

Organising the Nation-State

The new Southeast European nation-states faced serious problems, common to most of them. Undoubtedly, the first was the definition of the new state structures and mechanisms. Constitutions were often crucial to this process, and besides the legal framework, there was also the complicated issue of actual institution building. The new political elites tried to combine western models and local/national traditions and interests in a practical manner. In spite of republican attempts during the long 19th century, all of the new Southeast European states became monarchies, some ruled by local princes (in Montenegro and in Serbia), others ruled by princes of Western origin (in Greece, Romania, Bulgaria and in Albania). Only after World War I, did this pattern change and the new nation-states, as well as some older ones, chose (or were coerced into choosing) the republican form of government. The establishment of a constitutional, multi-party and reasonably democratic political system proved to be an extremely difficult and often sinuous process, hampered by social rigidities, economic and cultural backwardness, and by authoritarian traditions and manners.

The issue of defining citizenship was extremely sensitive. The new nation-states were not ethnically or religiously homogeneous. Besides, the modern world generated significant cross-border movements of people which increased the population diversity. Various prejudices and interests shaped mechanisms of inclusion/exclusion, which ranged from the setting-up of legal boundaries, to practical forms of discrimination. In this realm, progress was particularly complex; the granting of full rights to religious and ethnic minorities, often imposed by foreign powers, was counterbalanced by the rise of xenophobic sentiments, violent confrontations and suffering in moments of crisis.

The new nation-states were fragile and vulnerable. In order to survive, they had to build up viable institutions and to modernise. This included building an effective administration and a reliable military system, unifying laws and measures, restructuring the church on national bases, and also building railways. Nation-building was not limited to institutions and infrastructures. It also implied a process of acculturation. Public education, learned societies, and various other cultural media reshaped people's minds, legitimised the new political systems and led individuals and social groups to identify themselves with the new nation-states.

IIa. General aspects of state organisation

II-1. Constitution draft written by Rigas Velestinlis (1797)

On the Republic

Article 1. THE HELLENIC¹⁴ REPUBLIC is a united whole which includes various races and religions; it

¹⁴ We use the word 'Hellenic' instead of 'Greek' because for Rigas, the term does not refer to a state of Greeks but to a state inspired by classical political ideals. Besides, in his texts, Rigas used the term 'Hellene' and 'Hellas' and not 'Greek' and 'Greece'

does not see the differences in faith in a hostile way; it is indivisible, all the rivers and seas which separate its counties are all closely knit and form an inseparable whole.

On the Division of the People

Article 2. THE HELLENIC PEOPLE, i.e. all inhabitants of this state irrespective of religion and language,

or 'Romioi' as was the case with other scholars of the same period (see, for example, texts I-4 and I-7).

are divided into assemblies per local authority so as to exercise their power of ruling; that is, they gather in each county to profess their opinion on each problem. [...]

On Citizenship

Article 4. Every person over 21 years of age, born and living in this sovereignty, is a citizen.

- Every foreigner over 21 years of age, who has lived in this state for one year and makes a living with his work, is a citizen.[...]
- Anyone who speaks the spoken or [ancient] Hellenic language and helps Hellas, even if he lives in the antipodes (as the Hellenic yeast has spread over both hemispheres), is a Hellene and a citizen.
- Anyone who is a Christian and does not speak the spoken or [ancient] Hellenic language, but only helps Hellas, is a citizen.
- Finally, any foreigner whom the Administration believes to be a worthy inhabitant of the Homeland, for instance a good craftsman, an assiduous teacher or a deserving patriot, is welcomed by the Homeland and enjoys equal rights with all fellow citizens.

Rigas, pp. 45-47.



Extracts from the Constitution written in 1797 by Rigas Velestinlis (1757-1798), one of the most important representatives of the Greek Enlightenment. Influenced by the French revolutionary constitution of 1793, he defines, as Greek people, all those who live in the republic, irrespective of religion or language, and who gather to decide upon common matters. Rigas was arrested by the Austrian police, accused of 'conspiracy' and delivered to the Turkish authorities who executed him in Belgrade in June 1798.



According to the author, who should the citizens of the Greek Republic be? What is the relationship between citizenship, Greeks living in Greece, and those living abroad? What rights and duties are assigned to foreigners? Discuss the relationship between citizenship and religion as presented in the project for

the Constitution. What elements are inspired from the French Revolution? Compare this text with further developments in II-10 and II-11.

II-2. The speech of Boža Grujević in the first session of the Serbian Council (1805)

[...] We should institute and reinforce well in Serbia the principles of reason and justice, and strengthen them well with all our might, so that every force and power should be subjected to them. And this wise and fair law should be our first master and ruler. It should command masters, voivodas¹⁵, the Council, the clergy, the bishops and everyone else, big and small. It will defend us, and safeguard our freedom and liberty.

Where the constitution is good, i.e. where the laws are well established and where the government is well organised under the law, there is freedom, there is liberty, and when one or more persons command arbitrarily, do not observe the law, but do what they want, the state dies, there is no longer any freedom, safety, any good, and lawlessness and banditry will prevail, only under a different name. [...].

Everyone, even an unborn child, should demand from the ruler, safety of: 1. life, 2. property and 3. honour, and if the ruler does not want or cannot preserve their life, property and honour, than he does not deserve to be their ruler.

The second duty of the ruler is to liberate those who are not yet free and to safeguard the freedom of the country, because life is doubly dear and sweet in freedom. Freedom differentiates us from animals, and a slave is worse than an animal, because a slave is deprived of what makes him a person. It is better to die than to live as a slave. Freedom ... makes us human; freedom and liberty give strength to a soldier, wisdom and sound judgement to voivodas and governors. ... In a free country, field crops are better, and livestock breeds better, delicious bread is eaten,

¹⁵ Military commander, who also exerted local power during the Serbian rebellion.

and good wine is drunk. In one word, where there is no freedom, there is no life.”

Memoari, pp.295-297.



Boža Grujević (Teodor Filipović) was a Serb from Hungary who settled in Russia, where he became a university Professor in Harkov. In the autumn of 1804, he joined the Serbian rebel delegation, which went to Saint Petersburg to seek help and support from Russia. In March 1805, he arrived in Serbia, where he participated in organising the government and in the creation of the first institutions of the new state, becoming a member of the Council (first government).



What did the author intend to transmit through his discourse? What do you think of the last phrase?

II-3. Letter of Vuk Karadžić to Prince Milosh Obrenovich (1832)

Zemun, 24 April 1832

Your honour,
Gracious Master! [...]

It is true what our elders used to say, that no one can bake enough cakes for the whole world; but with the present behaviour of Your Highness, one could almost generally say that *no one* there is satisfied. Analysing this in further detail, it would turn out that the most dissatisfied are the civil servants who are the closest and, most often, the nearest Your Highness, while the most satisfied are the people whom Your Highness has never met. [...].

All the reasons for this dissatisfaction could practically be grouped into two main categories. People are dissatisfied either because they cannot live according to their possibilities and their wishes, because no one is safe where his life or honesty (honour) is concerned, nor is he a master of his God-given property, acquired through justice and effort; or because not enough is done for the general benefit or in such a way that it should and could be done (according to their opinion). [...].

I will first say, as a rule by which everything else could be judged, *that true benefit for every ruler is only what is beneficial to his people; and whatever is harmful for his people, it cannot be of any true benefit to him. [...].*

1) The first thing to be done is to give people *justice*, or, as it is commonly called now in Europe, *a constitution*. Here, I am not thinking of the French constitution, the English or the new Greek one; but of one *in which a form of government would be defined and a government appointed [...]* one *in which life, property and honour would be guaranteed to everyone; everyone would be able to work as he pleases, as long as it was harmless, and to live as he pleases; and one in which every man knows what he should do and he would fear neither you nor anyone else [...].*

I think: poor is the ruler who keeps men-soldiers and guards to guard him from his own people! The best defence for a ruler in his country should be his people's love, satisfaction with his rule and the conviction that if the ruler dies, the people can only be worse off and by no means better. [...]

- a) Today in Serbia, a government in the proper sense of the word does not exist, but You, yourself, are the government: when you are in Kragujevac, the government is in Kragujevac; when you are in Požarevac, the government is in Požarevac; when you are in Topčider, it is in Topčider; when you are away, it is away too; and if You, God forbid, should die one day (which will happen eventually), the government would die too and then the strongest one would get the power [...]
- b) If a government was to be instituted in Serbia, then Serbia would receive decent and necessary respect from the states and from private persons, because the government would first think about what it would promise to do, because once it promises to do something, it would strictly abide by it and, as they say in a folk tale: “The Emperor's word cannot be denied” [...].
- c) The wisest ruler, even if he had spent his entire youth learning how to rule, cannot and should not run the country *alone*, first because it is dif-

difficult for a single man to run all the affairs of even a small village properly, let alone those of a whole country and people; secondly, because “four eyes see better than two” and, thirdly, because even the wisest and most learned ruler is still a *man*, susceptible to all human passions and weaknesses, and hence in danger of doing something wrong in anger or out of some other strong emotion [...].

- 3) It would be necessary to organise *schools*. In my opinion, Serbia today has no greater shortcoming or greater need than in people capable of public service [...].

Karadžić, pp. 652-666.



