić 2013, 114). Mainstream religious organisations have suffered significant losses of membership in most of Europe and, according to some, though not all, commentators, in the United States (Barker 1999, 16). Speaking of

religion in modern time means speaking of folk religion, that is subjective faith and the ways of strenghtening and encouraging religious individualism, denominations, sects, cults and new religious movements. Modern man's religiosity has no fixed identity. One chooses on his own volition what he/she wants to accept from which traditional religion or new religious movement. Thus, man is in danger of falling into abyss of nihilism reflected in brevity of experiencing the sacred, emptiness, indifference and apathy. It might be quite difficult to expect and ask from the 21st century man to embrace traditional religion without its previous adjustment to his own needs, his sensibility and his own understanding. Man constantly changes, grows, adjusts to his environment, so is his religiosity. The foundations of a new life might be brought up against the ruins, as in *The Waste Land*. Drought and barrenness are behind the Fisher man, but what is in front of him? The three life principles in the end of the *Waste Land* are followed by the words in Sanskrit denoting peace that passes all understanding. Achieving peace is the core of religion and man's spirituality. Whether man is to achieve it through embracing traditional religions or new religious movements it is of no great importance. Understanding NRMs is, however, of crucial importance, since it can help us learn a lot about our society. It can also help us detect the problems the 21st century man faces but traditional religion somehow oversees.

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Helena Blavatsky's Anthropogenesis ¹

Abstract

In accordance with Blavatsky's understanding of human creation on Earth, there were five civilizations/races. Terms "civilization" and "race" are used synonymously, and are of much broader meaning than our common meaning. Namely, Blavatsky used both terms to mark the whole human population on Earth in a certain period as different to all previous and following humans (races/civilizations). The basic idea is that living beings had not evolved to become humankind, but instead, humankind was the first divine creation to be gifted with intelligence. The history of humankind's civilization was not one of continuous progress leading to us, contemporary humans as the peak of the progress. Previous civilizations went to ruins, retrogressing to degenerate civilizations four times prior to ours, the fifth one. Blavatsky saw the first ancient sin of humankind in evil, endless wars, destructions and in misused psychic energy gifted by the divine. Karmic punishment was the confiscation of this psychic energy. The yet-to-be-perfected fifth civilization was thus deprived of the most powerful of humankind's divine gifts, which had made humankind of the third and fourth civilizations god-like: it lost its connection to the universal information space. The main part of the article is dedicated to a detailed analysis of Blavatsky's understanding of the creation of humankind and the phases in its development. The author analysed not only the creation of the world and paradise/golden age, apocalypses, but also communication with upper civilizations and similarities with theory of evolution. Blavatsky's *Anthropogenesis* is a high-quality piece

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of literature, which also possesses the capacity to connect people of various beliefs.

Keywords: Helena Blavatsky, anthropogenesis, five human races, ancient humankind sin, lost paradise, retrogression of humankind, diminishing of human powers, the third eye, loss of psychic energy.

Introduction - the basic elements of Helena Blavatsky's *Anthropogenesis*

■ In order to understand Helena Blavatsky's (1848-1891) *Anthropogenesis*, it is necessary to first familiarize oneself with the basics of her somewhat unique life story. Elena Petrovna Blavatsky came from a Russian aristocratic family, and was a granddaughter of a Grand Duchess and a descendant, through the House of Dolgorukov, of a Russian saint from the 12th century. She belonged to the, at that time, political, economic and intellectual elite of Russian society, which largely explains her very atypical and exclusive possibilities for research and influence. As an atypical phenomenon of the 19th century, for many reasons, and a bold, adventurous spirit, she attracted a great deal of attention from both her contemporaries and later generations. Blavatsky was a highly educated woman, a great thinker on a wide range of topics, and learned in various religious traditions. As such, she searched for sources away from the eyes of Western civilization, and believed that the true knowledge of the East was hidden beyond the reach of Western positivism and its paradigms. In her time, she was regarded as a lively eccentric but also a wonderful writer. Contemporary feminists regard her as a charismatic predecessor to modern feminism.

Her series of written works (*Isis Unveiled*, 1877, *The Secret Doctrine vols. I & II*, 1888, *The Voice of Silence*, 1889, *The Key to Theosophy*, 1889) laid the foundations of Theosophy. She founded, alongside Colonel Henry Steel Olcott, the Theosophical Society in 1875 in New York. Many elements of theosophy have been assimilated into the 'New Age' movement, which today has centres in over 60 countries around the world. Helena Blavatsky's teachings had an impact upon the creative opus of artists such as H. Hesse, William Butler Yeats, David

Herbert Lawrence, Jack London, Thomas Stearns Eliot, Jean Sibelius, Vassily Kandinsky, Aleksandr Skrjabin, Gustav Mahler, Paul Gauguin, Paul Klee, Piet Mondrian. The two volumes of *The Secret Doctrine* provide, across over 1,500 pages, a complex view of the creation of a cosmos and man, synthesizing science, religion and philosophy, as the subtitle explicitly indicates.

Creation of people

Although there is no scientific evidence for Helena Blavatsky's anthropogenesis, her visions undoubtedly have artistic, literary, philosophical and non-doctrinal religious values. According to her, people were created millions of years ago and there have, thus far been five races or civilizations of people on earth.² Human races/civilizations have replaced each other, but at the same time the history of mankind on earth has been shaken by global catastrophes that have destroyed entire civilizations, changing climatic conditions and the Earth itself in every way imaginable. The Earth has survived two such global disasters: the first of these destroyed the Third Human Civilization (race) and the second that destroyed our predecessors, the Fourth Civilization. The human beings who survived those disasters were subjected to extremely harsh living conditions, because, under the influence of the disasters that changed the climatic conditions of the Earth, they lost their knowledge and technology, and gradually began to degenerate more and more, increasingly converging with the animal world. So, it was not the living world that progressively evolved to man, but man as a divine creation was the first form of life on Earth, before all other forms of lives (Mršević, 2013: 145).

The history of human civilization is not a continuation of progress that we, the present people, are at the peak of, but the previous human civilizations have deteriorated, leading to more imperfect human civilizations/races, of which there were four before our current

² The terms "civilizations" and "races" are used as synonyms and are far wider than ours. Namely, both concepts of Blavatsky used to denote the entire human population on Earth at a certain period, which, as a human species, differed significantly from previous and later human species (race / civilization).

– fifth - one. Blavatsky uses the term 'Firstborn' for the First Civilization, 'Then Born' for the Second Civilization, 'Double' (two-sexes, two-handed) for the Third, 'Lemurians' for the Late Third, 'Atlantis' for the Fourth and 'Aryans' for our Fifth Civilization. Descriptive terms used in this text are 'Spirits' for the first civilization, 'Angels' for the second, 'Sons of God' for the third, 'Giants' for the fourth and 'People of our time' for the fifth civilization.

The first civilization was created in the form of gaseous beings (Spirits) of 40-50 metres in height, like our images of ghost/spirits. They were created by God, by God's will, and they lived in the glowing darkness of the climatic conditions that prevailed on Earth in which no other forms of life were possible. The next race/civilization (Angels) were denser, winged creatures, 30-40 metres tall, like our angelic images. The third human race (the Sons of God) was, according to Blavatsky, the most similar to its godly creator and most closely resembled our representations of the Sons of God. They were about 20 metres tall, and felt a unity with the invisible god, the real cosmic origin from which they came and by which they were created. It was a golden age as indicated by all religions, when the gods walked around the earth and lived with the mortals. The time of being of the late third civilization was the most perfect and most developed race the Earth had witnessed. They were a race imbued with super-intelligence, fully harmonized with the climatic conditions on Earth, which was still considerably warmer than in modern times. They possessed, like the previous two human civilizations/races, the 'third eye' albeit more powerful than ever before. They were visionary, their minds were unlimited, and they instantly understood everything. For them, there were no distances or material obstacles. They were deeply involved in the secrets of nature and wisdom of origin.

The fourth race (Giants) were two-handed, with one face, a height of about 6-8 metres, and they had a dense body with a bone skeleton inside, and were most similar to our notion of giants. They lived on two large continents, one of which was where today the Atlantic Ocean lies and the other where the Pacific lied. However, the people of this civilization used their psychic energy too much, and in too unlimited and uncontrolled manner, which contributed to the disruption of the earth's axis, a global catastrophe, the end of this race and sudden climate change. The red sky became blue, climatic

conditions became much colder, the Earth's poles moved into today's positions, the chemical composition of the atmosphere, where previously dominated by oxygen changed to become nitrogen-dominated, cold winds began to blow, and snow began to fall. People became smaller, and their intellectual abilities increasingly impaired.

The sin of the fourth race (Giants) was the misuse of knowledge and new technologies. They were still connected in the universal information space, and from there they gained knowledge, but at the same time they were the last human civilization to have this divine gift made available to them. Their sin brought the hardest karma to the people of our civilization, and accordingly our race (civilization) was cut off from this universal information space, and people were forced to come to learn slowly and gradually, by their own efforts. The occasional devotees had the gift of connection with the knowledge of the higher mind, and they generally moved ahead in advance of our race. Representatives of the fifth race, our civilization, were at first at a higher level of consciousness than today, but this declined, and the children of the fourth race increasingly lost their use of the power of the third eye and the ability to manipulate psychic energy.

Creation of the world

In all the evolutionary stages analysed by Blavatsky, man is always a soul that always has a body (in fact, many different bodies), which is his only instrument in different worlds, or different forms of matter. This is, in short, the basis of the theosophical understanding of the creation of man in the discipline embodied by Elena Blavatsky. Theosophy (θεοσοφία theosophia, 'divine wisdom') is a mystical esoteric doctrine that seeks to link philosophical research and themes with mystical endeavours in relation to the understanding of God. Essentially, it is a pantheistic-spiritual movement based on Hinduism and Buddhism (Opća i Nacionalna enciklopedija, 2007).

Theosophists believe that all is God and that God is all. Therefore, God is "a universal life, an endless consciousness of the source of all that exists." The existence of the 'Trinity' of power in God is recognized, but with the fourth, female aspect, the Divine Mother, unclearly connected with Virgin Mary, representing wisdom ('Sofia'), (Yang,

2008). The most important connection between the Helena Blavatsky's *Anthropogenesis* and Christianity is her very clear, firm view that man is a divine creation, the result of divine power, being with divine origin. Therefore, the divine power is the Lord of the World, no matter how later narratives differ as to what happened after God created man and what happened with him. For example, in the regular prayers of Orthodox Christians, God is always designated as the creator of man and everything else.

Strikingly, the creation of the world in the Old Testament contains several key elements that coincide with Blavatsky's *Anthropogenesis*: human life that arises from the glowing darkness of God's will, the creation happened in phases, transfigurations of the Earth in climatic, biochemical, morphological and biological senses, the appearance of man as a reasonable being, as God's creation, created to rule the created world.

And this is the case not only in Orthodox Christianity; God created man in all monotheistic religions, as well as most pagan and animist beliefs. If we assume that from all religions and beliefs at least one is true, it means that God indisputably created man, so that the very concept of man as the creation of God belongs to the domain of those indisputable, fierce religious thoughts that no monotheistic religion confronts with the idea of the creation of man by the embodiment of the spirit of other religions. It is also the first point at which the anthropogenesis of Helena Blavatsky agrees with the religious view of man as a divine creation. The Quran also talks about the creation of the first man and woman in several places in different chapters, revealing to us that we are created from one substance or person (*nafsin wahidah*). "Oh people, we created you as one man and one woman". After the material form, the man also received his other half - the soul that God bestowed upon him as a part of himself. Therefore, we are part of the divine creation, grace and love, for which the life of man is the world's most magnificent masterpiece of God (Spahić Šiljak, 2005: 218).

Paradise / Golden Age

In Blavatsky's view of anthropogenesis there are also other elements that are present in all contemporary world religions; for example, the Christian belief that the first man used to live in paradise, or

Hindu belief in a former 'golden age'. This is the story of the man's first sin, that is, the guilt that led to the divine punishment in the form of "expulsion from heaven" or "end of the Golden Age", i.e. compulsory human existence in highly unfavourable conditions of life and the necessity of investing considerable efforts into merely sustaining it. Everywhere there is a recollection of the cataclysmic destruction of the world, a flood or fire that deluged or burned everything, as a result of human behaviour and a deserved punishment.

The anthropogenesis of Helena Blavatsky also includes the belief that man was once more perfect than today. In the Old Testament, for example, in many places man's life was several hundred years long, the primordial man before his expulsion from paradise was immortal, with Adam's body created in God's own image, with perfect health and immortality (Genesis, 1:26-27). Memories of the golden age, the 'paradise lost' in the eschatological myths from the past sustained into the future, and came to symbolize the hope and the belief that the state of chaos would eventually be overthrown. In the works of many Renaissance artists, but also later poets, philosophers and thinkers, the idea of the heavenly kingdom on earth is incorporated into the idea of historical development. This process was continued especially during the French Revolution, when myths about the golden age were commonly revived, serving as the basis for the Enlightenment, and, more precisely, Jean-Jacques Rousseau's criticism of the then-world. The quest for a lost paradise, for the paradigmatic, the founding events of the golden age of mythic creation, have become an integral part of all national mythologies that have developed at different paces, largely depending on historical situations (Đorđević, 2005: 250).

Man's first sin

The man's 'fall', or expulsion from Paradise, is a central myth in Judeo-Christian mythology (Đorđević, 2005: 239). According to Blavatsky's anthropogenesis, man's first sin is clearly seen in man's evil, war-like destructions and misuse of psychic energy with which he was imbued by the divine creator. The consequence was a karmic punishment in the form of confiscation of those very powerful divine gifts that made people similar to their godly creators, which led to the

development of imperfect fifth human race. She does not seek the causes of this human evil, but instead limits her descriptions to the actions and the resulting devastating consequences. There is the coinciding between the conflict, and the development of a full sex-based differentiation of people and the beginning of sexual reproduction. Namely, while the Spirits and Angels reproduced asexually, and the Sons of God, as they were hermaphrodites, through autogamy, humankind lived in peace. When, however, the Sons of God gradually became completely sex-differentiated, and the Giants ceased being hermaphroditic (today termed 'intersex') (Mršević, 2017: 10) and became completely sex-differentiated beings, whose intercourse led to the birth of new human individuals, greater conflicts arose between people. This is what ultimately led to the destruction of the entire then-existing world and the disappearance of its civilization. People of the fifth generation were expelled from the paradise in which the previous civilizations had lived, condemned to pay for their sins, suffering, as a penalty, a loss of psychic energy and deprivation of their closeness with their godly creators through the Universal Communication Field.

Spirits and angels as the first rational inhabitants of the Earth

Blavatsky depicts spirits and angels in much the same way as all monotheistic religions do. However, in her theory they are a successive rather than a simultaneous occurrence. Also, her notion of anthropogenesis can be in accordance with the hypothesis of panspermia,³ the hypothesis of exogenesis⁴ and a view of the Earth as a form of 'zoo'.⁵ According to the hypothesis of panspermia, life is transmitted

³ According to this hypothesis, life is dispersed through cosmos, which spreads random life to new planets where it develops in accordance with given climate possibilities, obtaining various, unpredictable forms.

⁴ According to this hypothesis, the origin of life on Earth is cosmic, i.e. it was brought deliberately by people of alien civilizations with the intention of spreading human civilization in cosmic dimensions.

⁵ According to this hypothesis, divine creatures of humans on earth, after the creation of man, continue to observe the development, falls, and rises, changes and relationships among humans, the way animals of the animal world are observed in the zoos. They intervene occasionally, not only

to spores as seeds of life throughout the universe. The idea of the panspermia is ancient and originates from the Greek philosopher Anaxagoras in the fifth century BC. In the literal translation from Greek, panspermia means 'all seeds'. The hypothesis was partly developed by physicists and chemists of the 19th century; Kelvin, von Helmholtz and Berzelius, and was introduced to modern science in 1908 by the Swedish physicist Svante Arrhenius. The hypothesis of exogenesis contains the idea that life on earth came from somewhere else (for instance, the pseudo-scientific explanation of von Däniken that the first civilizations on Earth were brought here by ancient aliens). The involvement of former people in the so-called the universal information field fits into the idea of Earth as a zoo,⁶ proposed by John Ball in 1973, by which high-tech advanced aliens sowed life on our planet, and observe what is happening, occasionally intervening through connections with prophets, devotees, scientists, and people with exceptional and rare talents that bring new knowledge to humankind, allowing it to advance (Bubnjević, 2013, 1155).

Theory of Evolution

Although at first glance Blavatsky's anthropogenesis conflicts with the Theory of Evolution regarding the creation of man, there are touch points with Darwin's theory, as it contains, as an essential element, constant modification of life forms due to adaptation to the climatic conditions on Earth. The difference is that, unlike Darwin, who considers contemporary man as an evolutionary climax, her vision of change goes in the opposite direction, in accordance to which our civilization is the result of a decline and regress from higher forms of life and consciousness, via the third and fourth civilizations to our contemporary one; the lowest form. Otherwise, the idea of more perfect predecessors to today's civilization fits into the theory of Russian ophthalmologist Ernst Muldashev (Muldašev,

when unreasonable people are questioning their own survival, but also in periods of stagnation, sending their members, devotees, to bring humanity into a new cycle of progress.

⁶ Aliens have sown life on Earth, and since then they have been observing how it evolves, occasionally intervening to prevent the ruin and total end of life.

2013:26) who analysed the unusual eyes that decorate temples throughout Nepal and Tibet. He attempted to reconstruct the face and body shape of a hypothetical man in accordance with such eyes, with the form he interpreted being significantly different to that of modern man. From this, he interpreted that the being he had 'reconstructed' was that of an ancient civilization, from whom, in fact, a modern man developed. The man of this ancient civilization did not lead a purely terrestrial life, but rather an amphibian one. Elena Blavatsky's anthropogenesis relies on the theory of a 'Genetic Fund of Humanity' as termed by Muldashev. Essentially, this is the stock of life that could be 'activated' were there to be a global disaster and the destruction of life on the surface of the Earth, to renew life on our planet. Namely, in the caves of Tibet, the 'bodies' can still be found of people belonging to the hypothetical previous civilization, who, many centuries ago, entered a changed state of energy, the so-called 'state of deep samadhi', in which the body becomes immovable and as hard as a stone, completely stops the exchange of matter, and the soul – although 'free' – retains a connection with the body and can return to it when needed.

Apocalypse(s)

The over-arching theme of the apocalypse is an inevitable presence as a cultural, theological, social and philosophical topic within our 'fifth civilization' although it has not yet experienced the complete ruin of the world, i.e. its end, the destruction of our entire race. However, there are almost no thinkers from Edward Gibbon, through Oswald Spengler to contemporary researchers who do not see – in one way or another – the process of developing civilizations as a path from development to an ultimate end. Examples of the collapse of small components (compared with the failure of the entire population of the whole planet) that occurred during our civilization's time are, for example, the end of the Roman Empire, the collapse of the Soviet Union, the decline of Ancient Egypt, and the destruction societies like that of Easter Island or the Mayan culture. In every well-known prediction – civilization is said to eventually collapse. German classicist Theodor Mommsen divided the

development of civilization into the following components: emergence, growth, aging, collapse and decline. In his famous book *The Fall of the West* (1918), German philosopher Oswald Spengler (1880-1936) divides the history of civilization into four seasons: spring, summer, autumn and winter (Špengler, 2000). And Charles Darwin also considered disaster as a predictable end, as he based his Theory of Evolution on the idea that, due to a shortfall of resources, the natural population will struggle for survival. Thus, we could say that civilizations behave like species, in that they originate and die out (Bubnjević, 2011: 1095/6). Likewise, the Orthodox catechesis shares an awareness of this end of everything created: "The creation of the world means that it has the beginning, that is, it exists in time and space. The world, therefore, exists in time and space because it is created, and has a beginning. The existence of time and space, therefore, depends on the creation of the world. Since the creation of the world, his time and space has begun since. Time and space do not exist outside of the created world. God exists out of time and space because he is not created, eternal, has no beginning or end. Everything was born, what means, born from nothing, by the will of God. That is why everything has a beginning and an end by its nature; the world and each being in particular" (Midić, 2005).

Communication with higher civilizations

Considering the number of stars in our galaxy, there must be thousands of civilizations that could contact us, but none of which we have communicated with thus far. To the famous question of Enrico Fermi: "Where are they all?" which alludes to the incredible fact that these existing and highly developed civilizations did not come into contact with us (Bubnjević, 2011, 1095/6), Blavatsky's theory has an answer. According to her, "they" are in constant connection with humanity through the Universal Information Field: they have never left us, and have taught individuals in ways that have led them to progress, and, in the wake of global failures that people have brought upon themselves on previous occasions, they again raised reasonable, human life on Earth, although later people were increasingly held at bay from their divine gifts.

Atlantis

Of the people of the fourth civilization, or the Giants, those who immediately preceded our fifth one, were termed by Blavatsky the Atlanteans. There is evidence that the last remains of the fourth civilization still existed at the time of our fifth. As a more developed civilization, they made certain impacts upon our fifth one, before completely disappearing in accordance with the fate of all previous human civilizations, wiped out by a natural disaster: It is commonly argued that mysterious Atlantis existed on the Greek islands of Crete and Santorini (Thira), around four thousand years ago, its empire was governed by the Minoans, sophisticated artists, shipbuilders and seamen, who, long before history recognized it, travelled around the world. They disappeared in a cosmic accident, preceded by the appearance of two suns in the sky (Menzies, 2007). Many traces survive which show us the mercantile and maritime power of the Minoans (Vulićević, 2012: 19.02).

Closing remarks

At the time of the general degradation of the churches as institutions, and growing animosity towards organized churches, there is a growing phenomenon among people who believe in God that sociologists call 'belief without belonging'. The question arises as to whether Helena Blavatsky's anthropogenesis strengthens spirituality or diminishes it. A positive answer, that her theory gives a new wind to the core of spirituality, must be seen since the faith of today is increasingly moving from the public sphere to the private, from visible religion to the invisible, from the objective event to the subjective experience (Šušnjić, 2005: 174). A framework of acceptance is also given by atheism (especially discussions between the atheists and believers) and various theories with which theosophy does not conflict. It is perhaps because 'religion is everything' that the most prominent atheist of today, Richard Dawkins, Fellow at the University of Oxford, believes that religion is a betrayal of intellect, a betrayal of everything that is best in us and what makes us human.

But the creative divine power described by Blavatsky does not in any way conflict with the beliefs of those that see religion as a false surrogate which only seems to answer questions until you get into the deep nature of that answer. Blavatsky's theory does not promote any religion or god, standing rather somewhere 'in-between'. Thus, religion can mean nothing and be a devastating charlatan, according to Dawkins, who believes that atheism is a positive opinion of intelligent and educated people, while religion is the transformation of unspoken belief into undeniable truth through powerful institutions. But atheism neither diminishes the literary and philosophical value of Blavatsky's anthropogenesis nor denies it.

Religious persons, in their defence of religiosity, commonly state that religion has always built a community, relationships of compassion among people, and that respect for human life and equality is indissolubly connected with all organized religions (Šuvaković, 2013: 5). The capacity of Blavatsky's theory to bridge and connect cultures can be seen also as influential upon significant people. When, for example, Gandhi, as a young man, lived in London after reading *The Key to Theosophy* by Helena Blavatsky, said: "It encouraged me to read the books on Hinduism and free me from the misconceptions that the Christian missionaries imposed on me that Hinduism was brazen with superstition." And the future Prime Minister of India, Jawaharlal Nehru, joined the Theosophical Society at the age of thirteen, and during his political career always expressed admiration for the learning of this society.

Blavatsky's anthropogenesis is not criticized by any eternal dispute between religion and science, according to which science and religion are two different ways in which a person moves towards the truth about themselves and the world in which they live. Two different and not two hostile paths: two equally worthwhile efforts of the human spirit, so that religion is not a form of underdeveloped science (Šušnjić, 2005: 182-3). Blavatsky's anthropogenesis, has never been disputed as a typical example of a creation myth as is a sacred story that talks about events related to the action of divine or semi-divine beings in a time that is vague, but which is beyond the ordinary human experience (Đorđević, 2005: 232).

When it comes to Helena Blavatsky's anthropogenesis as a seductive fairy tale or myth, we can think as Ernst Cassirer (Cassirer,

2000) thought, that history does not determine the mythology of one nation, but in fact, vice-versa, mythology is often the fate of a nation, because it does not choose the mythical narrative which it has adopted out of necessity. In this case, we must ask ourselves, at the end, what practical lessons we can draw from Blavatsky's anthropogenesis, what kind of end can we expect for our civilization, and what we can change on this unthinkable path? Perhaps our world does not blindly plunge into perdition, into an inextricably retrograde process leading to another calamity, and perhaps the final chaos, as it would seem at first glance. Maybe there are elements of conviction that a liberated contemporary humankind can become an intelligent collaborator on the great plane of evolution (Leadbeater, 1983)?

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Islamic Community Facing the Challenges of Non-Institutional Interpretations and Organizational Forms

Abstract

In the context of global processes of revitalization of religion, and secular frameworks in which the official organizational forms of Muslims exist in the territory of the former Yugoslavia, this paper discusses the conditions in which non/institutional interpretations and practices of Islam are expressed; as well as the approach and measures of official institutions. Different groups based on alternative interpretations of Islam act outside of the institutional framework of the Islamic community and deviate from teachings and practices of established madhhab. Alternative groups, independent jamaat or mosque, parajamaat, (neo)kharijites, takfirists, islamists, Wahhabis, Salafis etc., various groups and movements pose a serious challenge primarily for the Islamic community, but also for secular society and the state. Politicization of religion within transformational processes is a necessary framework of analysis, especially in considering institutional complexity and parallelism within the official institutions of Muslims in Serbia.

Keywords: Islamic community, Muslims, alternative groups, parajamaat, non-institutional action.

■ After the Raisu-l-ulama' call for the closure of "para-jamaats", on December 2015, during the next three months of negotiations, the Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina proposed an agreement aimed at admitting these congregations in the official Islamic community and re-establish its authority over dozens of alternative groups whose leaders and believers operate outside of its authority. The Islamic Community conducted negotiations with a total of 38 groups. Representatives of fourteen groups decide to sign the Protocol and be included in the Islamic Community, while twenty-two of these groups did not sign the Protocol and two have completely separated from the Community and acting illegally.

During the initiative, Mufti of Sarajevo explained that it is not just about masjids and jamaats, behind which are groups that many colloquially called and perceived as “Wahhabis”, although they are in the focus of attention, since in certain circles they are marked as the source of a significant part of the security threats. “According to our knowledge, religious activities within the jurisdiction of the Islamic Community are performed in some private tekkes that are not registered as a vaqf of the Islamic Community, then in some associations with an Islamic sign, there are also religious activities of the Shiite organizations, and the sect “Ahmadiyya Jamaat” has its own jamaat.”¹ Riyasat’s initiative by representatives of parajamaats, or “independent jamaats” as they call themselves, is interpreted as an ultimatum, while it is interpreted by the Islamic Community as a call for inclusion, openness and willingness.

The term “para-jamaat” is a compound word that means parallel jamaat, parallel to the official jamaats, and depending on the source, there are other complex terms with the same meaning as “unofficial jamaat”, “illegal jamaat”, even “rebel jamaat”, but also “independent” or “neutral jamaat”. All these prefixes also relate to the mosques and masjids, which is understandable by considering the role and significance of the mosque (or masjid) as the central place of the jamaat.² In general, the term “alternative groups” covers different group based on an interpretation of Islam and act outside of institutional framework of Islamic community. These groups are diverse, both, in terms of ideological orientation and the way of acting (Karčić, 2011:58).

An analysis of the relationship between the official religious community and non-institutional forms will be based on the example of the Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, because this community has the most complex organizational structure

¹ “Muftija Ljevaković: Tu su i vjerske aktivnosti šijskih organizacija i sekte ahmedija koji imaju svoj “mesdžid””, *Preporod*, January 14, 2016, <https://www.preporod.com/index.php/sve-vijesti/islamska-zajednica/vijesti-izbih/item/679-muftija-ljevakovic-tu-su-i-vjerske-aktivnosti-sijskih-organizacija-i-sekte-ahmedija-koji-imaju-svoj-mesdzid>.

² About the communicational, symbolic and functional role of mosque in cultural and religious identity of Muslims see: Barišić, Srđan (2017): „Uloga institucije džamije u očuvanju identiteta muslimana: simbolička i funkcionalna ravan”, *Religija i tolerancija*, Vol. XV, 28:279-306

among all Islamic communities in former Yugoslavia. Outside Bosnia and Herzegovina, within the Riyasat, act the muftis (meshihats) in Zagreb, Ljubljana and Novi Pazar. Meshihat of the Islamic community in Croatia, Meshihat of the Islamic community in Slovenia and Meshihat of the Islamic community in Sandžak (Meshihat of Islamic community in Serbia since March 2007), as autonomous organizational units, acknowledge the Islamic community in Bosnia and Herzegovina as their mother community, and Raisu-l-ulama as their religious chief (Barišić, 2008:121).

Pluralism in Islam

In the course of Islamic history, particularly in the context of the interpretation of Qur'an and other sources of Islam, numerous schools, groups and sects emerged. In time, five major madhabs, or schools of interpretation of Shari'a or religious law, are institutionalized, and there are Muslims Hanafi, Maliki, Hanbali, Shafi'i, Ja'fari, etc. Also, there are many exoteric (*zāhiriy*) and esoteric (*bā-tiniy*) sects, many Sufis and tariqas (Karić, 2011:23).

The first divisions among Muslims had already occurred during the first half of the 1st century of Hijra and Muslim scholars developed a whole science discipline known as "religions and sects" (*al-Milal wa'l-Nihal*), which dealt with comparative religion and heresy (a description of heretical teachings).³ Analyzing different Muslim groups, scholars used terms such as the special tendency within the religion (*nihal*), groups (*firqa*, pl. *firaq*), and sects (*tai'fa*), a part that separated from the whole. Heterodox teachings and groups are often described as novatorial and deviant, using the terms deviation (*ilhad*), heresy (*zandaqa*), hypocrisy (*nifaq*), materialism (*dahriyya*), novelty (*bid'a*), refusal (*rafada*), unacceptable exaggeration (*ghuluww*), apostasy (*ridda*), and rebellion (*baghy*). The term *ilhad* is the most comprehensive and it refers to various types of deviations from the established religion, and in modern times the term extremism (*tatarruf*) is often used (Karčić, 2010:229).

³ The famous works in this area were written by Abu Mansur al-Baghdadi (1037), Ibn Hazm (1064), Al-Shahrastani (1153) and others (Karčić, 2010:229).

The first division in the Muslim community was based on a political dispute over the leadership issue (imams) that caused the emergence of Sunni, Shiites and Kharijites. The leadership issue also served as the main criterion for the division of these three groups into subgroups and their outflows. The further developed theological and legal differences were secondary and aimed at the legitimization of the basic political dispute, that is the right to lead, the election and attitude towards the current leader. When they did not include the issue of leadership (imams), differences in the interpretation of beliefs and answers to the main theological questions, through theological discussions, led to the development of various heterodox teachings, known as theological schools. The questions and interpretations of the unity and attributes of God, predestination, revelations and reason, etc. have led to the emergence of schools and the teachings of Qadariya (who supported freedom of will against the dominant doctrine of God's determinism), Mu'tazila (rationalists), Murji'ah (who postponed the qualification of conflicting Muslim groups and opposed the excommunication of any Muslim from the status of believers), and Mudjassima (those who interpreted God's figure in human terms) (Karčić, 2010:232). Among the causes of heterodox teachings and groups in Islam, a pre-Islamic tradition has also played a significant role in finding its influence in various forms of pantheism, mystical teachings and practices, syncretism etc.

