

The Huntington Boundary between Error and Bias

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A viable boundary cannot divide a unitary ethnic, religious, and cultural space

Introduction

AT PRESENT, both specialists and non-specialists watch, as if caught by an amnesia worthy of a better cause, the silent generalization of several interesting and spectacular opinions, because of their immediate message. No questions are asked whether these perspectives reflect the reality of the terrain, the human communities which become, willy-nilly, the object of a genuine ideational barter, the states of mind incorporated into the collective *formamentis*, the traditions from a certain region. The world outside the area in question, not affected by the possible consequences of such statements, retains them off-handedly, often without any reserve – why would it have any reservation as long as no prejudice is caused to it?! Equally important seem to be the rate of novelty and the seism (“the shock”) produced by such unprecedented statements. If they are not adequately amended in time, such perspectives put an indestructible seal – or at least one that is difficult to remove – on a territorial phenomenology.

In this context, we want to analyze Huntington’s opinion (1993) on the boundary separating Eastern civilization from the Western one, which is considered by the author to be much more advanced but decadent. We shall use the scientific methodology available now, at the beginning of the 21st century, and we shall take into account the circumstances of the construction of a united Europe.

According to Huntington, this boundary coincides with the line separating the Catholic Christianity from the Orthodox one. Catholicism is considered to be the conduit for the principles of the civilization followed in the Western part of the continent, whereas Orthodoxy is considered to be dogmatic and obstructionist to spreading and asserting the ideals of cultural progress, in general.

This barrier is artificially drawn, either by ignorance or omission. It makes nothing but fragment a people, the Romanian one, into two entities, west and east of this morphological boundary. It also divides the Orthodox religion that has been dominant since its beginnings west and east of the same mountainous range. The barrier also separates an archaic mental space, the Romanian one, that has been built up, structured, and enriched on the plateaus of the Carpathians for over two millennia. This archaic mental space extends eastward and westward, southward and northward. These two fragmented areas are rather characteristic of an outdated Middle Ages than of a united Europe.

It is not our objective to question the declared purposes of such an approach. They do exist, as the author himself openly states them. In this stage of the analysis, we will only highlight the documentary and the interpretative errors about the segment of the boundary which most fallaciously transforms Romania into a “divided country”. The boundary carelessly cuts off Transylvania, the nucleus of the Romanian ethno-genetic space, from the rest of the country. The fault line between Western civilization, on the one hand, and the Orthodox and the Islamic civilizations, on the other, coincides with the ridge of the Carpathians. Pointing out these shortcomings is even more necessary as the book *The Clash of Civilizations* has enjoyed great success since its publication. Many authors take for granted the opinions expressed in this book, as if they were genuine postulates. Thus they disseminate and multiply the error and further mystify the factual reality against the scientific truth.

Methodology

THE CRITICAL analysis of the text, the comparative analysis of the statements and hypotheses in relation with the historical, the territorial, and the statistical data are the main features of our methodology. One should add the permanent self identification of man (communities) with the space, the precepts of delimiting mental spaces (Cocean, P., 2006), and the historical method applied to the territory as a geo-historical product in an inductive and deductive context. The notions and solutions offered by territorial GIS have had great graphical relevance.

The analyses of several historical studies and cartographic materials about the Romanian territory, the Romanian historical provinces, and the neighbouring territories at different moments in time, but especially around the year 1500, have been very helpful. 1500 is the reference point of Huntington’s theory on the limit between Western Christianity on the one hand, and the Orthodox and the Islamic civilization on the other hand. (We wonder, rhetorically of course, why the author



FIG. 1. The limit between Western Christianity, on one side, and Orthodox Christianity and Islam, on the other side, according to Wallace W. (1990) and S.P. Huntington (1993, 1997)

did not take into account the year 1600 as his boundary, the year when the Orthodox Michael the Brave reunited the three Romanian medieval states into a single country whose western borders were on the Tisza River? Or why was not the year 1761 chosen? In order to change the religious structure of Transylvania – always dominated by Orthodox Christians of Romanian origin – in 1761 General von Buccow destroyed, by cannon shots, over 150 Orthodox churches and monasteries, out of the 1360 which then existed (*Istoria Românilor - History of the Romanians*, VI, 2002). The main argument of the present study relies on the analysis of the demographical data from the 2002 census. The analysis only concerns the Romanian and the Hungarian population, the Orthodox, the Roman Catholic, the Protestant, and the Greek Catholic denominations because these are the reference points taken into consideration in Huntington's works and referring directly to Romania and the Transylvanian space.