In the 1830s, an increasing number of Serbian intellectuals and politicians disagreed with the despotic rule of Milosh Obrenovich (1780-1860, prince 1815-1839, 1858-1860). One of the most authoritative opinions was expressed by Vuk Karadžić (1787-1864), who was the central figure in Serbian national culture in the 19th century. Active as a linguist, ethnologist and historian, he published the first grammar and dictionary of the modern Serbian language, collected and published epic and lyric folk poetry and translated the New Testament from old Slavonic to Serbian. At the time of this letter, Vuk Karadžić was the first president of the Court of Justice of the Belgrade district.



Why do you think Vuk Karadžić sent this letter to the ruler of the country? What main problems of state policy and government does the author highlight?

II-4. Serbian Constitution of 1835: the structure of power

Art. 29. The Serbian Prince [Knjaz] must be a born or naturalised Serb of Eastern Orthodox faith. The Princess [Knjaginja] and wives of the members of the Prince’s family must be of the same religion.

Art. 45. The Serbian State Council is the supreme power in Serbia after the Prince. [...].

Art. 79. The judiciary all over Serbia will be guided equally and according to the one Serbian code of laws, which will be publicly enacted as soon as possible and prescribed for the courts to be used for civil disputes as well as for criminal offences.

Art. 80. In rendering a judgment, the judge shall not depend upon anyone in Serbia except the Serbian code of laws. No authority, lower or higher, [...] shall have the right to divert him from this or to order him to judge otherwise [...].

Art. 82. The national assembly shall consist of the one hundred carefully selected, wisest, most honest and, in the greatest degree, most deserving deputies from all districts and the entire Principality of Serbia.

Jovičić, pp. 48-64.

II-5. Romanian Constitution of 1866: general provisions

Art. 1. The kingdom of Romania with all its districts on the right side of the Danube is a unitary, indivisible state.

Art. 2. Romania’s territory cannot be alienated. The state’s boundaries cannot be altered or modified but by law.

Art. 3. Romania’s territory cannot be colonised with people of foreign origins [...].

Art. 5. Romanians enjoy freedom of thought, freedom of education, freedom of press, freedom of meeting.

Art. 10. In this state there are no class differences. All Romanians are equal before the law, having to pay the same amount of taxes and to participate alike in public duties.

They alone can occupy public, civil and military positions. [...]. Foreigners may not occupy public positions but in exceptional cases, specified in the law [...].

Art. 12. All privileges, exemptions and class monopolies are hereby forever banned in the Romanian state.

Art. 13. Individual freedom is guaranteed. [...].

Art. 21. The freedom of thought is absolute. [...].

Art. 23. Education is free.

Art. 31. All state powers are conveyed by the nation, which cannot exercise them other than through means of delegation and by the principles and rules established in the present Constitution.

Art.32. The legislative power is exerted collectively by the King and by the National Assembly of the Representatives.

The National Assembly of Representatives is divided in two sections:

The Senate and the Assembly of Deputies.

Every law must be agreed upon by all three sections of the legislative power.

Art. 35. The executive power is conveyed by the King, who exercises it by means of the Constitution.

Art. 36. The judicial power is exercised in courts and tribunals. Their decisions and sentences are uttered by respecting the law and are executed in the name of the King.

Art. 38. The members of both Assemblies represent the whole nation, not only the district or city that has elected them. [...].

Art. 92. The King's person is inviolable. His Ministers are held responsible.

No King's decree is valid unless it is co-signed by a minister, who hereby becomes responsible for the respective decree.

Constituțiile, pp. 33-41.



What is the place of the nation in the organisation of the Romanian state?

How did the Constitution implement the division and balance of power?

II-6. The British ambassador to Istanbul on Ottoman attitudes towards the Constitution (1876)

The word 'Constitution' was in every mouth, that the Softas [students of Muslim religious schools] representing the intelligent public opinion of the capital, knowing themselves to be supported by the nation. Christian as well as Mahometan would not, I believe, relax their efforts till they obtained it, and that,

should the Sultan refuse to grant it, an attempt to depose him appeared almost inevitable, that texts from Koran were circulated proving to the faithful that the form of government sanctioned by it was properly democratic and that the absolute authority now wielded by the Sultan was an usurpation of the rights of the people and not sanctioned by the Holy Laws and both texts and precedents were appealed to show that obedience was not due to a Sovereign who neglected the interests of the State [...]

Eliot, pp. 231-232.



Did the Muslim population of the Ottoman Empire perceive the idea of a Constitution as an import from Christian Europe? Why do you think the partisans of the Constitution argued that it was in accordance with Muslim Sacred Law?

II-7. The Ottoman Constitution of 1876

The Ottoman Empire

Article 1. The Ottoman Empire comprises present territory and possessions, and semi-dependent provinces. It forms an indivisible whole, from which no portion can be detached under any pretext whatever.

Art. 4. His Majesty the Sultan, under the title of "Supreme Caliph," is the protector of the Muslim religion. He is the sovereign and padişah (emperor) of all the Ottomans.

Article 5. His Majesty the Sultan is not responsible; his person is sacred.

Art. 7. Among the sovereign rights of His Majesty the Sultan are the following prerogatives: He makes and cancels the appointments of ministers; he confers the grades, functions and insignia of his orders, and confers investiture on the chiefs of the privileged provinces according to forms determined by the privileges granted to them; he mints the money; his name is pronounced in the mosques during public prayer; he concludes treaties with the powers; he declares war and makes peace; he commands both land and sea forces; he directs military movements;

he carries out the provisions of the Şeriat (the sacred law), and of the other laws; he sees to the administration of public measures; he respites or commutes sentences pronounced by the criminal courts; he summons and prorogues the General Assembly; he dissolves, if he deems it necessary, the Chamber of Deputies, provided that he direct the election of the new members.

Personal Liberties

Article 8. All the subjects of the empire are called Ottomans, without distinction to whatever faith they profess; the status of an Ottoman is acquired and lost according to conditions specified in the law.

Article 9. Every Ottoman enjoys personal liberty on the condition of non-interference with the liberty of others.

Article 10. Personal liberty is wholly inviolable. No one can undergo punishment, under any pretext whatsoever, except in cases determined by the law, and according to the forms prescribed by it.

Religion

Article 11. Islam is the state religion. But, while maintaining this principle, the state will protect the free exercise of faiths professed in the Empire, and uphold the religious privileges granted to various bodies, on the condition that public order and morality not be interfered with.

Equality before the Law, Public Offices

Article 17. All Ottomans are equal in the eyes of the law. They have the same rights, and owe the same duties towards their country, without prejudice of religion.

Article 18. Eligibility to public office is conditional on the knowledge of Turkish, which is the official language of the State.

Article 19. All Ottomans can be admitted to public offices, according to their state of mind, merit, and ability.

Property

Article 21. Property, real and personal, of lawful title, is guaranteed. There can be no dispossession, except for a good public cause and subject to the pre-

vious payment, according to the law of the value of the property in question [...].

The General Assembly

Article 42. The General Assembly is composed of two chambers: the Chamber of Notables or Senate, and the Chamber of Deputies.

Article 43. The two chambers will meet on the 1st of November of each year, the opening shall take place by imperial decree (irade), the closing, fixed for the following 1st March, shall also take place following an imperial decree. Neither of the two chambers can meet if the other chamber is not sitting.

Article 47. Members of the General Assembly are free to express their opinions and to vote as they please.

They cannot be bound by conditions or promises, nor influenced by threats. They cannot be prosecuted for opinions or votes delivered in the course of debate, unless they have contravened the Standing Orders of the Chamber, when they are amenable to the provisions of the regulations in force.

Provincial Administration

Article 108. The administration of the provinces shall be based on the principle of decentralisation.

Various Provisions

Article 115. No provision of the constitution can, under any pretext whatsoever, be suspended or neglected.

www.ata.boun.edu.tr/Department%20Webpages/ATA_517/Constitution%20of%20the%20Ottoman%20Empire%201876.doc



The Ottoman Constitution was adopted in December 1876, in the general context of the Eastern Crisis of 1875-1878. Its goal was to pre-empt Great Power interference to the benefit of the non-Muslim subjects of the Ottoman Empire, by arguing that the new modern Constitution granted full rights to them, while simultaneously asserting the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. In this respect, the Constitution was ineffective, for it did not prevent the Russian declaration of war in 1877. After the defeat, the Constitution was suspended in 1878 and restored only in 1908. At the end of World

War I, it became obsolete in the context of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire.



In what respect is the Ottoman Constitution of 1876 similar to the constitutions of various Southeast European nation-states? What safety elements were included in the text of the Constitution in order to prevent the return to an autocratic government?

Try to figure out why the Constitution of 1876 ascribed a privileged role to Islam in the Ottoman Empire.

What provisions were included in order to safeguard the Ottoman Empire from internal dissolution? Were these provisions realistic within the context of the year 1876?

II-8. Speech of Prince Nikola on the occasion of promulgating the Constitution of Montenegro (1905)

Gentlemen Deputies!

The form of Supreme State Government in this country, up until now, was a form of autocracy [*samoderžavje*]. As the seventh Ruler from My House by God's mercy, I inherited the power and management of that Government. Unlike other monarchs, neither My Glorious Predecessors nor I have considered ourselves as irresponsible and do not believe that our will is law.

In peacetime, we were true brothers to the Montenegrins, we fought at the same battles alongside them, we were killed where they were, and we sustained and inflicted wounds as they did – all the way from Carev Laz to Vucji Do ¹⁶ [...].

Our government started out on a bare field, on nothing without anything, under the clear sky and in plain view of the enemy. It was legitimate, because it had been voted by the people, and it was run with love and energy. [...].