In the 18th century, movements for the revitalization of Islam were present throughout the Muslim world and there was a great variety of forms and styles of these movements. Some were more inclined to laws and puritanism, while others were more inclined towards charisma and messiahship. Reforms were somewhere formed as a reaction to the declining efficiency of existing institutions, while other movements were part of the process of islamization of societies on the periphery of the Islamic world (Espozito, 2002:547). Almost all the modern radical groups in their program have a "return to original Islam", and they want to reform the present state of Muslims with the concepts of "true Islam" from the past. Certainly, there are reformers who today want to reform the Muslims with the positive developments of the European heritage (Karić, 2011:24).

Some groups have accepted a militant form of activity, advocating, from its beginning, or from some moment in its history, “direct action” against established political or religious institutions. They usually proceed from the ideological position that they are the only true Muslims, that all other Muslims are *kafirs* (unbelievers) or ignorant, that the *ulama* are corrupt, that the existing Muslim political regimes are tyrannical, and that violent methods can overthrow the authorities for which are considered to be non-islamic or anti-islamic. Following this form of conclusion, heterodox groups give their own interpretation of Islamic law and declare jihad (Karčić, 2010:237). When it comes to contemporary violent Muslim extremists, who legitimize their actions with Islamic notions and arguments, the term jihadists, Islamists or Islamic terrorists should be avoided, because the image is blamed both on the sacred duty and on the authority of these groups. Also, maybe more appropriate terms such as Muslim militants, violent or militant Muslim extremists, militant Muslim radicals or militant Islamists are in use. Thus, the use of the term “violent” or “militant” is crucial, since, for example, the term radical can have a positive meaning. Finally, if an Islamist is a Muslim who seeks to politically affirm Islam, perhaps the term “Islamic militantism or extremism” would be most appropriately used to avoid direct links with Islam (Alibašić, 2010).

In these cases, the *takfir*⁴ connotes the use of violence; Takfir is not practiced only by militants, but we do not observe the anathema of “non-believer” (*kafirs*) if it’s not accompanied by violence. Today’s followers of the ideology of the *takfir* do not proclaim Muslims to unbelievers, merely because of the great sin they make, but

⁴ *Takfir* means proclaiming or treating someone as an unbeliever (*kafir*). This issue is very important because in the classical interpretations of Shariah, which extremists consider binding, a person who abandons Islam (*murtedd*) binds certain sanctions including the death penalty. About the “correct” and “exaggerated” interpretation of the *takfir*, the differences between the big *kufr* and the small *kufr*, then the differences between the general *takfir* and *takfir* of specific persons, see in: *Ideologija tekfira i nasilni ekstremizam: analiza* (2017), Islamska zajednica u Bosni i Hercegovini, Vijeće muftija, Sarajevo: El-Kalem. Although the phenomenon of *takfir* is associated with the Khawarij movement in the First Fitna, today’s interpretation began in the sixties of the 20th century in the Egyptian military prison for the cruel torture of members of the Muslim Brotherhood movement (Alibašić, 2009:157).

also for supporting democratic political systems that, according to their ideology, are not based on Shariah. The backbone of their propaganda is a critique of the democratic organization of the state, which not only do not consider them Islamic, but all those who in any way, actively or passively, support democratic processes, are considered unbelievers (Ideologija tekfira, 2017:33).⁵

Pluralism of Islam at the Local Level

From the time of Austro-Hungarian rule, as well as throughout the time of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, existed various interpretations of Islam. It is enough to look at the discussions that arose between the traditionalists, rationalists and modernists of that period, which are recorded in the magazines *Hikmet*, *Hidaje*, *Gajret*, *Mualim*, *Behar* and *Biser* (Hasičić, 2017). Given the understanding and social function of Islamic teaching and practice, two different positions dominated, which can be defined as “modernist” and “traditionalist”. The ideas of modernist-oriented Islamic reformers with the intention of preserving Islamic faith in accordance with the demands of time and modernity have ultimately become dominant (Abazović, 2016:19). In the socialist Yugoslavia, Muslims were under ideological glass bells that largely kept them isolated from ideological turmoil in the rest of the Muslim world and failed to develop some kind of “immunity” towards pluralism within Islamic thought (Jusić, 2011:33).

⁵ In the mid-20th century, in Egypt and some Muslim societies, some Islamic revivalists propagated the idea that contemporary Islamic societies are in the grip of jahiliyya, or the view that traditional Muslim societies, even if Muslims perform basic Islamic obligations in them, are not actually Islamic. The fact that societies were not ordered according to the standards of Shariah for several authors was the reason to call them first by *jahilli*, and then by the *kafir*. Since then, from the idea of the takfir, the idea of the Hegira (Hijra) has begun to develop; that is the idea that Muslims should start to withdraw from such societies into closed communities. The militant group *Jama'at al-Muslimin* is known as *Takfir wal-Hijra* (Excommunication and Exodus), because that group insists on the view that contemporary Muslim societies are non-Muslim infidel, *kafir*, because they do not judge by God's laws. They believe that true Muslims must move to communities that are organized “according to the will of God” modeled on the eviction of the Prophet from Mecca to Medina.

At the beginning of the social transformation, accompanied by desecularization and revitalization of conservative religiosity, the encounter of local Muslims with the Islamic movements of diverse orientations took place on the different levels and with different intensity. It is positive that these meetings are within the educational system of the Islamic Community at the level of scientific discussions and the study of the plurality of Islamic thought and movements; however, at institutional, organizational and ritual level meeting often have negative consequences (Tucaković, 2011:89). Individuals and groups educated in the field of Islamic sciences, mainly in the Middle East, began uncritically to convey the opinions and interpretations from there, the extremist views which deny the legitimacy of the secular state and secular law.⁶ The main reference of such circles are one-side and non-historical, sometimes traditional or pre-modern interpretations of the Shariah. This tendency is even more dangerous because it is hiding under the excuse of “true Islam” and the ulama (scholars) educated at the “source” (Karčić, 2011:61). According to these extreme opinions, Islam is incompatible with a secular state and secular law, while using distinctive vocabulary of extremist groups from the Middle East about ignorant laws *Taghut*, its courts, and “invented humans laws” (Karčić, 2011:65). For the first time, the Muslims and the Islamic Community were confronted with attacks on their tradition, from the positions of various fiqhs and maddhabs, but also sectarian interpretations of Islam, during and after the civil war during the 1990s.

The Islamic community, which for centuries has inherited the Hanafi (fiqh) and Maturidi (‘aqai’d) tradition of interpretation of Islam, has tried to suppress the influence of the “foreign” interpretation of Islamic teachings. Among many activities, there are: fatwa of Grand Mufti (raisu-l-ulama) on the obligation to comply with the rules of the Hanafi maddhab in the manner of performing religious ceremonies from 1993;⁷ the Resolution of the Riyasat on the interpretation of

⁶ Islamic theologians believe that the advocates of such new attitudes and the interpretation of Islam are mainly Bosnian-born graduates who have acquired theological education at universities in Middle Eastern countries (Abazović, 2016:29).

⁷ Fetva o obavezi pridržavanja hanefijskog mezheba 1993, at: http://rijaset.ba/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=193:fetva-o-obavezipridrfavanja-henefijskog-mezheba&catid=47:fetverezolucije&Itemid=79

Islam, from 2006, in which the determination of the protection of the originality of the “centuries-old tradition of the Islamic Community” was emphasized, and the unity of the Islamic community in the doctrinal and institutional interpretation of Islam was confirmed;⁸ Decision on the mosque house order of the Riyasat from 2007; organizing scientific meeting, colloquiums, round tables, conferences, consultations; establishment of institutions (Institute for the Study of Islamic Tradition of Bosniaks, Centre for Dialogue Vesatije), etc.⁹

Among the movements, groups and teachings that were not represented in this area until the postwar period. The most commonly mentioned are: Shiism, ahmadiyya, neokhawarij, and the ideology of takfir. As on the global level, especially on the Internet, there are also discussions among members of the Salafist traditionalism, popularly called Wahhabism, maddhab’s fanaticism, Sufi mysticism, and modernist rationalism (Hasičić, 2017). In addition to Ahmediyya, there are also Bahaiyya, Muslim Brotherhood, Tahiries, Tabligies, neo-Muteziles, redefined Sufi tariqats, modernists of different backgrounds and teachings, which are rarely analyzed because the focus is extended to the public only on those movements that pose a security challenge or which, by their learning and action, put into question the legal order of the state (Jusić, 2011:40).

Wahhabism

Wahhabism is the most common “first-indicted ideological culprit” (Alibašić, 2010). Wahhabism is a very conservative reformist movement founded by Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab. The followers of this movement called themselves “unitarians” because of the consistent dedication to the idea of God’s unity and dedication in discovering and eradicating all attitudes and deeds that could be

⁸ *Rezolucija*, http://rijaset.ba/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=192:rijasetova-dopunjena-rezolucija-o-tumanju-islama&catid=47:fetverezolucije&Itemid=79. There were, also, amendments to the Resolution from 2007.

⁹ A broader list of activities in the Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, seen in: *Ideologija tekfira i nasilni ekstremizam: analiza* (2017), Islamska zajednica u Bosni i Hercegovini, Vijeće muftija, Sarajevo: El-Kalem, pages 8 to 12.

considered idolatry. Wahhabis declared idolatry any mediation of any being between a believer and God (Espozito, 2002:105). The aim of the Wahhabi reform was to destroy all forms of belief and behavior that do not have a deep root in the earliest period of Islam. In this conservative teaching dominates the idea of returning to original Islam, the primordial Caliphate, and the “ancestors” from Medina. It advocated a return to the traditions of the salaf, who are the first three generations of Muslims (salaf - salafism). Wahhabis are adherents of Hanbali religious/law school in Sunni Islam, characterized by literalism, integrism, and fundamentalism (Vukomanović, 2010). They are opponents of Sufism, music, pluralism in Islam, saints’ tombs, mausoleums, and the celebration of the Prophet’s birthday (mevlud).

Wahhabism reached its peak in Bosnia and Herzegovina between 1996 and 2000 (Alibašić, 2006). The Salafi movement in Bosnia and Herzegovina since the war, when it began its roots through volunteers from the Arab world, experienced a gradual ideological transformation, which was particularly influenced by global trends, especially developments within the motherland movement in Saudi Arabia (Jusić, 2011:33). In a survey carried out in 2016, Salafi communities are mentioned in the following places in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Jablanica, Sarajevo, Zenica, Bočinja, Ošvama, Maglaj, Tuzla, Gornja Maoča, Ključ, Sanski Most and Doboј (Puhalo, 2016:79).

Salafis (ar. *salaf*, predecessors of the first generation of Muslims) or the Islamic traditionalist movement created around the teachings and actions of Muhammad ibn Abd al Wahhab (1703-1792) reformer from the Arabian Peninsula. Despite they are well-known as Wahhabis (derived from the name of the movement’s founder), followers of this movement do not accept that name because one of their key teachings is opposition to the cult of personality (Jusić, 2011:33). Even though Salafis have seen as unified and monolithic community, today they are one of the Islamist movement with the highest number of clashed fractions. Most of them have its own vision of Islamization of the world and the societies in which they operate. One thing is common for all of fractions: they think of themselves as the only consistent followers of the Sunnah and their interpretation of Islamic tradition as only valid (Jusić, 2011:34).

There are at least three approaches in the literature to understand what Salafism is: First, Salafism as a multifaceted

movement of Islamic modernism from the late 19th to the mid-20th century. The founders and leaders of the reform movement “Salafiyya”, such as Muhammad Abduh, Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, and Rashid Rida, sought to reconcile Islam with the social, political and intellectual ideals of the Enlightenment. Second, much more represented approach defines “Salafiyya” as an authentic and puristic religious orientation within Sunni Islam. The purist salafists claim that they are the only ones who follow true Islam that can lead to salvation. Salafism, they argue, is nothing more than Islam as it was when it was first discovered, unpredictable of any innovations, deviations, and additions, “unpolluted” from exogenous influences. This is the true Islam of the first three generations of Muslims. Third, medially most exploited is militant salafism. For militant salafists, suffering and humiliation of Muslims around the world are not unconnected episodes, but a chain in a series of activities by the “Crusader-Zionist” alliance against Islam and Muslims (Abazović, 2016:14-15).

We can identify four main fractions that fight for dominance within the movement: First, traditional conservatives, formal and official stream which enjoy the support of the ruling family in Saudi Arabia; second, Salafi reformists advocate the Islamization of society through gradual reforms, education and ideological confrontation with secularists and liberals; third, jihadists of so called “legal jihad” represent military wing of salafism who consider fighting as a strict religious duty of every Muslim, but only when and where the Muslims are attacked and where the enemy is defined; fourth, international jihadists tend to Takfir are the most extreme and militant form of Salafi ideology (Jusić, 2011:34).

Khawarij

Kharijites¹⁰ are the first sect in Islam, formed in 659 in the onset of the First Fitna between the conflicting parties led by Ali

¹⁰ The term *al-Khariji* was used as an exonym by their opponents probably from the fact that they left Ali’s army: from the Arabic there is the primary meaning “to leave” or “to get out” (Karčić, 2010:231). There are different interpretations of etymology, for example “apostates” (Espozito, 2002:29). Khawarij called themselves *Shurah*, which means “the Exchangers”, more precisely “those who sold their souls in God’s path” (Karčić, 2010:236).

and Muawiyah, the first Umayyad caliph. Because they were unsurpassed by a compromising attitude towards enemies and by accepting the arbitration in resolving the conflict, and not by the “will of God”, one group of Ali’s followers left and turned to the both conflicted sides. This procedure was justified by the selective quotation of the Qur’an and the literal interpretation of the part of the text “the court belongs only to God” (Alibašić, 2010). Their motto was “Judgment belongs to God alone¹¹”. Kharijites are the first Islamic sect which runs the controversial question about the ability needed to lead the Muslim community (umma), and the relationship of faith and deed. Their significance lies in insisting on the possibility of the creation of a community (umma) of righteous people based on the Qur’an (Espozito, 2002:28). Kharijites believed that true devotion and impeccable righteousness were the only authentic qualities in Islam. Others argued that legitimacy is essentially a matter of genealogy. Third, the consensus of the community of believers was the most important element in realizing the right to the position of leader of the Islamic community (Espozito, 2002:32). The Kharijites thought that the caliph could be anyone of Muslims. Also, they were against dynastic Islam viewed as hereditary leadership through the chain of imams.

Based on this political position, the Kharijites have developed their theological and legal system. In terms of leadership (imams) they combined egalitarianism and radicalism: they considered that every morally right Muslim could be chosen for the Caliph, but also that it was the duty of the believer to declare illegitimate ruler and to overthrow him, if he turned from the right path. The Khawarijij began to denote anyone who did not accept their views as “disbelievers” (kafir). Since they do not accept faith without deed, they also considered anyone who committed a great sin as a faith deviation (murtadd).

Kharijites (Islamic egalitarianists) have never gained widespread support from Muslims, they have lived (or still live) as isolated communities in traditional countries of Islam (Espozito,

¹¹ From this expression, “Judgement belongs to God alone” (*la hukma illa li-llah*), which they were the first to use as a motto, they became known as *Muhakkima* (those who call the judgment of God).

2002:53), and their name is used whenever someone wants to label any radical struggle for “Islamic” goals (Karić, 2011:22).

Kharijism was revived in the late 1960s and early 1970s in Arab societies. In literature, this new edition of Kharijism is often characterized as neo-kharijism or new kharijism, and its followers as neo-kharijites or new kharijites. Like the early Kharijites and these modern ones do not recognize any human laws but God alone. In the name of God’s sovereignty, the kharijites rejected Ali’s decision, while the neo-kharijites reject the decisions of the parliaments, but the essence is the same: the human court is unacceptable. The kharijites are known for numerous subsections and fractions, and neo-kharijites is only one of them¹² (Alibašić, 2010).

Sufism, Tariqats

The ritual practice of dikhr (zikr) was established in the territory of the former Yugoslavia even in the earliest period of islamization (mid-15th century) and was maintained almost continuously until 1952. In 1952, activities of tariqas were completely banned. First, by the modernist-oriented Ulama that led the Islamic community, which had the support of the ruling structures of socialist Yugoslavia (Vukomanović, 2011). They considered the tariqas and the sheikhs as the rest of superstition and the introduction of novelties in faith.

A quarter of a century after in 1977 Yugoslavia, dikhr began to play more regularly. The complete revitalization of Sufism came only in the 1990s, following the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the end of the wars (Vukomanović, 2011).

The Association of Dervish Orders of Bosnia and Herzegovina “Tariqa Centre” exists within the official Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, in accordance with Shariah, tariq rules, the Constitution of the Islamic Community, the Statute of the Association and the Law on Association of Citizens. Riyasat, through the Administration for Legal and Administrative Affairs, keeps the

¹² Today there are reformed Khawarij movements, such as Ibadiyya in Oman, which is one of the most tolerant factions that have rejected radicalism and extremism (Karčić, 2010:231).

Register of dervish institutions in the area of the Islamic Community,¹³ and each tekke is obliged to establish its own jamaat.¹⁴ According to the Statute from 1992, the Association members of twelve generally recognized dervish orders: Qadiri, Rifai, Naqshbandi, Mevlevi, Khalwati (Halveti), Shadhili, Badawi, Dasuki, Sadi, Sinani, Bayrami, and Bektashi. In different sources, there are different lists of active dervish orders. According to some sources, the Tariqa Centre gathers more than 80 tekkes and zawijas, in which the following tariqats are active: Qadiri, Naqshbandi, Rifai, Halveti, Mevlevi, Chisti, and Shadhili (Halilagić, 2018). According to other sources, there are: Qadiri, Shadhili, Rifai, Mevlevi, Naqshbandi, Halveti, Badawi, Dasuki, Sinani, Suhrawardi, Chisti, Kubrawi, and Bektashi (Vukomanović, 2011). According to the magazine *Kelamu'l šifa'*, there are a total of 56 places (17 tekkes, 16 zawijas, and others are mosques) where a dikhr is performed in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Even 84% (47) of these places belong to Naqshbandi, convincingly the most widespread tariqat in Bosnia and Herzegovina, while five tekkes belong to Qadiri, three to Rifai, and only one to Shadhili. Not all tekkes are under the jurisdiction of the Tariqa Centre: most of the Qadiri, only one Shadhili, and all Rifai (Vukomanović, 2011).

Thanks to the pronounced presence and activities of the Naqshbandi tariqat and its institutionalization within the Tariqa Centre, the orthodox tradition of the tasawwuf in Bosnia and Herzegovina remained dominant to the present day. The situation was significantly different in Kosovo and Metohija. There the tariqats, and even in Macedonia, showed a more pronounced level of heterodoxia that sometimes mowed with Shariah, which often worried the orthodox Ulama in Sarajevo (Dejzings, 2005: 147-178). This popular tasawwuf in the southern, rural parts of the former Yugoslavia, which found its inspiration predominantly in the Alevi-Shiia streams of Sufism, came to full expression in Bektashi and Rifai interpretations of dikhr (Vukomanović, 2011).

¹³ <http://tarikatskicentar.ba/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Ustav-o-Tarikatskom-centru.pdf>

¹⁴ Article 33 of the Statute of Association of dervishes orders in Bosnia and Herzegovina "Tariqa Centre" (Statut Udruženja derviških redova Bosne i Hercegovine „Tarikatski centar“), <http://tarikatskicentar.ba/wp-content/uploads/2018/02/Status-udruzenja-derviških-redova-BiH.pdf>

Ahmadiyya

Ahmadiyya is an Islamic revival movement founded in India, in the late 19th century. It originated with the life and teachings of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1835-1908), and a term Ahmadiyya is adopted expressly about Muhammad's alternative name Ahmad. After the founder's death, his followers divided themselves into two branches: Qadiani and Ahmadiyya.

Qadiani (the name comes from Qadian, the town in Punjab, where Ahmad was born and buried) believe that they are the main and authentic Ghulam followers, so they did not change their seat or learning. They believe that Mirza Ghulam Ahmed was expected Mahdi, Messiah and Prophet. Ghulam's teaching is considered to be the only true religious teaching, his books are the main code of conduct and behavior, and his grave is a pilgrimage temple. Qadiani believed that Muhammad's proclamation was deformed over time and that it was necessary to send a new Prophet of God to reform Islam and put his teachings on the "true" foundations. They attach to their messiah a series of miracles, superstition and greatness above all of God's messengers. Ahmedis are Lahore fraction of Qadiani, and they also believe that they are the main and authentic Ghulam followers. They recognize Ghulam as a renewal of faith and reformist, but for a wider circle, they do not mention that he is a Prophet. Basically, there are no fundamental differences between factions: Qadiani openly outline all the characteristics and teachings of their founder, while Ahmedis selectively approaches learning (Halilović, 2011).

Muslim authorities criticize Ahmadiyya for their teaching that Ghulam is in fact prophet and that Prophet Muhammad is not the last prophet what is one of the fundamental teachings of Islam (Jusić, 2011:39). The same case is with modified teaching that Ghulam is expected Mahdi and that "the soul of Jesus and Muhammad are appeared in the form of a man and this man is Ahmed Mirza" (Jusić, 2011:40). There are numerous conclusions and fatwas declared at the meetings and conferences of the Academy of Islamic Research in Cairo, Rabita's Academy of Islamic Law, and the Academy of Islamic Conference etc., which criticize and condemn the teachings of Ahmadiyya (Halilović, 2011). Even Ahmadiyya are

called on Islam, their doctrine most of the traditional Muslim authorities consider opposite to fundamental principles of Islam.

For some time Ahmadiyya Muslim Jamaat is trying to register religious community in Bosnia and Herzegovina and have already registered their own masjid in Sarajevo. The Ahmadiyya in the EU have a strong and developed network of the jamaats (Jusić, 2011:39).

Institutional Parallelism

In Serbia, two communities have been disputing each other's legality and legitimacy since 2007, occasionally with violent outcomes. The Islamic Community in Serbia would like to stay formally connected to the Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina, while the Islamic Community of Serbia wants complete independence (Barišić, 2013:499). The situation is more complicated, because besides the form of alternative groups, there are "independent" or "neutral" mosques, masjids or jamaats that are separated from both mutually opposed institutionalized Islamic communities. The so-called "Third option", gathered around the Initiative for the Reconciliation and the Unification of Islamic communities, functions independently of the conflicting formal organizations. They build "neutral mosques", which, in their words, are a symbol of the aspirations of Muslims for unification; they are also open to those who support the Meshihat and those who support the Riyasat. For the organization and functioning of such parajamaats, leaders of official Islamic communities' transfer responsibility among each other. Mufti of the Islamic community in Serbia wrote in his proclamation: "The call to establish so-called neutral jamaats aims at (...) the spiritual overthrow of Sandžak's Bosniaks in order to continue the destruction of their national, cultural and religious beings."¹⁵ Representatives of the Meshihat these "private mosques" call "mosque dirar", or a mosque that inflicts damage on believers, a mosque of dissent.

¹⁵ "Ko gradi štetne džamije po Sandžaku?", *Danas*, 22.05.2015., <https://www.danas.rs/drustvo/ko-gradi-stetne-dzamije-po-sanzaku/>

In Montenegro, according to the similar principle, there are several parallel organizational forms, paramajlis, which counts a few dozen of parajamaats, organized by the Meshihat of the Islamic community in Serbia, parallel to the official organizational structure of the Islamic community of Montenegro. The basis of this parallelism lies in the question: Which religious community has the jurisdiction over the religious life of Muslims in the north of Montenegro?¹⁶ In this case, the parajamaats gather Muslims, more precisely Bosniaks, who represent the idea of Sandžak as a cross-border autonomous region, accusing both officials of the Islamic community of Montenegro and the state of Montenegro to “break up the Bosniak nation”.¹⁷

Monopolization throughout Desecularization

As noted, the Islamic Community has, from the beginning, at various levels and in various ways, reacted to the emergence of alternative interpretations of Islam, especially those of radical and extreme. Authentic religious tradition, interpretations and practices are highlighted in numerous fatwas, conclusions, statements, conferences, platforms, and resolutions, and are regularly responded to every form of violence. However, although numerous measures have been introduced to counter the infiltration of alternative teachings, it turned out that the challenge is very large and it is very difficult to protect the authentic tradition.¹⁸

¹⁶ According to ethnical affiliation, Bosniaks make a significant group of the Muslims in Montenegro; they predominantly inhabit the north and north-east of Montenegro, in the part of Sandzak which belongs to Montenegro. After ended Balkan wars, Montenegro was annexed regions in which a larger number of Muslims lived (Plav, Gusinje, Berane, Rozaje, Bijelo Polje and Pljevlja) (Novaković, 2003:76)

¹⁷ “Zukorlić: Bošnjaci nisu azilanti, već suvlasnici Crne Gore”, RTV, 26.01.2013., http://www.rtv.rs/sk/region/zukorlic-bosnjaci-nisu-azilanti-vec-suvlasnici-crne-gore_366522.html

¹⁸ Measures are certainly an intense staff empowerment of Muslim institutions, but the authorities within Islamic community point to the necessity of internal control and the consistent implementation of the measures taken, both on the financial and the missionary agenda (Alibašić, 2006; 2010).

Religious authorities can, theologically argued, disqualify alternative, in particular extremist, discourse, or opportunely provide science-based answers to current issues and act with the authority of knowledge (Karčić, 2011:65). In this way it is possible to refresh and strengthen the reputation and authority and make every alternative influence less competitive and relevant. One of the strategies is certainly the development of authentic religious thought and greater engagement in working with youth and other relatively neglected target groups of believers; the interpretation of the Qur'an and the Sunnah in accordance with the defined Islamic methodology, but not the non-argued, dogmatic and blind normalizations of practice (Alibašić, 2006). Particularly important is the program of work with the youth, both within their own educational institutions and in the broader social sphere. Authenticity, consistency, dedication, principledness, and impartiality in acting constitute a basic barrier to any relativisation of authority, but also criticality and openness. It is important that the Islamic community does not reach for scientific rigidity, the "dictation" of one opinion imposed from the position of power or suppresses the plurality of theoretical questioning of interpretative religious trends, even more discarding and labeling followers of different interpretation (Tucaković, 2011:90).

Alternative interpretations are more attractive where the dominant religious tradition is not sufficiently institutionalized, that is, where infrastructure and staff are weak, or where it is not sufficiently active, or where institutionalization is reduced to formalism. Very interesting is the critical observation of prof. Alibašić that "the greatest danger for our mosques and jamaats comes from sterilized, formalized, and denormalised Islam reduced to the culture and customs of our grandparents, free activities and concerts" (Alibašić, 2006). Such interpretation of religious teaching does not provide the necessary answers on internal restlessness and the issues of adherents. The question then arises: Is it really a matter of replacing the thesis when it is claimed that there is a lot of alternative teachings among Muslims, or is it a more appropriate question where authentic Muslims are (Alibašić, 2006)? This approach precisely emphasizes the consequences of conservative religiosity, ethno-confessionalism, which is often reduced to mere

folklore and customs, without much knowledge and dedication to faith. Muslim communities in the Balkans have strong locally based traditions that affirm the values of peaceful coexistence in a pluralistic society, and for most of them, adherence to national communities has the primacy over their identification with a diffuse and abstract *umma* (Abazović, 2016:17).

The post-socialist social transformation was marked with nationalism awakening, religion revitalization and social conflicts on various levels. Transformation (transition) of the post-Yugoslav societies in the period of powerful nationalism revival opened the possibility of religion instrumentalization in political purposes. The conviction common to all Balkan nations, that religion is deeply rooted in national identity, influenced the fact that a nation is regularly identified with religion, that is ethnical affiliation is regularly identified with confessional affiliation, and, in that sense, religiosity renewal had the function of nations' and states' legitimacy, homogenization and mobilization. This identity transformation did not go round Muslims, who also joined national attitudes' formulation and who took active part in new social circumstances' defining. This nationalism, caused by equating national and religious identity of other communities, leads to the paradox that substitution of the national term 'Muslim' with the term 'Bosniak' happened parallelly with increasing insisting on Islam, as establishing factor of Bosniak national identity (Bougarel, 2000). Still, long disputed Bosniak national identity¹⁹ found its place in both civic and religious sense, or to be more precise, it became the constituent entity of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the entity of the Islamic community in Bosnia and Herzegovina²⁰ (Barišić, 2007:35-36).

'Return' to traditional religion, even to conservative religiosity, appeared to be a significant factor in the preservation of national

¹⁹ The denial of national affirmation of the Muslims in former Yugoslavia was based on an attitude that Muslims are "historically and biologically" a part of Croatia, that is of Serbian nation, depending on whose nationalistic point of view it was pointed out, and that religion is the only thing they differ from the mentioned ethnicities. Something that is frequently (consciously) overlooked should be mentioned here and that is the fact that, by accepting Islam and Qur'an, Muslims accepted a whole different culture and civilization, which deeply pervaded their lives (Vukomanović, 2001:98).

²⁰ Articles 1 and 4 of the Constitution of the Islamic community in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

identity, whereby the positively valued traditions, national and religious worship of the past led to political abuse of the connection between religion and nation (Vukomanović, 2001:99). At the same potential function of desecularization process, among other things, noted Karpov analyzing “regimes of desecularization”, pointing to the case when regimes support counter-secular tendencies for non-religious reason: the conflicted area of the former socialist Yugoslavia, the homogenization of national-religious groups, religion as a resource of resistance or defense of an endangered culture (Blagojević, 2015:25). “Desecularizing activists” were able to activate all of tendencies of the process of desecularization, and even to make it dominant over, mostly just nominal, secularism, but “desecularizing actors”²¹ responded to establishing “regime of desecularization” mainly in two ways: conversion to the “legitimate” religion or ritually “belonging without believing”.²² Srđan Vrcan once pointed at this traditional and conventional tie to religion and church, and the fact that confessional/religious affiliation is not identical with religiosity (Vrcan, 1986). Also Dragoljub Đorđević sorted almost identical forms of confessional identification: Firstly, traditional connectivity for specific religion, without religiosity, but with a clear awareness of confessional background; and secondly, recognition of confessional origin, “religion by birth” (Đorđević, 2000: 164).

Frustration in the aspiration for the constitution of national identity led, quite contrary to expectations, to return to the fragmentary, stereotypical, ritualistic and strongly mythologized Islamic tradition, which contributed to the halt of the process of modernization

²¹ Karpov distinguishes between activists and actors of desecularization: Desecularizing activists are individuals and groups immediately and actively involved in efforts to reestablish religion’s role in societal institutions and culture; Actors of desecularization is are larger groups whose interests, grievances, and cultural and ideological orientations are congruent with activists’, but who provide a more passive backing to counter-secularizing efforts, not participating in them actively, but rather serving as a social and political support base of counter secularizing activities’ (Karpov, 2010:251-252; Blagojević, 2015:22-24).

²² Karpov distinguishes several types of mass reaction to the establishment and functioning of the regime of desecularization: 1) conversions to “legitimate” faiths, 2) the innovative search for alternative ones, 3) ritualistic “belonging without believing”, 4) religious indifference, and 5) a secularist rebellion (Karpov, 2010:258-259; Blagojević, 2015:26).

understood as subordinating the values of the community to individual values (Alam, 2012:56). It is essential that the Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina abandon the current paradigm of focusing on politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina; the Islamic Community has no legitimacy for it, and it is not a mission of the Islamic Community, such as dealing with the national issues of Bosniaks and the building of the national institutions (Karčić, 2011:65).