Results

OUR ANALYSIS starts from Huntington's question (1993, 1997) regarding the *limits of Europe*: "*But where is Europe's eastern boundary? Who should be thought of as European and hence as potential members of the European Union, NATO, and comparable organizations?*" The answer he gives is, in fact, taken from William Wallace (1991), according to whom "*The most compelling and pervasive answer to these questions is given by the great historic line that has existed for centuries and separated Western Christian peoples from the Muslim and the Orthodox ones*".

We shall not analyze the entire route of this demarcation line (debatable in many sectors). This should be done by the researchers of each country it crosses, as they are the most entitled to give their opinion on its truthfulness. However, one should analyze carefully what this hypothetical boundary represents for the territory of Romania. Apparently, the reference to a historical period 500 years old may excuse the error of a biased statement concerning "Transylvania, with its Catholic Hungarian population". Still, in 1500 as well as along the entire history of the voivodeship most of the population were Orthodox Romanians. However, using this demarcation line as a contemporary analytical tool can be considered a regretful error from the point of view of scientific objectivity. This can be related either to lack of knowledge of the territorial reality, to the information gathered from biased sources, or to the tendentious approach to regional history. All these can be correlated with certain more or less nostalgic purposes. The identification of such a limit and its valorization as the "Velvet Curtain" ("*It is the cultural border of Europe, and in the post-Cold War world it is also*

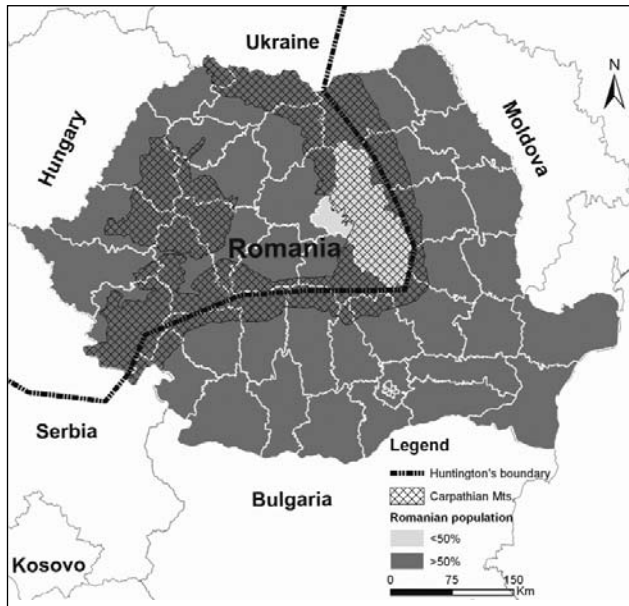


FIG. 2. The distribution of the Romanian population on the territory of Romania compared to Huntington's boundary (data source: Census of population and settlements, 2002, INS)

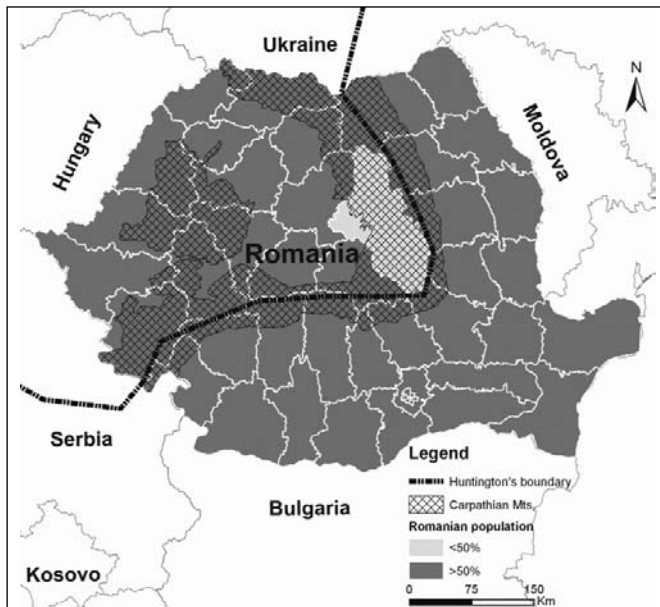


FIG. 3. The distribution of the Orthodox population on the territory of Romania compared to Huntington's boundary (data source: Census of population and settlements, 2002, INS)

the political and economic border of Europe and the West”) may lead, even if only at the level of conceptual debates, to an undesirable segregationist precedent, alien to the innovating principles of the foundation of the European Union as an entity based exactly on the penetrability and attenuation of the effect of any (administrative, political, cultural etc.) boundary.