At the end of the 17th century, My House found our Fatherland in a miserable condition and almost swamped by another faith, and our wonderful Orthodox faith in great jeopardy. [...].

¹⁶ Battlefields from the wars with the Ottomans.

Now the borders of our Fatherland have expanded and are internationally determined from the mouth of the Bojana into the Adriatic Sea to the confluence of the Tara and the Piva, which make up the Drina River and from Bijela Gora to Čakor, above Peć and Dečani. [...]

Today our Fatherland becomes a Constitutional Monarchy, and we happily enter a new political life. Parting with the former one, at this turning point, I cannot help but express my gratitude from the depth of my heart to my and your Late Ancestors for their holy community and freedom dedicated by them to us. [...]

My decision to issue the Constitution will be welcome on two sides. You, and generally all Serb patriots, will accept it with the sincere faith that inspired it, faith that will be successful and fortunate for the development and progress of the Fatherland. [...]

Crnogorski, IV, pp.34-46.



Nikola I Petrovic (1841-1921) ruled Montenegro from 1860 to 1918, first as prince, and then from 1910 as king. During his reign, Montenegro became independent (1878) and enlarged its territory at the expense of the Ottoman Empire. Having spent two years in a high school in Paris, Nikola furthered education and institutional modernisation. Due to the traditional social structures, most reforms had to be made from the top down, and were therefore rather late in comparison with those of other Southeast European nation-states.



In what way did the monarchy legitimise itself? Why did the king decide to grant a Constitution?

II-9. Young Turk proclamation (1908)

1. The basis for the Constitution will be respect for the predominance of the national will. One of the consequences of this principle will be to require without delay the responsibility of the minister before the Chamber, and, consequently, to consider the minister as having resigned,

when he does not have a majority of the votes of the Chamber.

2. Provided that the number of senators does not exceed one-third of the number of deputies, the Senate will be named as follows: one-third by the Sultan and two-thirds by the nation, and the term of senators will be of limited duration.
3. It will be demanded that all Ottoman subjects having completed their twentieth year, regardless of whether they possess property or fortune, shall have the right to vote. Those who have lost their civil rights will naturally be deprived of this right.
4. It will be demanded that the right to freely constitute political groups be inserted in a precise fashion in the constitutional charter, in order that article 1 of the Constitution of 1293 A.H. [Anno Hegirae] be respected.
7. Turkish will remain the official state language. Official correspondence and discussion will take place in Turkish.
9. Every citizen will enjoy complete liberty and equality, regardless of nationality or religion, and be submitted to the same obligations. All Ottomans, being equal before the law as regards rights and duties relative to the State, are eligible for government posts, according to their individual capacity and their education. Non-Muslims will be equally liable to the military law.
10. The free exercise of the religious privileges which have been accorded to different nationalities will remain intact.
14. Provided that the property rights of landholders are not infringed upon (for such rights must be respected and must remain intact, according to law), it will be proposed that peasants be permitted to acquire land, and they will be accorded means to borrow money at a moderate rate.
[...]
16. Education will be free. Every Ottoman citizen, within the limits of the prescriptions of the Constitution, may operate a private school in accordance with the special laws.

17. All schools will operate under the surveillance of the state. In order to obtain an education of a homogenous and uniform character for Ottoman citizens, the state schools will be open, their instruction will be free, and all nationalities will be admitted. Instruction in Turkish will be obligatory in communal schools. In state schools, public instruction will be free. Secondary and higher education will be given in the public schools indicated above; it will use the Turkish language. Schools of commerce, agriculture, and industry will be opened with the goal of developing the resources of the country.
18. Steps shall also be taken for the formation of roads and railways and canals, to increase the facilities of communication and increase the sources of the wealth of the country. Everything that can impede commerce or agriculture shall be abolished.

<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/mod/1908youngturk.html>



After the defeat in the war of 1877-1878, Sultan Abdulhamid II (1876-1908) suspended the Constitution of 1876 and ruled autocratically. The Young Turks, an opposition organisation formed mainly of officers and intellectuals, asked for the restoration of the Constitution and for modernising reforms in order to strengthen the Empire. Finally, in 1908, they led a successful revolution and seized power, which they held until 1918.



The basic political demand of the Young Turks during their opposition to Abdulhamid II had been the restoration of the Constitution of 1876. Nevertheless, they accepted the inclusion of some changes into this Constitution. Enumerate these changes, and explain why the Young Turks were keen on introducing them.

Compare Article 17 with the texts from chapter II–E. What role does the school play in the process of nation-building?

Analyse Article 18 and compare it with the texts from chapter II–D. What can we notice about the role assigned by political leaders to economic development?

Table 1: Constitutions of Southeast European states

| State | First Modern Constitution | Main changes | | | Current Constitution |
|-----------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| | | Before World War I | Interwar period | After World War II | |
| Albania | 1920 ¹⁷ | | 1925; 1928; 1939 | 14.03.1946; 1976 | 21.10.1998 |
| Bosnia-Herzegovina | | | | | 24.02.1993; 14.12.1995 |
| Bulgaria | 1879 (Tárnovo Constitution) | | | 04.12.1947; 1971 | 12.07.1991 |
| Cyprus | 1959 (1960) | | | | |
| Croatia | | | | | 22.12.1990 |
| FYR of Macedonia | | | | | 17.11.1991 |
| Greece ¹⁸ | 1844 | 1864; 1911 | 1927 | 1952 | 07.06.1975 |
| Montenegro | 1905 | | | 12.10.1992 | 19.10.2007 |
| Ottoman Empire | 1876 | | | | |
| Romania ¹⁹ | 1866 | | 1923; 1938 | 13.04.1948; 1952; 1965 | 08.12.1991 |
| Serbia | 1835 | 1838; 1869; 1888; 1901 | | | 28.09.1990 |
| Slovenia | | | | | 23.12.1991 |
| Turkey | 1924 | | | 1961 | 07.11.1982 |
| Yugoslavia | | | 1921 (Vidovdan Constitution); 1931 | 31.01.1946; 1963; 1974 | 27.04.1992 |

Table 2: Establishment of Universal Suffrage in Southeast Europe

| State | Universal male suffrage | Female suffrage |
|--------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Albania | 1920 | Restricted - 1920; Universal - 1946 |
| Bosnia-Herzegovina | 1920 (Yugoslavia) | 1945 (Yugoslavia) |
| Bulgaria | 1879 | Married women 1938; Universal 1945 |
| Croatia | 1920 (Yugoslavia) | 1945 |
| Cyprus | 1960 | 1960 |
| FYR of Macedonia | 1913 (Serbia) | 1945 (Yugoslavia) |
| Greece | 1864 | 1952 |
| Montenegro | 1920 (Yugoslavia) | 1945 (Yugoslavia) |
| Romania | 1918 | Restricted 1929; Universal 1946 |
| Serbia | 1869 | 1945 (Yugoslavia) |
| Slovenia | 1907 (Austria) | 1945 (Yugoslavia) |
| Turkey | 1924 | 1930 |
| Yugoslavia | 1920 | 1945 |

¹⁷ Quasi-constitutional regulation: Status of the International Commission for Albania (1914).

¹⁸ The first Greek constitutions were voted for by revolutionary assemblies during the Greek war of independence, before the establishment of the state: 1822 (Epidaurus), 1823 (Astros), 1827 (Troezene).

¹⁹ Quasi-constitutional regulation: Organic Regulations (1831/1832) in Wallachia and Moldavia; Paris Convention (1858) for the United Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia (after 1859, Romania).

► v4. Constitution Square in Athens (1863)



Markezinis, pp.312-313.



Can you find many examples of this? What do you think of these name changes?



Explain the name given to the square. Do you have a constitution square in the capital city of your country and in your city? Do you have / have you ever had a 'Nation/National' square?

In Bucharest, the interwar name 'Queen Elisabeta Avenue' was changed during the communist regime to '6th of March Boulevard' (the date of the installation of the first communist-dominated government), then to 'Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej Boulevard' (after the Communist leader of Romania from 1945 to 1965), and after 1989, to 'Mihail Kogălniceanu Boulevard' (after a major 19th century politician, historian and writer), a part of it receiving the old name again ('Queen Elisabeta Boulevard') some years later. The use of street names is a very simple example of how political regimes legitimized particular ideological historical memories.



Game: City streets names as history lessons

Make four groups. Take the tourist guides of your city from four historical periods in the 19th and 20th centuries. Analyse the names of the streets and squares and see how many refer to historical events or characters, to national and local heroes or events. Analyse the meaning of the choice of name and also the changes over time.

You can play the same game with the statues of your city.

IIb. Citizenship

II-10. Definition of citizenship in the Greek Constitution from Epidaurus (1822)

IN THE NAME OF THE HOLY AND INDIVISIBLE TRINITY
The Greek nation, no longer able to bear the heavy burden of tyranny of the horrible Ottoman rule and having shaken it off with great sacrifices, declares today, through its lawful Protectors in a National Assembly, before God and the people, "its Political existence and independence".

In Epidaurus on 1 January 1822,
Year 1 of Independence.

TEMPORARY POLITY OF GREECE

TITLE A

SECTION A

On Religion

a – The prevailing religion in the Greek territory is

that of the Eastern Orthodox Church of Christ; however, the Administration of Greece shall tolerate all other religions whose rites and sacred acts shall be carried out unhindered.