According to officials, The Islamic Community is open to pluralism in various nuances of Islamic tradition in Bosnia and Herzegovina and its dynamism, but according to the Constitution of the Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Law on Freedom of Religion and the Legal Status of the Churches and Religious Communities of Bosnia and Herzegovina from 2004, the only Islamic Community has the right and the authority to organize the religious life of the Muslims institutionally. As the authorities of the Islamic Communities point out, "the establishment and operation of an illegal masjid by itself is a violation of the Law on the freedom of religion"²³ and the religious community in that case expects state intervention. It gives consent to the establishment and registration of any organization or association, which dealing with the same or similar field of activity or mission from the content of the work of the Islamic Community. The issue of institutional organization and the conduct of religious life of Muslims is exclusively within the jurisdiction of the Islamic Community in Bosnia and Herzegovina.²⁴ That is an attempt to monopolize sacral space, which is more dependent on the power of state (secular) authority than on the real impact of the bearer of exclusive monopoly status. Egalitarianism, supranationalism and anti-elitism of particular teachings in Islam represents a challenge to the authority of the Islamic community which is privileged within the desecularised system.

²³ "Muftija Ljevaković: Tu su i vjerske aktivnosti šijskih organizacija i sekte ahmedija koji imaju svoj "mesdzid"", Preporod, 14. Januar 2016., <https://www.preporod.com/index.php/sve-vijesti/islamska-zajednica/vijesti-iz-bih/item/679-muftija-ljevakovic-tu-su-i-vjerske-aktivnosti-siiskih-organizacija-i-sekte-ahmedija-koji-imaju-svoj-mesdzid>

²⁴ „Islamska zajednica neće zatvarati „paradžemate“, poziv državi na akciju“, Radio slobodna Evropa, 17.03.2016., <https://www.slobodnaevropa.org/a/hodzic-islamska-zajednica-neze-zatvarati-paradzemate-to-je-nadleznost-drzavnih-organa/27619383.html>

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What Feminists in Serbia Think About Religiosity?¹

Abstract

This article presents attitudes of feminists, as a distinctive social group in Serbia on religiosity and influence of church in society. Views about church and a relation to traditional religiosity in feminism were conditioned by attitudes that church had towards women in past. A variety of respondents' answers indicate that the question of religiosity is related to other important social facts and basic human rights, such as, women's abortion right and civil individual rights in secular state. Feminist opinions on religiosity can be linked to wider social phenomena - the reading of religion, the influence of church in secular state, the individual rights and religious education in public schools. Based on the qualitative analysis of data obtained through interviews with feminists we have received a wider insight into religiosity in Serbia.

Keywords: religiosity, feminists, attitudes, church, Serbia.

Introduction

■ Sociologists who are exploring religion think that the process of de-secularization has occurred in the past thirty years in Serbia. However, through different historical periods the situation changed. Until the First World War, Serbian Orthodox Church had a privileged position that implied a good state attitude towards the Church; Orthodoxy was an official religion by the Serbian constitution from 1903, religious education was a compulsory subject in schools, etc. Between the two world

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wars, the position of the SOC in the society began to change, and after the Second World War, a socialist society and a new social framework emerged in Serbia, which “for religion and church represented unstimulated and, in many ways, the hostile socio-political framework” (Blagojevic, 2015: 108-110). In the socialist Yugoslavia, the SOC had various problems of disorganization, financial and others that were further encouraged by the fact that the socialist government stigmatized religion as a socially undesirable phenomenon. SOC and other religious institutions were socially marginalized through laws, religious education in public schools was abolished, and atheistic education and Marxist education was introduced, etc. This situation was until the middle or late 1980s (Blagojevic, 2015: 110-111).

In the only sociological empirical research of religiosity on the Orthodox confessional space of the Nis region, which was carried out in 1982, it was observed that the process of secularization is very strong and widespread. The social-class status is important as a synthetic factor for accepting or rejecting religious behavior and views. In this research was noticed that religious attitudes were influenced by educational level, occupation, information, material position and political engagement, age, self-management engagement, gender and type of settlement (Đorđević, 1984: 238). Due to the changing social position of women, among other things, under the influence of the feminist movement, it was noticed that religiosity is not only a feature of a woman, and if so, religiosity is more often encountered among women of a low educational level, in rural areas who are primarily active in produce sphere and “are not able to promote socially and culturally in education, professional activity, political activity and other ways”. Due to the circumstances mentioned in this study, it was observed that some religious communities questioned the attitude towards woman because of the loss of a traditional stronghold in the female population and attempted to bring religion closer to the demands of a contemporary woman (Đorđević, 1984: 229).

Braude considers that “as women’s and gender studies developed from the 1970s, its scholars often neglected religion as a pretext for feminism. In women’s movement history and

feminist texts, religion is either absent or treated negatively, as a patriarchal impediment to liberation" (Braude, 2004). In one recent research on attitudes of feminists about religiosity in the UK, British sociologist of religion, Aune concludes that "feminists religious-spiritual approaches should not simply be equated with secularism, secularization, or alternative spiritualities. Instead, feminists forge religious-spiritual lives in complex ways. The spiritual approaches of those I interviewed have had three main characteristics: they are de-churched, are relational, and emphasize practice (...) they see 'spirituality' and 'religion' as analytically distinct, I argue that feminists' spirituality should be conceptualized as 'lived religion'" (Aune, 2015: 128).

For instance, in empirical research conducted at the beginning of 2000, regarding women's movement in Serbia and Montenegro, it was shown that "50% of activists considered themselves as religious, just over a fifth are not defined, but almost 30% declare themselves as atheists. In short, we could say that the relationship of religious and irreligious is equal, which is the result that could be expected when it comes to activists. Namely, in relation to religion, the strong individuality of the respondents is shown. Their attitude towards religion is almost entirely attributable to either socialization in the family, or a self-built viewpoint, while the influence of the existing social opportunities - a suddenly aroused interest in religion, which is characteristic of the attitude of the majority towards religion, is practically negligible here. Therefore, fostering a religious attitude is obviously a personal choice of respondents, which is not subject to past experiences or present challenges" (Milić, 2002: 60-61).

Since the beginning of the 1990s, there have been significant changes in relation to religion in Serbian society, and these changes are expressed through increased readiness of people to identify themselves in religious terms, to the emergence of increased religiosity among young people who in the past were the most irreligious generation and a reduced number of people who declare themselves as atheists. Thus, in the 1990s, there were changes in the religious awareness of the population and the spread of traditional attitudes towards religion and the church. Considering the change in the social context and the

resulting changes in relation to religion, sociologists of religion find that the image of a typical believer differs from the image of a typical believer in the eighties. Today, a typical believer is from both rural and urban environments, lower and higher education, a member of both the elder and the youngest generation, the male and female (Blagojević, 2015: 123-124).

Research findings

Semi structured interviews were conducted with a sample of 27 participants in Serbia. Interviewees were between 30 and 80 years of age when surveyed (2011-2012). Participants were asked questions: *Are you religious? Do you believe in God?* and *What is your attitude towards the church?*

Findings from my research show that feminists, in majority, declare themselves as atheists. Most respondents believe that Serbian Orthodox Church has a great influence in Serbian society, and that influence is too strong since Serbia is a secular state. Few respondents stated that they do not believe in God but believe that there is a certain cosmic energy that influences human activity and that their belief can't relate to traditional religion and church affiliation.

I will quote few characteristic responses of feminists who declare themselves as atheists: "No, I'm an atheist, so I declare, I defend an atheist position, I do not need 'to swear'." (age 65, anarchist feminism). "No, I'm an atheist, one hundred percent, and against any Church, for me all churches are the same, these are the institutions that manipulate a human need for faith, especially with that faith in life after death" (age 72, a Marxist with sympathies towards anarchism). "No, I am an atheist. I respect every religion and all commitments, regardless of whether they are Buddhists or Orthodox, Catholics ... I believe that religious commitment is a matter of personal choice and that it should remain in that domain, that spirituality is not exclusive related to religion, spirituality can be developed through some other forms of thinking." (age 33, liberal feminism). "No, I am not religious. I think that religious institutions have inflicted

enormous damage to women and lesbians. So, I do not enter any religious institution, but it is also natural for every woman to determine what she will believe in, that is something else." (age 57, radical feminism).

One participant who makes a distinction between faith in God and a relationship with the church says: "I do not know what to say about religion, I have respect for people who are religious, I am not a religious person, can say that I am atheist, but I have absolute respect for someone who believes in God and that's all I care about. One of the reasons why, maybe I would say that I don't believe in church rather than I do not believe in God. I have a problem with a church and a church's attitude towards women, and somehow, I cannot accept it, that I'm regular in the manner of speaking, to attend weddings and listen repeatedly, but I basically appreciate and respect anyone who is religious. Perhaps I would appreciate the church more when it would be transformed in the direction of these ecumenical principles" (age 40 years, does not choose a feminist orientation).

Although most participants believe that faith in God is one of human rights, some of them have no sympathy for the SOC, this is one characteristic answer: "As far as the church is concerned, I'm not religious, I respect a religiousness of others, before I was less tolerant about that. However, I really think that we cannot push people to any facet of their identity and that some things are not rational, if I have no relationship with God I do not have to even try to understand why somebody else has. Which doesn't mean that I'm blessed with the churches, the Orthodox Church especially since I live in Serbia and it concerns me the most. ... I try not to impose my daughter to religiosity or irreligiosity. Somehow I want her to get to know something that is in the end a history of our humanity, I mean this Western in which we live, so I do not want to separate her from that in some kind of violent way, and we will see what she will choose." (age 33, does not choose a particular feminist orientation).

A wider explanation of a relationship between religion and church and influence of a church in society, one respondent includes in her answer: "I'm an atheist, not that I believe in

something like etc., but I'm an atheist. I believe in physics as in a complete miracle, and this part is intimidating to me, and I think that this is also one of the issues for feminists, how to suppress the kind of ignorance that is being plagued by this religious upheaval in our public space, by such a terrible irruption in public space. I do not really challenge anyone's personal right to practice whatever and if it does not threaten other people, but this is now completely endangering. The census, for example, has shown the same thing that to declare as an atheist is bad. It's totally terrible, it's a big problem. I had the opportunity to talk to some parents about civic or religious education and what they choose for their children, since the parents choose, and many tell me they would like to be able to choose both, what is the point here? –the children themselves will choose whether they will believe in evolution or "Creator", and I say well hold on, and people think they are tolerant now. I do not think that the scientific truth is the only and engraved, but for the children to believe in "Creator" don't kid me. I think that the problem of this metaphysics of our existence is in the organization ...I sometimes reencounter with it and then I have to think about again, when someone says to me "God created man" I say "yes, you are really cute", and I'm in the phase of doing so, but no, I now have to talk seriously with some people, as if we are living in a parallel universe... Well, in 2003, religious education was introduced ...But then it was supposed to said that we are a secular state and why religious education in schools, who wants to educate for religious education, there are parish homes and you can take child there. I look at it as divisions that existed earlier, and as a continuation of that dichotomy, as we are from the Partisan family, and we are not communists we are bourgeoisie, etc." (age 35, leftist orientation, not liberal before anarchyber feminists)

Here are some more interesting views of feminists about church:

"Well, in principle, I'm a little annoyed by the church, but just the church I don't mean religious people. Here I was in one part of America for a long time ...they believe in many of these syncretic

gods and everything, and it's completely okay because they do not have that dominant attitude of the church. I have lived in countries of different religions ... and it's all disgusting, it's all the same to me, and there are completely different religions, but I always get upset, it always irritates me. *What irritates you?* So, when the pope goes out and says, for example, that the women are murderers when they have an abortion. Or now I don't remember because I was small then but when the Muslim religion says that the man's right is to have as many women, and that all leads me to madness. So, I lived in countries with different religions, but unfortunately, I couldn't join anywhere. *You don't like those kind of grouping, religious?* No, I don't like in some way principles, these are the old structures of authority and power, and I do not need consciousness above mine. It would be fine for me to have some church that would listen to me and my problems, and not give me directions." (age 57, does not choose a particular feminist orientation): "The question of religiosity ... I am an agnostic and I think that our societies little by little loses its secular character, which is very bad, every society that loses its secular character endangers women's rights, endangers women." (age 70, socialist feminism): "Well, I think that all existing confessions are actually against women and holding a woman in a subordinate position. The Orthodox Church is horrible, but other (churches –A. V) are not much better." (65, anarchist feminism): "I absolutely do not like any institution, otherwise, I have a fair resistance towards institutions because I think they are there to enslave us, but I have nothing against the institutional religion. I personally have strong spirituality that developed during my work with people, I was not educated in that direction, but I did a lot of work and I still work on spirituality as a sublimation of some other things, and I believe... I would not say I believe because it means believing in God, but I don't think I will explain my religious beliefs now because they are not religious they are more spiritual, they just come from my education in the direction of organic energy, the life energy that flows through all of us and connects us. And I know the laws of nature and biology and physics, so in that sense I'm talking about spirituality, which I see every day in myself, and in others, and around myself... I'm very ecologically aware, I think that the best and most useful direction for us who live...is to connect ecological and feminist

movement, as it is in a way on West, and there are a lot of these conclusions, because I consider it to be inseparable, such as protection of life, a protection of diversity as the sameness, because I believe in variety and biological concepts of differences, but I absolutely oppose to different possibilities because we are different, we the fact that we are different shouldn't punish us but reward us."(age 61, social feminist).

One participant in her answer linked her attitude toward church and abortion: "About the church all the worst, no matter how deeply I respect the question of religion as a personal question of choice, but the question of the church as a political factor in this society becomes scary, because we are a secular state...The church has no right to stop the law against discrimination, church doesn't have right to make public statements about gay parade... I think that in the last twenty years the church had a tragic role in this society...from great support for war and war criminals, and that is terrible, although I don't think that all representatives (of the church – A.V) are like that, probably among them you have people who deeply believe. So, the church as a political factor, and it becomes, it is terrifying for me, and this is one of the things that we need to be very careful about, and second during the nineties was an attempt by the Synod to deny the abortion right. The role of women in church reading is deeply conservative, deeply traditional, she has been instrumentalized exclusively as a mother, a follower...which is a long-standing issue because the right on abortion is a political right, a right of every woman to dispose of her body...who wants to take it away is really...and after all, what is the idea of a healthy society and a healthy family, which now appears in our public discourse? What does a healthy family mean? That women who want to have children and cannot, are no longer healthy, and then they are discriminated against with these texts." (age 35, does not choose a particular feminist orientation).

Here are some more interesting views of participants about a relationship with religion and church in which they insist that the state should be strictly separated from the church: "For example, in relation to religion, and not just

religion, in relation to a church, I'm not talking about religion, but about the church, about Christianity, I thought that I have no problem, my parents are atheists, I have no problem, what's there to talk about it, and then I realized how many drifts are there...and that I was not aware at all that it was coming from there. *Where did they come from?* From Christianity, especially the churches. *Do you think of the influence of the church on your understanding, feminism and everything?* Not to my understanding of feminism, but to our consciousness in general, on a perception of ourselves, on state in life ... and this exists, it is part of the patriarchal heritage, but that one part is specific because it originates from Christianity."

The opinion of another respondent was:

"Regardless of being an atheist, I used to, as my mother did, respected beliefs, and that was okay. My mother, although she was an atheist, went to celebrated "slava" with her friends, and she led me to as a little girl. My grandmother was religious, maybe she did not bear priests, a priest never came into our house, but she celebrated "slava" and was religious. I remember we celebrated "slava" and she would cross in orthodox manner three times every night... she was religious, but never indoctrinated us, we weren't baptized, there were grandmothers who secretly took babies and children to baptize. Earlier I respected, I'm much sharper now, especially when I saw now what happens, and how in one extremely aggressive, wild, primitive way in which church enters the essence, into the core of a society that consider itself as secular and that no one can do anything, no one can declare itself as an atheist loudly, publicly state that you are atheist. I grow up in a civil family, that is, we did not celebrate, grandmother celebrated "slava". My pressure rises, especially where the representatives of the church manage to achieve some significant influence...especially women's place in Christianity is catastrophic, there a rape is allowed, and it means fulfilling a marital obligation, a woman is dirty. Only a few theses to mention, that is very important, every woman asks herself, in her greatest depth, what she thinks of herself, intimately that it is dirty? it is imputed through the church, it is a terribly important thing for the essence ...Well, I'm telling what I'm currently thinking ... I'm now very fiercely

against the Orthodox Church, because what she represents here, I would also be against the Catholic... absolutely." (age 63, does not choose a particular feminist orientation).

One feminist declared that she is not against religiosity and that individual's right to believe is a private matter: "I'm an atheist, but I have nothing against people who believe, I absolutely think it's everyone's right, but I think it's kind of a private matter. And I think that the state of Serbia, which states in the Constitution that it is a secular state, we know precisely what secularism is, that is the complete separation of church and state and that a church cannot interfere with anything that is not a church issue, and for years they wanted to present us, in effect, that secularism is tolerance in relation to different religions, I mean let them tell that to someone else, it is well known what secularity is. So, against religion as such I have nothing against, I have against wrong interpretations or misuses of religion, which is an absolute characteristic of religious fundamentalisms, from the Orthodox to any other, and towards church I have a terrible attitude, I see the church as my greatest enemy, I mean the church which just misuses faith... and is somehow based on human fear, on human misery and pain, and thus manipulates with it. For me it is an organization rich sources of funding, with incredible influence, and incredible ways of sustainability.

They (members of the church – A.V.) are even now, although some studies show that a good part of people lost confidence in the church...they now have in a large number of cities, at least I know for the city from which I originate, they have some sort of split between the two churches, where they supposedly say that these others don't serve the service as it should by canons, and where it is actually only important to somehow keep people in their parish, even if it's based on a fictional schism as a way of self-sustainability. Now, these people from one place go to another church, and all this is in fact the same circle where they turn around. So, I think the church is very dangerous because of its influence and power and of course because of somehow the worst possible relationship to

women above all, but also to all other people who are different, and which do not fit into the canon “Good Orthodox girl” or “good Orthodox boy”. So, in my opinion, if the church did not initiate, it largely participated and supported the worst things that happened in this area.” (age 36, does not choose a particular feminist orientation).

Conclusion

Based on my findings, it is confirmed that feminists are in majority atheists, they don't believe in God and have a negative attitude about the church and more on representatives of the church in Serbian society. The opinion of all respondents is that SOC is very powerful organization with strong impact on social life. Thus, when participants explain their attitude towards church and faith in God it prevails that religion is not needed in public schools and consider that it is necessary that church and state are strictly separated because Serbia is a secular state by Constitution.

Views of feminists in my research show that a strong influence of Serbian Orthodox Church is not acceptable. Feminists believe that to believe or not is a right of every human being, but they consider it an intolerable mix of the church in everyday issues of citizens, and the restriction of women's rights in any form.

It seems to us that our individual and collective history is moving and progressing, however, “it is true that the social balance maintains a consensus on the minimum of public principles through explicit and implicit norms (governance and subordination) with insignificant or very slow movement and development (Vuković, 2012: 215)”. Sociologists have also explored the question whether religion is used as a source of social capital in the contemporary Serbian society, and conclude “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 objectivized (Gavrilović, Jovanović, 2011: 149)”. Each identity is layered and

dynamic, and this is evident in the fact that identity can have a class, party, gender, component that together make political identity and influence the forms of political action. Identity provides an opportunity for personality development, but also limits the individual in some aspects, because it does not form once and for all, but changes itself under the influence of social factors and through doubts and conflicting attitudes in the individual (Vuković, 2013: 249). Identity emerges as a product of the relationship between the individual and the environment in which it is located, and the two essential components of this notion are affiliation and “otherness”.

Even interviewees who are not completely indifferent to the religious phenomenon are sceptical towards institutional religious forms and consider that their relationship towards God is based on a faith that does not need an intermediary - the church and its representatives. Considering the powerful process of de-secularization and revitalization of religion, as well as notion that people avoid declaring themselves as atheists, the question is will few feminists be the only and rare social actors who will plead atheistic position in our society in future? In order to understand religiosity and create social relations, we need a dialogue in social space between social actors who declare themselves as believers and those who consider themselves as atheists. A dialogue which would not be, what dialogue often is - the abundance of rhetoric and manifestation of power between participants in different positions of power and influence, but a constructive exchange of opinions with mutual respect of all actors and a purposeful analysis of past, present and future (Vuković, 2017).

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The Challenges of Globalization: Christianity and Ideology of Liberal Modernization¹

Abstract

The processes of globalization create contours of the new world organization. The “Old world” and its order whose pillars are *family, state* and *church* is replaced by the “New”, whose ideology is liberal modernization and the advocate is the so-called globalist aristocracy. The pillars of the “New world”, science, technique, technology, government organizations and communications open the possibility of establishing a unified legal, administrative and spiritual jurisdiction at a global level. Consumerist culture of contemporary capitalism at the same time ‘invites’ people to free themselves of all restraints and leads to the ‘liberation’ of personality from society, tradition, family, connection with others, and to oppose Christian values.

Fragmentation of identity and experimentation with what is given by nature leads the humanity into the danger of losing human nature and confronts Christianity with the challenge of finding ways to restore faith in the spiritual world. It is a special mission of the Orthodox Church to restore and strengthen the unity of faith – *correct and salvific confession of faith in God*, which can play an important role in saving man from the “new human” arrangement.

Keywords: globalization, ideology, liberal modernization, Christianity, Orthodox Church.

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Introduction

■ Despite all its variability, the human society rests, in fact, on one constant: the need to constantly overcome what is achieved by discovering something new. In the era of humanism and renaissance, the strong need to overcome the theocentric revealed the man as the inventor of “new” countries, nations, but also of new ways of total social organization based on human rather than God’s laws. During the later historical epochs, God’s laws were proclaimed, gradually, but constantly, for those who slowed down the overall progress, whatever that meant (scientific progress, technical and technological progress, economic progress, etc.) in order to be questioned in due time, because of, as it is considered, their opposition to man’s faith in reason.

Belief basically means accepting certain principles, attitudes and values without proving and checking. Man is a *believer* in his being, he always believes, only the Gods, doctrines, doctrines and ideologies he believes in change. However, it can be said that there are two faiths in him: the faith of reason and the faith of the heart (Romanidis, 2005). “There are two religions in man. One is the faith of the brain, the logical faith of acceptance. Here man accepts something logically and believes in what he has accepted... The second faith is the faith of the heart, since such faith is not in the mind, that is, in thoughts, but it is in the heart. This faith is the gift of God, i.e. it will not be received by a man if God does not want to give it to him, and this faith is called the inner faith ... The inner faith comes from the experience of grace” (Romanidis, 2005:45). However, every person experiences faith in his own way, just like he has his own experience of life and the world. In a world where the basic meaning of life is to produce as much as possible and to spend more and more, faith is reduced to the human dimension – a man becomes a convinced friend of learning that “he is worth as much as he spends”.

The ruling ideology of liberal modernization in the so-called postmodern societies develops a belief that man is an atomized universe, a world for itself which leads to the development of egoism and selfishness. Both social and culture systems encourage an individual to accept *greediness, greed, self-interest*

as desirable values, which enable him to survive in the market model of existence. They encourage him to *acquire*, i.e. accept *achievement* as a value and to *spend*, i.e. accept *irrationality* as a value. The first encouragement turns him into a sharp competitor to *others* who also strive to gain financial benefits, status, reputation, power, while the other encouragement turns him into a consumer – a consumer who has an irresistible “hunger” for new products in order to show off and enjoy his own finances, status, reputation and power.

In modern capitalism, and capitalism in general, all valuable resources are concentrated in the hands of a minority, which, in turn, possesses a monopoly of power. The maintenance of such a state is achieved by imposing the ideology according to which private capital, profit, free market and inequalities that result from it are natural, reasonable and legitimate. Acceptance of such principles and belief in them by subordinate groups (classes and layers) is achieved through the so-called process of legitimization, which is a part of the mass indoctrination. In fact, it is about imposing the politics, interests, values and goals of the ruling minority to the “rest” of society as being useful for all. Advertising in this imposition process has the role of propagating *belief* that the path to happiness and fulfillment of life is the accumulation of material goods and products produced by capitalism (Haralambos & Heald, 1989). The “rest” of the society made up of atomized individuals is encouraged to find bliss and happiness in the consumption of a vast array of products and satisfaction provided by the role of consumers – by leading them to see only the “clean” face of capitalism and to give it legitimacy by accepting it.

The circle of two thousand years of Christianity (in this work, Christianity means Orthodoxy), which basically called for the acceptance of the teaching of the new covenant and the law of *love* as a counterbalance to the mamonic grandeur of the material and justification of all the ways in which it is acquired, has not changed. In different, so-called modern societies, Christianity has long been expelled from public discourse, but it has not yet been expelled. However, there is a significant reduction in the ability to address people: in the great competition of new ideas propagated by the mass media, the Christian idea is marginalized.

Christianity and liberal modernization

The development of science and technology aimed at mastering nature, human societies and man, flooded the world with such achievements which lead the Christian Truth into doubt: a man has lost his faith in *love, community and solidarity*. The road to this suspicion was previously purged by the great revolutions that were first settled with religion, both France and October and many "small" revolutions that led to the creation of the blessed states. Immediately after the conquest of power, one of the first laws of the blessed builders was the separation of the state and the church, and the further separation of state education and church education. Strict political solutions that until then were thought to be able to almost automatically replace gods and improve humanity led to the destruction of traditional values and fear of "rationality dispersed in detail, which cannot be linked to general rationality" (Furastje, 1973:104). The man continued to live in unexplained cosmos, but this time by renouncing faith in God and accepting faith in reason. And education, accordingly, is experiencing transformation: "tradition and traditional, and above all religious knowledge is suppressed, and the principles of rationalism get an extraordinary position" (Trifunović, 2008: 71). The education of many generations on a system of values that did not incorporate Christian values enabled the human nature to form beyond the principles of Christian faith (the laws of God), but in accordance with the laws that are the work of human intervention. Poisoned by Midas's curse, Narcissus's egoistic and hedonistic illusions and Faust's pride, people today create a *New world*, or a global society based on the idea that God can be replaced. And it gives the opportunity to a modern man to turn himself into a religion: his own needs, interests and desires determine ethos, and property as such becomes the meaning of life.

The old world that rested on the respect of family, state and church was systematically ruined for at least two centuries and in the late 20th and early 21st century its survival was called into question: the processes of globalization took super state (and supranational) actors in the image corporations to the social scene that, who using their economic power acquire political power and directly decide on all aspects of development, on

sustainability or exclusiveness of existing forms of human society organization. National states were first “hit”; in the domain of economics, the idea that has cut down the role of the state – a liberal idea that the state should not regulate economic relations and processes, and that the free market assumes the role of the only regulator in the domain of economy – introduced the spirit of the Grand Inquisitor into the state tissue. And he, like all members of his profession, slowly and precisely destroyed its management and control mechanisms and led to the recognition of his own impunity. States today transferred parts of their sovereignty to supranational entities whose recommendations and guidelines have a binding character – deviation, lawfully leading to isolation and sanctions. Disabling state to create a comprehensive development policy has, on the other hand, provided to foreign actors (multinational corporations, non-governmental sector) to greatly influence national legal systems in the direction of their harmonization with supranational legislation.

New sets of laws, values, norms and regulations that substantially change the character of a family are introduced: a traditional family with established roles, duties, rights and relationships between members is defamed in favor of the concept of a liberal family with unclear roles, duties, rights and relationships between members who, targeted, make the family vulnerable and “open” to the influence of external regulators. The formation of a family, today, its members leads to an increased risk of violating the Family Law, that is, the Law as such: all duties, rights, and relationships are so normative that family members practically do not provide the opportunity for procreation. Rebellion against traditional values including family and family values that began in 1968 (Saint-Jean-Polen, 1999) also led to battle with Christian values and to the collapse of legitimacy of the Christian idea and the Church. A strategy was used in this attempt by method of “diluting” the influence of Christianity by introducing a whole spectrum of new religions and religious ideas that together constitute a movement known as the New Age. The pluralization of religious ideas (Lakroa, 2001) has led to the possibility that each individual, in accordance with his personal characteristics and in accordance with his own taste, chooses a religion that will give him the opportunity for personal contact

with the Creator, even if they were psychedelic substances. Christianity was tempted: there is a reduction in its role in personal and social life. Individuals, because of the rigid attitudes of the Church, accept new ideas that, at the same time, denote the rejection of Christian principles. By losing influence on the attitudes and behavior of a person (individual), the Church diminishes its significance in society, loses the role of the arbitrator in making decisions important for the community and society. Orthodox churches were particularly tempted because the canonic relation of the symphony with the state due to the global present process of modernization, on the basis of which liberalism was founded, is hardly achievable if they persist in the intention to testify about the Truth.

Global aristocracy (Dugin, 2017) or supranational cartels of power seeks to establish a unipolar world with a number of interventions (financial, political, economic), a world in which there would be one center of power, universal money, a unique legal order and the unique forces that would ensure that order. At the heart of this global world are the interests of global aristocracy, which, we can assume, are contrasted to the "rest" of the world: numerous so-called conspiracy theories point to a strategy and concepts that best ensure and protect the interests of global aristocracy (Pavlenko & Štol, 2014). The management of financial flows, the pyramid collapse of national economies, and the management of "local" economic crash, coordinated by the supranational institutions International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, are some of the proven ways of influencing the organization that is interested in global aristocracy. This arrangement is publicly presented in the final reports of the Club of Rome, beginning with the First Report (1972) which is called the *Growth Limit* in which, due to the assumed threat of global population growth and the exploitation of natural resources, actions aimed at limiting and reducing them are recommended. In that way, Maltus's (Tomas Robert Maltus 1766 – 1834) theory of the non-sustainability of a system whose parameters are the progressive population growth and the arithmetical growth of food and goods production for its maintenance, is again "discovered" and accepted by global aristocracy, which recommends the following rational choices: 1) reduction of the world population and 2) stopping the growth of

underdeveloped economies at the attained level so as not to jeopardize the existing distribution of resources between rich (developed) and poor (underdeveloped) countries. It is strange that the ideas presented in the "Essay on the Principles of the Population" (1789), which expressed a widespread understanding among the wealthiest layers of English society that there is a *surplus of unnecessary workers in the population*, in the so-called Era of Accelerated Progress (XX and XXI), have their spokespersons among global policy makers. They even became an integral part of international documents/recommendations, such as the Rome Club Report and Agenda 21.

Such a type of recommendation led to the establishment of a growing gap between rich and poor countries, groups and individuals, induced by the "new" philosophy of development (Peru, 1986) in which the economic potentials and "abilities" of space were placed in front of people. There is still a "scientific" discussion about what constitutes the optimal population and most often the answer is that this is the number of inhabitants who produce the greatest possible economic profit in certain natural, cultural and social conditions (Nejamšić, 2005). The population growth, for now, has not been stopped. However, there is a growing recognition that "the integration into the global market, which has the character of permanent association in order to achieve mutually agreed goals that do not bring the same profit to all actors of association, cannot replace the need for belonging to the *community*" (Trifunović, 2010: 42) based on common beliefs and values.