According to the two authors, on the one hand, *Orthodox civilization* relies on Russia and is associated to Slavism, and on the other hand *it is separated from Western Christianity*. This proves that, in fact, one of the sources of the Huntington-Wallace approach is a historical fact which resulted in the appearance of the two Christian “worlds”, i.e. the Great Schism of 1054. It looks like the Schism left deep traces (still existent even after almost a millennium) in the conscience of some “Westerners” who do not hesitate to list contemporary Greece as a “non-Western country” even if they point out to Greek philosophy as a reference point of Western civilization. It is not a long way from here to the depreciation of Orthodoxy and its followers.

Beyond its irrelevance to the present reality, the theory relies on *a historical reality approached sequentially and subjectively*. To this effect, both Wallace and Huntington fail to mention the intensification of anti-Romanian and anti-Orthodox policies in the 14th and the 15th centuries in Transylvania (Pop I.-A., 2010, a). These policies were initiated both by the Hungarian kings and the Catholic Church and resulted, among others, in the gradual exclusion of the Romanian popula-

County	No. inhabitants	ROMANIANS (% out of total)	HUNGARIANS (% out of total)
ALBA	382747	90.41	5.4
ARAD	461791	82.16	10.67
BIHOR	600246	67.38	25.96
BISTRIȚA-NĂȘĂUD	311657	90.25	5.88
BRAȘOV	589028	87.28	8.65
CARAȘ-SEVERIN	333219	88.24	1.74
CLUJ	702755	79.38	17.4
COVASNA	222449	23.28	73.79
HARGHITA	326222	14.06	84.61
HUNEDOARA	485712	92.7	5.22
MARAMUREȘ	510110	82.02	9.07
MUREȘ	580851	53.26	39.3
SATU MARE	367281	58.83	35.19
SĂLAJ	248015	71.23	23.04
SIBIU	421724	90.59	3.63
TIMIȘ	677926	83.43	7.45
TOTAL/average	7221733	74.68	19.6

TABLE 1. The percentage of the Romanian and the Hungarian population in the counties of Transylvania (source: Population Census, 2002, INS)

tion from among the nations present in this space, in the sense of exerting power and manifesting a *de facto* territoriality. This exclusion started with the Orthodox affiliation and ended with the confiscation of goods and the limitation/elimination of the right to possess land so that finally the recognition of property rights or nobility titles depended on one's affiliation to the Catholic religion (*idem*). One should also stress that such a policy of the Hungarian kings was strictly connected to Catholic proselytism and the papal policy after 1204, a year which marked *major fractures in the political and spiritual history of Europe* (*idem*). Despite this unfavorable context, the Romanian population of Transylvania varied between 62% (in 1690) and more than 60% (1844). From the religious point of view, the Orthodox population and the Greek-Catholic population represented, together, 62-65% of the total population between 1766 and 1844 (Pop I.-A., 2010, b). The existence of these restrictive and oppressive conditions for the Romanian Orthodox population during the Middle Ages and the perpetuation of these circumstances increased the political, the cultural, and the economic inferiority of this ethnic group. However, these circumstances could not eliminate the Romanians as a national and religious entity, even if some Romanian noblemen did convert to Catholicism as an adaptation strategy. Their presence and numeric predominance was acknowledged in the works of such famous chroniclers as Nicolaus Olahus (1536-1537) and Antonius Verantius (Bolovan I., Bolovan Sorina Paula, 2010). Therefore, one may envisage a historical reality that is different from that depicted by Wallace and Huntington, a reality whose characteristics are proven by historical data and facts and analyzed in numerous scientific works.