SECTION B

On the general rights of the inhabitants of the Greek territory

- b – The indigenous inhabitants of the Greek territory who believe in Christ are Greeks and enjoy all the political rights with no discrimination.
- c – All Greeks are equal before the law, with no exception on the basis of privilege, class or office.
- d – Any persons arriving from abroad to settle or reside in the Greek territory are equal to the indigenous population before the law.

Vakalopoulos, p. 390.



During the Greek Revolution, the first “parliament” gathered in Epidaurus and voted for a first Constitution, influenced by similar texts of the French Revolution. Although already changed during the revolution, the Constitution of Epidaurus remained a major reference in Greek political culture, a symbol of the ideals of the struggle for national independence.



Who are the Greeks according to the Constitution of Epidaurus? What is the relationship between religious and national identities? Is language a prerequisite for national identity?

Which principles of the French Revolution can you identify in this constitution?

II–11. Definition of citizenship in the Greek Constitution from Troezen (1827)

6. Greeks are:

- a. The indigenous people in the Greek territory who believe in Christ;
- b. Those under Ottoman rule who believe in Christ and have come or will come into the Greek territory to join the struggle or live in it;
- c. Those living in foreign territories and who were born to a Greek father;
- d. Indigenous or non-indigenous persons and their descendants, who became citizens of foreign states before the publication of the present Constitution, who came into the Greek territory and took the Greek oath;
- e. Any foreigners who come and take the citizenship.

Θέματα, p. 107.



Compare texts II–10 and II–11 regarding the concept of citizenship. What remarks can you formulate?

II–12. Definition of citizenship in the Serbian Constitution of 1835

Article 108. Any child born in Serbia or outside Ser-

bia, but of Serbian parents; any clerk or servant of Christian religion in Serbian employment in Serbia or outside Serbia at the time of the proclamation of the present constitution; anyone who has been living in Serbia for more than ten years or who owns immovable property in Serbia shall be considered a Serb and shall be entitled to Serbian citizenship.

Article 109. Foreign merchants, factory owners, artisans and farmers of Christian faith may acquire the rights of Serbian citizens after living seven years in the country and having behaved decently, or if the Prince awards them with an office; and foreigners, meritorious for Serbia, if they receive a letter from the Prince that they are naturalised Serbs.

And how the right to Serbian citizenship shall be exercised will be defined by a separate law.

Article 111. Every Serb, without discrimination, shall be equal before Serbian laws, both in defence and in punishment in all courts, from the lowest to the highest ones. [...].

Article 116. Every Serbian citizen shall have equal access to all offices in Serbia provided he proves himself capable of deserving them. In the case of equal abilities, preference shall be given to a Serb over a foreigner

Article 118. Any slave entering Serbian soil shall immediately be set free, regardless of whether someone brought him to Serbia or he fled there alone. A Serb shall be free to buy a slave, but not to sell him.

Jovičić, pp. 48-64.



Compare this with text II–14: analyse the relationship between religion and citizenship as it results from the fragments of the Constitutions presented here. Look at the first Constitutions from your own countries and check whether there are any provisions linking citizenship to religious affiliation. Do you think citizenship should depend on religion? Argue in favour of your idea, finding examples based on the experience of your own country. Ask yourself: Why do we have (or not have) this kind of provision? Is religious affiliation a prerequisite for national identity?

II–13. Code of Laws of Danilo I of Montenegro and Brda (1855)

Up until now, Montenegro and Brda²⁰ had indeed been free, but they did not have a public legal code which would reinforce and defend the freedom of the Montenegrins and inhabitants of Brda, justice and their fate were in the mouth of the ruler.[...]

First

Every Montenegrin and inhabitant of Brda shall be equal before the court.

Second

Honour, property, life and freedom according to inherited and, until now, preserved freedom, shall remain and will be secured in the future to every Montenegrin and inhabitant of Brda. The court can interfere with these sanctities of a just brother Montenegrin and inhabitant of Brda. [...]

Ninety first

Any refugee, when stepping upon our free land according to the oath of Saint Peter, former Montenegrin Ruler, shall be safe and shall not be harmed when he behaves honestly and respects our state code of laws. He should enjoy justice like any our brother Montenegrin and inhabitant of Brdo [...]

Ninety second

Although in this country there is no other nation but Serbian and no other religion but eastern Orthodox, any member of any other tribe and any other religion may nevertheless live freely and enjoy the same freedom and justice as every Montenegrin or inhabitant of Brda.

Crnogorski, I, pp.167-184.



Danilo I Petrovic (1830-1860), succeeded his uncle Petar II Petrovic Njegos as ruler of

²⁰ The Brda Mountains in north-east Montenegro had only been included in the principality in 1796, and maintained a special identity for several generations.

Montenegro in 1852; as he declined to become a bishop (*vladika*), he assumed the title of prince (*gospodar*) and reorganised Montenegro as a hereditary secular principality. Educated and energetic, Danilo fought successfully against the Ottomans and embarked upon a process of centralisation and forced modernisation, which ultimately led to his assassination in 1860.



How did the code of Danilo I define the Montenegrins? Was this quality open to newcomers?

II–14. Redefinition of citizenship in Article 7 of the Romanian Constitution (1879)

Article 7. The different religious faiths and denominations in Romania do not represent a constraint to the enjoyment and practice of civil and political rights.

- I. The foreigner, regardless of his religion, whether or not under foreign protection, may acquire the right of settlement on the following conditions:
 - a) He will submit his request to be naturalised to the government, in which he will show the capital in his possession, his profession or trade and his will to settle in Romania.
 - b) He will live, after submitting his request, ten years in this country and will prove himself useful to it.
- II. The following persons may be exempted from this process:
 - a) Those, who have brought industries, useful inventions or distinguished talents to the country, or those who have founded big commercial or industrial establishments here.
 - b) Those born and raised in Romania by parents who settled in this country and who have never enjoyed foreign protection.
 - c) Those who have served this country during the Independence War and who are to be naturalised collectively, as a result of the government's proposal, by a single decree and without any other formalities.

- III. Persons can be naturalised only by law and individually.
- IV. There will be a single law that will determine the way in which foreign persons are able to settle on Romanian territory.
- V. Only Romanians and those naturalised as Romanians may acquire rural real estate in Romania.

All rights acquired up until this moment will be respected.

All international conventions existing at this time will stay in force with all their clauses and terms.

Constituțiile, pp. 34-35.



The Romanian Constitution of 1866 restricted citizenship to Christians (art.7), thus excluding the Jews and Muslims. In the peace treaty of Berlin (1878), the Great Powers conditioned the recognition of Romania's independence on the change of Article 7 in favour of the non-Christians. The Romanian political elite resented this demand, but could not oppose it indefinitely, so finally designed a compromise version of changes to the contested Article 7.



Does the changed Article 7 really end the religious discrimination regarding Romanian citizenship? What qualities allow a foreigner to apply for Romanian citizenship? How would you have conceived the access to citizenship?

II-15. Treaty on Minorities signed between the Allied and Associated Powers and Romania (1919)

Article 1

Romania undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 2 to 8 of this Chapter shall be recognised as fundamental laws, and that no law, regulation or official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation or official action prevail over them.

Article 2

Romania undertakes to assure full and complete

protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Romania without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion.

All inhabitants of Romania shall be entitled to the free exercise, whether public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, whose practices are not inconsistent with public order and public morals.

Article 3

Subject to the special provisions of the Treaties mentioned below, Romania admits and declares to be Romanian nationals, ipso facto and without the requirement of any formality, all persons habitually resident at the date of the coming into force of the present Treaty within the whole territory of Romania, including the extensions made by the Treaties of Peace with Austria and Hungary, or any other extensions which may hereafter be made, if such persons are not at that date nationals of a foreign state other than Austria or Hungary.

Nevertheless, Austrian and Hungarian nationals who are over eighteen years of age will be entitled under the conditions contained in the said Treaties to opt for any other nationality which may be open to them. Option by a husband will cover his wife and option by parents will cover their children under eighteen years of age.

Persons who have exercised the above right to opt must, within the following twelve months, transfer their place of residence to the State for which they have opted. They will be entitled to retain their immovable property in Romanian territory. They may carry with them their movable property of every description. No export duties may be imposed upon them in connection with the removal of such property.

[...]

Article 5

Romania undertakes to put no hindrance in the way of the exercise of the right which the persons concerned have, under the Treaties concluded or to be concluded by the Allied and Associated Powers with Austria or Hungary, to choose whether or not they will acquire Romanian nationality.

Article 6

All persons born in Romanian territory who are not born nationals of another State shall ipso facto become Romanian nationals.

Article 7

Romania undertakes to recognise as Romanian nationals, ipso facto and without the requirement of any formality Jews inhabiting any Romanian territory, who do not possess another nationality.

Article 8

All Romanian nationals shall be equal before the law and shall enjoy the same civil and political rights without distinction as to race, language or religion.

Differences of religion, creed or denomination shall not prejudice any Romanian national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as for instance admission to public employments, functions and honours, or the exercise of professions and industries [...]

Article 9

Romanian nationals who belong to racial, religious or linguistic minorities shall enjoy the same treatment and security in law and in fact as the other Romanian nationals. In particular they shall have an equal right to establish, manage and control at their own expense charitable, religious and social institutions, schools and other educational establishments, with the right to use their own language and to exercise their religion freely therein.