The partial realization of the global plan therefore requires a more comprehensive impact on the concepts, values and moral perceptions of people focused on changing traditional perceptions of *what is important and what needs to be tended*. Joint action of powerful sources of culture formation was necessary in order to "change consciousness" of people raised in the value coordinates of tradition and conservatism. The first global step in that direction was the "conducted" rebellion of *young* people against the *elderly* or children against parents in America at the end of the 1960s: wide basis of *counterculture*, the so-called flower children (hippie movement) shook the traditional value system in the United States. One line of action of the movement was focused on the political

field (the movement for peace, the movement for resolving the so-called women's issue, the movement for resolving the so-called black issue), and the second on changing everyday life (the spread of new life styles in isolated urban and rural communities, advocacy of the idea of free expression of sexuality that has been transformed into supporting promiscuity, a negative attitude towards work, family and childbearing, the tendency to use psychedelic substances and experimenting with religious identities – the focus of the non-Christian religions and the rejection of Christian values (Saint-Jean Polen, 1999). Literature (*beatniks*), music (rock groups and their cult leaders, great musical "festivals" in the open) and the movie industry (especially Hollywood production) from that time are, in fact, in the function of presenting and promoting the idea of counterculture. Promotion of ideas that are far from Christian ideas.

Christianity and consumerist culture

New trends in cultural and artistic creation at the global level have conditioned the emergence of new "cultural" and "artistic" products that represent not only break with traditional forms of expression (forms and materials change), which represents normal development phases, but also the introduction of new acceptability criteria: instead of the *aesthetics of beautiful*, the *aesthetics of ugly* is introduced and recommended. On the other hand, *good* as a universal principle disappears from the public discourse: now we are presented challenges of expression through different forms and different contents that delineate the boundary between *good* and *evil*, whose promoters, without real worry about the ultimate effects of the new way of expression, represent the idea *that everything is allowed*. One of the first challenges faced by the strategists of the *new world* was to remove the influence of the Church (this paper gives an overview of Orthodox church). Experiences from previous projects that sought to transform the world or at least one of its parts, such as the Soviet one, showed that the physical destruction of churches, monasteries, clergy and the faithful people did not yield the expected result: they were

preserved in the traces and, over several decades, experienced a renewal and a new momentum. Therefore, the creators of the new world now do not take away “openly” the right of the Church to act by judicial decisions and the use of force in their implementation. On the contrary, refined patterns of influence in the public space are now being implemented, designed in numerous research centers. New methods, means and technologies of action are being made to people, in order to gradually accept what has been unacceptable for convinced Christians. The consumerist culture of modern capitalism, through the values and lifestyles it promotes, allows the implementation of agenda of battle against Christianity and Christian values. Entertained by himself, at the level of satisfying the basic and newly introduced “consumer” needs, man slowly loses (assuming that the process is incomplete) the sky above him from his sight, i.e. the spiritual dimension of his own being, which, as imperfect, has the need to conform to the perfect (God) through the Church.

Consumerism culture can also be viewed as a kind of way of a man moving away from God’s image in himself, that is, as a sort of divergence. Deviation from God basically represents the *rejection of the Ten Divine Laws, the rejection of responsibility for others, and the rejection of disciplining of own thoughts, intentions and actions*. Such a condition, in which a person is permitted everything, when he is “freed” from the moral law above himself, opens a vast space for *dealing with himself*. This strenuous task, especially when there are no clear orientations on how to implement it, becomes a massive burden to a man without God and he tries to avoid it: he turns to a worldly entertainment and spectacle which tell him that it is enough to take part in his own life from the “second hand”. It is enough to adopt a consumer principle of use of what others have made and offered on the market and, as the creators of various assortments tell him, he has done everything that is necessary. Freed from the effort to deal with himself and confronted with the possibility for others to do so for him, a man easily accepts all “wonders” that the consumerist culture of contemporary capitalism creates. And it is easy to forget that in the world in general, in nature, in society, and in man, the physical law of entropy rules: with the flow of time, chaos is increasing. Just by establishing and maintaining

order in the chaos that threatens, a man can survive: the order had been established in the beginning by the Word, the work of God, and has been maintained by the observance of God's laws. Their replacement by the new Decalogue (and decals) promoted by the Western, positivist, pragmatist, mammonist ideology of liberal modernization, which is globally imposed by the global aristocracy, threatens the survival of man as being with the gift of *freedom of choice*. And it reduces it to being, which has the ability, under certain conditions, to use civilization achievements at a certain time, in a certain space and in a certain way.

Being burdened with so many limitations, the human essence, the *soul* becomes difficult and incapable of rising above the material conditions that brings man into the dimension of *finality*. Confrontation with such a choice is burdensome and man is trying to replace this decadence with an increasing quantity of goods he can consume, especially with their exclusivity; then, the amount of power it can grab, in particular the possibility of nothing interfering with imposing one's own will on those who oppose it; in the end, the possibility of forming new worlds, virtual and imaginary, free from assumed responsibility, responsibility that leads to disciplining of *oneself in the present*. On the contrary, creating and participating in new worlds where the present reverses the dimension of the future, man is destroying the degree of indolence (meaninglessness) and turning solely on satisfying his own instincts, needs and interests, at all costs and despite the other. Often in spite of himself. Relaxed in the arena that promises fun, it becomes careless and fails to see the blood traces at its base: he accepts to participate in a world based on tyrannical laws that almost does not leave a chance for man willing to see to survive, hear and create the world by the rules of the owner of the arena – global aristocracy. Amazed by the promises of a new world in which all earthly benefits will be available, man decides to deviate from the search for the Truth (God) and becomes the consumer. After this decision, the role of the Church becomes questionable for him. And for the Church itself its own duration in the world that is shaped by liberal modernization becomes questionable. Orthodox churches confronted with the Western idea of the new organization of the world and the Western idea of the new organization of the Church

are implied by ecumenism, which is a newly conceived counteract to eclecticism, this time in a religious level.

Experimentation in all areas of society, globally, in science in general and in medical sciences with the intention of perceiving the secret of creating life, creates a context in which the “old” forms of existence are declared archaic, overstated and, legitimately, susceptible to “redesigning”. The approaches to the basic phenomena of existence have also been changed: in the past, the twentieth century and in the first decades of the twenty-first century, the relationship towards life, birth, towards the creation of communities like the family, to sexuality, to death and to others, have acquired new, previously unknown or unacceptable characteristics. The essential intent of these approaches is to declare *a lack of stability* for the basic form of existence, resulting in an exclusiveness of respecting the existing forms that have ensured the continuity of existence. Basically, this intention is not known for a philosophical approach *everything changes* from which, logically, the conclusion is drawn about the “natural” cyclical transformations that ensure the continuity of existence. It is a completely different approach that can be reduced to a syntagma *it is allowed to change everything* from which, necessarily, the conclusion is made that every change is legitimate because *something changes*. Even when changing the necessary conditions that ensure continuity of the duration and questioning it.

Identity experiments have two dimensions, one on the individual level and the other, concerning collective identities. In addition to the notion that identical issues are complex, one must start by pointing to *what* the identity determines and *why* its formation is important. Identity always gives an answer to the question of *who we are, what we want, what we strive for* when it comes to the individual identity and to *which group we belong, what are its basic values* when it comes to collective identity. Firmly formed identities in individuals build self-awareness, the idea of oneself as being worthy, therefore, has personal dignity and deserves the respect of others. On the other hand, firmly formed collective identities allow the individual to join his “*self*” with a certain “*we*”, thus becoming a part of the whole that represents, supports and protects him. Without going into the issue of open and closed identities (Mayer,

2009), thus, identity that fosters differences and identities that fight diversity, it is intended to point out that clear identical determinations provide a sense of *stability* that meets the important human need for security and support (Maslov, 1982).

The Church, as a permanent two-thousand-year institution in which many human generations found security and support, with its orthodox teaching that did not change from the time when the Holy Fathers in the Parliament used the word and books to pass it on to believers, is an example of *perseverance*. The foundations of the Church are built on the Word of God and do not change over the centuries: the promise given once, and the teaching of *salvation* is unchanged to the believers. And this unchanged is a guarantee of fulfillment of the promise. Therefore, every intention to change true teachings (true religion or Orthodoxy) to the expectations of a new world order towards a new human jurisdiction represent endangerment to the foundations of the Church and what it represents: *perseverance*. If the Church, therefore, experiments with eclectic approaches to learning by father, then its essence is lost: the preservation of the Word of God and its expansion. Thus, its legitimacy and the reason for existence are also lost. The preservation of the Church and its permanence must therefore be viewed from the point of view of relations with *transient* and *emptiness*. There is a word in the Church that teaches that human existence is *transient* in its material dimension, but that the *transient* is not its ultimate destination, but the enthronement in the spiritual dimension. The modernization of the Church in the form of ecumenism represents, as well as experimentation with basic identities, the renunciation of *perseverance* and the acceptance of *decay* or *nothingness* as the final destination.

The *proper* and *saving* confession of faith in God is, in fact, a constant quest for Justice and Truth, and they have never been "of this world". To the man of the 21st century, used to react only to worldly, earthly irritations, such a search is probably an unacceptable anachronism. Involved in the earthly trinity of egoism, hedonism and narcissism, and tired of the ever-growing efforts to please them, a man who came under the influence of the global idea of his own growing power has no need to believe in God. On the contrary, he intends to expel him. As it is precedent, the act is

postponed, but the preparation for it is expanding, complicating and accelerating. Globalism relying on neoliberal ideology mercilessly hunts Truth and Justice from public discourse and fights against them: by *lies* in their most terrible form, the media, which is spreading globally and *injustice* in its strongest form, imposed by armed and any other force. Lies provoke and justify the wars, which constantly last between people and in people. Thus, today, this world, every day and material are fighting the world created by the spiritual substance: it wants to break the connection by which faith in God connects believers with God himself, with Truth and Justice. The place where this connection is realized is the Church. The Church, therefore, has the *responsibility* and *mission* of preserving and transmitting the Truth through liturgy. Liturgy is a common worship that gathers and connects: it has a *charitable* character and the power to create a *community*, providing the individual with the widest framework for identity formation, i.e. *recognitions on who he is, what he wants, what he's tending, which group he belongs to, what are his basic values*. Based on these facts, an individual can develop self-awareness, self-esteem, personal dignity and the feeling that he is not alone but belongs to a large community. By developing these characteristics and feelings, an individual can avoid the traps of experimentation carried by the ideology of liberal modernization and stimulate the consumerist culture of contemporary capitalism.

The intention of global aristocracy to establish a "new human order" is an undertaking in the spirit of social change as a constituent of human society – since its creation, there have been calls for change that have led to different forms of development and the replacement of socio-economic formations throughout history. Development, however, can be progressive and regressive. When the effects of development improve the quality of people's lives, we can speak, conditionally, of progressive development and, conversely, when these effects compromise the already achieved quality of life of people – we speak about regressive development. "A paradox occurs: materialistic understanding of progress turns it into its opposite, regress. And mankind leads to apocalypse and peril. Traditionalism refrains from such an outcome, preserves human life, history, as well as the prospect of progress that materialism is concerned

about. It turns out that not all materialism is progressive, nor that traditionalism is leading to regress. It's vice versa. Also, we come to the point that every globalization can be seen as the end of time, history and humanity" (Pavlenko & Štol, 2014).

Liberal modernization imposed by formal and informal power centers has caused negative effects if observed only for the period from the end of the eighties of the last century to the present. We will only cite some: 1) pronounced inequalities in the distribution of social wealth – there has been an increase in the gap between the rich (developed) and the poor (underdeveloped) societies, as well as the creation of deeper social differences between classes and layers in all societies; the ultimate consequence of the "new development" in the global context is the rise in poverty and the increase in the number of poor people; 2) pronounced inequalities in the distribution of natural resources – economically developed countries, which are both politically and militarily powerful, provide themselves with free access to natural resources, renewable and non-renewable, violating the sovereign rights of national states, "using" economic sanctions and wars; 3) disturbance of ecological balance and destruction of the natural environment that does not allow return to the original state – that is, the natural foundations of survival are destroyed due to the domination of a small group of mighty; 4) reduction and elimination of acquired work and other rights that impede safety of an individual in the new order; the legislative framework that norms the tiniest details of life is directed towards the abolition of freedom, and not to their enlargement; 5) the overall changes on the global stage have been directed towards the collapse of the two-hundred-year-old Christian tradition and the Church, above all the Orthodox, which largely maintained its own autochthonism.

Christian faith is "joyful news", however, in the civilization shaped by liberal modernization, the basic meaning of life is economic gain, and faith ceases to be a source of joy. Believing and being a church member today has lost meaning because it shaped the idea of them "that is anti-life, obsolete, rigid, which is a threat to human freedom and dignity" (Bigović, 2011: 240). An additional effort by Christians and the Church is needed to eliminate pseudo-Orthodox influences, heretics, and superstitions. It is, therefore,

important to get acquainted with some of the initial determinations of Orthodox faith in order to emphasize its peculiarities. "Faith is the gift of God. Faith is life, ME-YOU relationship. Faith is a touch, meeting with Christ and trust in Christ. The gospel John identifies faith with life in Christ (John. 3, 15; 17, 3; 20, 31). We can see the same thought with St. Paul the Apostle (Gal. 3, 11; 2, 20, and Rom. 1, 17). In some New Testament books, faith is associated with love. It is expressed through love and as love. Therefore, it is also called the "breath of life", "community", "participation" (1 Cor. 10, 16-17, 3, 11), "foundation" and "Hypostasis" (Heb. 11, 1; 3, 14)" (Bigović, 2011:236).

In Orthodox discourse, faith is, therefore, trust or personal relation; identification with Christ and accepting Christ's view of ourselves, of other people, the world around us and God himself. Faith is basically not focused on Me but on the Other. It is precisely these determinations that show the depth of distinction between forefather and father faith in the spirit of Christ taught by the Orthodox Church and the belief that the free market can regulate all aspects of life in the society and the life of an individual. Orthodox faith shows that it is possible to share with one another their own heart (love), faith in the market is trying to prove that it is legitimate to buy someone else's heart. The first shows that it is possible to live for others, and the latter, arrogant and greedy, that they are allowed to live instead of others. The first is Love, the second is self-love.

Conclusion

Liberal modernization in the second half of the 20th century strives to counter the traditional and so-called transitional society (in the context of the scientific and technical revolution) and complete the creation of a rational society that would have a universal character. This new form of society forms based on Western rationalism, the liberalization of individual choices and the individual's priorities over collective social interests. In such a society, an individual is turned to himself, his own needs, and his main driver is the desire for satisfaction that is achieved through the fulfillment of

these personal needs. *Others* pose a potential or cruel real threat to satisfying different needs, so an individual in a rational society does not build *I-you* and *I-we* relationships but replaces them with market relations. To acquire as much material goods as possible and to consume them indefinitely, an individual is separated from the community because it implies living with others, love and giving to others. He also separates himself from the Church as a community: he easily renounces the religious content of the original tradition and it is replaced by the occult-esoteric, pseudo and anti-traditional New Age. Therefore, the Orthodox Church stands opposite to the West, which is already fully secularized and post-Christian and does not find the right form of unification of traditionalism and progressivism and is increasingly prone to ecumenism. Nevertheless, the ecumenist story of unity is essentially heretical from the aspect of Christian dogma and therefore unacceptable to the Orthodox Church.

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Transcultural Reality and Methodology of Religious Dogmatics

Abstract

The spiritual potentials of the world reflect not only on inter-civilizational cooperation, but also on the possibility that each individual confession will advertise in a civilized affirmation of their position and struggle for their rights. Western inheritance of codifying and thought systems allows radical Islam to point their criticism and dissatisfaction towards that same world. Radical Islam took some motives from the content of Christian and Judaic preachings, while being hostile to the whole civilization on which it relied. The original questions of world religions must be reduced to a social one, so that we can objectively understand both religion and society. Searching for sources of great religions cannot bring ultimate peace and compatibility with the doctrine, but can bring the spiritual need for a sense of lasting values. One of the greatest is the symbolic projection of God, which, unfortunately, often adapts to the critical discourse of the unstoppable tendency of the technological and informational revolution.

The author emphasizes that the idea of God and his role regularly came into confrontation with the products of human civilization. In doing so, the dogmatic structure of thinking represents a call to an asymmetrical consequence as a product of possessive envy in which by giving to something other than God, you also take something away from God. This structure is dogmatic because it is the opposite of both Christ Himself and his love for selfless giving.

Keywords: God, religion, Christian churches, Pentecostalism, radical Islam.

Introduction

■ Modernization processes in the church, especially their focus on political influences over social issues, have raised the question of actuality of their source religious identity as dogmatic and sacramental doctrine. Unfolding, these processes have connected the modern secularism and the need to revitalize the source principles of a specific religion. In this manner, the process of church modernisation has become subject to relativisation: from engaged thought and praxis to a revived source spirituality. In this sense, the idea of divine authority has successfully adapted to culture in its entirety and to some of its institutional and innovative forms, as well. For example, Pentecostalism as a successful sect, has managed to find a balance between strict interpretation of the ultimate power attributed to God and the participation in contemporary social issues. Also, this dualism between religion and its institutional base (church) requires that we take at least occasionally a look at their connection and that we point to their differences.

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Religion, church, world culture

A religious ritual involves an ascetically focused procedure. A church ritual involves a market and profit-oriented approach to religion. The church contact between a priest and its flock is an official one; religious contact, on the other hand, is deeply rooted in the need of an individual, in personal and collective perception of holiness. The church ritual is vertically defined by hierarchy; religious act is horizontally created with free promotion of values, with participative democracy free of hierarchy. In religion, respect is showed not only to God, but also to whoever mediates between God and believers. In church, however, a believer respects the official relationship and the spiritual atmosphere created by the media and the everyday public. In a primitive society, religion is the same as its public, while in modern communities, the temple and the public are spiritual reminders of the religion – a secular life that shapes and contemplates the doctrine. In church, the *ratio* dominates, while in religion it is rapture that has dominant role. Religion

does not deny dreams while the church does, placing them within a doctrine-established frame.

Religion opens the paths to freedom, while official faith closes them. The tattoos and ornaments on the body in primitive communities have religious origins; these ornaments are forbidden by the church as a degradation of what God himself has created and shaped. In Islamic religion, God is invisible, which stimulates the freedom of senses and a mystical relationship with the Almighty. Is it not an expression of spirituality through which beams of imagination shine? On the other hand, in official religion and by Islamic laws, God must remain undepicted in art and in public presentations. A clash of metaphysics with the norms is a perpetual clash of faith and its institutional form. Religion stimulates the senses while Church denies them, stigmatizing them as a reality unworthy of the doctrine spirit.

In religion, emotions rule, while in its institutionalization they die out adapting to the given restrictions or at least to the norms. Religion reflects, if not otherworldly existence, then at least a more beautiful world, while the church grounds it down to a battlefield of real, earthly interests. The first thing refers to a person and their needs, the second is the foothold and the convergence of a class. They will never go together, just like the spirit and the power do not go together. Religion seeks refuge in the metaphysical omnipresence, while the church seeks refuge in art and rational architectural symmetry. In short, the church is a fact of the matter, while religion is a fact of the spirit. Religion liberates the spirit, and the church tries to manage it. While a religious ritual belongs to itself, the church congregation sways towards politics. Religion offers an experience of the tradition; church however diffuses towards modernity. Apart from polytheistic religions, modern confessions are dominated by God or spiritual standards of faith and rapture. In church, the spiritual deity gives place to earthly deities. This difference between the heaven and the earth, the heavenly and the earthly, will bring about the questioning of the purposefulness of the church as a valid mediator between God and congregation. Therefore, religions are successful and long lasting while churches are controversial and subject to criticism.

These discrepancies between religion and church have created pressure on the very essence of the religious doctrine, inspiring

various antinomies in its structure and its recognisability. For example, each religion has survived the adaptation to the consumerist/monetary and technical/technological modernisation. This cultural process has globalized not only the habits and needs of people, but has also instigated controversial tendencies in the very content of world religions. Consequently, it is obvious that Islam uses western cultural patterns to fight the West. Despite its critics, this specific faith participates in many modalities of the Western values. Such transcultural and mutual pervasion of the West and the Islam is obvious in sports, for example. Iranian football players display passion and pride trying to present themselves to the cultures of the world in big sports events, thus becoming part of the world culture.

If we take sports as one of the aspects of civil society, as it denies the influence of the divine will on the field results, then the factual transformation of Islam is more than obvious in this area. In fact, sports deny the sacred virtue of God, having in mind that the competition outcomes have nothing to do with the ritual prayers of football players on the pitch and the gratitude they offer to God in their media announcements. As much as any culture is religious and local it is equally global, secular and transcultural.

Ronald Robertson has undoubtedly pointed to the Islamic use of fundamental Western values. It means not only that the concept of the clash of civilisations is too simplified, but also that intertwining of cultures because of general development of mankind and their fundamental needs. Cultures differ in different parts of the world, but people flock around those that are essential to their safety and prosperity. The basic postulate of many fundamentalists that they have the right to safeguard the integrity of their traditions is itself derived from a very global idea – that nations and societies have the right to their own identity and that they are expected to develop some sort of cultural diversity (Robertson, 1992:102). As much as one may study fundamentalism, one needs to take a definitive global standpoint – the standpoint which treats the world as a whole (ibid.2).

In spite of the numerous flaws of the Western cultures, some of their values are not only attractive to the rest of the world, but have become universal patterns of humanity after the Second World War, globally recognized and accepted through modern

codification. Is not the Iranian urban revolt from the beginning of 2018 a subtle confirmation of their cry for human rights as a global phenomenon? In 2018, thousands of people protested because of the state of economy and corruption corrosive to the society. Members of the middle classes had to work two jobs to be able to survive. As for Iran, the most Islamic country of all, it was not a battlefield of religious conflicts and the reasons for the uprising and clashes with the government forces lay in the civic values and we can say Western values. These values have been attracting the masses, while on the other hand, the anti-values related to corruption and greed are associated with any rule of power. The influence of the western cultural patterns has been inspiring the world, and the above-mentioned events confirm that religions are moving in unpredictable and diverse directions.

Instead of developing the cultural diversity values, the principles of multiculturalism and multiconfessionalism in big western cities have urbanised the conflicts almost to the level of clash of civilisations (Gudović, 2017:207). The confrontation line that divides cultures and civilisations by marking them as such, gradually dissolves, just like the meaning of the spiritual recognisability in general disappears. The peaceful followers of Buddha in Myanmar have used brutal violence against the Rohingya Muslim minority. We have seen that the loyal Iranian Islamists have applied wider western models of fight in which faith is less and less mentioned in comparison to living conditions and civil struggle objectives. The religious confrontations in Myanmar and in other parts of the world, too, are just an illusion behind which motives can be found that are based on basic earthly interests. For example, during their longer than a century colonial rule, in fear of the Buddhist majority, the British have settled the Hindu and the Moslems to set up a different balance and ensure easier rule in Burma. The settlers have become skilled administrators and successful tradesmen well paid for their services, so that we can take the historic and the present hatred of them as a key motive for their religious conflict. Still, the mundane problems of the modern civil society and the humanization of the cultural patterns continue to conquer the Islamic world. The examples of not only Iran but also Tunisia and Saudi Arabia confirm this more and more.

The power of religions to adapt to the culture of integration is becoming fascinating. However, although the conflicts of major world religions go back many centuries, they also contain the seeds of mutual interconfessional cooperation. Even during the biggest religious persecutions of some universal religions, the persecutors would cooperate with some parts of the persecuted religion, usually granting an ethnic group practicing the persecuted religion some specific concession, to some mutual interest. For example, in Japan, during the 16th and the 17th century, all Christians were exposed to ruthless persecution and killing, except for the Dutch Christians, who cooperated with them and denounced others in the interest of their throne. While all other Christians were murdered the Dutch ships were the only ships in addition to the Chinese ones which could enter Japanese waters, with great granted privileges. Today, modern Japan of the 21st century is an Eastern society just geographically speaking, while civilizationally speaking it is closer to the western Christian society with a developed awareness for preserving traditional values.

Inconsistencies of big religious systems

Monotheistic religions consider the destiny of the world prescribed, so that an individual can only be submissive and pray to rid oneself of the worldly sin. By problematizing the very meaning of the prayer, charity and the mass, the Protestants have greatly obstructed the basic foundations not only of the Christianity but of the religion in general. Kessel finds that, according to the Protestant teachings there is only heaven or hell, as places of eternal life, so that the masses for the souls of the deceased and prayers for the dead have become irrelevant (Kessel, 2009: 231). The union of the living and the dead can be found only in Catholic prayers that offer faith in deliverance of the dead. But reformation has drawn a sharp demarcation line between the heaven and the hell, reducing if not completely rejecting the meaning and the significance of ritual practices.

According to Dinzelbacher, in both early and late Middle Ages, people prayed for their dead, which should have been purposeless according to the official dogma which accepted two

possibilities – that their souls were already in heaven and needed no prayer, or otherwise in hell from which there was no deliverance (Dinzelbacher, 2009:219). Inconsistency of the doctrine speaks of the connectivity with the earthly needs and interests. The loss of power and influence is inversely proportional to the power of the pastoral orders imposing the doctrine. In this way, religion has offered an inexhaustible room for manipulation with the idea. Although it is impossible to exclude them, the preachers of big modern-time religions strive to restrict the manipulative techniques to a minimum which will not question the doctrinal foundations of the faith in God. Gudović argues that different approaches to Christianity often do not converge with the need to see the wider analytical picture, since they serve the ideological purposes in which the Christian compassion is presented as a stereotype Evangelist pattern (Gudović, 2017:199).

However, the image of God and his role has always been in confrontation with the products of human civilization. At the same time, it is the most recognizable milestone of the modern time for judging the level of modernisation in a religion. At first, the IT achievements have been a sort of rejecting God, since information technologies affirm human, not divine capacities. As God sees all and connects all beings and objects in the nature with his divine will, the Internet connection was perceived as a denial of God's authority and of the multi centennial status of the church.

As the mighty flywheel of the technical and technological innovations could not be stopped, the church had to resort to adapting of the source Christian idea in this regard. The appearance of the Internet browser marks not a gradual but a revolutionary ascent of the technical science, and so the adaptation of the church had to be fast in this regard, and mostly compatible with the doctrine. An exit was found in the attempts to argue that the very method of connecting and communication of the Internet users, with its unity of form and essence, does not collide with the hierarchy or the direction of the God's providence and actions. The ways of the modern IT boom do not destroy the hierarchal connection of people, as the Internet connection is only horizontal and diffuse in its function.

Novak and Valković argue that the authority in virtual space does not rely on a hierarchal principle since the way in which the

Internet is organised develops only horizontal communication (Novak & Valković, 2016:400). As a certain longing for contact with another human being is a universal feature of all social values, not just the Christian one, these authors have recognised the communication on the Internet and mostly on the social networks as an outstanding means towards connectivity, getting to know each other and developing solidarity on various global levels (Novak & Valković, 2016:402 a). However, such modification of the church teachings, in relation to the age of IT, is just a perceptive structure of thought which objectively does not support establishment of a technological brotherhood in which there is no mundane hierarchal approach to information monopoly.

The possibility that the church should be able to close the crevices of its denial with logical explanation has created the greatest antinomy in the doctrine itself over time. On the one side, there is denial of the very contents of faith using the strength of logic, and on the other side, its revitalisation and confirmation of its historic resilience. In the domain of religious researches, a concentration of all relevant elements relating to the sociological imagination has been recognized: human existence, power, spirituality, change. The church has just made this perception even more destitute, monotonous and quite stereotypic.

From the misuse of compatible constructivism, a semblance was created that the Christian dogma is a vital thought with specific qualities of mysteriousness and incomprehensiveness. Despite the relative symbolism, the attitude that the man is sinful and God viceless has given form to the dogma of the earthly church life by which man should serve God, not people. This raised many questions about many cultural and civilizational values and not just technical innovations. This key attitude of the Christian dogma has been adopted by the church as well, and under the cloak of God it has just transformed the anthropological vision into a specific expression of an institution that is to control the souls and free will of mankind. As this power is insufficient to inspire people to believe in the modern societies of Western democracies, manipulative thinking techniques are trying to diminish the strength of other institutions by mere use of validated dogmas pretending to be infinitely modifiable.

These modifications in the context of contemporary society would not really be that questionable if they had not survived

based on a rigid system of an unparalleled stereotypic and rhetorical use of God. Since dogmas still showed incompatibility with modern institutions, despite their modified adapting to the trends and problems of modern society, the clergy has become more and more involved in the world of politics and the actual local and global problems. Sometimes, church principals had expressed animosity towards the phenomenon of the public opinion in politics and in civil society matters, whereas today they shape it with the passion of mundane institutions. What is more, public opinion is presented as a purely human product, subject to change and defined by the sinful nature of mankind. This inspired some highly positioned clergymen to see the fixation of moral constants in these principles, as the principles come from God. Consequently, in 1934, the magazine "Glas" from Šibenik, in its issue No 203 of Sept. 13, reported about the arguments of the Dalmatian bishop Irinej Đorđević, who has criticized the public opinion during his visit to Knin, having emphasized that our ancestors have served principles, while we serve people, i.e. worms (Đorđević 1934:2). The bishop opposed the number of votes and the public opinion not only against the perception of principles but also the clean face and the honour arising from such principles. The public opinion, Irinej Đorđević used to say, is created by the craziest and the most corrupt people since both people and their opinions are temporary and purely human creations (Đorđević, 1934:2 a).

Such an attitude toward significance of great people, the strength of their thought and their actions is a school-like dogmatic expression of the misuse of symbolic reflection and of God himself. In similar basic, out-of-context life-like adaptations of the use of God, religion is deprived of its cultural content and culture is deprived of its sacral meaning. There are plenty of similar attitudes, and they all refer to all aspects of life which can defy God from the catechesis perspective. For example, throughout the history of Christianity to the modern day, dance was stigmatized as the opposite of shyness and modesty, as an immoral activity arousing sinful sensations and killing the Christian spirit and piety, thereby diminishing one's love of God. Augustin believed one enters a dancing room as a Christian and leaves it as a pagan, but we should consider this in parallel with the non-Christian disharmonious lives that many priests live today.

However, I see nothing wrong in the fact that Orthodox and even more so Catholic prelates and nuns attend together celebrations with singing and various folk festivities, applauding and showing enthusiastic approval of the vigorous folk dances. What is evident in this, is the approximation to reformation and establishing transcultural articulation with positive emotion. On the other hand, a dogmatic structure of thought is in fact invoking an asymmetrical consequence as a product of possessive envy, which insists that one takes something from God if he gives elsewhere. This structure is dogmatic by mere fact that it is contrary to Christ and his love of unselfish giving.

The changes in the contemporary world directed at growing urbanization, commercialization, rationalization, individualization, empathy and the need for achievement have not bypassed religion. This trend (Mouzelis, 2000:15) was a compatible way to create conditions for secularization. Under such general conditions, the core Christian ideas do not seem that stable any more. Mouzelis linked this incompatibility with religiousness to the important functions of religious integration, social control and social change. This last function of religion has destructed its conservative membrane of invariability, so that the inconsistencies in the Christian doctrine are understandable, so to speak. From religious functions to the manipulations with its contents in the modern society, we see a tendency of secularization. In this ambience, the church has been finding its place and testing the scope of its influence. Over a long period of time, the consistency of core religious functions has gradually and continuously encouraged behaviours which parted from the official dogma. Having in mind that even the very source of religion is determined equally by the secular and by the spiritual – can we expect full compatibility in the contents of civilizational religions?