Starting from the assumption that "*simplified paradigms or maps are indispensable for human thought and action*" and that "*we need a map that both describes and simplifies reality in a way that best serves our purposes*", Huntington unfortunately gets a mistaken perspective on the Romanian territorial reality. Due to the unselective application of some generally valid statements – for instance, "the most common division, which appears under various names, is between rich (modern, developed) countries and poor (traditional, undeveloped or developing) countries)" – Huntington casts an undesirable and dangerous anathema on several human communities. "[The countries] with Western Christian heritage make economic progress and evolve towards democratic politics; the prospects for economic and political development in Orthodox countries are uncertain". Differentiating between modernity, civilization and Western Christianity on the one hand, traditionalism, underdevelopment and Orthodoxy, on the other, is a way of thinking which, even if it belongs to a distinguished academic, is rather close to the segregational and the conflictual patterns of territorial analysis characteristic of the regimes repudiated by the entire global community

County	No. inhabitants	ORTHODOX (% out of total population)	ROMAN-CATHOLICS (% out of total population)	PROTESTANTS (% out of total population)	GREEK-CATHOLICS (% out of total population)
ALBA	382747	86.16	1.28	3.86	3.6
ARAD	461791	73.13	10.1	2.67	1.07
BIHOR	600246	59.7	9.24	17.12	2.26
BISTRIȚA-NĂȘĂUD	311657	83.05	1.16	4.61	2.28
BRAȘOV	589028	85.36	3.93	2.45	0.77
CARAȘ-SEVERIN	333219	83.55	7.11	0.52	0.88
CLUJ	702755	72.25	3.68	12.35	4.27
COVASNA	222449	22.42	36.15	33.4	0.12
HARGHITA	326222	13.26	65.27	12.65	0.16
HUNEDOARA	485712	85.83	4.39	2.36	0.96
MARAMUREȘ	510110	77.96	5.94	4.07	5.52
MUREȘ	580851	53.25	9.51	27.03	2.27
SATU MARE	367281	50.61	18.03	18.68	7.95
SĂLAJ	248015	66.56	2.56	19.53	2.76
SIBIU	421724	89.5	1.47	1.91	2.1
TIMIȘ	677926	78.87	10.63	1.91	1.29
TOTAL/average	7221733	67.59	11.9	10.32	2.39

TABLE 2. The weight of population, according to religion, in Transylvanian counties (source: Population Census, 2002, INS)

(see the theory of the superiority of the Arian race). Making such views public and adopting them as state policies led to the same type of inter-civilizational behaviour: conflict (ever-present in Huntington's theory) and belligerence, even if Huntington, in order to soften things, fugitively presents the possibility of cultural differentiations which may exclude conflict (either violent or not). In the same way and also in order to soften his approach, Huntington recognizes that "*the West won the world not by the superiority of its ideas or values or religion ... but rather by its superiority in applying organized violence.*"

On the other hand, it is interesting to note that the same sign of equality between traditionalism, Orthodoxy, and underdevelopment may also be discussed from the perspective of "*capital sins of civilized mankind*", as mentioned by Konrad Lorenz (1973, 1996), an eminent ethologist and Nobel Prize laureate for Medicine. According to the famous Austrian scientist, one of the processes which threatens to destroy culture, civilization, and mankind as a whole is *the break with tradition*. Tradition and most precisely, cumulative tradition, he states, may be considered a guarantee of the perpetuation of human culture and civilization. Tradition plays the role of natural selection in the development of species, as it embodies those elements that are truly important for the development of a culture.

Going back to the *map* and its purpose, it is intriguing that the demarcation line drawn by Wallace and taken over by Huntington *divides a unitary territory* (the Romanian one) which respects and brings together into its systemically artic-

ulated structure exactly those characteristics considered (by Huntington) to be “the core of Western civilization”:

- *classical heritage* (Greek philosophy, rationality, Roman law, *Latin* and *Christianity*);
- *European languages* (*Romance* and Germanic);
- *the separation of spiritual authorities from the secular ones* (a principle also observed by the Romanian Orthodox Church both in the past and at present).

Even if only from the perspective of these characteristics, *the map in question arbitrarily excludes* some of the Romanian space from Western civilization, despite its natural and organic attachment to the European space through culture and civilization.