Article 10

Romania will provide in the public educational system in towns and districts in which a considerable proportion of Romanian nationals of other than Romanian speech are resident, adequate facilities for ensuring that in the primary schools the instruction shall be given to the children of such Romanian nationals through the medium of their own language. This provision shall not prevent the Romanian Government from making the teaching of the Romanian language obligatory in the said schools.

[...]

Article 12

Romania agrees that the stipulations in the foregoing Articles, so far as they affect persons belonging to racial, religious or linguistic minorities, constitute obligations of international concern and shall be placed under the guarantee of the League of Nations. [...]

<http://www.austlii.edu.au/au/other/dfat/treaties/1920/13.html>



At the end of World War I, the Russian, Austrian-Hungarian and Ottoman Empires collapsed, and several new nation-states emerged, while some older nation-states acquired new territories and significant national minorities. In order to avoid tensions, at the peace conference of Paris (1919-1920), these minorities were put under the special protection of international treaties signed separately with the nation-states of Eastern and Southeast Europe.



The treaties on minorities were often perceived as Great Power interference in the internal affairs of sovereign nation-states. What do you think now? Were these treaties legitimate? Were they effective?

II-16. The redefinition of citizenship in the Romanian Constitution of 1923

Article 1. The Kingdom of Romania is a national unitary and indivisible state.

Article 5. The Romanians, regardless of their ethnic origins, the language they speak or their religion, enjoy freedom of consciousness, freedom of education, freedom of press, freedom of assembly, freedom of association and of all other freedoms and rights established by law.

Article 6. The present Constitution and all other laws relating to political rights are, except for the quality of being a Romanian, necessary conditions for exercising these rights.

Special laws, voted by a majority of two thirds, will establish the conditions in which women may exercise political rights.

Women's civil rights are to be established on the ground of the total equality of the sexes.

Article 7. The different religious faiths and denominations, ethnicities and languages in Romania do not represent an impediment towards enjoying and practicing civil and political rights.

Where the exercise of political rights is concerned, only naturalisation may endow a foreigner with the same rights as those of Romanians.

Naturalisation is granted individually by the Council of Ministers, in conclusion to a commission made up of: the first president and the presidents of the Supreme Court from the capital city agreeing to

the fact that the solicitor has fulfilled the legal conditions.

Constituțiile, pp.71-72.



Were the provisions of the Constitution of 1923 progressive compared with the previous rules on citizenship?

What are the provisions regarding women's votes? Look at the 19th and 20th century constitutions from your own country and try to find the provisions regarding women's right to vote. What are the political implications of the exclusions from the right to vote?



General questions

Discuss the relationship between citizenship, national and religious identities, gender and race. Look at the present Constitution of your own country and find the conditions for citizenship. Compare and discuss the present situation with the ones presented here or found in the history of your own country. How could we explain the exclusions?

IIc. Nations and Churches

II-17. The Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople condemns the habit of giving children ancient Greek names, instead of Christian names (1819)

This newly-introduced habit of giving ancient Greek names to baptised infants [...] seen as an act of disdain towards Christian names is thoroughly inappropriate; hence the need for you to issue strict orders [...]"

Dimaras, p. 364.



Why do you think people began to give to their children ancient Greek names? What do you think of the attitude of the Patriarchate? Is it appropriate for religious authorities to interfere in a parent's choice of names for their children? Would the interference of political authorities be any more legitimate in this matter? Which names prevailed in your country in the 19th century? What about today? In your opinion, were names used as an indicator of religious, regional or national identity? And who takes the decision about identity?

II-18. Divergent opinions about the establishment of the autonomy of the Greek Church versus the Orthodox Patriarchate of Constantinople (1833)

A. A PARTISAN - THEOKLETOS FARMAKIDES

In June 1833, the Church of the Kingdom of Greece declared its Autonomy and Independence. [...] The Greek nation, having declared its political independence before God and men from the beginning of its glorious revolution [...] also declared its Church as Autonomous and independent; *for the aim of the sacred struggle was ecclesiastical as well as political (in order to gain independence)* [...]. No permission or approval was required [because] political autonomy goes hand-in-hand with ecclesiastical autonomy, as per the beliefs of the Eastern Orthodox Church [...] without the need for any particular act or agreement; for territory and Church are one and the same thing [...]

Matalas, p.49.

B. AN OPPONENT – KONSTANTINOS OEKONOMOS

What sufferings have the brothers left outside undergone for the sake of a free Greece? And yet you demand that they be called neither Greeks nor brothers, but inhabitants of Turkey and subjects of what you call the enslaved Church! Thus, you sever (as far as you can) Greece from Greece and the Greeks from each other, fragmenting the nation and inducing religious discord which results in internal maladies and dire wars among brothers. Thus, finally, you shrink the state of Greeks within too narrow limits, and hinder the progress of the God-succoured kingdom of Greece, cancelling (again, as far as you can) the hopes and the desires of an entire nation, of so many centuries and of so many philhellenic Christian nations! Oh men, how can you behave like that?

Oekonomos, pp.336-337.



After obtaining independence, the Greek state also had to settle the ecclesiastical problem. Most of the Greeks were Orthodox, but the head of the Orthodox Church, the Patriarch of Constantinople, was under Ottoman control. In order to avoid the continuation of ecclesiastical dependence on the Ottoman Empire, the Orthodox Church in Greece severed its institutional ties with the Patriarchate in Constantinople. The heated disputes on this issue are illustrated here by texts written by Theokletos Farmakides (1784-1860) and Konstantinos Oekonomou (1780-1857).



Compare the two texts. What are the arguments used by the two authors? Why do you think that it was important for the Greek state to have an autonomous Church?

II-19. Decree establishing the synodal authority of the Orthodox Church in Romania (1864)

Article 1. The Romanian Orthodox Church is and remains independent from any foreign ecclesiastic authority in the realms of organisation and discipline.

Article 2. The Romanian Church, whose unity is rep-

resented by a General Synod, continues to be administered by the Archbishops and Bishops, with the help of bishopric synods.

Article 3. The General Synod of the Romanian Church keeps the dogmatic unity of the holy Orthodox religion with the big church of the East through consultations with the Ecumenical Church of Constantinople.

Article 4. The General Synod of the Romanian Church is composed of:

- a. Archbishops
- b. Bishops
- c. Romanian archierarchs
- d. Three deputies chosen from each bishopric by the secular clergy, and only from the parish priests or from lay persons with theological knowledge
- e. Deans of the theology faculties from Iassy and Bucharest.

[...]

Article 16. Never, under any pretext, can the General Synod of the Romanian Church modify or prevent:

- a. Freedom of conscience and religious tolerance. The laws for religious tolerance are, in all respects, of the competence of the ordinary Legislative Assemblies.
- b. The language of the Orthodox cult in the churches in the country will be Romanian for eternity.

Murgescu, pp.255-256.



This decree was issued by Prince Alexandru Ioan Cuza (1859-1866) in the context of the conflict with the Patriarchate of Constantinople, because of the secularisation of church-landed properties (1863). It was the first step in the organisation of a national Orthodox church, followed by the formal proclamation of ecclesiastic autocephaly (1885) and by the organisation of the Romanian Orthodox Church as a separate Patriarchate (1925).



Why do you think it was so important for the Romanian state to organise a separate and independent church? How did the state secure its control over the church? In which respects did the Romanian

Church maintain its connection with the Patriarchate in Constantinople?

Compare this with texts I-15 and I-24.

II-20. The comments of the French journalist Charles Yriarte concerning the vision of the Orthodox and Catholics priests on the relationship between religion and nation in Bosnia (1875-1876)

The Orthodox priest lives closely with people of his faith and there is no need to wonder why the leaders of the movement [insurrection in Bosnia in 1875] were mostly Greek-Orthodox priests. Not only did they give the signal for the start of insurrection, but they also took shotguns and led their people into battle. For these people, the concept of faith and the concept of race or nation are so similar that the word 'Serb' has become synonym for the word 'Orthodox'. The Catholics have a different view: for Bosnian Catholic priests, the concept of religion is more important than the concept of nation, and now we can see that the Catholic priests, who receive their orders from Rome, have averted the Catholic people from insurrection. The most progressive among them have limited themselves to just printing petitions in their native Latin language for the intervention of the neighbouring Catholic power [Austria-Hungary] to stop the results of oppression. We cannot wonder about the preservation of the discord, which separates the two religions [Orthodox and Catholic]. The Ottoman state does not care for the education of Christians, and with good reason, and leaves this enlightening role to the church, this naturally implies that the priest takes the discord between the religions as the basis of everything when teaching. The result of such a system is obvious and fateful: Greek-Orthodox children from the *iguman* [Orthodox abbot], Catholic children from the *franciscan* [monks] and Muslim children from the *ulema* will learn only to hate each other and that is, in essence, the only thing they will succeed in when they grow up.

Yriarte.



Analyse the way in which the author describes the relationship between religious identity and national identity in the vision of the Catholic and the Orthodox denominations/churches in Bosnia. Do you agree with his opinion that, educated exclusively in their own religions, children learned only to hate each other? How could such a situation be avoided?

What was the role of religion in the national movement in your country?

II-21. The Bulgarian Constitution of 1879 about the position of the Bulgarian Orthodox Church

Article 37. The state religion of the principality of Bulgaria is the Eastern Orthodox denomination.

Article 38. The Prince of Bulgaria and his descendants are restricted to the exclusive profession of the Orthodox religion, but the first elected prince of Bulgaria may, exceptionally, profess his original religion.