With objectivization of the historic period and the value systems of a certain epoch, it is possible to make objective judgements on the contributions of religion to the cultural development. To regard the present time from the perspective of consistent past is equally wrong as is the attempt to judge the past practices from the temporal perspective of a modern society. For example, the question of fasting in a traditional Serbian village has quite overgrown its religious meaning, since poor communities could so abstain from meals and thus save some meat and butter and other valuable foodstuffs

necessary in the heavy field works season. In the modern society, the same ritual has a latent potential goal which serves to adapt the urbanised man to the set values of cultural modernisation processes.

In Islam, we recognize a permanent conflict of the past and the present in which confrontation of different groups and factions is just a materialization and denomination of their historical conflicts. Therefore, the chain of doctrine inconsistency is frequently expressed as a reflection of contempt for contemporary values and an unwillingness to face the global changes. In this case, the merit is not to be found in the sinful present but in the vague and contradictory concept of the religious doctrine which is trying to control important segments of society. Such phenomena relate equally to the fundamental principles of the content as well as the attitudes that contemplate the modern society phenomena. Consequently, Islam has prohibited sensory impersonations of God, making the possibility of transferring Allah's words outside the human shape and vocal cords doubtful. But, the intuitiveness of receiving the truth in world religions denies that there is a way to receive it exclusively based on rational and empirical grounds. In the end, the motif of the cave in which Mohamed has received the truth shows irresistible similarity to the motifs of Judaism and Christianity, which makes the inter-civilizational pervasion essential for cultural processes of both yesterday and today. This fact raises a crucial question of the turbulent present time: how is it possible that religion can be against one civilisation, simultaneously using it to generate the grounds for one's own preaching? The attempt to give a theoretical ground and ideological mobility to the conflict between the Western and Islamic civilisations, has met with the resistance of culture that finds conflict-causing borders and divisions immanently unsustainable.

God above all

All Christian religions preach faith in God, but including Pentecostals, they differ in the way their believers practice their religion. Pentecostalism as a successful sect from the point of view of the world culture, insists on belief in everyday manifestations of the Holy Spirit. This sense of His presence by believers stems from the very power of God. That God, who appears to us through Holy

Spirit in various wonders of everyday life, is powerful, has been confirmed by the prelates of Christian churches through history, who have accepted this and have offered their own justifications of such everyday events, much the same as those offered by Pentecostals. This problem is being discussed more and more often, since many preachers of the Christian church (both Orthodox and Catholic) regard those who elevate God and his power (Pentecostals) with animosity and suspicion. Moreover, their discrepancies lie more in the earthly interests, and less in the spiritual or religious needs. Striving to encompass the entire everyday life and individual needs within a certain sensation, Pentecostalism has decentralized and has become socially integrated with remarkable speed.

Basically, as a religious non-governmental organization, Pentecostals have neither Pope nor Mecca. They feel at home everywhere, and are not limited to any one place (Lechner&Boli, 2006:266). Something sublime as altruism is becoming a motive for misunderstanding instead of being a connecting agent among religions inspiring ecumenical cooperation. Also, altruistic activity has been winning over the conscience of all confessions, and their everyday life is therefore getting closer to an identical pattern of speech and actions. Thus, Erika Prijatelj is right to notice that ecumenism has been becoming the theology of the 21st century and the key to church revival, where Christians articulate common, not competitive, answers for the good of modern man (Prijatelj, 2012:346). Such tolerance and cooperation has met with many malevolent commentaries, and much fewer glorifications and praises. At one time, the Pope met with a Pentecostal preacher Traettino and spent the whole day at lunch with him. After an avalanche of reproaches, the head of all Catholics replied to the critics: "Someone may be surprised and say that Pope went to Pentecostals, while Pope actually went to see his brothers. I thank you and beg you to pray for me, because I need your prayers."

Mere tolerance for others is not sufficient. It can even turn into indifference, which is why religions encourage us to open to others and to concrete expressions of solidarity and reciprocity (Prijatelj, 2012:352 a). The possibilities for such cooperation can be found not only in the foundations of the first preachings, but also in their contemporary interpretations. In this sense, emphasising of

the harmony between the individual and the collective way of life is in fact the harmony of the Christian faith itself. In creating their preachings, not only Islam relied on Christian ideas: Marx did it too. On the other hand, church prelates and theologians subconsciously overcome the fear of sterile encapsulation of the church by reviving and popularising the ideas of Marx, in which the relationship of a person as an individual and their community appears as a demagogical confirmation of the doctrine itself. Marx was inclined to think that people would not experience their life with others as a collection of restrictions posed on their individual life. On the other hand, a man should understand his individuality as a manifestation of his social life.

Similarly, Erika Prijatelj writes: catholic knowledge (Z. G. Why not Orthodox, too?) sees the dignity of an individual as a community need. Therefore, avoiding both individualism and collectivism is equally critical to capitalism as it is to socialism (Prijatelj, 2012:348 b). Richard R. Gaillardetz points that this balance ensures realism and pragmatism in the teachings of the Catholic Church, which are then widely accepted by the society and ultimately effective (Gaillardetz, 2005:90). Still, in the scope of such contemplations, the church has not completely rid itself from the stereotypic interpretations of the same issues. Even when the focus is on the state as a specific, regulated community, they insist on its function to provide a better life to the individual, keeping the secular and the celestial refuge separate. In this, the wellbeing of a man as an individual is often contemplated from a collective perspective – that of a community – which is a simplistic collection of individual persons. As community is not just that, but much more a structure of relations and co-actions, this seems to be the main cause for church imperfections and sometimes her poor bearing in the whirls of social changes.

Over many centuries, the church has acted in sharp contrast to what we today consider a sociological approach. In the neoliberal stage of capitalism, the focus of her activity and thought is amazingly similar to the sociological school of thought, so that the collaboration of the religious and the sociological approach from the modern time perspective, is taken as a climax and a necessity of the culturological and theoretical discourse. After all, sociology as a science, does not find its foundations in the development of

awareness or the need to prevent diminishing a society to a simple collection of individual persons, but is a self-defining empirical whole which rejects mechanical divisions based on rejection of objectively present connectivity in the social praxis.

Once, the discussions on Christianity were held on the issue of ritual practices, and today they are inspired by the dilemma whether to choose accepting the modernisation processes on the one hand and their postmodern aspiration to return to the sacramental sources, on the other. This is not just a classical crossroads dilemma as to the direction in which the church should be going, but also involves individual perception of fundamental values that must not be endangered. What Đuro Šušnjić objected to the social sciences – an excess of physics and a deficiency of metaphysics – has become obvious in the Christian church, too. This disbalance is overcome by Pentecostals in emphasizing the need to deal with religious rapture as much as with any other problem in the everyday life of an individual. Ivan Antunović thinks that the greatest value and purpose of the church is in its universal sacramentality, where the world is being saved using solely the means of purely spiritual nature (Antunović, 2010:93).

The dread of conceptual maladaptiveness of cultural pluralisms to the creator of the world, found in different societies, is present in this author's work as well. Also, Antunović criticizes the followers of antireligious liberalism, material socialism and uncontrolled scientism, as they intend to create a world in which the man is so emancipated that he can replace God (Antunović, 2010:93 a). His conservatism springs from the attempt to picture the Catholic Church as an immanently modern institution. Relying on the thoughts of Pope Pius X who advocated return of the scholastic philosophy and theology as the only healthy sciences, Antunović has concluded that this represents a form of modernism. It is based on the spiritual, sacramental and liturgical life within church (Antunović, 2010:93 b).

We can see that the influence of social development on religion is very rarely a topic of consideration. Instead, what is *a priori* emphasized is the crisis of Catholic theology and its need to resist to preserve its identity. Catholic theology is sometimes in conflict with new ideas in philosophy, pedagogy, politics and other sciences

– and it is this conflict that is presented as modernism. Starting from their source standpoints, the conservative aspects of the doctrine and the dogmatic base of the doctrine are presented as modern. In a way, they are so, having in mind the omnipresence of the superficial exaltation contents which have flooded the modern world.

By participating in big topics of noble spirituality and charity actions, Christian churches fulfil the heritage that Christ has endowed to the mankind. Still, political and economic aspects of life have managed to divide even the religious shepherds, when it comes to key issues of the modern world. Consequently, not a small number of them see the mundane activities of the church just as a parting from the dogmatic framework and a need to preserve the terminology of the prayer, structure of the ritual sermon and even the mystical experience of the enclosed space.

The Christian teachings of the Middle Ages, with their traditionally emphasized darkness and their contribution to the overall culture, cited by default, also had some exceptionally light moments. They are today missing, even as mere ideas. In short, from the worst periods of human history we would do good to choose the harmony with Christian science, since it offers us a way to choose and to shape our values, ideas and beliefs. For example, in the sphere of educational and pedagogical praxis, the medieval Christianity has nurtured a special type of transcultural intergenerational synergy. It showed almost amazing compatibility with the source sermon idea that all Christians will drink from the same cup one day.

This idea of harmonious relations and interaction of generations in a functional-spatial environment has created conditions for mutual respect, cooperation and altruism exerting substantial influence on the content and the ideal of the early modern thought, especially on the utopian projections of a just society. For example, Philippe Ariès has reminded us that in a medieval school it was quite usual for a grown-up person with a will to learn to join a class of children, because what mattered was the subject of teaching not the age of the learner (Ајриес, 1973:190).

Such mixing of children and adults was also present in games, in conditions of joint accommodation and included sending

children to other households to learn skills as a specific form of education and upbringing typical of the medieval West. Trying to bridge over the gap between the dry pragmatic objectives of education and speculative spirituality, Gudović has emphasized the core purpose of education as a search for understanding of meaning (Gudović, 2011:250).

Today, similar ideas show a trend of timid revival but the power of Western codification is rigid and full of limitations: it fabricates differences that kill the positive aspects of human nature in false care for an individual. The lobbyist hypocrisy of interest groups does not advocate positive rights but divides people, distancing them from the need to be social beings. Still, the protestant Norway does not shy away from the physical education without gender segregation of boys and girls. If the position of the child in the Middle Ages among adults approximately represented the compatibility with the Christian spirit based on unity of mankind, the Catholic and protestant reformers have been leaders in modernisation which has joint the children and the family through schooling, as a replacement of classical apprenticeship models. Also, Christ has granted children special grace through God's angels. In the 16th and the 17th century (Ariès, 2004:171 b) the image of a spirit led by an angel with a child face, has become usual in the church iconography. The influence of Christianity is also obvious in forming the first hospitals for the care of the sick, wounded and the elderly, which was a novelty since these categories of people were roughly neglected in the Antiquity, and perceived as a burden to the economy and to the vital readiness for frequent wars.

Actual questions and perspectives

Hyper-differentiation, hyper-commodification and hyper-rationalisation of contemporary culture has broken down the monolite rigidity of churches approximating them to practical issues of the state. This process proved not only to be inevitable, but also inevitable necessary from the point of redefining morality. Occasional processes of distancing from Christ are at the same time

searches for roads that lead to him. Sterile encapsulation in dogmatic views of the world cannot longer exist.

Despite the decreasing number of believers in the modern world, Christian ideas in the public discourse have not lost their actuality. What is more, today, from the standpoint of sharp criticism, it is not rare to contemplate compatibility of the programs of political parties and generally the Christian orientation of their leaders. By harmonisation or parting with the Christian values, political processes put on a creative discursive cloak in connecting the traditional with the modern. Political activists are criticized for the lack of Christian principles, having in view the ideas they advocate and the attitudes they promote. On the other hand, politicians and media editors criticize Christian churches for their lack of recognizable sacramental procedures. Involvement in political life has made the priestly clothes too tight and the cases of separation of the church and the state policy are just exceptions. And, while on the one hand, at Christmas time, we hear Catholic and protestant invitations to show solidarity with refugees and their criticism of different standards in defining vulnerability on the local and global level, their opponents consider these to be impermissibly leftist and petty political points. And who would go to the Christmas mass of their own will, as Ulf Poschardt said, when at the end of the sermon one is left with the impression that he has spent the evening with the Green Party Youth (Radičević, Nenad, *Nemačke crkve optužene za levičarenje*, Politika, 29.12.2017:02). It is interesting to point out that both polarities revoke the need to have conceptual Christianization in everyday life. Ones are charged with the fobia towards solidarity, while the others have difficulty to accept the leftist activism in the sermons that have but a few theological and metaphysical elements.

The intertwining of sacral and mundane contents in the history of religiousness, which have never been separated, can be observed in their relationship to eternal topics which are visited in modern life as well. In the pagan pre-Christian rites, the sacramental meaning was not always absent, just as in the modern Christianity the same rite is led by modernisation of mundane thought more than the religious act itself. Despite different motives in the burial rites of the Buddhists and Hinduists, for example, as well as of the

pre-Christians, the burning of the remains was very much a religious act. The fire was believed to be a mediator, a media of cleansing power through which the human soul (but not the body) was returning to eternity (Aleksandar Pavičević, *Plamena tela u Srbiji*, Politika 10.02.2018:06). However, in the modern times, it is often considered that cremation of a deceased is an obstacle to his resurrection although this standpoint is more often a civil attitude to death and a specific life credo that does not exclude death as an eternal, modern and, despite avoiding it, an actual topic. Therefore, Pavičević considers this to be just a simplification, considering the ritual as a specific secular relation to the burial place as a culture of remembrance (Ibid).

This more secular than sacral act also related more to the ritual feasts arranged at the cemeteries. Neither identification of its basic features, reflecting secularism or sacral value, was quite pure, nor quite confirmed, having in mind the diversity in cultures in which the mundane meaning of the rite is always a continuation of sacral practices in a chronological sense. For example, in East Serbia, the burial feast still involves belief that the deceased is offered a meal of food he preferred during life, while in Greece it was more a reminder of the feasts in which he participated while alive (Portman, 2009:213). Ultimately, the modernity of the present time draws inspiration from the multiculturalism of the value system, and draws spiritual meaning from the personalist tendency forming personal thoughts and the need for private life.

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Роль ислама в трансформирующейся Европе.

Аннотация

Миграционный кризис ставший самым крупным со времен Второй мировой войны, является прежде всего следствием той политики вмешательства, которую вели ряд европейских государств, таких, как Франция, Италия, а также их союзники в лице США. Интенсивная иммиграция привела к формированию новых социально-политических разногласий между государствами, между местным населением и политиками, между местным населением и мигрантами, между “европейскими” мусульманами (ранее прибывшие и интегрировавшиеся в европейские общества) и мусульманами-“иммигрантами” (прибывшими в последнее время). Европейская система предоставления убежища столкнулась не только с техническими сложностями идентификации и адаптации беженцев, но и с концептуальным вызовом, подрывающим основы ее существования, базирующимися на соблюдении прав человека и идее мультикультурализма.

Ключевые слова: миграционный кризис, европейские страны, последствия мусульманской миграции, распространение ислама, этническая геттоизация.

■ Миграционный кризис (2015-2016гг), ставший самым крупным со времен Второй мировой войны, является прежде всего следствием той политики вмешательства, которую вели ряд европейских государств, таких, как Франция, Италия, а также их союзники в лице США. Не последнюю роль здесь играет и демографический кризис в Европе, который можно разрешить, по мнению той же Германии, с помощью будущих «новых граждан», прибывающих из стран преимущественно с мусульманским населением.

Большая часть иммигрантов, устремившихся в европейские страны, действительно является беженцами и

происходит из Сирии, где уже несколько лет ведутся активные боевые действия. Однако, определенная часть иммигрантов только называет себя «беженцами», не являясь по факту таковыми: это экономические мигранты, стремящиеся, тем не менее, получить статус беженцев и установленные в странах приема социальные выплаты.

Европейские страны, которые и в прошлом принимали беженцев: Франция – из стран Магриба, Германия – из Сирии, Афганистана, Ирака, Великобритания – из Южной Азии, проводили последовательную политику их интеграции, путем социальной поддержки, внедрения образовательных программ для мигрантов, приобщения к европейским ценностям. Однако, масштабный поток иммигрантов за короткий срок с новыми формами поведения, не свойственными европейскому населению, по сути, вызвал коллапс интеграционных моделей и привел к многочисленным социально-политическим «разломам» в большинстве стран ЕС. Прежде всего, под угрозой распада оказался ЕС как политическое и социально-экономическое образование. В некоторых странах политики высказываются за закрытие границ, восстановление пограничного контроля между странами Шенгена (в частности, такой контроль ввели Швеция, Австрия, Дания и др.). Правые политические партии требуют немедленной депортации иммигрантов, которым было отказано в убежище, отдельные политики предлагают прекратить в принципе прием беженцев. Интенсивная иммиграция привела даже к формированию новых социально-политических разногласий между государствами, между местным населением и политиками, между местным населением и мигрантами, между «европейскими» мусульманами (ранее прибывшие и интегрировавшиеся в европейские общества) и мусульманами-«иммигрантами» (прибывшими в последнее время).[Гаджимурадова, 2018]

Европейская система предоставления убежища столкнулась не только с техническими сложностями идентификации и адаптации беженцев, но и с концептуальным вызовом, подрывающим основы ее существования, базирующимися на соблюдении прав человека и идее мультикультурализма.

Последствия мусульманской миграции для Евросоюза.

Активная мусульманская иммиграция существенно изменила этнокультурный «ландшафт» и этно-демографическую структуру населения европейских стран, что повлекло за собой социально-экономические и политические последствия. По данным Комиссии по демографии Совета Европы, если в 1960 году люди европейского происхождения составляли 25% мирового населения, в 2000 году - 17%, то через 40 лет они будут составлять не более 10%. В 2000 году население Европы насчитывало 728 миллионов, а к 2050 году, при сохранении текущего уровня рождаемости и без учёта иммиграции, оно будет насчитывать 600 миллионов.

Иммиграционные процессы привели к нестабильности и напряженности как внутри стран ЕС, так и между ними. Остановимся на некоторых наиболее значимых и ощутимых государствами ЕС и европейцами последствиях мусульманской иммиграции. Также отметим, что многие из перечисленных последствий являются взаимосвязанными.

Ключевым последствием иммиграции для Европы прежде всего является рост численности мусульман и распространение ислама. Происходит быстрое изменение этнического состава населения европейских стран, городов и районов. Увеличивается численность и доля «новых» расовых и этнических групп населения, прежде всего в городах стран ЕС, а также возникают районы компактного проживания иммигрантов. В результате этнокультурной и религиозной идентификации¹ все большее число мусульман, проживающих в Европе, предпочитают жить в рамках собственной общины, исключительно по своим исламским законам. На региональном уровне в Германии (например, парламентами земель) ислам постепенно признается официальной религией, строятся новые мечети, часто при финансовой поддержке таких стран, как Турция (большая Соборная мечеть в Кельне), Саудовская Аравия, Катар. В Европе уже построены

¹ Социологические исследования №12, 2016, С.90-91

более 10 000 мечетей. Одновременно в Германии было закрыто 400 католических церквей и более 100 протестантских. Еще 700 католических церквей запланировано к закрытию в течение ближайших нескольких лет. Мусульмане весьма охотно покупают здания бывших соборов и переделывают их в мечети. Аналогичная картина наблюдается в большей части стран Евросоюза. Германия и Франция, например, озаботились сегодня подготовкой собственных имамов в своих странах, а не приглашать их извне. Это, по их мнению, позволит контролировать мечети и содержание проповедей.

В силу объективных причин (доступность жилья и социальные сети) иммигранты селятся компактно, не испытывают потребности в общении с окружающим населением. Районы их компактного проживания превращаются в культурно и экономически замкнутые анклав, в которых нет потребности использовать язык страны, в которой они находятся. Данный процесс можно назвать этнической «геттоизацией». Такие районы, как правило, формируются на окраинах крупных европейских городов (Париж, Лион, Марсель, Брюссель, Лондон, Бирмингем, Манчестер, Ливерпуль, Берлин, Франкфурт-на-Майне, Кельн, Вена и др.), где доля иммигрантов может составлять от 10% до 30%. Таким образом, они формируют закрытые изолированные общества, существующие параллельно обществу принимающей стороны..

Именно этим поведение мусульман коренным образом отличается от поведения других меньшинств (китайских, индийских, восточноевропейских и т.п.), которые, сохраняя свои культурные традиции и своеобразие, все же стремятся адаптироваться и интегрироваться в то общество, где они ныне проживают.

Европейское общество в своей основе построено на либеральных ценностях, на принципах политкорректности и толерантности, и поэтому выработка какой-то особой политики по отношению к мусульманам, представляется совершенно недопустимым нарушением демократии.

В Европе было бы немыслимым принятие таких законодательных актов, который был принят, например, в

Австралии 20 сентября 2006 года. В этом указе говорится о том, что мусульманам, желающим жить в Австралии по законам шариата, придется покинуть эту страну, поскольку правительство ощущает от данной категории граждан угрозу терактов. К слову, в Европе высказывания о том, что ислам является угрозой для общества, влекут за собой обвинения в расизме и судебное преследование. Последняя волна вынужденной миграции из арабских стран, скорее всего, усилит процесс этнической «геттоизации» в европейских городах.

Следует отметить, что мусульманские общины в европейских странах также являются неоднородными – они исповедуют различные течения ислама. Самым распространенным из них является суннизм, который исповедуют примерно 65% мусульман в Европе. Ислам суннитского толка является также самым распространенным в мире, а его приверженцы происходят в основном из стран Северной Африки: Алжира, Ливии, Мали, Египта, Эфиопии, Судана и др.

Около 13% мусульман в европейских странах относятся к алавитам, приверженцам т.н. толерантного течения ислама. Основными странами их проживания являются Сирия, Турция, Ливан.

К числу традиционных и толерантных течений ислама можно отнести также шиитов, которые составляют около 7% мусульман в странах ЕС. Основными странами происхождения шиитов являются Азербайджан, Бахрейн, Ирак, Иран, Ливан, Йемен.

Однако вызывает правомерное беспокойство распространение в иммиграционной среде консервативных и агрессивных направлений ислама. Например, салафиты являются сторонниками крайне консервативного толкования ислама. К салафитам можно отнести членов известной террористической организации «Братья-мусульмане». Можно выделить исламистов, как наиболее радикальных салафитов. В Германии их насчитывается около 6 тыс. человек, к ним, конечно же, должно быть приковано повышенное внимание спецслужб. Салафизм происходит из Саудовской Аравии, распространен сегодня в Катаре, Кувейте, ОАЭ, Йемене, в России на

Северном Кавказе, Татарстане, в Средней Азии и Казахстане. Сильны их позиции и в Ираке. В Тунисе, связанная с салафитами партия «Ан-Нахда», имеет большинство в парламенте. Часть радикальных мусульман относятся к *ваххабитам*. В некоторых европейских странах таких, как Франция, Италия, Испания, Ирландия, Босния на их долю приходится до 5% численности мусульманских общин.² Ваххабиты, как правило, происходят из Афганистана, Пакистана, Саудовской Аравии, Катара. Зачастую ваххабиты призывают к войне с неверными, непосредственно связаны с экстремизмом и терроризмом. Ваххабизм можно рассматривать как одно из самых радикальных и опасно течение в исламе.

Надо понимать, что ислам сам по себе не несет угрозы миру и обществу. Угроза возникает лишь тогда, когда ислам перестает быть религией и начинает использоваться в качестве политической идеологии, которая предназначена для захвата власти в отдельных странах, регионах или в планетарном масштабе во имя создания будущего Всемирного халифата.

Очевидно, что чем больше становится мусульман, которые не интегрированы в местное общество, тем выше потенциал конфликтности общества и тем более агрессивной становится деятельность радикальных исламистских группировок.

Сегодня можно говорить о том, что над Европой нависла тень радикального исламизма, который в состоянии поглотить континент в первую очередь с культурной точки зрения.

Рост численности радикальных мусульман, в последнее время закономерно привел к росту насилия, экстремизма и терроризма в Европе. Кривая преступности среди мусульманской молодежи круто идет вверх, в том числе и благодаря радикальным имамам, которые учат своих прихожан тому, что по законам шариата воровство и грабежи в отношении жителей покоренной Европы вполне допустимы, так как являются налогом, который неверные (немусульмане) обязаны платить правоверным (мусульманам) за право

² <http://newsland.com/user/4297686316/content/katar-sponsiruet-vakhabizm-v-evrope/4297050>

жить. По данным расследования журналистов британской газеты *“Sunday Express”* более 4 тыс. боевиков радикальной группировки «Исламское государство» (запрещенной в России), попали в Европу под видом беженцев. Боевики притываются к беженцам в турецких городах Измир и Мерсин, откуда через Средиземное море попадают в Италию, а после отправляются в Германию, Францию, Бельгию, Нидерланды, Швецию. Эффективного механизма, который бы выявил террористов европейскими странами пока не создано. В результате участились террористические атаки с участием смертников из числа представителей радикальных исламских течений. Наиболее крупные террористические акты, которые в последнее время потрясли мир, были связаны с радикальными мусульманами. Организация масштабных терактов в европейских городах показывает, что европейские страны столкнулись не с разовыми акциями, а системной проблемой терроризма, организованного исламскими радикалами.

Заметим, что рост радикализма и терроризма в Европе повлиял даже на иммиграционную политику США. После террористических атак в Париже (2015 г.) губернаторы 22 американских штатов (в том числе Техас, Флорида, Канзас, Оклахома, Айова и др.) отказались принимать сирийских беженцев. Ранее председатель комитета по национальной безопасности палаты представителей конгресса США М. Маккол призывал президента США Б. Обаму остановить программу по приему сирийских беженцев. За остановку программы приема беженцев высказались также несколько кандидатов на пост президента США. США намерены принимать по плану президента около 10 тыс. сирийских беженцев в 2016 г.³

Массовая иммиграция породила недовольство местного населения европейских стран. На этом фоне быстро набирают популярность радикальные движения, правые партии, выступающие за ужесточение иммиграционной политики, против приема иммигрантов, беженцев и (или)

³ После атак в Париже 22 штата США отказались принимать беженцев из Сирии: Сообщение информационного агентства “РИА Новости” от 17 ноября 2015 г. (<https://news.mail.ru/politics/23984204>)

мусульман. Например, движение «Альтернатива для Германии» и «ПЕГИДА» («Патриотические европейцы против исламизации Запада») в Германии, партия свободы Вилдерса в Нидерландах, партия «Шведские демократы» в Швеции, «Национальный фронт» во Франции. В некоторых европейских регионах существенно изменился электоральный ландшафт. Например, в парламенте Германии ХДС утратила лидирующие позиции, а в ряде федеральных земель на выборах победили партия «зеленых» и партия «Альтернатива для Германии».

Европейские страны несут существенные прямые финансовые издержки, принимая вынужденных мигрантов. В 2016 г. ежедневные траты стран ЕС на содержание мигрантов составляли от 8 до 12 тыс. евро в зависимости от страны. Больше других вынуждена тратить на беженцев Германия. Несут издержки и транзитные страны ЕС (Греция, Словения, Венгрия, Австрия, Мальта, Италия), в некоторых районах этих стран отмечаются «локальные гуманитарные катастрофы», вызванные притоком и размещением значительного количества беженцев.

Система щедрых социальных пособий для беженцев совершенно не способствуют мотивации к поиску работы. Скорее всего, мигранты пополняют ряды безработных с низкой квалификацией, уровень безработицы среди которых в Германии сейчас составляет примерно 20%.

Европейские социальные системы ощущают давление миграции на систему здравоохранения и социального обеспечения. Хотя Великобритания ранее ограничила выплаты социальных пособий мигрантам, она столкнулась с протестами местного населения.

Проявились и косвенные экономические издержки миграционного кризиса в виде оттока капитала из европейских стран. В 2015 г. консалтинговой компанией *“New World Wealth”* было проведено исследование, которое зафиксировало отток долларовых миллионеров из ряда европейских стран и городов по причине роста религиозной и этнической напряженности, вызванных в свою очередь миграционным кризисом. И этот процесс продолжается и сегодня.

Демографический коллапс в Европе – это уже не прогноз, а безнадежная реальность. В среднем по Европе рождаемость не превышает 1,4 ребенка на семью, в то время как уровень простого воспроизводства составляет 2,15 на одну женщину репродуктивного возраста. Коэффициент рождаемости в странах ЕС следующий: во Франции - 2,00, в Англии - 1,91, Бельгии - 1,80, в Германии - 1,31, Австрии - 1,41, Швейцарии - 1,42. Вместе с тем в средней семье иммигрантов-мусульман показатель рождаемости почти в три раза выше - 3,6.

Еще в 1950 году доля Европы в мировом населении составляла 22 %, сейчас она составляет 10,7 %, а к 2050 году, как говорят специалисты по прогнозам, составит 7,5 %. Для сравнения, *в Германии 35 % всех новорожденных не являются немцами, а 90 % тяжких преступлений также совершается не немцами.*

Под влиянием иммиграции происходит изменение демографической структуры населения в странах ЕС: усиливаются диспропорции по полу (возрастает доля мужчин), по возрасту в религиозных группах (в младших возрастных группах увеличивается доля мусульманского населения), по брачному статусу (увеличивается численность холостых мужчин). По официальным данным Федерального ведомства по делам миграции и беженцев (BAMF) Германии среди соискателей убежища более двух третей иммигрантов – мужчины, а более 70% соискателей – люди в возрасте моложе 30 лет, как правило от 21 года до 24 лет. Зачастую они не знают правил поведения, законов стран пребывания, не владеют языком, не имеют профессии, имеют низкий уровень образования, низкий уровень общей культуры в сравнении с европейским населением, плохо социализируются в европейские общества.

Наиболее показательной может считаться ситуация в Германии. Наименьший удельный вес женщин отмечается среди иммигрантов именно из мусульманских стран: Афганистан (40%), Сирия (38%), Египет, Тунис и Пакистан (по 33%), Алжир (27%). Пожалуй, единственное исключение среди мусульманских стран составляет только Индонезия – 57%

иммигрантов из этой страны в Германии – это женщины. Расчеты показали, что в максимальные диспропорции по полу (в пользу мужчин) у иммигрантских групп в Германии концентрируются в младших возрастах. Среди выходцев из Алжира оно доходит до 4,5 раз в возрасте 20-24 года, у афганцев – до 3,2 раза в возрасте 15-19 лет, у мигрантов из Египта – до 3 раз в возрасте 15-19 лет, у выходцев из Туниса – до 2,7 раз в возрасте 20-24 года, у сирийцев – до 2,5 раз в возрасте 20-24 года, у пакистанцев – до 3,3 раза в той же возрастной группе. Это означает, что половозрастная структура мусульманских общин сильно деформирована в пользу мужчин в младших, брачных и репродуктивных возрастах. Большинство мусульманских мужчин не смогут найти партнершу внутри своей общины в Германии. А это потребует или расширения брачных каналов иммиграции. В принципе данная ситуация уже наблюдается среди турецких мужчин – многие едут в Турцию, чтобы там найти невесту и заключить брак, а затем женщина приезжает в Германию по линии воссоединения семьи. Либо часть мусульманских мужчин будет искать партнершу вне мусульманской общины – среди других религиозных и этнических групп, проживающих в Германии. В случае радикальных общин, когда браки запрещаются вне круга мусульман, это может быть чревато выплеском негативной сексуальной энергии на местных женщин. Здесь уместно вспомнить инциденты буквально всколыхнувшие европейские общества. В новогоднюю ночь с 2015 г. на 2016 г. в нескольких городах Европы (Кельне, Гамбурге, Штутгарте, Цюрихе, Зальцбурге) местные жительницы подверглись нападениям и домогательствам со стороны мужчин-мусульман. Только в полицию Кельна поступило 516 заявлений от женщин, на которых напали молодые мужчины африканской и арабской внешности (по свидетельству очевидцев), в том числе у них отбирали сумки и телефоны, а в 40% обращений заявительницы сообщили о сексуальном насилии.⁴

⁴ Меркель сообщила о неподготовленности Европы к приему беженцев. Сообщение информационного агентства "Lenta.ru" от 12 января 2016 г. (<http://news.mail.ru/politics/24501276>)

Таблица 1. Перевес численности мужчин в молодых возрастных группах в Германии среди иммигрантов по странам происхождения в 2014 г., раз⁵

Страна происхождения	Возрастные группы			
	15-19 лет	20-24 года	25-34 года	35-44 года
Алжир	4,24	4,53	2,38	2,66
Афганистан	3,20	2,78	1,54	...
Египет	2,93	2,06	2,18	2,09
Тунис	2,41	2,74	2,01	2,32
Сирия	1,98	2,49	2,06	1,73
Пакистан	1,89	3,27	2,61	1,74
Ирак	1,60	1,74

Источник: Рассчитано авторами на основании: "Bevölkerung und Erwerbstätigkeit. Ausländische Bevölkerung: Ergebnisse des Ausländerzentralregisters" 2014, Statistisches Bundesamt, Wiesbaden, 2015, Tabelle 4.