More than that, locating this limit along the Carpathian arch and across the Romanian territory is even more debatable. From the point of view of physical geography, the Romanian Carpathians have highly favourable conditions for settlement and they are the most inhabited mountains of Europe. Their altitudinal values, degree of fragmentation, presence of mountainous basins, transverse valleys, passes and cols, multi-storied levelling surfaces that go up to above 2000 metres, all these are physical-geographical features providing this mountain sector a *permeability, at least, equal to the sectors situated on the territory of other Carpathian countries* where, according to Huntington, these mountains did not represent an impenetrable wall for culture, civilization, and modernity. In fact, the above-mentioned physical-geographical characteristics as well as the resources used for millennia (precious metals, forests, agricultural lands, salt, mineral and thermal waters) make the Carpathian range an environment favourable to long and intense humanization. Here was built the archetypal mental space of the Romanian people which started with the Dacian civilization and its interferences with Rome and which is fundamental for its culture and civilization (Cocean, P. 2006, 2008).

The erroneous character of such a scission is also demonstrated by the demographic analysis of the national and the religious structure of Romania’s population. Thus, according to the 2002 population census (but the data are not different in content and percentage from any previous demographical evaluation, starting with the 14th century estimations and continuing with the censuses of the following centuries) the Romanian Orthodox population are estimated to have represented about 60% of the population of Transylvania in the 14th century and 52.7% between 1690 and 1847 (Pop I-A, Nagler, Th., Andras, M., 2007-2009). At the county level, only in 2 counties out of 41 the Romanians and the Orthodox were not the ethnic and the religious majority. The counties in question are Covasna and Harghita whose ethnic structure is dominated by Hungarians (73.79% and 84.61% respectively). This is the result of the 13th cen-

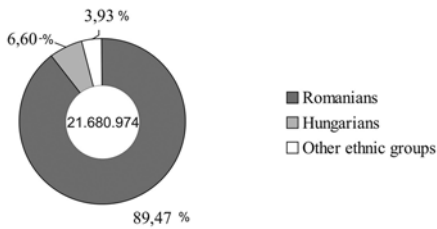


FIG. 4. The national structure of the population of Romania in 2002. Source: INS

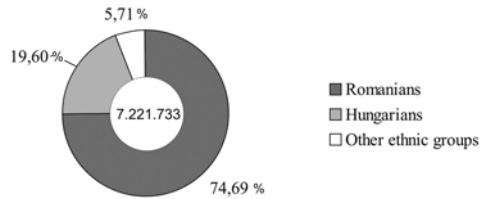


FIG. 5. The national structure of the population of Transylvania in 2002. Source: INS

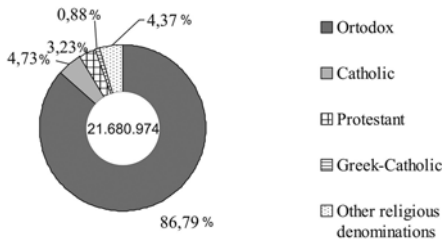


FIG. 6. The religious structure of the population of Romania in 2002. Source: INS

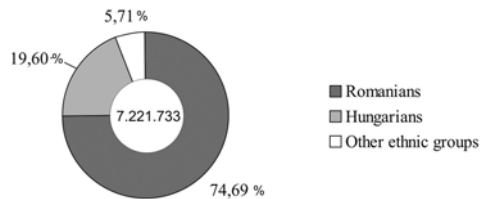


FIG. 7. The religious structure of the population of Transylvania in 2002. Source: INS

tury colonization of the Szekler population by the Hungarian kings in order to defend the mountain passes. The religious structure of these counties dominated by the Western religious denominations (36.15% Roman-Catholics, 33.4% Protestants, and 0.12% Greek-Catholics in Covasna County; 65.27% Roman Catholics, 12.65% Protestants and 0.16% Greek-Catholics in Harghita County).

The same dominant tendency is recorded in Transylvania, Banat, Crişana, and Maramureş, the historical-geographical Romanian provinces located west of the Huntington boundary, in the area that belonged to Western culture and civilization, in his opinion. The statistical data (according to the 2002 population census) shows that in Transylvania, out of the total of 7,221,733 inhabitants, ethnic Hungarians represent 19.60% and ethnic Romanians 74.69%. From the point of view of the religious structure, 67.59% of the people are Orthodox, 22.22% are Roman Catholics and Protestants, and 2.39% Greek-Catholics. The population belonging to a Western Christian denomination represents only 24.61%.