Article 39. The principality of Bulgaria as, from an ecclesiastical point of view, forming an inseparable part of the jurisdiction of the Bulgarian church, is subject to the Holy Synod, which is the highest spiritual authority in the Bulgarian church, wherever that may exist. Through the same authority, the principality remains united with the ecumenical Eastern Church in matters regarding dogma and faith.

Конституция, р.6.



Why were ecclesiastical issues settled in the constitution? Are there any stipulations about religion and church in the present constitution of your country?

II-22. The opinion of Nikola Pašić on the relationship between the Serbian nation and the Orthodox Church (1890)

The Orthodox Church

Therefore, it is clear why the Orthodox Church is the people's church. Because it is more closely tied

and united with the soul of the people who profess it than the Catholic Church can be. [...] That is why they are (called) the Serbian Church, the Bulgarian Church, the Greek Church, the Russian Church. [...]

All together, the Slavic Orthodox Church, connected from the very beginning with Slavic peoples, who remained faithful to it, preserved in these peoples' Slavic attributes, characteristic features and nature that are only now capable of accepting the results of the present-day progress [...]

National sovereignty

[...] The Serbian people alone created the Serbian state: created it with their own blood, effort and skill and it bears the sign of its creator, that of a fully democratic state. [...] In the people's awareness that they themselves have forged their own state, rests national sovereignty, the full power of the people [...], a supreme power over any other power, a guarantee

IId. Infrastructures of the nation-state

II-23. The importance of industrial development for a small nation – a Greek argument (1841)

There is no doubt that various kinds of industries restore happiness in a nation. Without industry, a nation can never prosper and increase its power on both land and sea. Without the introduction of various industries, a nation is restricted solely to its natural resources and cannot grow, physically or morally [...] In other words, nations without industry shall remain forever poor, remaining within the political community as passive and insignificant entities subject to the will of one or another of the stronger nations, and which do not become strong due to their natural beauty and their moderate climate or their fertile soil, the extent of their land or their wealth of produce, but solely on the promotion, the expansion and the perfection of the various industries and trade. It was thus that the powerful nations of yesterday and today became foremost among the European Powers, reaching the summit

that no major deviations from the democratic way of life is possible, that undemocratic regimes, although they sometimes catch people unawares, still cannot take root and stay in existence for a long time.

Pašić, pp. 128-129, 137, 139.



Nikola Pašić (1845-1926) was one of the leading Serbian statesmen from the late 19th century to the 1920s. After studying engineering, he entered politics and founded the Radical Party in 1881. He served as prime-minister several times.



What is the role of the Church in the vision of the author? How does the author justify the relationship between the people and the state? Why do you think the author felt it necessary to write such statements?

of their glory, their splendour and grandeur through the wealth they acquired from the various industries and external trade.

S.B., "Αι βιομηχανία" [The industries], daily *Αιών* [Century], 26.2.1841, No 238 in Psalidopoulos, p.55.



What national arguments are used in order to convince people of the necessity of industrial development in a small country? Why do you think economic arguments are combined with national ones?

II-24. The role of railways in strengthening the nation-state – a Romanian opinion (1870)

It must still [now] be recorded in this chapter that the influence of the railways on the customs, on the nature of the relations between provinces, on the development of riches, being much greater, many people may ask themselves whether the precious national unity will be broken. They ask whether it might still be realised, this perturbation they desire, without

having the honesty to manifest it openly, some of the parties being ready to sacrifice the country's future, facing the contempt of an indignant Europe.

Nobody is ignoring the fact that, on both sides of the Milcov, except for the honest parties, friendly to the Romanian nation (parties which, luckily, build up the majority), there are a few who regret the unity of Moldo-Romania, and others who hide their obscure threats under a veil of independence and liberalism, trying to realise these projects by exploiting popular passions. We are able, though, to affirm that when the distance between all members of the great Romanian family will be suppressed; when the circulation of products and persons will be facilitated by a wise combination of the railway fees, these actions will contribute to the crushing of retrograde tendencies, they will contribute efficaciously in order to satisfy the great desire of the Romanian nation, in realising the union of all the factions of old Dacia."

Brătianu, pp.51-52.



Constantin I. Brătianu (1844-1910) was a military topographer, an officer in the General Staff, later a general and also a member of the Romanian Academy.



Besides fostering economic modernisation, railways were also an important means for nation-building. What element prevails in Brătianu's argument? Why? How would you have argued the need to build railways?

II-25. The opinion of the Bulgarian Prince Alexander Battenberg (1879-1886) on the importance of railways (1879-1881)

The Royal Prince: "Schools and laws are not as important as railways." It was decided that Sofia would be the capital because the world artery, Belgrade – Istanbul, goes through it. The connection through the Balkan Mountains near Berkovitsa can be completely blocked in the winter. The Prince mentioned the exaggerated fears that the Austrians could capture the Bulgarian trade via this railway. The Prince: "We

do not mind who is going to build the railways. What matters is to have them built as soon as possible."

Jirecek, p.27.



Compare the two texts. Why was it so important for the new states to develop a railway network? Were there any dangers connected with building railways?

► v5. Currency displaying the relationship between the economic aspects of a country and national representations: the first 500 drachma banknote issued by the National Bank of Greece (1841)



Kathimerini, p. 4.



What visual elements are represented on the banknote? What is the meaning of these elements? Why did a state need to have its own currency? What designs and symbols are found on the banknotes in your country? Do you think that coins and banknotes contribute to national education and representation? If so, how?

II-26. Description of a Bulgarian railway during the late 19th century

The railway at the time, was Baron Hirsch's Railway [owned by the Austrian-jewish millionaire Baron Hirsch], built during the Turkish rule and connecting Jambol with Odrin and Istanbul. The carriages were small and divided into separate compartments; the compartments had doors on both sides, where there were long wooden steps used by the ticket col-

lectors. They always showed up unexpectedly at the door windows like small contraptions that automatically come out of a box; and at night they had small gas torches hanging on their chests. The railway officials wore foreign uniforms, most of them being Armenians or Levantines and did not speak Bulgarian. The railway stations had signs written in French, and the train left after a bell had rung three times... Each time one had to travel to Kremenly it was a joyful event, full of anxiety and new interesting things: a railway station, trains, foreigners, foreign speech. It was a waft of the wide-unknown world, a short touch to the kingdom of dreams. And the trip to Sofia was a real expedition, which took days to prepare...

Konstantinov, pp.19-20.



Find some images with railway stations. Examine their architecture.

II-27. Bulgarian Law of Measures (1889)

Article 1. From now on, the basic unit of measurements in the Bulgarian Principality will be the metre [...]

Article 6. The basic measure of capacity will be the litre [...]

Article 7. The basic measure of weight will be the gramme or the weight of 1cm³ distilled water in a vacuum at 4 degrees Celsius [...]

Transformation of the old measures into the new ones and vice-versa

A. Measure of length

I. Old into new

Article 9. One architectonic (builder's) arshin contains 758mm (0m 758).

One (tailor's) arshin contains 680mm (0m 680).

One cubit contains 650mm (0m 650).

[...]

General Provisions

Article 13. This law comes into force for the food measures on 1 June 1889, and for the other measures, on 1 January 1892 [...]

Article 16. Introduction of the new measures in the state institutions is obligatory from 1 January 1889.

All civil servants are obliged to use the new measures in official documents.

Citizens who have dealings with the state institutions are also obliged to present their accounts and reports to the institution in the new measures [...]

Държавен вестник, no.7 from January 19, 1889.



Create a poster illustrating the fact that one of the first acts of the new nation-states was to introduce new compulsory measures. Try to find the economic, social, and cultural reasons. Do you think it was also a means of state control?

► v6. New technologies and national symbols – a poster advertising sewing machines (Greece, late 19th century)



Athens, a collection from the Hellenic Literary and Historical Archive in Fotopoulos, p.480.



A printed postcard advertisement for the Singer sewing-machine company. Sewing-machines were being advertised in the Greek press as early as 1874. Use of the sewing machine in the Greek countryside started to spread around 1900. It was then that they acquired the name 'Olga' in honour of the queen who endowed indigent young girls and brides with them.



Comment briefly on the image. Analyse the characters presented, the way they are dressed

and what they are doing. Why were national symbols used on a commercial poster?

In what ways can advertising contribute to the enforcement of national self-identification? Can commercial advertising also circulate stereotypes about other ethnic or religious groups? Does it enforce a distinction between 'us' and 'them'? In the contemporary television or radio publicity of your own country, are historical characters or specific national identification features presented? Are national, ethnic or religious 'others' also presented as examples or as comparative references?

Ile. Nation-building

II-28. The poor use of the Croatian language, deplored by Ivan Kukuljevic (1843)

I am aware of the fact that most of us gathered here, do not speak our language well and, I can only find, in the whole country, a few persons of both sexes who are good at reading, writing and speaking in their mother tongue. The reason for this can be found in the fact that we don't use it in public life or business, and we are amused with it as a dressed-up master is amused with his servant. Most of our people still don't know what a delight and pleasure it is to speak in their mother tongue. Such feelings can be experienced only by a person who has had to live abroad for a long time, among foreign people and in foreign countries. We still preserve our language only for our friends and our serfs.

Wein, p.541.



Until the nationalist trend of the 1830s, the official language in Croatia (and also in Transylvania) was Latin. The Hungarian government tried to replace Latin with the Hungarian language in schools and offices. The use of German was also widespread. Nevertheless, Croatian reformers argued for the establishment of Croatian as the official language, and finally succeeded in this respect in 1847.