На первый взгляд может показаться, что в условиях старения населения европейских стран приток молодежи можно рассматривать как позитивное явление. Европейское статистическое бюро прогнозирует, что к 2050 г. население ЕС сократится по сравнению с 2025 г. на 20 млн. человек и составит 449,8 миллиона. Кроме того, доля экономически активного населения ЕС (в возрасте 15-64 лет) в 2050 году сократится до 56,7% с 67,2% в 2004 году, или на 52 миллиона человек. Ожидается также сокращение доли населения в возрасте до 14 лет - до 13,4% в 2050 году с 16,4% в 2004 году.

Сложившаяся демографическая ситуация укрепляет мусульман в уверенности, что рано или поздно Европа станет частью исламского мира. Среди них бытует убеждение, что чрево мусульманской женщины превратилось в наиболее эффективное средство исламизации Европы и всего мира. Об этом впервые еще в апреле 1974 году заявил в своем выступлении на специальной 29-ой сессии

⁵ Миграционный кризис и формирование мусульманских общин в Европе: тенденции и последствия, М. 2016.- с.58

Генеральной Ассамблеи ООН, посвященной вопросам новых отношений между развивающимися и развитыми капиталистическими странами, алжирский политик и глава государства (с 1976 года) Хуари Бумедьен (наст. имя Мухаммед Бухарруба 23.08.1932-28.12.1978гг): «Недалек тот день, когда миллионы людей покинут южное полушарие и переберутся в северное. Они придут не как друзья, а как завоеватели. Их оружием будут дети, лоно наших женщин — оружие нашей победы».

На наш взгляд, в сложившихся условиях принудительная депортация экономических мигрантов в страны их проживания, дифференцированное оказание социального пакета услуг вынужденным мигрантам и тем самым снижение бремени на социальную сферу своих стран, дисперсное расселение мигрантов и продуманная политика интеграции могут значительно смягчить социально-политическую и экономическую ситуацию в странах приема.

В противном случае, будут набирать вес левые партии и радикальные партии правого толка, что еще больше обострит ситуацию внутри стран еврозоны и может привести в том числе к гражданской войне и подорвать дух европейских ценностей, которые являются основой европейской демократии.

Таким образом, будущее Европы всецело будет зависеть от того, сумеют ли европейские государства выработать адекватную политику по отношению к растущим и все менее интегрированным в общество мусульманским общинам, что позволит гарантировать права и культурное своеобразие европейских мусульман, а также гармонизировать их отношения с обществом и обеспечить интеграцию мусульман в современную европейскую цивилизацию.

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Gulnara Gadzimuradova

THE ROLE OF ISLAM IN TRANSFORMING EUROPE

Abstract

The migration crisis, which became the largest after World War II, is primarily due to the intervention policies pursued by many European countries, such as France, Italy, and their allies embodied in the United States. Intense immigration has led to the formation of new socio-political disagreements between states, between the local population and politicians, between

the local population and migrants, even between “European” Muslims (who have previously arrived and integrated into European societies) and Muslim “immigrants” (which are recently arrived). The European asylum system has encountered not only technical difficulties in identifying and adapting refugees, but also a conceptual challenge that undermines its foundations, based on respect for human rights and the idea of multiculturalism.

Keywords: Migration crisis, European countries, Consequences of Muslim migration, Expansion of Islam, Ethnic ghettoization.

НЕМАНЯ ВУКЧЕВИЧ
Нови Сад

Традиционная религиозность и миграционные процессы

Аннотация

Проблема соотношения традиционной религиозности и миграционных процессов является недостаточно изученной. В данной работе мы постарались кратко описать их сложную взаимосвязь, которая, по нашему мнению, присуща человеческому обществу с доисторических времён. Обычно миграцию рассматривают как географическое и/или демографическое явление, но в первые десятилетия XXI века его стали воспринимать и как явление политическое. В условиях глобального преобладания неолиберального подхода это явление рассматривают преимущественно в экономическом контексте. В противовес данным аспектам, в нашей работе мы постарались рассмотреть взаимосвязь миграции с традиционными религиями. В нашей работе мы говорим о том, что религия играет большую роль в процессе миграции, но также и о том, что миграционные процессы оказывают большое влияние на религию. Изменения вызванные взаимопроникновением этих феноменов находят отражение в религиозных институтах, а также непосредственно в духовной и религиозной жизни мигрантов. Подобные изменения происходят на мировом уровне, в границах конкретного государства, в сфере взаимодействия различных конфессий, внутри различных религиозных сообществ, а также в сфере взаимоотношений поколений в среде самих мигрантов. Эти изменения могут быть как результатом реализации гуманистической функции религии в социально-психологической сфере жизни мигрантов, так и результатом злоупотребления религией в политических целях.

Ключевые слова: миграция, миграционные процессы, религия, религиозность.

„Even if all material possessions are lost this religious capital will remain with the migrant“

dr Annemarie Dupre¹

■ В контексте общей дискуссии о религиозности и миграционных процессах мы с достаточной степенью уверенности можем привести тезис о том, что эти явления свойственны самой природе человека и о том, что они являются неотъемлемым атрибутом истории человечества. В частности, миграции имеют место с древнейших времен существования человека как субъекта и человека как субъекта социума. В Библии, в Старом Завете, в Книге Бытия первые люди - Адам и Ева - принадлежат к первому поколению людей, которое приобретет опыт изгнания, так как, как мы знаем, они будут вынуждены «эмигрировать» из Райского сада. Здесь мы не будем начинать дискуссию о том, является ли Райский сад абстракцией и метафорой, касающейся духовной сущности человека, или же географическим пространством на нашей планете. В относящейся к данному вопросу литературе можно найти аргументы как в пользу первой, так и в пользу второй точки зрения, но всё это лежит за рамками нашего исследования.

Вместе с тем, фактом остается то, что данный «мотив исхода» имеет место с древнейших времен. Следующим примером является исход евреев (израильтян) из Египта под предводительством Моисея, однако, лучшей иллюстрацией в данном контексте является история Авраама. Изучив по библейским текстам географию и пути его странствий, мы с полным правом могли бы характеризовать жизнь Авраама как жизнь мигранта. Описанное в другой традиционной религиозной книге – в Коране – паломничество пророка Мухаммеда в

¹ По словам доктора международного права Анны-Мари Дюпре (1938 г. р.), в период с 1986 г. по 2004 г. исполняющей обязанности директора Службы по делам беженцев и мигрантов Итальянской Федерации Протестантских Церквей и в период с 2003 г. по 2006 г. являющейся Председателем Европейской церковной комиссии по делам мигрантов, в общей сложности более 20 лет занимающейся проблемой прав беженцев и мигрантов и сама являющейся беженцем

Медину и его триумфальное возвращение в Мекку имеет исключительное значение для становления Ислама как религии. Значимость данного события объясняет, почему паломничество (хадж) является одним из пяти столпов Ислама и одним из важнейших обязанностей правоверных – миграционный контекст тут очевиден. В Иудаизме миграции также имеют большое значение, так как даже после создания государства Израиль они остаются важным элементом религиозной идентичности евреев.

То, что миграции присущи человеческой расе, как это частично демонстрируют приведенные примеры, в случае, когда мы говорим о религии, еще очевиднее и этому мы находим многочисленные подтверждения в литературных источниках. Объем нашего исследования не позволяет более подробно остановиться на данных источниках, но мы считаем нужным упомянуть исследование Эмиля Дюркгейма «Элементарные формы религиозной жизни. Тотемистическая система в Австралии». Как известно, проанализировав тотемистические верования австралийских аборигенов, Эмиль Дюркгейм выдвинул теорию о возникновении религиозных чувств и институтов на самом раннем этапе истории человечества (мы можем сказать, что это относится к тому периоду, когда мы вообще можем говорить о становлении самосознания людей). Различные культуры и цивилизации, независимо развивающиеся в разных уголках мира, имеют собственные мифологические представления, которые всегда подразумевают наличие неких высших существ, богов и полубогов. Стремление людей к бессмертию, которое до недавнего времени обещала только религия, также имело место у древних людей - мы видим это, например, в «Эпосе о Гильгамеше». Все эти мифологические представления, как и мотив бессмертия, без сомнения имеют и религиозный характер, хотя при этом мы не утверждаем, что религия и мифология идентичны. Таким образом, говорим ли мы о светской или о религиозной истории - и миграции, и религия являются неотъемлемой частью существования человека и человеческого сообщества, как с момента возникновения, так и в процессе дальнейшего исторического развития. Такие утверждения лучше всего рассматривать с позиции «от

противного», однако в настоящий момент не представляется возможным четко ответить на вопрос, каким бы было положение человека (и общества), если бы миграции и религиозность были «исключены» из его социологического кода, так как пока это не произошло. По словам доктора международного права Анны-Мари Дюпре (1938 г. р.), в период с 1986 г. по 2004 г. исполняющей обязанности директора Службы по делам беженцев и мигрантов Итальянской Федерации Протестантских Церквей и в период с 2003 г. по 2006 г. являющейся Председателем Европейской церковной комиссии по делам мигрантов, в общей сложности более 20 лет занимающейся проблемой прав беженцев и мигрантов и сама являющейся беженцем: «Даже, если мигранты потеряют все, что у них есть, у них останется их религиозный капитал»².

В связи с тем, что значимость понятий миграции и религии определяют их имманентностью и древностью, в фокус нашего исследования вполне оправдано попадает вопрос о том, есть ли непосредственная связь между этими феноменами. Тем более что, исследования миграций с устоявшегося демографического и географического поля в наше время постепенно переходит в политический дискурс, особенно после 11.09.2001 года и особенно, когда речь идет о миграциях мусульман (данный вопрос настолько сложен, что требует рассмотрения в отдельном исследовании). Однако, интересно, что упомянутые нами выше в данной связи работы, показывают, что «после миграции молитвенные практики с годами уменьшаются у представителей всех религий кроме мусульман, а активность участия в религиозных действиях со временем уменьшается также и в среде православных мигрантов и субъектов без определённой религиозной принадлежности»³ При этом, мы должны отметить, что практически за редким исключением при изучении данных явлений религиозный под-ход был безосновательно игнорирован и недостаточно

² Annemarie Dupré, dr. (2008) Perspectives on Migration: What role does religion play in the migration process? Mozaik. p. 10. <http://www.koed.hu/mozaik20/annemarie.pdf>.

³ Religiosity and Migration: Travel into One's Self versus Travel across Cultures. Mariya Aleksynska, Barry R. Chiswick

использован. Имеют место и иные точки зрения - так, Жаклин Хаган и Хелен Росе Ибоу (Хьюстонский университет, США) отмечают, что религия играет важную роль во всех шести фазах миграции: в принятие решения, подготовке к переезду, переезде, прибытии на новое место, организации жизни на новом месте и развитии межнациональных связей⁴. В то же время, мы считаем верными и присущие неоклассическим теориям утверждения, которые прогнозируют миграционные движения на основе комбинации экономических переменных и особенности рынка труда. Данная точка зрения представляется нам достаточно очевидной и по своей сути основана на анализе массива статистических данных, что позволяет сделать преимущественно достоверные выводы. Целесообразность данного метода неоспорима, хотя он и имеет свои недостатки. При этом, во многих странах (например, во Франции) иностранным контрагентам запрещено проводить опросы религиозной принадлежности граждан. Нужно сказать, что рассмотренный нами нелиберальный подход (который является одним из множества подходов такого типа) не показывает всю картину миграционного процесса, хотя он и выявляет многие важные элементы. При этом мы полагаем, что необходимый баланс в управлении миграционными процессами достигается единственно посредством синтеза нелиберального и гуманистического подходов, в котором религия занимает важное место как социально-психологический феномен.

Мы считаем, что религия может способствовать организации более легкой жизни в принимающей стране, но также может играть и совершенно противоположную роль. Например, по мнению Рицхмана: «гаитянские мигранты в Палм Бич (Флорида) используют религию не только для того, чтобы найти свое место в чужом религиозном ландшафте, но и для того, чтобы выделиться на его фоне».⁵ Организация жизни, о

⁴ International Migration Review, Vol. 37, No. 4, The Future of the Second Generation: The Integration of Migrant Youth in Six European Countries (Winter, 2003), pp. 1145-1162 Published by: The Center for Migration Studies of New York, Inc.

⁵ Religion and transnational migration Final Draft August 6, 2002 Pegg y Levitt Wellesley College and Harvard University

которой мы говорим, в большей своей части имеет социологический характер (при этом она не сводится только к тому, что мы называем облегчением быта, удовлетворением основных потребностей в еде, крове, гигиене и общении), но может иметь и характер духовный. При этом мы можем исследовать только его внешние проявления, а представление о содержании, которое, как мы предполагаем, является основой последующей организации религиозной жизни, возможно получить только опытным путем. Например, проведенные Ван Дейком исследования современного состояния Церкви Пятидесятницы, показывают, что будущие мигранты в Гане часто обращаются к исцеляющим и спасительным ритуалам в молельных домах в целях духовных консультаций и благословения своего переезда⁶.

Возможно, после вышесказанного стоит добавить, что неолиберальный подход указывает нам на причины или отвечает на вопрос «почему», в то время как гуманистический подход, который включает религиозный взгляд, отвечает и на вопрос «как». На самом деле присутствие религиозного фактора в миграционном процессе логически обоснованно тем, что этот процесс, особенно в случае принудительных миграций - вне зависимости от того вызваны ли они локальными военными действиями или снижением уровня благосостояния - всегда сопряжен с риском и опасностью (мы ежедневно видим сообщения в СМИ о летальных случаях и случаях тюремного заключения мигрантов, иногда об их массовой гибели мигрантов, о больших злоупотреблениях тяжелым положением мигрантов и других трагедиях). Объяснимо, что в такой ситуации, т.е. в условиях абсолютной опасности и огромных страданий, люди в большинстве случаев инстинктивно обращаются к религии. Обращение к религии изначально является одним из путей поиска решений проблем, вызванных миграцией⁷. Мигранты обычно являются верующими и этот факт нужно учитывать в процессе изучения миграций и управления миграциями.

⁶ Там же.

⁷ Werner Schiffauer; First published in German in the catalogue for the exhibition Projekt Migration, published in DuMont Literatur und Kunstverlag, Köln 2005. Copyright: Goethe-Institut, Fikrun wa Fann

В данном контексте сразу возникает следующий вопрос: является ли миграционный процесс катализатором религиозных чувств и поведения даже у тех, кто ранее не был верующим или членом церковного сообщества или же миграционный процесс только усиливает уже существующее религиозное состояние у индивидов или групп? Мы уверены, что это в большинстве случаев данный вопрос касается не только самих мигрантов, но опосредованно и их семьей, родственников, брачных партнёров, а в некоторой степени и других членов сообщества (например, курьеров, которые осуществляют передачу информации и денег как в государстве, откуда приходят мигранты, так и в государстве, куда они направляются). Интересно, что молитвы и религиозные обряды в некоторых случаях не прекращаются и тогда, когда миграционный процесс завершен. В некоторых странах родственники мигрантов приносят их фотографии и вещи священникам и совместно осуществляют над ними бдение. «... и в качественных, и в количественных социологических исследованиях, миграционный опыт и конфессия редко являются главными критериями выбора фокус-группы. Здесь необходимо упомянуть исследование Иванковой-Стецюк под названием «Качественный анализ трудовая миграция на Украине: материалы глубинных интервью и фокус-групп», в которой автор говорит о том, что «во время анализа глубинных интервью с переехавшими в Польшу украинскими трудовыми мигрантами исследователи выявили ряд специфических мотивов выбора именно этой страны. Среди них ведущее место занимают бывшие связи и контакты женской части интервьюируемой группы, которые были установлены задолго до того, как было принято решение о переезде. Конкретно, данные интервью показали, что факт наличия родственников в Польше или польских корней, а гораздо чаще факт наличия социальных контактов в это стране, дает украинцам определенные преимущества, которые становятся актуальны во время трудовой миграции». Выявленные особенности подтверждают присутствие социально-культурных факторов влияния, включая близость культурных идентичностей с обществом принимающей страны. Причем конфессия и/или религия являются одним из аспектов данных социально-культурных

факторов⁸. К подобным выводам пришли и Виктория Володко и Ханна Бритш».⁹

Помимо упомянутых выше психологических и духовных функций, церковным институтам свойственна и функция социологическая. Однако, эта функция не реализуется только лишь посредством приема мигрантов, организации питания, проживания и иногда даже финансовой помощи, но также и посредством организации общественной жизни с помощью интенсивных контактов с ранее прибывшими мигрантами и резидентами. Все вместе это настолько помогает мигрантам приспособиться и освоиться до такой степени, что иногда это даже приводит к смене вероисповедания. «Церковные институты важны и на начальной стадии процесса переселения (например, по данным Вернера Шиффера, многие приезжие майи-католики переходят протестантизм Церкви Пятидесятницы вскоре после своего переезда). Также, Старк и Финке отмечают, что как и брак, миграция является главной причиной перехода из одной религии в другую, если это способствует социальной адаптации и удовлетворяет потребность в формировании новых социальных связей»¹⁰. Изменение вероисповедания в связи с тяжелыми условиями жизни не являются большой новацией в исторической ретроспективе. Имеет место и другая тенденция, так Аззи и Эксренберга говорят, что «общеизвестным фактом является то, что присутствие мигрантов и/или национальных меньшинств может увеличить общественный статус религии[...], а её рыночную альтернативу может ограничить дискриминация на основе вероисповедания, потенциально способствуя сохранению отличающейся религиозности»¹¹. Таким образом, мы видим, что описываемые тенденции имеют двусторонний характер. Однако, как мы считаем, данный феномен не следует рассматривать только лишь с подобно точки зрения, т.е. с точки зрения мигрантов.

⁸ Выделено автором данной статьи.

⁹ Religion and International Migration: A Case Study of Ukraine Wadim Strielkowski, Yuri Bilan and Oleh Demkiv Religions 2016, 7, 64.

¹⁰ Religiosity and Migration: Travel into One's Self versus Travel across Cultures Mariya Aleksynska, Barry R. Chiswick

¹¹ Там же.

Также, по нашему мнению, необходимо подчеркнуть, что именно в этой связи важно идентифицировать миссионерские намерения любой церкви привлечь как можно больше прихожан и, что в условиях уменьшения других целевых групп мигранты приобретают первостепенное значение, вне зависимости от того понимают ли это сами мигранты. Схожим образом мы интерпретируем и выводы Пегги Левит о религиозной идентичности: «недавнее исследование мировых религий привело к прояснению того, каким образом религия создает международные связи, которые формируют универсальную идентичность. Религия, а особенно имеющие место в широком географическом контексте религиозные движения проникают во все более гомогенизирующиеся формы богослужений и организаций, что приводит к созданию глобальных сообществ, к которым местные жители могут примкнуть. Таким образом, по словам Ван Дийка, члены этого глобального сообщества сталкиваются с множеством интеграционных возможностей, которое намного превосходит возможности обусловленных религиозными особенностями локальных сообществ и культур».¹² Тут мы видим, что миграции влияют на глобализацию религии, что и неудивительно принимая во внимание тенденцию каждой религии претендовать на то, чтобы быть глобальной и универсальной. Возможно, точнее было бы сказать, что церковь и другие религиозные сообщества используют миграционные процессы для реализации своих миссионерских целей. Однако, не до конца ясно какова эта миссионерская цель: духовна ли она или институциональна?

Взаимосвязь религии и миграции мы снова наблюдаем и в религиозных практиках, особенно в принимающих мигрантов странах, в которых религиозные практики отличаются от религиозных практик, принятых у самих мигрантов. По мнению Анны-Марии Дюпре, церковные институты должны стремиться к укреплению законодательных основ свободы вероисповедания. По её мнению, необходимо уважать права религиозных меньшинств, и когда они не являются христианами. В данном контексте, возникают споры о всеобщих ценностях,

¹² Religion and transnational migration Final Draft August 6, 2002 Peggy Levitt Wellesley College and Harvard University

акцентированные на вопрос о том, как далеко религиозные сообщества могут зайти в процессе продвижения определенных религиозных правил, которые могут оказаться неприемлемыми с точки зрения основных ценностей сообщества принимающих стран. Источник данной проблемы не нов, имеет место множество примеров, объясняющих, почему дело доходит до подобных, как мы можем сказать, обоюдных религиозных коллизий. То, что было бы новым и необходимым – это базирующиеся на глубоком погружении в теологические догматы всеобъемлющие и долгосрочные решения, которые на уровне теологии кажутся невозможными, особенно, если эти догматы практикуются на общей территории. Миграции, однако, являются лакмусовой бумажкой не только для оценки вызовов секулярного государства, которое религиозные вопросы превращает в политические, но и для церкви, которая вне зависимости от своего желания, политические вопросы превращает в теологические - при этом и государство, и церковь несут ответственность за возможность совместного существования людей, за цивилизацию и за существование человека. Все элементы такого замкнутого круга, в котором, упрощенно говоря, либо отказываясь от постулатов собственной веры, принимаются практики другой веры ради благополучия мигрантов, либо, отказывая мигрантам в праве на благополучие укрепляются собственные религиозные убеждения, должны быть постоянно добровольно ответственными и посвященными - от индивида, местных общин, государства, государственных объединений до глобального сообщества, для того, чтобы избегая обычных злоупотреблений (например, в политических компаниях, в которых «правые» движения привлекают дополнительные голоса избирателей) сформировали новое общее постмодернистское знание и состояние, которые в основном исповедует большинство религий – мир во всем мире и любовь к ближним.

Миграции выявляют и отличия в самих характеристиках определенных конфессий, и обусловленное ими различное влияние конфессий в социальной сфере. Например, «в этом смысле, Украинская греко-католическая церковь переняла некоторую гибкость и инновационность от Католической церкви,

которая стремится ответить на вызовы современности и соответствовать актуальным запросам своих прихожан. В отличие от этого, в православной традиции нет большого опыта реализации общественной доктрины, при этом она может похвастаться большей метафизической природой, мистицизмом и невмешательством из общественные и политические вопросы». ¹³ Но, мы находим примеры, подтверждающие и иные утверждения, так „на практическом уровне, специальная подготовка священников и церковных социальных работников, организованная Украинской православной церкви (Московского патриархата) помогла противодействовать нелегальной миграции и способствовала координированной помощи жертвам миграционных процессов. Другими словами, даже когда данная церковь обращает внимание на явление миграции, она рассматривает ее как большую проблему“ ¹⁴ В своей работе мы не ставим перед собой целью определить, какая из двух точек зрения является более точной, но, если бы мы должны были определиться в своей позиции, мы не стали бы утверждать, что возможно обе точки зрения могут быть правильными, т.к. нам важнее показать, что отношение религии и миграции - неоспоримое и сложное явление, что подтверждается и первым, и вторым утверждением.

Важно отметить, что религиозные отношения в контексте миграций носят не только лишь интернациональный и межконфессиональный характер, но и внутриконфессиональный. Тем не менее, возможно самой важной характеристики религиозности мигрантов в институциональном смысле является то, что она всегда и везде становится светским (нерелигиозным) движением. Инициатива по организации молитвенных собраний (молитвенных домов) в новой среде жизни обычно идет снизу или, по крайней мере, она поддерживается низами ¹⁵.

¹³ Religion and International Migration: A Case Study of Ukraine Wadim Strielkowski, Yuriy Bilan and Oleh Demkiv Religions 2016, 7, 64

¹⁴ Werner Schiffauer; First published in German in the catalogue for the exhibition Projekt Migration, published in DuMont Literatur und Kunstverlag, Köln 2005. Copyright: Goethe-Institut, Fikrun wa Fann

¹⁵ Religion and International Migration: A Case Study of Ukraine Wadim Strielkowski, Yuriy Bilan and Oleh Demkiv Religions 2016, 7, 64

Другими словами мигранты и сами организуют религиозные институты и практики в рамках своей религии, но достаточно произвольным – вольным образом. «Многие межнациональные религиозные практики развиваются в индивидуальном, неформальном окружении. Они сочетают в себе формальные религиозные элементы и популярные народные меры настолько произвольно, что это может привести к конфликту внутри самой практики».¹⁶

Определенный компромисс, к которому, как правило, позднее религиозное сообщество приходит, должен в себе – по крайней мере до определенной степени - включать изменение всей религиозной жизни, в частности, касательно автономности относительно собственной церкви или религиозной общины. «Принимая все это во внимание, мы можем говорить о том, сам по себе интересен факт того, что любая характеристика страны конечного назначения важна для эмигрантов. Данный факт подтверждает то, что религиозность не является полностью неизменяемой особенностью и, что она меняется под влиянием внешних факторов, особенно под влиянием религиозных институтов и культурной среды, в которой находится индивид, как и в зависимости от продолжительности пребывания в принимающей стране...».¹⁷ Необходимо отметить, что приводя данные примеры и говоря о религии в институциональном и организационном контексте, мы неизбежно прибегаем к своеобразной «рутинизации религии». Это явление впервые выделил и опередил Тревор Линг, говоря о христианстве в период с I в до н.э. до 500 г. н.э. в своей книге „История религий Востока и Запада“. Как мы видим, в этой рутинизации на передний план выходят «внешние» авторитеты, а «внутренние» религиозные чувства теряются. Те, кто до сих пор сохраняют эти религиозные чувства и противостоят установившимся авторитетам, рассматриваются со стороны этих авторитетов как фанатики. «Видим ли мы тут, за тысячу лет до Французской

¹⁶ Religion And Transnational Migration Final Draft August 6, 2002 Peggy Levitt Wellesley College and Harvard University

¹⁷ Religiosity and Migration: Travel into One's Self versus Travel across Cultures Mariya Aleksynska, Barry R. Chiswick

революции, зачатки секуляризации?»¹⁸ Можем ли мы, рассуждая подобным образом утверждать, что миграции способствуют секуляризации?

Комментируя данную ситуацию Вернер Шиффер приводит высказывание Пьера Бурдьё, которое подтверждает тезис о том, что изменения в религиозной жизни не носят только лишь институциональный, но и духовный характер. Религиозная энергия часто проявляется более чистым и свободным образом, со столь большой силой, которая оставляет средний класс без слов. Это приводит к настоящему извержению этой энергии, порожденному отчаянием и продолжается на основе дикого энтузиазма¹⁹. Это имеет особое значение и тут возникает вопрос о том, является ли преждевременным вывод о том, что миграционные процессы способствуют повышению качества религиозных чувств, не смотря на то, что они нарушают иерархию и практику собственных религиозных институтов стран происхождения? Или, если мы придерживаемся более радикальных позиций - говоря политически некорректно, может быть именно поэтому? «Возможно, фактом является и то, что личный опыт миграции значительно влияет на личную религиозность. Миграции при этом выглядят как процесс личной трансформации, пути к себе, а опыт, связанный с фактом миграции имеет долгосрочное влияние на индивидуальное отношение к религии и духовности в широком смысле».²⁰

Невозможно рассмотреть все случаи взаимодействий религии и миграции - отчасти потому, что они не полностью задокументированы, а отчасти из-за сложности полного охвата – однако, мы должны особо отметить случаи дисконтинуитета религиозного поведения среди различных поколений мигрантов. Как мы уже говорили выше в определенной среде роль

¹⁸ Вукчевич Н. Сравнительный подход в книге Тревор Освальда Линга «История религий Востока и запада: введение и интерпретация». // Научный результат. Социология и управление, Том 4, Выпуск №1, 2018. С. 3-12.

¹⁹ Werner Schiffauer; First published in German in the catalogue for the exhibition Projekt Migration, published in DuMont Literatur und Kunstverlag, Köln 2005. Copyright: Goethe-Institut, Fikrun wa Fann

²⁰ Religiosity and Migration: Travel into One's Self versus Travel across Cultures Mariya Aleksynska, Barry R. Chiswick

религии состоит в большей степени в том, чтобы утешить и приободрить в части самого принятия решения о начале процесса переезда. Иногда это выражается даже в том, что священник, участвуя во всех этапах миграционного процесса и координируя представителей всех поколений в семье, «в коммуникациях с Богом» определяет, является ли данный момент подходящим для переезда, и в том, что священник в любой момент может остановить весь процесс. Таков, например, случай с миграцией майя (Южная Америка) в Хьюстон (США).

В Европе первое поколение мигрантов часто находится в дисконтинуитете относительно религиозных традиций со своими потомками, которые будучи рожденными в новой стране, естественным образом перенимают язык, культурологический код и практики секулярного государства. Но, возможна и полностью противоположная ситуация, когда новые поколения мигрантов, рожденные и получивших образование в новой стране, демонстрируют исключительную коллизию со средой своего существования (в отличие от своих родителей), используя именно религию не только как «*differentia specifica*» и щит, но и как оружие против этой среды. Возможно это один из тех редких случаев, когда мы можем ясно увидеть все положительные стороны индивидуализма, особенно в части стремлений индивида к духовному поиску и духовному самосовершенствованию, в отличие от коллективного требования социальных изменений, которые по определению носят конфликтный характер, в независимости от того оправдан он или нет, и приводит ли он или нет к политическим последствиям, хотя в любом случае он не приводит к последствиям духовным.