It is impossible not to notice the inconsistency of some arguments and elements used in defining Western civilization and which are in contradiction with the historical reality. Such examples include the conflict between the Catholics and the

Nationality	"Real" democrats (%)	Ambivalents and communists
Romanians	24.9	75.1
Bulgarians	22.9	77.1
Turks	15.8	84.2
Hungarians	22	78
Slovaks	21.1	78.9
Other nationalities	12	88

TABLE 3. Democratic orientation by ethnicity
(Source: Mungiu-Pippidi Alina, Mîndruță Denisa, 2002)

Protestants in Ulster, an episode “forgotten” by Huntington when he associates the two religions as defining the Christian Western World; the transformation into *pashalik* (= Islam) of eastern Hungary after the battle of Mohács (1526). Consequently, according to Huntington, the demarcation line should be drawn again. The belonging of this territory to the Christian space is undermined by Huntington’s own arguments. These statements do not hold when confronted with thorough studies relying on quantitative and qualitative data from the field. These studies highlight the non-existence of such a boundary as long as the differences in attitude and behaviour (elements relating to culture and civilization), in opinions about the democratic regime, the role of the state, the confidence in authorities etc. do not exist. And these have been documented in comparative studies on Romania and Bulgaria (Orthodox countries) on one hand, and Slovakia (Catholic country) on the other hand (Mungiu-Pippidi, Mîndruță, 2002).

The tendency for *simplification and easy, comfortable generalization* cannot escape unnoticed. Of course, there is a purpose behind all these: to assimilate the Romanian space (*Latin and Orthodox*) into the Slavic Orthodox space, or to exclude Orthodoxy out of Christianity. “Christianity, Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, Buddhism, Orthodoxy experimented...”. More than that, by eliminating Greece (an Orthodox country) and most of Romania from the sphere of Western civilization, the argument about the incompatibility between Orthodoxy and the Western World (seen as the supreme guarantor of modernity and development) is complete.

Conclusions

HUNTINGTON BUILT his theory as a mixture of objective, mostly correct statements that are generally valid and accepted as well as contradictory, debatable, or even erroneous statements. The “logic of civilizations” is used as a phrase around which simplistic, relational, conflictual arguments and mechanisms of the *who-is-not-with/like-us,-is-against-us* type are built.

Incongruity with territorial reality and artificial limits (for whom? whose culture? whose civilization?) are reference points which proved to be fallible from the perspective of an objective scientific approach. They leave room to tendentious interpretations, let-go's ideally open to nostalgic make-ups, excellent opportunities for the frustrated to resume lost ideals denied by history itself in its implacable evolution. Thus, one cannot explain, for instance, the insistence upon the heritage of the Austrian-Hungarian Empire to which are ascribed, almost a century after its dismantlement, even the political emancipation of the component nations according to the Wilsonian principle of self-determination (Woodrow Wilson, 1918, according to Ann Gaines, 2004) and the whole historic and cultural phenomenology of Central Europe.

The phenomena described by the two authors (Huntington and Wallace), the fractures, the faults, and the boundaries imagined by them are the ideological product of a system in crisis which foresees even hard measures, conflicts among the solutions to get out of the crisis. As Huntington himself confesses, the Catholic West loses ground in front of China and Islam. The global dominance of its cultural core set up after 1890, when the United States of America became the first economic power of the world, diminishes visibly. Are the halt of this decline and the territorial expansion of the others the hidden causes of the latest decades' wars, which were obviously fought under entirely different pretexts? Did we have a war against Confucianism and Buddhism in Korea and Vietnam, against Islam in Iraq and Afghanistan or against Orthodoxy in Yugoslavia? It is worth thinking about it.