Within the framework of this struggle, Ivan Kukuljevic (1816-1889) – a writer, historian, politician and one of the leading Croatian reformers – addressed the Croatian

Parliament, as its member, for the first time in Croatian in 1843.



How does Kukuljevic argue for the wider use of the Croatian language? Kukuljevic was a nobleman; is this obvious from the stated text? Why did Kukuljevic claim that only a very small number of people spoke their mother tongue, whereas the serfs (a large majority of the population) spoke it?

II-29. The importance of language for national identification – a Slovenian opinion (1861)

And walking around the castle, our boy meets two men in a similar costume or dress screaming frightfully and pulling each other; he doesn't understand one of them, but the other one speaks a language known to him and his face is also somewhat familiar; he joins this one and helps him for he is a compatriot, they both speak the same language. By the language he speaks, he recognises his compatriot and his countryman; he would always have recognised him, even if there had been a hundred or more men together, dressed the same or in a different manner. Language is the best indicator by which we discover which nation one belongs to.

And what is a nation after all of this? After walking around, the boy discovers that he likes all the people,

all men are dear to him and he is fond of approaching those who come from his homeland; all those with the same manners and customs as those from home. Even if people changed attire, he could still recognise them by their idiom, their language. All those he understands, whose words are close to his heart, are his compatriots, they are all sweet and dear to him; they are all from the same nation as him.



The article *What is a nation? And What is the Slovene Nation in Particular?* was written by Ivan Macun, teacher and literary historian, in the form of a story describing the experiences of a boy travelling around his country and trying to identify his compatriots. It was published in 1861 in the newspaper *Novice* (News) and printed in Ljubljana.



Why do you think that the author stresses the role language plays in national identity? Can people speaking different languages belong to the same nation? Give examples.

II-30. The importance of language to the Romanian identity, presented by Titu Maiorescu (1866)

It is requested that modern people have a national state and especially a national literature and language.

[...] Every Romanian knows he is Romanian, and whatever he will do henceforth, he will necessarily try to connect, as directly as possible, with the Latin tradition from which he received his intellectual life.

Until now, this truth only had a more practical consequence in our language and writing, and rightfully so. For the Romanians' language is the most treasured remainder of their Latin ancestors, reminding them nowadays of yet another antiquity that has always been their only compass, which, being reliable, kept them on the right path and kept them from wandering and losing themselves amongst the waves of migrant people which haunted Traian's Dacia.

Maiorescu, I, p.277.



Titu Maiorescu (1840-1917), was a literary critic, an aesthete, a university professor, a politician (deputy, minister, prime-minister), and an important member of the "Junimea" society. Doctor of Philosophy in Giessen, he also earned a law degree in Paris. As prime-minister, he presided at the Peace Conference in Bucharest (1913).



How does the author explain the relationship between language and identity? What is your opinion?

II-31. Petition to approve the establishment of the Yugoslav Academy of Science and Art from the Croatian Parliament to the Emperor-King Francis Joseph (1861)

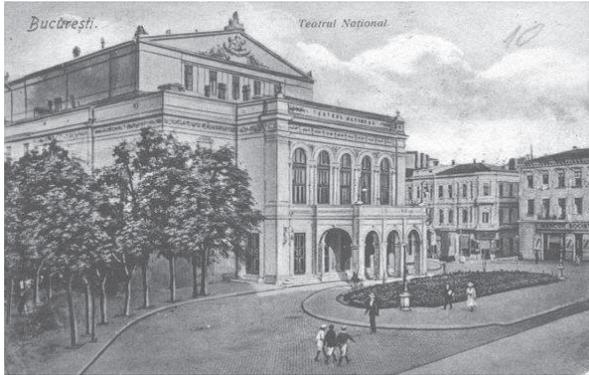
Your apostolic Majesty, our King and most gracious Master! People of the Triune Kingdom of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia [...] have never gone behind in any man's education by their own fault. Their history knows many heroes by sword, by pen, in every work of mind and heart. But that history regrettably also gives the reasons why our people today cannot compete with other nations, who are more fortunate in science which is today – more than ever – the main lever to every country. This Parliament is convinced that regarding scientific and literary development, [...] our people have reached the point where it is our duty to see that a supreme literary and scientific court is established: an Academy without which science cannot critically develop and consequently cannot be successful.

Laszowsky, p.127.



How does the Parliament argue for the need to establish an Academy? What should be the task of the Academy according to the letter? Are today's Academies recognised as "literal and scientific courts" or is their authority declining in comparison with that of the 19th century?

► **v7. National Theatre in Bucharest – postcard (1890s)**



How can you explain that the main institutions of the states were considered to be 'national'? How many other institutions bearing the designation 'national' do you know of?

II-32. The importance of language and literature in the development of nations – a statement in the Statutes of the Society for the publication of Albanian writings (1879)

All nations are enlightened and civilised because of the letters of their language. And any nation that has no written language or letters for its language is in the dark and is of a barbaric nature.

Myzyri, p.40.



Why did the authors consider it to be so important for nations to have their own language and literature?

II-33. Memorandum of the Macedonian students in Saint Petersburg about the Macedonian literary language (1902)

Now the question is whether it is necessary to create a separate Macedonian literary language while there is a Serbian and Bulgarian literary language? There are two reasons for the creation of a Macedonian literary language. The first is that on the occasion of the creation of the Serbian literary language,

at the beginning of the 19th century, attention was not paid to the vernaculars in Eastern Serbia, Western Bulgaria and Macedonia, therefore, with the promotion of the Herzegovinian vernacular as literary language, the needs of Eastern Serbia, Western Bulgaria and Macedonia were not met. On the occasion of the creation of the Bulgarian literary language, by adopting the Eastern Bulgarian dialect as the basis for a general literary language, attention was also not fully paid to the Eastern Serbian, Western Bulgarian and all the Macedonians dialects.

On one hand, the partiality in the process of the creation of the Bulgarian and Serbian literary languages only helped the fragmentation of the Balkan Slavs into two camps hostile to each other and competing on the same ground that unites the characteristics of both the Serbian and the Bulgarian languages. On the other hand, if, in the process of the creation of this or that literary language, one of the central Balkan vernaculars had been elevated to the degree of a literary language, then the antagonism between the Slavs from various parts of the Balkan Peninsula would have been avoided and they could have united into one national-cultural whole. We consider the Macedonian dialects, which are recognised by the Bulgarians as completely Bulgarian, by the Serbians as Serbian, to actually be in between the vernaculars in what are now Bulgaria and Serbia and, as such, they could serve as the uniting link between the now hostile Bulgaria and Serbia.

The second reason for elevating one Macedonian dialect to the degree of a literary language is the need for the removal of the Serbian and Bulgarian pretensions towards Macedonia, the removal of the national propaganda demoralising the Macedonian population and the need for the unification of the Slav element in Macedonia in order to preserve its dominant importance in the political destiny of Macedonia [...]

Makedonium, p.56.



What is the purpose of this text? What is the opinion of the author on the necessity of a Macedonian literary language? In your opinion, what does the creation of a literary language mean?

II-34. Plans to build up the Romanian national sentiments in Transylvania – letter from Dr. I. C. Drăgescu to Emilia Rațiu (1874)

[...] The role of a beggar does not suit a people like the Romanian people. Our forefathers used to give and take: we *cannot* beg!

You should think more of the *peasants* and the *women*.

Rebirth starts here. Make good mothers, good wives and good Romanians out of women; transform the peasants into people conscious of their dignity, their rights and duties. It is only then that you will have taken the most difficult and most important step towards progress and salvation.

With these two elements you will be able to get everything, using schools, writings, and conferences as the means. [...]

Lungu, pp.141-142.



What are the means foreseen by the author for the enforcement of the Romanian national sentiments in Transylvania? Why do you think the emphasis was put on peasants and women? What role was ascribed to women?

II-35. Plan to structure the Albanian national movement – letter from the journalist Faik Konitza to Baron Goluchowski (Brussels, 1897)

A. Firstly. The aim to be pursued and achieved should be:

1. Developing an Albanian national sentiment, becoming perfectly aware of the fundamental differences there are with the Turks. [...].
3. Working so that all Albanians, while within the law and respectful of the governing authorities, understand which way their aspirations towards economic and intellectual progress should be channelled, where unforeseen circumstances could precipitate the dissolution of the Eastern Question.

B. Secondly. The means to be used:

- a. The newspaper which, edited in Tosk, Geg²¹ and in French, should publish folk songs, historical chronicles, patriotic poems, economic issues, political commentaries in the shape of news, and must neither incur the distrust of the Porte through its hostile comments, nor push the Albanians, through favourable commentaries, to adopt a favourable attitude toward the Sublime Porte...
 - b. The publication, two or three times a year, of simple, small leaflets in thousands of issues and in both dialects, in which the national feeling will develop through questions and answers that would bypass a direct involvement in politics [...].
 - f. Schools: they should engage our liveliest interest, the more so since Albanians wholeheartedly desire their construction; however, on the one hand, there's no initiative and on the other, there's a shortage of teachers. It would be necessary, therefore, to send petitions to the Ottoman government from all the areas where these schools are needed.
 - g. Religions: amicable relations ought to be established among all the clergy, especially the *Bektashi* [Muslim religious order], whose influence, at this stage, could be useful; in the eventuality of what could come about in the future, the tendency should be fully developed towards religious autonomy.
- C. In conclusion, let me restate that all our activities and endeavours should be permeated by these two ideas: no party should be set up, but all should rally around the same goal; the newspaper (journal), the association, the schools, propaganda – they should all bear the stamp of a spontaneous movement wherein allegiances, friendships or sympathies should in no way affect our encouragement.