Очевидно, что некоторым странам знакомы политические результаты миграции, поэтому эти результаты не обязательно должны быть фактическим последствием миграции, т.к. уже существует достаточные возможности по их прогнозированию и управлению ими. Вопрос заключается только в том, насколько государстве принимает во внимание религиозный фактор в процессе управления миграциями, что в свою очередь зависит от уровня секулярности как в родной стране мигрантов, так и в стране принимающей их. Это позволят нам сделать вывод о том, что миграции опосредованно способствуют

включению религии в международные отношения. Например, религиозные институты, созданные турецкими мигрантами в Германии, получают активную поддержку от Министерства по делам религии Турции координирующуюся немецкими властями. «В ходе сравнительного анализа поведения марокканских и турецких мигрантов в Германии, Рон Лестеге выявил, что турецкие эмигранты и их дети участвуют в межнациональных практиках намного чаще, чем марокканские мигранты, включая практики владение недвижимостью в Турции и поиск в Турции брачных партнеров. Он частично объясняет это различие актуальным участием турецких властей в религиозной жизни своих соотечественников за рубежом. Другой пример влияния государства мы ясно видим, когда размышляем о мигрантах из стран, где имеет место тесная связь государства и церкви, и сравниваем их с мигрантами из стран с высоким уровнем религиозного плюрализма. В таких странах как Ирландия и Пакистан, мигранты часто оказываются под большим давлением при изъяснении себя как пакистанцев, мусульман, ирландцев или католиков, а религиозная и национальная идентичность взаимно усиливают друг друга. Эти индивиды с большей долей вероятности являются межнациональными активистами, т.к. их мотивация к этому проистекает из двух источников, которые взаимно усиливают один другой».²¹ Говорили бы мы о запрете на строительство мечетей в Швейцарии 2009 года или запрете на ношение хиджаба в общественных местах во Франции и Бельгии 2010 года, если бы ситуация в этих странах была схожа с ситуацией в Германии? Этот вопрос, как и многие, другие остаётся открытым и показывает, что соотношению религии и миграции должно посвящаться намного больше внимания, т.к. эта проблема глубоко проникла в политическое устройство мира. «Не следует забывать, что феномен нации является общественным конструктом, который сформирован политикой и который гипотетически может быть превзойден, когда будут созданы условия для деконструкции и формирования нового устройства, как это прогнозируют сторонники глобализма. Миграции могут быть причиной таких изменений, т.к. они меняют

²¹ Religion And Transnational migration Final Draft August 6, 2002 Peggy Levitt Wellesley College and Harvard University

демографическую картину принимающих стран, глубоко проникают в культурологические и религиозные основы местного населения, увеличивают социальную дихотомию и, на самом деле, как симулякр нации требует все возможные и юридически, и этически обоснованные права, обуславливая и создание абсолютно новых симулякров».²²

В заключении мы считаем нужным сказать, что взаимоотношения религии и миграции являются сложными и взаимосвязанными и они изначально присущи человеческому роду. Религия влияет на миграционный процесс во всех его фазах, это влияние имеет как социологический характер, когда это влияние осуществляется посредством религиозных институтов и привлечения духовных лиц, так и психологический характер, когда влияние осуществляется посредством религиозных обрядов и духовной поддержки. Таким образом, мы пришли к следующим выводам: мигранты посредством самоорганизации усиливают свою религию по отношению к доминирующей религии той страны, куда они эмигрировали с целью сохранения идентичности и уникальности (такой самоорганизации иногда может быть присуще и отступничество, которое приводит к автономии или большему духовному опыту); мигранты интегрируются в уже существующие религиозные организации, которые с целью сохранения собственной идентичности и уникальности более ориентированы на усиление религиозности своих прихожан по сравнению с религиозными институтами доминирующей в принимающей стране; мигранты укрепляют свою религию пропорционально секуляризации в принимающей стране; мигранты меняют вероисповедание с целью лучшей организации жизни в принимающей стране; мигранты способствуют реализации миссионерских целей церкви в независимости от того осознают они это или нет; мигранты способствуют интенсификации глобализационным процессов, создавая межнациональные сети посредством религиозных

²² Вукчевич Н., Гридчин А.А. Миграције и проблеми мира и конфликта у савременој епохи. Материјали VI Међународној научној конференцији «Култура. Политика. Понимање (култура, нација, државство – проблеми идентичности в контексте савремене политике» (Београд 17-19 маја 2018 г.) С. 83-89.

институтов; мигранты изменяют и свою собственную религию, особенно в институциональном смысле, «вынуждая» её менять свои социально-психологические функции, до такой степени, что это может спровоцировать своего рода конфликт внутри самой этой религии.

Всё наше исследование показывает, что религии не являются «окостенелыми», наоборот - они чувствительны к внешним социологическим и внутренним психологическим факторам, особенно в новых условиях (подобные изменения проявляются и на микроуровне внутри семьи в конфликте поколений). Не до конца ясно усиливают ли миграции процесс секуляризации или содействуют десекуляризации?

Миграции способствуют проникновению религиозного фактора в международные отношения даже в том случае, когда речь идет о секулярной стране. Также, миграционные процессы могут способствовать политическим злоупотреблениям религией, до такой меры, что гипотетически это может привести к симулякру глобальной нации, которая в этом случае потребует специальных прав. Именно поэтому необходимо детальное и тщательное изучение соотношения религии и миграции, что имеет особенное гуманистическое значение.

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Abstract

The problem of the relation of traditional religiosity and migration processes is insufficiently studied. In this paper, we tried to briefly describe their complex interrelation, which is, in our opinion, inherent to human society since prehistoric times. Migration is usually viewed as a geographical and / or demographic phenomenon, but in the first decades of the XXI century it was also perceived as a political phenomenon. In the context of the global predominance of the neoliberal approach, this phenomenon is considered mainly in the economic context. In contrast to these aspects, in our work we have tried to consider the relationship of migration with traditional religions. We say that religion plays a big role in the migration process,

but also that migration processes have a great influence on religion. Changes caused by interpenetration of these phenomena are reflected in religious institutions, as well as directly in the spiritual and religious life of migrants. Such changes are taking place at the world level, within the borders of a specific state, in the sphere of interaction of various denomination, within different religious communities, and relationships among different generations of migrants themselves. These changes can be the result of the realization of the humanistic function of religion in the socio-psychological life of migrants, as well as the result of the abuse of religion for political purposes.

Keywords: migration, migration processes, religion, religious.

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Православная экуменическая мысль современности

Аннотация

В статье анализируются проявления постконфессионального мышления в православной мысли XX-XXI вв. и их влияние на появление новых экуменических проектов возможного сближения с Католической Церковью и формирования новой православной экуменической теологии. Началом нового мышления становится осознание того факта, что Рим и Константинополь не имели канонических полномочий разорвать отношения, а потому единая церковь первого тысячелетия должна продолжать существовать. Отправным пунктом диалога является признание того факта, что христианская церковь возникла не как иерархия с единственным или несколькими центрами, а как сеть отдельных местных сообществ, объединённых общением. Показано, что католическая точка зрения заключается в том, что такая церковь является универсальным сообществом, где принято служение общего предстоятеля для всех (каковым и является Папа). Православная точка зрения заключается в том, что коммуникация религиозных сообществ не образует универсального сообщества как отдельной реальности, но универсальная церковь является именно общением местных сообществ, а трансцендентальная реальность Тела Христова проявляет себя в каждой местной общине. Таким образом, понимание Церкви как сети, а не иерархии сообществ является принятием православной экклесиологии в качестве отправной точки создания проектов восстановления «видимого единства» католической и православной церквей.

Ключевые слова: экуменизм, неопатристическая парадигма, православная церковь, католическое богословие, протестантские сообщества, богословский диалог, неотоцизм, дуализм, догматические истины, трансцендентность Бога.

■ Для преодоления недостатков неопатристической парадигмы православные теологи сегодня прилагают значительные усилия в критическом переосмыслении традиционной антизападной позиции православного богословия. Дэвид Харт в статье «Миф схизмы» [1] предлагает новую парадигму православного экуменизма, отмечая, что произошла деконструкция мифов, рожденных в ходе богословской полемики и переосмысление задач экуменической мысли. Традиционная цель экуменизма вообще и католическо-православного богословского диалога в частности заключается в достижении «видимого единства». Наиболее оптимистичные православные мыслители предполагали, что некое «невидимое единство» церкви уже существует. Так, основатель неопатристики о. Георгий Флоровский считал, что единосуществующей церковью является православная церковь, но её граница является невидимой, и сообщества не относятся к ней видимым образом. Но при этом благодать единой православной церкви действует в католической церкви и в некоторых протестантских сообществах. В тоже время полноты благодати вне православной церкви нет, поскольку она может быть только там, где полностью исповедуется ортодоксия и нет уклонения в ереси. В 1960-е годы православные богословы с восторгом восприняли учение Второго Ватиканского собора о Церкви-сестре. В интерпретации католических богословов, Церковь всё же является единой, и такой истиной церковью является именно римско-католическая церковь. Выражение о Церкви-сестре касается отношений между поместными, а не между католической и православной церквями как двумя целыми сообществами. Однако, православные богословы пытались увидеть положительный потенциал в теории о православии и католицизме как церкви-сестре, осмысливая римско-католическую церковь как патриархат Запада, а себя – как патриархат Востока. В декларации «Иисус Христос», изданной в 2000 году, католическая церковь заявила о себе как о единой истинной церкви, в которой не может быть «сестер». Аналогичное заявление было сделано в декларации Архиерейского собора РПЦ 2000 года «Основные принципы отношения Русской Православной

церкви к инославию». В исходных положениях этого документа отмечается: «Православная Церковь является истинной Церковью Христовой, созданной Самим Господом и Спасителем нашим, Церковью, утверждённой и полной Духом Святым, Церковь, о которой Сам Спаситель сказал: «сотворим Церковь Мою, и врата ада не одолеют её» (Мф. 16, 18). Она – Единая, Святая, Соборная (Кафолическая) и Апостольская Церковь, хранящая и подающая Святые Таинства во всем мире, и является «столбом и утверждением истины» (1 Тим. 3, 15). Она несёт полноту ответственности за распространение Истины Христова Евангелия, и свидетельство о «вере, однажды представленной святым» (Иуд. 3). Церковь Христова одна и единая (св. Киприан Карфагенский «О единстве Церкви»). Основой единства Церкви, как Тела Христова является то, что у неё один Глава – Господь Иисус Христос (Еф. 5, 23), и действует один Дух Святой, который животворит Тело Церкви и объединяет всех её членов с Христом как с её Главой» [5].

Как видим, единство Православной церкви и её тождество с христианской церковью как таковой утверждались радикальным образом. Тезис о том, что единственным главой церкви является Христос, отрицает католическое учение о центральной роли Римского епископа. Несмотря на то, что Православная Церковь названа тождественной Церкви Христовой как таковой, в документе признавалось наличие «благодатной жизни» за пределами Церкви. «Православная Церковь устами святых отцов утверждает, что спасение возможно лишь в Церкви Христовой. Однако, вместе с тем общины, отпавшие от единства с Православием, никогда не рассматривались как полностью лишённые благодати Божией. Разрыв церковного общения неизбежно приводит к повреждению благодатной жизни, но не всегда к полному её исчезновению в обособленных общинах. Именно с этим связана практика приёма в Православную Церковь приходящих из инославных сообществ не только через Таинство Крещения. Несмотря на разрыв единения, остаётся некое неполное общение, служащее залогом возможности возвращения к единству в Церкви, к кафолической полноте и единству» [5].

Теория о том, что благодать Христова действует за видимыми пределами церкви, была создана Августином ради логического объяснения того факта, что большинство раскольников и еретиков принимали в церковь без их повторного крещения. Признание крещения у Августина и Флоровского означает, что Церковь действует за пределами собственных видимых канонических границ. Ведь только церковь может явить благодать таинств, и именно поэтому действительным является крещение у протестантов, которые признают догматические истины о Христе и Троице, и все таинства действительны у католиков, сохранивших апостольскую преемственность. Собор РПЦ умалчивает о том, что именно Православная Церковь действует через другие сообщества, поскольку такая теория слишком радикальна, хотя и логична. В документе «Основные принципы отношения Русской Православной церкви к инославию» говорится только о «благодатной жизни», которая действует за пределами православия. Следует вспомнить, что в соответствии с православной догматикой, благодать действует на человека и до принятия крещения, и её влияние также часто не связано с церковью, поскольку благодать может открываться человеку другими способами – например, через природу, её красоту, гармонию и её таинственное влияние на личность.

Во времена постмодерна попытки утвердить тождество исключительно Православной или Католической Церкви в отношении Церкви как таковой выглядят спорными. Документы РПЦ и РКЦ (2000 г.) противоречат тому, что предлагалось папой Иоанном Павлом II в энциклике *Ut Unum Sint* («Да равно») в 1995 году. В частности, папа предлагал признать Католическую и Православную Церкви частями единой Церкви первого тысячелетия. Единство этой церкви необходимо восстановить, поскольку это воля Христа, и потому церковь, в которой есть апостольское предание, должна быть единством разнообразия. Препятствием к единству папа называет плохое знание друг друга, недостаток любви и нежелание обновлять церкви в соответствии с евангельскими идеалами.

В качестве конкретного начала сближения папа предлагает вернуться к обсуждению проблематики соотношения

римского примата и соборного начала в церкви, фактически выражая готовность поступиться собственными полномочиями, как они прописаны в документах Первого Ватиканского собора. «Энциклика папы Иоанна Павла II *Ut Unum Sint* должна по праву начать новую эру в экуменических отношениях между православием и римо-католицизмом. Конечно, нет ничего странного в том, что автор *Orientalis Lumen* – этого гимна любви восточного христианства – выражает такое страстное желание соединиться с Востоком. Но ничто, пожалуй, не предвещало такого чрезвычайного шага, который совершил Иоанн Павел II, заявив, что готов к диалогу с другими христианами (прежде всего, очевидно, с восточными христианами) о папском примате, то есть к диалогу, в котором обсуждению подлежал бы вопрос о папской юрисдикции в Церкви. Действительно, это был такой неожиданный жест, что и ни Православная, ни Католическая Церковь, кажется, до сих пор не знают, как на него реагировать» [1, с. 376].

Попытки папы Бенедикта XVI придать развитию Католической Церкви более консервативную траекторию развития не были восприняты широкими массами верующих. Претензии на эксклюзивное обладание истиной и спасение выглядят странными, если рядом есть Православная Церковь, которая восхищает католиков богатством собственных доктрин и практик. В рамках Православной Церкви неприятие католиков как братьев по вере распространено значительно шире и связано с психологическим противопоставлением себя Западу вообще и католицизму в частности. Современный православный теолог Д. Харт отмечает: «Если говорить о моем собственном сообществе, то должен с неохотой утверждать, что некоторые восточные христиане не могут сформулировать, что значит быть православным, кроме как через противопоставление римо-католицизму. И среди них есть небольшая, но шумная группа тех, кто (как я иногда подозреваю) потерял всякое разумное объяснение для своей православности кроме своей глубокой ненависти к Риму, бессмысленного страха перед ним и энциклопедического невежества относительно него» [1, с. 377]. Выразителем такой идейной линии среди современных богословов Д. Харт называет ученика

Г. Флоровского отца Иоанна Романидеса. Согласно концепции последнего католицизм как особое еретическое христианство было создано в трудах Августина, который в молодости принадлежал к секте манихеев, и от них унаследовал дуализм между трансцендентным хорошим Богом и безнадежно злым человеком. Учение о радикальной ущербности человеческой природы после грехопадения делает неприемлемой обычную для православия доктрину о спасении как исцелении и освобождении, но требует доктрину, в которой естественный греховный человек ради спасения чудесным образом подменялся бы «чистой» личностью. Парадоксальным образом антропологический пессимизм сочетается в доктрине Августина Аврелия с гносеологическим оптимизмом. Каждая вещь и каждое существо открыты к познанию собственной сущности. В случае с Богом созерцание Его возможно потому, что действие естественного разума усиливается вследствие духовного импульса благодати. Конечно, всё это отличается от православного учения о том, что человек может познавать Бога исключительно благодатными ощущениями, которые являются сверхъестественными и не имеют никакого отношения к природным человеческим органам познания.

Согласно каппадокийцам, Бог непознаваем в собственной сущности и ипостасях, а познаётся исключительно из собственных действий (энергий). Вместе с тем, энергии отражают внутреннее бытие Бога, представляют свойства Его сущности и отношения Трёх ипостасей. Августин Аврелий, а за ним и Фома Аквинский считают, что внутренняя жизнь Троицы достаточно полно явлена в действиях Бога в священной истории, особенно – в деятельности Христа. Сущность Бога скрыта специальным образом, но явлена полностью каждому, кто способен к мистическому созерцанию. С точки зрения религиоведения очевидно, что теологи вынуждены постулировать определённый дуализм, необходимый для объяснения того, почему одни верные «узнают» («чувствуют», «видят») Бога, а другие при таких же обстоятельствах – нет. Православные склонны считать, что Бог как трансцендентная сущность «прячется» и представляет себя частично и не во всём. Католики

считают, что Бог открыт для познания, но не все люди имеют способность к такому познанию, поскольку для этого нужно благодатное усиление действия познавательных возможностей человека. Эти вариации на темы познания Бога укоренены в библейской традиции. Ведь в Писании говорится, что «Бога никто никогда не видел, но Сын Божий Его явил» (Ин. 1: 18). Православие делает упор на первой части этой евангельской сентенции, католицизм – на второй. Д. Харт считает, что православные богословы должны признать частичную познаваемость Божьей сущности, отсутствие в Боге «энергий» как особой реальности. Всё это позволяет увидеть экуменическую перспективу, снять противоречия между неотомизмом и неопаламизмом, характерные для теологической католическо-православной полемики XX века.

Но даже если не признавать частичную правоту католической онтологии как лишённой дуалистических мотивов, считает Д. Харт, то православным богословам следует отбросить полемические крайности. В частности, он пишет: «немало современных православных богословов стали на позиции преувеличенного «фотиянства» и в своих нападках на «филиоквизм» доказывают, что, несмотря на то, что в икономии спасения именно от Христа Дух нисходит на апостолов, и тринитарные отношения, объявленные в икономии спасения, отличаются от вечных отношений в имманентной Троице. С богословской точки зрения это катастрофа, потому что это подрывает всю восточную святоотеческую традицию тринитарной догматики. Если бы это утверждение было справедливым, то не было бы вообще никакого основания для тринитарного богословия» [1, с. 382].

В произведениях представителей неопатристики относительно Троицы в антикатолическом ключе встречаются высказывания о том, что ипостаси в Троице находятся в постоянном круговороте, в котором невозможно выделить «первую», «вторую» или «третью» ипостась. В. Лурье доводит эту линию аргументации до абсурда, признавая, что не существует никаких оснований для различения лиц в Троице на основе порядка и характера происхождения Сына и Святого Духа [4]. В соответствии с ним Святой Дух не происходит

«через Сына», но выступает вполне самостоятельным в своем непосредственном происхождении от Отца [3]. Соответственно, различия Сына и Святого Духа становится предметом веры, а не теологических суждений. Всё это противоречит ясной традиции, согласно которой всегда православное богословие, не признавая происхождения «и от Сына» (филиокве), признавало его «через Сына». Со времен Максима Исповедника западное «и от Сына» отцы Православия пытались толковать как обычное ортодоксальное «через Сына». В постановлении Ферраро-Флорентийского собора о том, что Отец и Сын выступают как «единственная причина» для Духа, такие толкования имели смысл. Действительно, порядок в деятельности Трёх ипостасей в священной истории, особенно ссылки Святого Духа через Сына, указывает на порядок Ипостасей внутри Троицы. Эта богословская максима могла пониматься или в абсолютном смысле (католицизм), или в относительном (паламизм и неопаламизм), но полностью её отрицать не решался никто, кроме крайних антикатолических полемистов конца XX века.

Антикатолические богословские дискуссии об узнаваемости Бога и триадология в неопатристике получили дополнительное измерение в связи с противопоставлением православного персонализма католическому «эссенциализму» в понимании Бога. Д. Харт так описывает эту проблему: «По крайней мере со времен Владимира Лосского в православном богословии стало бы идеей фикс утверждать, будто западная богословская традиция забыла библейскую истину о том, что единство Троицы берёт начало от отеческих архе, а взамен считает, что единство Бога основывается на безличной божественной сущности, которая предшествует тринитарным отношениям. В 1892 году Теодор де Реньон впервые указал на различие между западным и восточным стилями тринитарного богословия: латинский взгляд на проблему имеет тенденцию двигаться от всеобщего - природы к единичному- Лицу, ставя на первое место божественное единство, а греческий, наоборот, идёт от Лица к природе, подчёркивая прежде всего множественность божественных Лиц. Это различие было сделано не для того, чтобы доказать

догматическое превосходство одной из сторон; оно было и не слишком подходяще для этого. Но его достаточно бездумно подхватил ряд богословов XX века, и теперь мы живём в эпоху, когда нам часто предлагают выбирать между «греческим» персонализмом и «латинским» эссенциализмом» [1, с. 380].

Согласно многим православным мыслителям, которые относят себя к «неопатристическому» направлению, католический «эссенциализм» предусматривает, что Бог – это единая Сущность (эссенция), внутри которой есть определённые отношения, которые конституируют Ипостаси. Это отношение Бога к самому себе является вещью реляционной, и Бог, каким его изображает католическая догматика – это Бог философов, метафизическая «монада», далёкая от библейского «живого Бога». Православная концепция «персонализма» в триадологии имеет следующий очевидный недостаток: в попытке избежать «эссенциализма» представители неопатристики начинают говорить о том, что три ипостаси «владеют» сущностью или «имеют» сущность. Если предположить, что сущность «принадлежит» трём, то тем самым понятие Божьей сущности представляется натуралистическим – сущность представляется как нечто материальное. Критика неопатристической триадологии католическими богословами за натурализм является вполне оправданной, и необходимо найти баланс в переосмыслении теорий о различении западного эссенциализма и восточного персонализма. Д. Харт пишет, что этими теориями «предполагается, что разница уходит корнями в ещё святоотеческую эпоху (по крайней мере, если верить некоторым интерпретациям Августина Аврелия и Григория Нисского). В православной среде укоренилась привычка трактовать идею о том, что западное богословие постулирует некую «безличную» божественную подоплеку тринитарных ипостасей (а потому не может увидеть в Отце «первоисточник божественности») как неоспоримый факт богословской истории и видеть в нём ключ к скрытой логике латинского «филиоквизма». Фактически понимание рождения Сына и происхождения Духа, которое имеет место в концепции Августина Аврелия, идентично взглядам каппадокийских отцов и

утверждениям Григория Нисского и Василия Великого о том, что Сын рождён непосредственно от Отца, тогда как Дух исходит от Отца только per Filium (sed, если одолжить чужую фразу, de Patre principaliter). Надо заметить, что и Августин Аврелий, и Григорий Нисский различают рождение и происхождение в Троице прежде всего в категориях причинности. Иначе говоря, они утверждают, что происхождение Духа отличается от рождения Сына в основном тем, что первое происходит через Сына [1, с. 380-381].

Е. Жильсон категорически отрицает приписывание «эссенциализма» Фоме Аквинскому и Августину Аврелию. Французский неотомист напоминает, что единая сущность Трёх является ничем иным, как Бытием. Если рассмотреть по существу, чем именно является сущность и Три ипостаси, то христианский Бог – это единая Экзистенция («сущность» как бытие), которая одновременно является Тремя экзистенциями. Использование дихотомии католического эссенциализма и православного персонализма не столько позволяло представителям неопатристики порвать с зависимостью православной мысли от западного богословия, сколько стало просто изменением одной зависимости на другую: теперь неопатристики опираются не на схоластическое богословие или немецкую классическую философию, а на теорию модерниста иезуита Теодора де Реньона [2]. Последний как раз пытался преодолеть то, что он называл «эссенциализмом». Более поздние исследования показали, что «эссенциализм» в католической теологии появился только благодаря деятельности главного мыслителя «второй схоластики» Ф. Суареса (1548-1617). Приписывание «эссенциализма» Августину Аврелию и Фоме Аквинскому, попытки из этого «эссенциализма» вывести «филиокве» является исторически ложными утверждениями, не подтверждаемыми объективным текстуальным анализом [2, с. 83].

По мнению Д. Харта, если православные должны переосмыслить собственную теологию, избавившись от выдуманных иезуитом Теодором Реньоном в 1892 году антикатолических мифологем, то католики должны принять нововведения в вероучении, которые были внесены после Семи Вселенских

соборов в качестве поправок к символу веры и новых догматов. В первую очередь это касается «филиокве», о чём православный богослов пишет: «если бы это был чисто богословский вопрос, моим первым откликом было бы отстаивать это приложение, понимая его в том смысле, что Дух исходит от Отца через Сына (Отец – единое начало Божества, как отчётливо показано в Писании), ведь я считаю, что это также и аутентичное восточное учение, единственное учение, которое согласуется и с Писанием, и с логикой православной богословской традиции. Filioque – это не только вопрос богословия, а в тех случаях, когда речь идёт о доктрине, применяется значительно более узкий набор богословских стандартов. Рим откровенно признаёт, что включение этой фразы в Символ веры произошло неправомерно; Иоанн Павел II даже говорил, что её следует трактовать лишь как богословский комментарий к утверждению о происхождении Духа от Отца, и сам он был, очевидно, рад вернуться к греческой практике в своих частных богослужениях. Но поскольку речь идёт о доктрине, следует быть честным и сказать, что в этом деле половинчатые меры ничего не дадут, и что-либо, кроме полного изъятия этой фразы из всех католических обрядов, окажется бесплодным [1, с. 384].

Таким образом, даже если признавать справедливой богословскую концепцию, обозначаемую в современной католической мысли термином «филиокве», его изъятие из символа веры является необходимым шагом. Добавление каких-либо положений к символу веры не может быть оправданным, поскольку этот документ должен быть исповеданием веры единой церкви первого тысячелетия. Богословские интерпретации триадологии, с которыми связаны как концепт «филиокве», так и отрицающие его антикатолические теории, должны остаться вне вероучительных текстов. Свобода богословских интерпретаций предусматривает, что определённая правильность может быть и в западной формуле «и от Сына», так же как она точно есть в восточной богословской формуле «через Сына». Даже богословы пришли к тому, что доказали тождество смысла обеих формул, и поэтому их следует оставить за пределами единого символа веры: «Остаётся фактом,

что пока где-нибудь в римской общине используется *Filioque*, воссоединения с Востоком не будет» [1, с. 384]. Эта фраза долго служила историческим символом всего, что нас разделяет, и вокруг неоднозначности и неправомерности её включения в универсальный Символ вселенской веры без согласия Восточных Церквей появилось столько противоречивых вопросов богословской истории, что она будет оставаться непреодолимым препятствием для единства не только в обозримом будущем, но и во всяком будущем, которое только можно представить. Если католики не откажутся от *Filioque*, православные иерархи смогут провести воссоединение только ценой огромных внутренних расколов – но насколько необходимо такое воссоединение? Может показаться несправедливым просить Рим о таком безмерно широком жесте безо всякой взаимности со стороны Востока, но, учитывая асимметрию экуменической ситуации, это не тот случай, когда следует руководствоваться принципом *quid pro quo*. Надо определиться, что важнее: если единство, то эту фразу нужно полностью изъять из употребления, а если *Filioque* должно остаться, то нужно смириться с тем, что мы навсегда останемся разобщёнными» [1, с. 385].

Следует признать, что с религиозоведческой точки зрения предложение Д. Харта исключить «филиокве» из католического символа веры выглядит вполне уместно, поскольку Римско-Католическая Церковь сегодня уже готова к такому шагу. Такой жест сам по себе сблизил бы Запад и Восток. Аналогично Д. Харт предлагает признать, что спасение – «это настоящее прославление и органическое преображение создания во Христе» [1, с. 385], и с этой точки зрения догмат о чистилище является противоречивым. «Восточная Церковь верит в освящение человека после смерти, и, возможно, доктрина о чистилище действительно утверждает не более чем это. Однако Рим также традиционно говорит о чистилище как о «досрочном наказании», от которого папа может полностью или частично освободить. Проблема в том, что с точки зрения православных трудно понять, как можно согласовать между собой эти два толкования чистилища. Сегодня данный аспект проблемы почти никого не беспокоит, а поэтому нет

необходимости подробно обсуждать его в богословском диалоге. Так или иначе, католическая теологическая мысль всё более благосклонно относится к православной теории спасения как исцеления, отказывается от сотериологического юридикзма, принимает теорию обожествления и переосмысливает ключевые богословские тексты Августина Аврелия, Ансельма Кентерберийского и Фомы Аквинского. Элементы теории обожествления имеют место даже у Мартина Лютера, и также в русле православной теории обожествления католиками толкуются мариологические догматы [1, с. 383]. Отстранившись от конкретных догматических вопросов, Д. Харт задаётся общим вопросом о католических догматических нововведениях: «По правде говоря, мы должны спорить не о сути таких доктрин, а о том, существовала ли когда-нибудь достаточно авторитетная власть, чтобы провозгласить их – и это, конечно, возвращает нас к вопросам о папской непогрешимости, папском примате и природе вселенских соборов» [1, с. 383]. По мнению американского православного теолога, Рим сам, без Константинополя и других древних Патриархатов Востока, не мог провозглашать новых догматов. Д. Харт отмечает, что «обе Церкви слишком обременены представлениям о собственной непогрешимости» [1, с. 384].

Католики часто подчеркивают непогрешимость Папы, и в качестве поправки к соответствующему догмату предлагают напомнить и о непогрешимости собора епископов. Безошибочность деятельности папы реализуется с согласия соборного разума целого корпуса епископов [1, с. 387]. Также и Вселенский собор объявляет собственно авторитетное учение только с согласия папы. Православное учение предполагает авторитетность Вселенских и Всеправославного Собора, поместных соборов, общего согласия церковного народа. Но при этом «совершенно очевидно, что никакая доктрина не может быть следствием консенсуса Церкви хотя бы потому, что Церковь не руководствуется принципами демократии, а истина не определяется путем голосования» [1, с. 387]. Критическое отношение к католической и православной теориям относительно авторитета и безошибочности церковной власти наиболее важно для нахождения путей к восстановлению

единства церкви первого тысячелетия. Отсюда Д. Харт делает вывод, что для прогресса экуменизма необходим анализ природы христианской церкви [1, с. 386]. В частности, он отмечает, что христианская церковь первого тысячелетия просто не могла разделиться на католическую и православную: «Разделение – социальный, культурный и политический факт, но каково же его богословское обоснование? Может ли потеря общения между двумя патриархами или епископами – а это часто случалось и в ранней Церкви – создать реальное разделение между двумя сообществами, которые объединены в таинствах? Мог бы, например, какой-либо православный действительно верить в то, что папа имеет власть отлучить от Церкви другого патриарха и его паству? Если же общение на деле никогда полностью не прекращалось, то как мы можем определить конкретный момент, причину или даже самую возможность разделения?» [1, с. 389]. Таким образом, Д. Харт считает, что разделение не существует онтологически и канонически, хотя оно и является социальным, культурным и политическим фактом. Таким образом, обязанность восстановления единства церкви первого тысячелетия должна быть путём нахождения существующего единства, а не достижения его путем компромисса. Поэтому «принципиальный вопрос, который в конечном итоге следовало бы поставить в дискуссии о папской юрисдикции, вопрос, наименее очевидный и неожиданный из всех – не о том, как нам найти доктринальные и богословские средства, которые сделают или оправдают воссоединение, а о том, как вообще возможно находить какие-либо доктринальные или богословские основания для того, чтобы оправдать или хотя бы с уверенностью констатировать разделение. Это вопрос не моральный, а чисто канонический: действительно ли мы уверены, что мы действительно разобщены? А если нет, то наше разделение – это просто привычка нашего желания и мысли, подпитываемая ничем иным, как своими собственными извращёнными страстями и собственной имманентной логикой» [1, с. 389]. Действительно, с точки зрения христианской теологии, разделение не может сохраняться не только по той причине, что мир ожидает совместного христианского свидетельства

православных и католиков, о чем писал папа Иоанн Павел II в энциклике *Ut Unum Sint*. Разделение не только является алогичным с точки зрения догматического положения и православия, и католицизма о том, что может существовать только одна ортодоксальная церковь с апостольским наследованием, оно противоречит христианским ценностям, которые проповедуются церквями, и особенно – христианской любви. По Д. Харту, разделение просто невозможно с точки зрения канонического права церкви первого тысячелетия, экклезиологии, а также согласно представлениям католиков и православных об отношениях народа Божьего с Творцом и Спасителем.