The Wallace-Huntington theory relies exclusively upon the *differences* between cultures and civilizations which become the force behind their "collision". Despite historical experience, the authors do not conceive the peaceful, harmonious contact between them, because they do not take into account the *similarities* and the progressive desiderata of each civilization, which may represent authentic bridges for cooperation. Technological transfer, cultural exchanges, religious ecumenism are the core of non-belligerent cohabitation. The Transylvanian space, well known for its ethnic, religious, linguistic, and cultural complexity, is quite a good example of peaceful cooperation and interferences between the two civilizations, the Western and the Orthodox one. Except for the incident whose unfortunate hero was General von Buccow, the confrontations between the Orthodox and the Catholics were much fewer than the conflicts within Catholicism itself generated by the objective and the natural trend towards doctrinal evolution and renovation. The same similarities made possible the *de facto* denial of the supposed Huntington boundary on Romanian territory less than two decades after its mental creation. We refer to the country's accession to NATO and the EU, the most relevant present structures of Western civilization.

The existence of differences in economic development is a characteristic of all historical ages. The analysis, the understanding, and the resolution of such disparities in economic and social development are impossible if we start from erroneous determinist mechanisms (e.g. the causal-determinist connection between religion and the level of economic progress). The deficiencies of such a theory are linked, on one hand, to the segregation tendencies encouraged by social approaches (good/bad, modern/archaic, etc.), and on the other hand, to the incongruity with reality.

A debatable thesis offered more or less directly by the study under investigation is *the synonymy between the political and the national or religious features of a territory*. This is an obvious error proved by several geo-historical realities in all empires and multi-national states. The political and the administrative inclusion of a territory into a state structure was not followed, in most cases, by ethnic dissolution and religious metamorphosis, i.e. the immediate adoption of the winner's religion, no matter how many attempts have been made to this effect. In this respect, we believe that the Ottoman Empire (the case of the Balkan states), the British Empire (the case of India, Pakistan, Palestine etc.), the Soviet Empire (most republics of the Union), and Yugoslavia (the states that have separated from it since 1992, as well as the province of Kosovo) are good examples.

Analyzing the politics-ethnicity-culture-religion quadrilateral, we find out that an important decision making factor, incorporated into the power structure, coexists with three other entities. Culture and religion, selective products of the spirit, define, by their specificity, the ethnic group that identified with them and developed them, regardless of its political status. In fact, in all multinational states, the political factor became a superimposed level, directly or indirectly driving towards ethnic or religious homogenization, but suffering so many defeats. Consequently, identifying the political boundary with the cultural one or, even more, with the religious one is, from the very beginning, a risky enterprise. Any objective researcher would hesitate to accept this openly and totally.

From the above mentioned considerations as well as the numerous arguments that could not be detailed in this paper, a fact is clear that no impartial, cultural, ethnic, religious, or ethnographic research can deny. The boundary imagined by Huntington cannot be found on the territory of Romania, it does not cross it, and neither does it "tear" it apart. Nor does it exist along the Pruth River. Political and strategic circumstances established here the border between Romania and the Republic of Moldova separating from the rest of the country the old Romanian province of Bessarabia. Even nowadays after almost two centuries of foreign domination, Bessarabia is still inhabited mostly by Orthodox Romanians.

The non-existence of Huntington's "fault line" or "boundary" between the Western and the Orthodox civilization on Romanian territory transforms the

country into its opposite: an area of fusion, suture, organic interference and harmonization between the two civilizations, their defining elements being sublimated in Romanian language, culture, and civilization. They are easy to recognize for those who know them or wish to know them. Romania is a space perceived as such even by the highest personalities of the Catholic Church. During his visit to Romania, Pope John Paul II slightly mentioned this issue in his speeches. "... The Spirit entrusts you, young people, with God's 'dream': that all people be His family, that all Christians be one. Enter the new millennium with this dream!... Jesus makes you dream a new Romania, *a land where East and West may meet in brotherhood*".



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Abstract

The Huntington Boundary between Error and Bias

The authors of this paper analyze the objectivity of a perspective on the Romanian territory, supposedly split by a boundary separating the Western and the Eastern civilization. The starting point of the study is Huntington's statement that the eastern limit of Europe is, in fact, the boundary between the Western Christian world, on one side, and the Orthodox and the Muslim world, on the other. Relying on historical, statistical, demographical, and geographical data, which prove the non-existence of such a boundary across the Romanian territory, the authors bring counterarguments to this theory. The analysis of these data reveals, in fact, the existence of a Romanian territorial reality unitary from the ethnic, the religious, and the cultural point of view, a reality characterized by two essential features: its Roman heritage and Orthodoxy.

Keywords

the Huntington Boundary, Europe, East, West, Orthodox world, Muslims, Christians.