Konitza 2000, pp.14-15.

²¹ Tosk and Geg are the main dialects of the Albanian language.



Faik Konitza (1875-1942) was one of the leading figures of Albanian culture in the first half of the 20th century. After studying at the universities of Dijon and Paris, he moved to Brussels in 1897, where he published the Albanian newspaper *Albania*. In order to be able to do this, he asked the Austrian-Hungarian foreign minister of the time, Count Agenor Goluchowski, for support and finally obtained Austrian-Hungarian financial backing for his newspaper.



Analyse the means proposed to reinforce the Albanian identity.

II-36. Guidelines for teaching history in Greece (1881)

The aim of teaching Greek History in elementary schools is not for pupils to memorise historical events, dates and names of historical figures or, generally, to accumulate historical knowledge; but, on the one hand, where children's moral education is concerned, to transmit a national conscience so as to mould worthy members of this glorious nation, and on the other hand, to *systematise* the historical knowledge acquired from other subjects taught in the school and promote its *assimilation*. By realising the magnificence and glory of the forefathers — who became great men through lawfulness, arduous toil, bravery and purity of mind and hence scorned material goods and defied death in favour of freedom and duty — the souls of young Greeks shall be filled with admiration as well as the desire to follow their example and continue the glorious national life.

Koulouri, p.263.



Analyse the text and explain what the goals of history teaching were. What is your opinion about the goals of history teaching today?

► v8. Children in historical costumes (Greece, ca.1875)



Fotopoulos, p.259.



Do school festivities only have a recreational purpose or are they tools for learning and consolidating a national identity?

II-37. The attempt to establish a national sport in Romania (1898)

In order to propagate a taste for practicing physical exercise in our country, Mr. Haret²², Minister of Education, has taken the initiative of organising a

²² Spiru C. Haret (1851-1912) earned a doctorate in mathematics in Paris. After returning to Romania, he served as a university professor, a high-ranking education official and three times as minister of Religion and Public Education. He is considered to be the symbol of the modernisation efforts in Romanian education around 1900.

competition among different secondary schools in Bucharest, on the occasion of the 10th of May. This competition was about the game *Oina*²³ and the result was, for the *winning group*, a honorary prize, which was to be owned by the school, which [this group] belongs to, for one year; after that, schools will compete again for the same prize, on the same day. The disposition of Mr. Minister in favour of the propagation of physical exercise in our country by means of a competition of original sports, is very welcome: a) because in this way a great part of our games, threatened until now by extinction, are to be seen again, practiced and played by our youth, and b) because they, together with the adoption of a good gymnastics system, will give us a real education, both national and patriotic, which is absolutely necessary for a country aspiring to be strong, respected and feared for its sons.

Ionescu, p.1106.

? Do you know whether there was or is a sport considered to be national in your country? Why do you think that there were people who felt the need for a 'national sport' at the end of the 19th century? What was their goal?

II-38. Albanian King Zogu I about the role of compulsory military service in nation-building (1928)

I regard the army as an educational factor of the highest value. The country's crying need is education, and the men who are called up under the conscription will return to their homes with much enlarged ideas. You must understand that the average Albanian knows nothing about nationality. He has always looked up to the head of his tribe, or his Bey, as the supreme authority. He must be taught gradually to transfer this local allegiance, admirable

²³ *Oina* is considered to be the Romanian national game. It is similar to baseball and is played by two teams of 12 people each on a field of 80/50 m. The ball has a diameter of 6-9 cm and the bat is maximum 95 cm long. Even though it is considered to be a national game, very few people know the rules or play it.

in itself, to the central government. He must learn in fact that while remaining a member of the tribe, he is also a citizen of the State.

Fischer, p.23.

Key Ahmed Zogu (1895-1961) was the leading Albanian statesman in the interwar period, president 1925-1928 and King of Albania as Zogu I (1928-1939).

? What was more important in King Zogu's vision: the role of the compulsory military service in increasing the country's defence capabilities, or its role in shaping a national identity for the young Albanians? What do you think: was conscription an adequate means of achieving these goals? What are the attitudes in your society towards compulsory military service?

► v9. Certificate for a sports competition for high school boys, organised by the newspaper "Gazeta Sporturilor" (interwar Romania)



ACIME, 37/2000.

Key The victorious children are being crowned by a female character representing Romania in national costume.

? How is Romania represented? Discuss its visual and symbolic relationship with the marching young boys.

What designs or symbols are on the certificates in your country today? What about during the interwar period?

► **v10. Romanian child dressed as little soldier (1916)**



(private collection)



How do you explain the trend of dressing little boys in military uniform? What do you think? Was it simply a fashion or did it also have a social and pedagogical significance?

II-39. The goals of Turkish education defined by Ziya Gökalp (1914)

If we study the curriculum of a [Turkish] school, we notice that children are taught according to three categories of learning: (1) They are taught the Turkish language, literature, and history; (2) they are educated in the Kur'an, *tecvit* [reading the Kur'an with the proper rhythm and pronunciation], catechism, and the history of Islam and Islamic languages [Ara-

bic and Persian]; (3) they are also trained in mathematics, natural sciences, and foreign [European] languages, which will aid them in their further studies in these sciences, as well as in skills such as handicrafts and gymnastics.

This shows that we pursue three aims in our education: Turkism, Islamism and Modernism. No Turkish father can fail to have his child educated in the Turkish language or allow him to remain ignorant of Turkish history. Neither can he allow him to be ignorant of Islamic beliefs and rituals, or unacquainted with the history of Islam. But he also wants his child to be trained as a modern man, in addition to his education as a Turk and a Muslim. It seems, therefore, that complete education for us would comprise three fields: Turkish education, Islamic education, and modern education.

[...] These three aspects of education must aid and complement each other. But if we fail to define the function and delimit the sphere of each in a reasonable way without overstressing any one of them, they may be contradictory and even hostile to each other.

Vucinich, pp.157-159.



Ziya Gökalp (1876-1924) was a leading figure of the Young Turk movement and a major ideologue of Turkish nationalism.



What do you think of the author's aim to promote an equilibrium in the three types of education? Was it practical to include all three types in elementary school? What was the situation in your country in the early 20th century? What about today?

II-40. Atatürk's history and language policy criticised by an opponent (private diary, 1932)

17 July 1932

Mustafa Kemal convened a historical congress in Ankara [...]. They are talking a lot of rubbish, making the whole world Turkish [...]. For eight years, Mustafa Kemal was presented as a genius of military

thought, a genius of politics, a genius of agriculture, etc. Now this man has the whim to make himself a great historian [...]. The aim and purpose of the congress is this: Mustafa Kemal discovers unknown things in history, he gives theories to history and he becomes a great historian, a genius of history. One is ashamed to attempt such a ridiculous thing. [...] In the book he published, he indicates the countries occupied by the Turks with arrows. There is not a single place they have not gone. He makes the Greeks Turks because of the word 'Ege', he makes the Irish Turks because of the syllable (Ir). What nonsense, what ignorance, what ridicule! He forgot about poor Iran [...]. If nations become Turkish with (Ir) what about Iran? It also has (Ir). Yes, it cannot be that simple. [...]

The Gazi also declares to Yunus Nadi that there is a word in Seyh Suleyman's Chaghatai dictionary 'kilturmak', whereby removing the suffix 'mak' gives you 'kiltur'. This is the original form of the Frankish term culture. They took it from us. Oh, come and help me! Shall I cry, laugh or die? When I read this man's fabrications it is I, in Paris, who is ashamed. The term 'kilturmak' is, of course, nothing else but the term 'getirmek' (to bring). Where is the culture in this?

[...]

8 September 1932

According to the *Milliyet*²⁴ that arrived today, Mustafa Kemal convened a linguistic congress this month at the Palace of Dolmabahce. God take pity on our language [...]. Who knows what he is going to manufacture? [...] The language matter will be even more complex. It will be more difficult to make a new purge. He would have done much better had he not done this at all. What these things are to this

man, I really do not know. He became a historian in two years. He published a book on Turkish history full of his fabrications and he obliges it to be read in the schools. Pity on the time spent and on the minds of Turkish children! He has suddenly become a philologist.

Nur, III, p.547.



Language and history were a central part of Atatürk's policy to foster Turkish nationalism. What do you think of the excesses criticised in the private diary of his intellectual opponent? Would such criticism have been effective if expressed publicly? Do you know of any similar excesses in your country?

II-41. Memoirs of Mahmud Esad Bozkurt about the nationalist essence of the "Atatürk Revolution"

There will only be Turks at the head of the state affairs in the new Turkish Republic. We shall only believe Turks. The most characteristic aspect of the Atatürk revolution is Turkish nationalism and being Turkish. This principle has purged the past. This principle has introduced modernism. The whole Turkish revolution together with its entire works is based on this principle. The smallest diversion from this leads backwards and means death.

Bozkurt, pp.354-355.



Mahmud Esad Bozkurt served as minister for the interior under Atatürk. He was one of the first ideologues to systematise Kemalism as a doctrine.



General question:

Compare texts II-34, II-35, II-36, II-37, II-38, II-39, v8, v9 and v10: what were the means used for nation-building and for fostering a common identity in the new nation-states in Southeast Europe?

²⁴ Newspaper.