Экуменическая теология православных мыслителей начала XXI века влияет на официальные церковные документы. Так, общая Международная Комиссия для Богословского Диалога между Римской Католической Церковью и Православной Церковью 21 сентября 2016 в г. Кьети приняла документ «Соборность и примат во время первого тысячелетия: навстречу всеобщему пониманию служения единства Церкви» [132]. Этот документ был результатом сближения позиций Римско-Католической, Константинопольской и Русской православных церквей. В документе Церковь определяется как общение (койнония) верных Богу, а также их тесно личное общение (койнония) между собой. Следует отметить, что здесь нет игры с двумя значениями концепта «койнония» – «прочость» и «общение»: авторы объясняют, что общение верных Богу, по сути, тоже является общением. Таким образом, теология диалога с её акцентом на персоналистических отношениях становится основой для понимания церкви в общем католическо-православном документе. Общение верных Богу и между собой создает местное сообщество, в котором имеет место сопричастие, а потому такие сообщества тоже обозначаются как «койнонии». Следующим существенным шагом в документе является признание того факта, что христианская церковь формировалась не как иерархия с единственным или несколькими центрами, а как сеть отдельных местных сообществ, объединённых общением. Католическая точка зрения заключается в том, что такая церковь является

сообществом сообществ, и в универсальном сообществе должно быть служение общего предстоятеля, каковым и является папа, для всех. Православная точка зрения заключается в том, что общение сообществ не образует универсального сообщества как отдельной реальности, но универсальная церковь является именно общением местных сообществ, а трансцендентальная реальность Тела Христова проявляет себя в каждой местной общине. Таким образом, видение Церкви как сети сообществ, а не сообщества сообществ является принятием православной экклезиологии в качестве входящего пункта для дальнейших рассуждений.

Церковь по своей сути соборна: «... соборность является основополагающим качеством Церкви как целого. Как сказал св. Иоанн Златоуст: «Церковь» означает как собрание [systema], так и собор [synodos]». Этот термин происходит от слова «собор» (synodos в греческом, concilium в латинском языке), который первоначально обозначает собрание епископов под водительством Святого Духа для совместного совещания и действия в заботе о Церкви. В широком смысле он относится к активному участию всех верующих в жизни и посланничество Церкви» [6]. В символе веры сказано: «верю в единую, святую, соборную и апостольскую церковь», но в греческой «соборная» – это «кафолическая», то есть «универсальная», «вселенская», «существующая повсюду». Так или иначе, но церковь существует не только как сеть сообществ, единство которой только в общении через горизонтальные связи, но и как сеть, периодически собирается на соборы, реализуя собственную «соборность». Если бы вся Церковь была признана как единое сообщество, то очевидно, что в рамках этого сообщества кто-то должен нести послушание предстоятеля, универсального священника. Предстоятелем или универсальным священником является Христос как для всей Церкви, так и для каждого сообщества; но при этом такая же роль приписывается и епископу. В Церкви примат принадлежит её главе – Иисусу Христу, «который является началом, первородным мертвых чтобы Он во всём первенствовал [protovon]» (Кол 1, 18). Иисус Христос связывает это бытие «первым» со служением (diakonia): «Кто хочет быть первым,

тот должен быть последним из всех и слугой всех» (Мк 9, 35)» [6]. Положительным в этих формулировках является то, что примат не означает власти, но является служением церкви. Вывод примата епископа из первенства Христа авторы документа пытаются объяснить следующим образом: «Единая, святая, соборная и апостольская Церковь, Главой которой является Христос, присутствует в евхаристической синаксии местной Церкви под её епископом.

Таким образом, роль предстоятеля в «соборании» («синаксии») заключается в том, что он не только символизирует, но и представляет Христа, обнаруживает его невидимое присутствие. На этом мистическом факте делаются выводы относительно самой природы церковного собрания, поскольку сама церковь редуцируется к евхаристической общине. Православно-католический диалог последних лет при формировании общей богословской позиции принимает за основу новую православную экклезиологию и признает необходимость развития понимания церкви как общения (койнония) верных Богу, а также как их тесного личного общения (койнония) между собой. Именно эти два аспекта «койнонии» творят общество, которое тоже признается «койнония». И церкви как сети сообществ должна быть свойственна «соборность» как выражение того же аспекта общения, который сохраняет концепт «койнонии». Дискуссии о первенстве в церкви переместились из сферы общих размышлений и канонического права к изучению соотношения экзиологического и триадологического общения. Камнем преткновения стало учение И. Зизиулеса о сходстве первенства епископа в церкви с первенством Отца в Троице, однако на сегодня побеждает точка зрения о первичности в церкви «общения» и принадлежности власти в ней исключительно Богу, перед которым все остальные только выполняют определённые служения. Восстановление единства церкви первого тысячелетия православными богословами и Всеправославного Собора определено как моральный долг и необходимый шаг, который сделает возможным миссионерство церкви в эпоху постмодерна, поскольку в условиях общей релятивизации жизни церковь должна показать образ жизни, верный первоначальному идеалу.

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Abstract

The article analyzes the manifestations of postconfessional thinking in the Orthodox thought of the 20th and 21st centuries and their influence on the emergence of new ecumenical projects of possible rapprochement with the Catholic Church and the formation of a new Orthodox ecumenical theology. The beginning of the new thinking is the realization of the fact that Rome and Constantinople did not have the canonical powers to break off relations, and therefore the single church of the first millennium must continue to exist. The starting point of the dialogue of churches is recognition of the fact that the Christian church did not arise as a hierarchy with only one or several centers, but as a network of separate local communities

united by communication. It is shown that the Catholic point of view is that such a church is a universal community where the ministry of the common primate is accepted for all (which is the Pope). The Orthodox point of view is that the communication of religious communities does not form a universal community as a separate reality, but the universal church is precisely the communion of local communities, and the transcendental reality of Christ Body manifests itself in every local community. Thus, understanding the Church as a network, rather than a hierarchy of communities, is the adoption of Orthodox ecclesiology as the starting point for creating projects for the restoration of the "visible unity" of the Catholic and Orthodox churches.

Keywords: ecumenism, neo-patristic paradigm, Orthodox church, Catholic theology, Protestant communities, theological dialogue, neo-Thomism, dualism, dogmatic truths, transcendence of God.

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Религиозная этика как вневременной императив нравственности

Аннотация

В статье обосновано, что гуманистическая синергия этических идей различных религий не означает интенцию или претензию на размывание вероисповедной идентичности той или иной религии или конфессии, что отличает этот методологический принцип от определённой идеологии, но мотивирует поиск на личностном, жизненно-практическом и мировоззренчески-концептуальном уровне действительных возможностей координации, взаимодополняемости и совместной культурно-воспитательной роли этических идей разных традиций с акцентуацией их антропологического основания и гуманистического, человекотворческого, личностного и коммуникативно-развивающего воздействия; такой поиск оказывается особенно востребованным в условиях постмодернистской эпохи.

Ключевые слова: религиозная этика, священное писание, иудейская богословская практика, конфессия, внеконфессиональный, авраамическое миропонимание, императив нравственности.

■ Каждая религиозная система, конкретная конфессия и в былые времена, и в настоящее время заботится о систематизации своих вероучительных основ, прибегая к разработке широкого спектра литературы, которая была бы адаптирована к различным уровням восприятия верующими – от собственно священных текстов, космогонических, космологических и антропологических трактатов до сжатых изложений доктринального материала с учётом особенностей восприятия контингента рядовых последователей. Для верующих христиан важным является текст Библии. «Я заметил, что если мои отношения с Божественным начинают иметь случайный характер, если мне кажется, что Божественное ухо не слышит Божественного голоса и не обращается ко мне, то это значит, что я нахожусь далеко,

очень далеко от Бога. Если же я погружаюсь в Священные писания, эта расстояние сокращается, и духовность возвращается. Я чувствую, что ещё больше люблю тех, кого должен любить всем сердцем и душой» [11, с. 9]. Кроме того, «отражённые в тексте культурные универсалии воспроизводят национально-культурную, интеллектуальную и нравственную специфику этноса ... Хватит понимать культуру народа без обращения к историческим источникам её формирования. В письменных памятниках отражаются как собственно языковые, так и культурологические особенности народа, их создавшего» [8, с. 17].

Интересны не столько систематизированные этические доктрины, сколько сама этическая направленность, ценностная атмосфера и мотивационная резонансность и действенность тех или иных религиозных ресурсов. Осмысление непосредственно христианской этики требует обращения к смысловому материалу и религиозным текстам. Учитывая то, что и сейчас для огромного сегмента как верующих конфессиональной сети, так и внеконфессиональных, а нередко даже людей нерелигиозных Библия является смысловым ресурсом корректировки их смысловых представлений и ориентиров, значимость смысловой интерпретации её идей выступает достаточно важной в русле задач гуманистической синергии религиозно-этических ценностей. Библия является источником контрверсионным, аллегорическим, но из-за этого ещё более интересным для изучения. Постичь идеи христианской этики и основы светского гуманизма современного западного мира без обращения к тексту Библии невозможно. Богословское и религиозно-философское наследие религий авраамической традиции ценна тем, что разные её пласты зримо подчеркивают неоднозначность интерпретации этического смысла определённых религиозных идей даже в пределах одной религии или даже конфессии. В то же время можно выявить тенденции актуализации этико-антропологического ресурса в зависимости от интереса того или иного богослова или богословской школы – исходя или из критерия консервации конфессиональной монолитности, или из задач обоснования гуманистических идеалов морали. Поэтому для данного исследования не является определяющей строгая дифференциация

богословских источников с точки зрения их догматически канонической «чистоты» или, наоборот, принадлежности к частным, но нравственно-продуктивным позициям мыслителей и спикеров соответствующих этических программ.

Традиционная практика изначально основывалась на Священном Писании и основной целью ставила разъяснение его сути и содержания. Христианскую богословскую традицию очень часто ассоциируют с трудами двух едва ли не самых известных христианских философов и богословов Средневековья – Августина Блаженного [1] и Фомы Аквинского [23]. Идеи произведений Августина осмысливаются в русле проблемы смысловой корреляции свободного выбора и божественной благодати. Очень ценным является смысловой контекст «Исповеди», где выявлена внутренняя жизнь нравственного сознания ранне-средневекового мыслящего человека на перекрёстке ценностных импульсов античного мировоззрения и новой христианской религии. Труды Фомы Аквинского ценны в контексте выявленного этико-ценностного потенциала рационального обоснования бытия Бога. Не менее важны в контексте раскрытия своеобразия христианской этики тексты Иоанна Златоуста «Беседа о любви» [9] и «Избранные беседы» [10]. Идеи автора позволяют проследить ценностные лейтмотивы гуманистической линии средневековой христианской этики, поскольку в его трудах широкий спектр смыслов посвящен феноменам любви, прощения, обуздания ложных страстей, готовности к неосуждению других и тому подобному. При раскрытии сущности христианского толкования идеи Бога следует обратиться также и к творчеству Ансельма Кентерберийского [3], анализируя смысловые и ценностные потенции его онтологического доказательства бытия Бога. Средневековую христианскую этику хорошо иллюстрируют труды Ефрема Сирина [18] и Аввы Дорофея [7]. В контексте развёртывания идей средневекового религиозно-философского дискурса предметом нашего внимания стали труды Максима Исповедника [15] и Иоанна Дунса Скота [20]. Творчество Мартина Лютера отражает историософский и вероучительный контексты развития идей христианской этики.

Определённые аспекты христианской богословской мысли XIX и XX вв. представлены, в частности, трудами

архиепископа Луки [14] и книгой «Видеть Бога как он есть» [17] Софрония Сахарова. Неоспоримо влияние идейного наследия Папы Римского Иоанна Павла II на осмысление животрепещущих нравственных проблем современности. Важным является смысловой потенциал его выступлений по проблемам прикладной этики «Мысли о земном» [12], в послесловии к которым не без основания отмечено, что рассуждения Иоанна Павла II «имеют общечеловеческое значение и могут представлять определённый интерес не только для католиков и последователей других конфессий, но и для тех, кто не исповедует никакой религии ... Особенно это касается тех тезисов, где говорится о состоянии современного общества и его будущем, о воспитании молодежи и роли семьи» [12, с. 390]. Наполнена глубоким религиозно-философским содержанием и его работа «Основы этики» [5].

Можно согласится с тезисом о том, «идея истории, тем более общей истории – плод вполне определённых культур, связанных с так называемыми «авраамическими религиями – Старым и Новым Заветами и исламом, с их Священной историей, эсхатологией ... Традиционные восточноазиатские культуры (так же, как и дохристианская античность Ближнего Востока и Средиземноморья) «стрелы времени» не знают» [21, с. 134]. Поэтому, безусловно, некоторые принципиальные основы устройства западной модели социальности некоторыми ключевыми аспектами своей смысловой организации коренятся именно в интенциях авраамического миропонимания.

Иудаизм, христианство, ислам, с одной стороны, связаны в своих смысловых, мировоззренческих и некоторых обрядовых особенностях. С другой стороны, каждая из этих религий приобрела яркие специфические черты, во многом отразившись на моделях культуры исповедующих её народов и их цивилизационных ареалов.

Исторические факты свидетельствуют, что именно иудаизм стал исходной основой формирования и дальнейшей эволюции религий авраамической традиции. Ментально-этический лейтмотив этой традиции – идея богоизбранности конкретного народа (евреев) и пути духовного совершенствования и, соответственно, наследования надлежащего Божьего воздаяния как

в земной жизни, так и в потусторонней перспективе. Впрочем, сразу следует оговориться: гуманистически настроенные богословы иудаизма исключают возможную интерпретацию идеи богоизбранности как подобной «расистской». Конечно, суть этики иудаизма не сводится только к её концептуальному ядру – десяти заповедям. Она разветвляется рядом моральных норм, обычаев, духовно-социальных практик, ритуалистических нюансов, коммуникативных матриц, которые отражают длительные переломы и трагедии в истории еврейского народа, его потребность найти духовные рычаги национально-духовной консолидации, культурной самоидентификации, преемственности исторического воспроизведения традиции в условиях, которые нередко отмечались острыми, жестокими преследованиями, определившими жизненно неприменную потребность для этого народа осваивать новые географические и цивилизационные территории. Фундаментальной чертой еврейского народа является исторический и нравственный характер переживания бытия. Очевидно, именно евреи первыми выработали представление о неповторимости исторического процесса, где прошлому (Откровение) и будущему (Царство Божие на земле) принадлежит особое значение и особая ценность» [13, с. 119-120]. При этом в иудаизме в системе этических координат воспринимается не только прошлое и будущее, но также и настоящее. Ведь ход бытия, коллизии как общественной, так и индивидуальной судьбы евреев зависят от степени ревностности выполнения ими религиозных постулатов и верности им. «Человеческая этика не менее важна для определения хода бытия, чем божественное всемогущество: Бог евреев – живой Бог, который непосредственно откликается на действия, поступки своего народа» [13, с. 120].

Традиция Торы отталкивается от концептуально значимого этико-антропологического постулата, вытекающего из креационистской идеи единства и абсолютности Бога. Для иудейского сознания основополагающим убеждением является «знать, чем является Первосущее, Создатель всего сущего от неба до земли, и всё, что между ими, зависит от истинности Его бытия. Если придёт в голову отсутствие Его бытия – ничто другое не может существовать. Если придёт в голову отсутствие

всего бытия, кроме Него, Он один будет существовать, и не исчезнет вместе с исчезновением всего, поскольку всё бытие нуждается в Нем, Он, благословенный, не нуждается ни в чём» [4, с. 176]. Сама возможность нравственного самоопределения человека, согласно иудейско-библейским представлениям, определена принципиальной предпосылкой, смоделирована в ключевом сюжете о грехопадении первых людей – Адама и Евы. По символике Торы первоначально созданный Богом мир и человек отмечались совершенством, запрограммированной его волей и мудростью. В комментариях к книге Брейшит (Бытие) о создании человека сказано: «Человек создан по образу и подобию Бога: в потенциале он обладает Божественными свойствами. Всевышний создал человека бессмертным, чтобы он, будучи подобием Творца, стал бы отражением Его вечности и независимости от времени» (Книга Премудрости Соломона, 2:23). Человек отличается от всех живых существ тем, что ему известны понятия нравственности, а также тем, что он обладает свободой выбора. Он может знать Создателя и испытывать чувство любви к Нему, может вести с Ним прямой диалог. Человек является единственным существом, которое способно совершать действия, руководствуясь умом. В этом смысле он является подобием Всесильного» [24, с. 11-12].

Иудаизм исходит из того, что ум человека даёт ему логический, ценностный и деятельностный критерии трансформации вектора своих желаний, способность подчинять их идеалам добродетельного и сакрального. Этим обусловлено призвание человека быть вождем природы. В комментарии к данной книге Торы говорится: «в том идеальном мире, в который сначала был помещён человек, животные не испытывали нужды нападать, убивать и поедать друг друга ... Когда всё созданное сочетается в единое целое, вся система мироздания возвышается на качественно новую ступень. Всё соответствует воле Творца, нет ничего, чего не хватало бы, и ничего избыточного, всё сущее гармонично объединяется ...» [24, с. 13]. Учитывая такой статус человека и его умственной силы, осознаётся важность слова и наставления в соблюдении или несоблюдении человеком этических принципов. Само совершение зла интерпретируется в ветхозаветной этике как непослушание

Божьему слову, Его наставлениям. Такой лейтмотив запрограммирован уже первыми рассказами Торы о грехопадении первых людей: как Божья установка воздерживаться от плода с древа познания добра и зла, так и соблазнение Евы «змием» символизируют собой нравственный выбор человека между следованием слову Божьему и реализацией свободы выбора (конструктивного или деструктивного). Можно утверждать, что образ креационистского Бога, унаследованный поэтому и христианством, и исламом, в определённой степени ассоциировался в сознании древних иудеев с функцией отца – как семьи, так и рода в целом. Соответственно и все образы нравственно-религиозной сюжетности Танаха связаны с концептом диалога человека с Богом. Определённым вариантом градации этой же символической линии выступает и лейтмотив пророчества как идеи духовно-коммуникативного взаимодействия проводника и общества. Вот характерная интерпретация: «судьба каждого настоящего пророка – бороться со своим временем. Когда евреи жили в достатке, но без духовной опоры, Ирмеягу (в библейской традиции это пророк Иеремия) осуждал их, когда они решили присоединиться к восстанию против войска, которые преобладало, Ирмеягу высмеял их, но когда евреи потеряли всё и ушли в отчаяние, обычно мрачный Ирмеягу вселил в их сердца надежду» [22, с. 72]. Это размышление о двойной – и обличительной и обнадеживающей – роли пророка в иудейской традиции подчёркивает мощный мотив личности проводника в воспитании общины, тоже глубоко корящийся в традиционно патриархальных представлениях о роли отца в обращении на должный путь семьи, а шире – народа, нации: энергия элементов критики и поощрения совершенствования.

С определённой долей условности можно интерпретировать историю диалога еврейского народа с Богом через пророков как своеобразную переведенную на язык религиозного символизма модель нравственного воспитания со всеми его успехами и возможными пробелами, приближением воспитуемого к идеалу и удалением от него в силу ряда обстоятельств, но открытой возможностью получить поощрение нового нравственного усилия по совершенствованию. Исследователи подчёркивают: «Устойчивое сочетание избранности и обязательств

составляет основную часть двух центральных моментов Торы: Завета и Закона ... Продолжение статуса народа Божьего и возможность в дальнейшем пользоваться покровительством Божиим теперь прямо связывается с моралью евреев, их поведением при осуществлении культа и в общественной жизни» [16, с. 59-60]. Акцентируясь на Божьих обещаниях народу, священный текст иудаизма одновременно отмечает фактор ответственности народа, поэтому такое большое внимание в Торе и уделяется изложению и обоснованию этико-юридических предписаний, артикулируются обрядовые и нравственные обязанности верующих. «Закон Торы представлен как наставление, происходящее непосредственно» [16, с. 60]. Недаром в книге «Второзаконие» особо отмечается единство в Боге потенциала самой строгости и максимальной милости: «Я Господь, Бог твой, Бог-ревнитель, карающий за вину отцов детей до третьего и четвертого рода тех, которые ненавидят Меня, и творящий милость до тысячных родов любящим Меня и соблюдающим заповеди Мои» [24, с. 1099]. Несомненно, на этих особенностях толкования связи Бога и людей не могла не отразиться своеобразной сакрализованной проекцией специфика морально-юридических отношений между подданным народом и властителем в условиях архаического, патриархального уклада. Конечно, покорность и страх в тех условиях играли в санкционировании поведения одну из определяющих ролей. В то же время иудаизм – специфическая религиозная система, где взаимоотношения людей между собой и любые проявления их отношения к миру и Богу интерпретируются на основе своеобразно сформулированного принципа справедливости.

Требую от верующего соблюдения основных общечеловеческих добродетелей, сформулированных в Декалоге и других нравственных «Кодексах», иудаизм одновременно с достаточной строгостью устанавливает принцип этического воздаяния. Обучая быть добродетельным и искренним, эта религия также и учит быть бескомпромиссным к злу, воздавать его зачинщикам должное наказание. Поэтому мотив Божества, которое судит и наказывает, является характерным для данной религии и её этики. В комментариях к Торе говорится, что речь идет о ревностном отношении, при котором меньшее

нарушение установленных соглашений или отношений повлечёт гнев и последующую казнь. «Всевышний требует от тех, с кем Он заключил союз, как можно более высокого уровня святости и ежечасного стремления к справедливости. Человеческие деяния небезразличны для него, и поэтому любая форма идолопоклонства и проявления нечестности не остаётся незамеченной, безнаказанной, хотя наказание приходит не всегда сразу, иногда по тем или иным причинам оно откладывается на достаточно долгий срок» [24, с. 1089]. Мотив страха Божия, который в богословских учениях, конечно, может иметь вариативность интерпретации – один из ведущих в смысловой структуре иудаизма. Представление о Боге как о личности мотивирует представление и о возможности для Бога оказаться оскорблённым недобродетельностью человеческих поступков. «Компенсации вреда от человеческой безнравственности требует и сам Бог, а это связано с суровым наказанием» [6, с. 33].

Осознавая исторически ограниченный характер мотивации нравственности из-за страха, одновременно отметим и наличие в этих смысловых структурах также и идеи Бога как сущности, своеобразным образом переживающей и сопереживающей человечеству. И пусть реакцией на несоответствие Божьих надежд относительно человеческих добродетелей является суровая кара (как это и реально происходило в те исторически отдалённые времена в социуме), всё же здесь можно констатировать и идею онтологического санкционирования абсолютности добра и ограниченности сил зла, что в исторической перспективе будет переосмыслено и на новых принципах этики любви и благодати персоналистически истолковано в христианстве. Этика иудаизма глубоко антропологическая, персонифицированная, наглядная благодаря священным текстам и через систему притч, преданий, через цельный символически-образный духовно релевантный мир, который требует от верующего не только усвоения определённых норм поведения, но и своеобразной молитво-мыслительной установки, вживания в жизненные и нравственные коллизии персонажей, сопереживания нравственной дихотомии героев священных сказаний с целью подчёркивания в собственной душе и осознания своей моральной двойственности и несовершенства. В

священных текстах «Агада» содержится такая установка: «Не относись к притче пренебрежительно. Подобно тому, как при свете грошовой свечки отыскивается оброненный золотой или жемчужина, так с помощью притчи познается истина» [2, с. 7]. Погружение в этот мир эмоционально окрашенных переживаний призвано активизировать в душе верующего всё большее влечение к богообщению, в актах которого давалась бы надежда на способность преодолеть негативные аспекты собственного «я», заручиться поддержкой и благословением. Именно эту особенность священного предания, библейского текста и подчеркивал, в частности, в работе «Икона Алкивиадская» Григорий Сковорода, называя Библию «бого-образным миром» – миром Слова, углубление в смысловую природу которого гармонизирует укоренённость личности в бытии макрокосма и социальной реальности [19, с.739-743]. Иудейские теологи понимают эволюцию эмоционально-смыслового, духовно-дисциплинирующего потенциала Торы: «До Соломона Тора, источник мудрости и истины, представлялась людям в виде лабиринта с множеством входов и выходов, среди которых невозможно было не заблудиться. Явился Соломон – и притча стала тем клубком ниток, с помощью которого люди стали свободно ходить по лабиринту Торы [2, с. 7].

Если анализировать систематику и формальную букву иудейских этико-практических установок, то может сложиться представление об их чрезмерной детализированности, установке на регулирование мельчайших проявлений человеческой коммуникации, стремлении тесно привязать верующего к общинному монолиту. В ритуалах и повседневности иудейской традиции имеет место прочная привязанность к чувственным, материально мотивированным, первоначально натуралистическим образам, связанным с обустройством жилья, едой, одеждой, речью, отношениями между полами и тому подобное. Конечно, в богословской традиции им дается символическое, смысловое, аллегорическое истолкование, но их бытование на уровне обыденного религиозного сознания в определённой степени формирует элементы бытовой прагматической мотивации религиозности, её ориентированности на психологический рычаг ожидания социального успеха и благоденствия. Тем

не менее, несмотря на имеющиеся проявления исторически унаследованных деструктивных элементов ценностного ядра и морального духа иудаизма, он содержит и немало удивительно глубоких примеров санкционирования и обоснования человечности, способности к милосердию, личностно-диалогического подхода к решению проблем индивидуальной греховности и моральной слабости. Можно утверждать, что самые авторитетные иудейские проповедники и учителя обосновывали лейтмотив веры в человека и любви к нему, побуждая в этической рефлексии реализовывать самосовершенствование через работу над собой.

В зависимости от используемой методологии в исследовании этических вопросов современные исследования в области христианской этики можно разделить на четыре группы. К первой группе можно отнести представителей консервативных евангельских церквей, которые ставят знак равенства между библейской этикой и христианской этикой, утверждая, что не существует такого этического решения в жизни, которое было бы не охвачено библейским откровением и для которого библейское откровение, в случае корректного толкования и использования, не могло предложить конкретное руководство. Этот взгляд на этику предусматривает, что Писание предлагает уникальное откровение морали, и задачи христианской этики заключаются лишь в определении того, что говорит Библия и как христианин должен поступать в соответствии с прочитанным в ней. Второй взгляд полностью противоположен первому и предусматривает, что «библейская этика» не имеет ничего общего с «христианской этикой» по двум причинам: многообразию Писания и радикальные эсхатологические ожидания новозаветных авторов. Третья методология делает акцент на формировании характера с помощью Библии. Этот подход признает сложность непосредственного перехода от Писания к современным обстоятельствам, но предполагает значимость Писания не в принятии решений в этических вопросах, а в процессе формирования характера; при этом в стороне остаётся новозаветный взгляд на этические вопросы из-за многообразия и разрозненности библейского повествования. Утверждается, что Писание не формирует христианскую этику,

но вместо этого конституирует мышление христианина, который в результате может действовать этично. Отмечается роль христианской общины в формировании характера, а императивы в Писании рассматриваются как напоминание обществу верующих о том, какими они должны быть. Четвертая методология использует сильные стороны предыдущих трёх, признавая, что нет точного соответствия между библейскими нарративами и современными обстоятельствами и одновременно понимая ключевую роль размышлений над Священным Писанием для формирования христианской этики. Утверждается, что писание не просто формирует характер, а даёт принципы и правила, устанавливающие структуру нравственной жизни, предлагая приемлемый и неприемлемый векторы действий. Подобный взгляд включает в себя и методологию, согласно которой аргументация касательно этических вопросов строится на основании высочайшего авторитета Нового Завета. Такая методология призывает христиан проводить творческие аналогии между рассказами текстов и обстоятельствами, в которых оказывается наше сообщество в совершенно иных исторических условиях.

Новозаветное Писание привлекает читателей в центральный, подструктурный нарратив о Божьей деятельности в жизни народа Божия, Его Церкви. Понимать текст – это значит увидеть аналогию между библейским текстом и человеческим опытом, что требует интегрирующего акта воображения, суждения о том, как в реальной жизни подобие описанного в библейском тексте соответствует истинам земного бытия. Священное Писание привлекает человека в процесс восприятия метафор, используя теологическое воображение, что позволяет ему участвовать в истории жития Иисуса Христа и понимать Христа как эсхатологический прототип человечества, что явилось основой для истории послания Апостола Павла и дальнейшего развития новозаветной этики. Писание теряет статус нормативного и авторитетного источника в современном понимании этики, что стало следствием двух разрывов: во времени между временем написания текста и жизнью современного человека в богословии, между вневременной богословской истиной и обусловленным нравственным учением и

общепринятой в современном обществе моралью. Реализация этики Нового Завета заключается в установлении взаимосвязей между библейскими исследованиями и широким спектром обсуждения различных практических вопросов, имеющих моральную составляющую, а также в последовательности методологии, используемых в формировании нравственных норм. Нормативная христианская этика глубоко герменевтическая: она должна начинаться и заканчиваться толкованием и применением Писания в жизни верующего сообщества. Авторы Нового завета не знают этики, которая была отделена от их теологических размышлений. В свою очередь, их теологическая рефлексия неотделима от проблем, которые существовали в определённых христианских общинах. Только отстранившись от реального содержания посланий Апостола Павла, можно постулировать дихотомию между его богословием и этикой, или между предсказаниями Евангелия и учением о нормах поведения, либо между индикативом (то, Бог сделал во Христе) и императивом (то, что призваны делать люди). Чем внимательнее мы читаем послание Павла, тем менее обоснованными представляются эти знакомые дихотомии. В этих текстах трудно провести чёткую грань между богословием и этикой. Они спаяны воедино: специфические пастырские проблемы в посланиях апостола Павла вызывают его богословские размышления. Апостол Павел не просто повторяет старые доктрины; в процессе создания послания формируется богословие. Для Павла богословие никогда не было абстрактным, далёким от реальной жизни занятием, оно всегда было средством построения общества. Таким образом, этика перестаёт быть практическими выводами из теологических теорий, а практика богословской рефлексии напрямую связана с практикой этических норм и нравственных поступков, при этом субъектом нравственного поведения выступает не отдельный христианин, а церковная община.

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Beilin M.V.
**RELIGIOUS ETHICS AS AN IMMEDIATE
 IMPERATIVE OF MORALITY**

Abstract

The article substantiates that the humanistic synergy of the ethical ideas of various religions does not mean an intention or a claim to dilution of the religious identity of a particular religion or confession, which distinguishes this methodological principle from a certain ideologeme, but motivates a

search on a personal, practical and ideological-conceptual level effective coordination capabilities, complementarily and joint cultural and educational role of ethical ideas in different traditions with an accentuation of their anthropological and humanistic, human, personal and communicative-developing influence; such a search is especially in demand in the post-modern era.

Keywords: religious ethics, sacred scripture, Jewish theological practice, confession, non-confessional, Abrahamic world outlook, imperative of morality.

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DIFFERENT forms of religiosity and the modern world :

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Religion in the modern world is determined by two processes: revitalization and globalization. Upon the dominance of secularization theory, which was very well established in the second half of the twentieth century, nowadays the revitalization of religion provokes not only sociological debate and valuable attempts to theoretically clarify what is happening empirically, but religion manifests itself in various forms both on an individual and a social level. Discussions continue as to whether we are witnessing only the revitalization of religious discourse in religions of the world or the revival of religious ritual practices as well. Are institutions being revitalized or is there a revival of religious communities? On the other hand, the contemporary position of religions in the world is strengthened by the process of globalization, both of traditional forms of religions with orthodox beliefs and practices and of national religions, but also of various forms of new spirituality as heterodox, urban and commercial forms of religiosity as opposed to institutionalized churches. It is a permanent task for researchers to get us acquainted with the latest trends in expression of religiosity in national, regional and even global contexts.

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