Mihai I. Spariosu (ed.)

Intercultural Conflict and Harmony in the Central European Borderlands

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The Cases of Banat and Transylvania 1849–1939

With 35 figures

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Cover image: Church Spires in the City of Sibiu, Transylvania, Romania (istockphoto.com: #584511772)

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Among the many friends, colleagues and students who helped in various ways with this collective volume, I would particularly like to thank, in addition to all of the contributors, Adela Fofiu who helped with the translation of several of the contributions from Romanian into English and with the editing of the volume at various stages; Philip Gagner, Hardy Schloer, Gheorghe Stefan, and Vlad Jecan who have contributed background research and suggestions for parts of my chapter on the digital humanities; Sorin Antohi for his astute comments and suggestions; and Calin Chiorean for his valuable help with the graphics. I would also like to thank Susanne Koehler, our editor at V&R unipress, for her expert assistance with the pre-production and production phases of the volume.

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Mihai I. Spariosu

Introduction

The contributions in this volume are part of a broader research project entitled "Clash of Civilizations or Peaceful Co-Evolution? Intercultural Contact in the Age of Globalization." The project, funded in a first phase by the Romanian National Council of Scientific Research (PN-II-ID-PCE-2011-3-0771), takes a critical look at the most influential contemporary theories about intercultural relations, also testing and modifying them through building computational models of ethno-religious harmony and conflict in various regions of East-Central Europe and beyond.

In what follows I shall briefly discuss the major issues we have encountered and the founding principles and criteria of organization that have structured the project in general and this book in particular. I shall then review the essays included in the present volume, placing them in the context of the project as a whole. Finally, I shall present the key findings that emerged from our research so far and that will change, no doubt, as we move forward with the entire project.

Our larger research project is based on the notion of *cultural contact*, which was first introduced in the field of cultural anthropology and geography, and later was taken over by other academic fields such as literary and cultural studies, sociology and cultural history. In recent decades, the term has generated a number of other concepts, such as *acculturation* (changes in value systems and beliefs, artifacts and customs resulting from cultural contact), *incorporation* or *amalgamation* (adoption of features, customs, habits and fashions from another culture); *assimilation* and *naturalization* (integration of heterogeneous individuals or groups into the culturally dominant culture of a particular society); and *cultural* or *transcultural diffusion* (spreading of ideas, patterns, customs, religions, technologies, languages from one culture to another).

Our project seeks to place these concepts in well-defined, regional and historical, frames of reference, transforming them (insofar as possible) in generators of testable assertions. We have also replaced the concept of *cultural contact* (which was our point of departure) with that of *intercultural contact* for various reasons that will become apparent during this Introduction as well as

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Part One of the volume, dedicated mostly to contemporary theories about intercultural relations.

As can be inferred from the title of the volume (and that of the larger project) we were interested in the conditions and factors leading to intercultural conflict, particularly the violent kind, because these types of intercultural contacts are of critical importance in people's lives, are well-recorded in the collective memory, and are often amply analyzed by historians and other researchers. At the same time, however, we were, perhaps, even more interested in understanding what are the conditions and factors leading to peaceful and harmonious relations between heterogeneous communities.

Regarding conflict in intercultural relations, a number of recent analyzes as well as computational simulations for various violent conflicts are available, including the 1990s war that led to the breakup of the former Yugoslavia (Kaplan 1994; Silber & Little 1997; Gagnon 2004). But researchers have not reached an agreement on the causes of these violent episodes in the lives of our planetary communities. The most common explanations include "dire economic conditions," "ancient feelings of hatred," "religious intolerance" and "political manipulation."

More recently, a widely accepted thesis (and in direct connection with our project) argues that since the Second World War, national and ethnic issues have become a major source of violent conflict (Gurr 1993). Social scientists contend that from the Congress of Vienna (1816) up to the "New Order" established after World War I, most of the major armed conflicts were interstate and did not have national emancipation as their main objective (Wimmer et al. 2009; Cederman et al. 2010). By contrast, 77 % of the violent conflicts after the Second World War were not interstate, but intrastate (Waldmann 2004). Also, after the Cold War, 75 % of the wars were fought in the name of national aspirations (Wimmer & Min 2006). Moreover, the fall of the Soviet Union and the eruption of the nationalist conflict in Yugoslavia at the end of the Cold War, seem to indicate the emergence of a period characterized by ethnic conflict (Gurr 1993).

According to this line of thought, national, ethnic or confessional identity, not economic or political interests, has become the dominant reason for the violent actions of today. Consequently, intercultural contact based on the idea of conflict and force has become an axiom of cultural studies in North America and Western Europe, being widely used not only in the so-called domestic "culture wars", but also in justifying policies that are aggressive against those populations or nations that do not share the economic, political, cultural or religious values prevalent in the West. For example, this axiom is evident in the influential theory of the "clash of civilizations" (Huntington 1996).

The various theories of "clashes" between cultures that are based on the incompatibility of national or ethno-religious identities are, however, supported

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only by anecdotal evidence. We are analyzing these theories more closely, and are also exploring the antithesis according to which intercultural relations and ethnic identities are too numerous and too multifaceted to explain the episodes of indiscriminate violence, which occur relatively rarely (Fearon & Laitin 2003; Gilley 2004). To give just one pertinent example, the situation of Transylvania and Banat after the Second World War, although complicated by the emergence of the communist regime (which had, at least in principle, a liberal policy towards minorities), demonstrates this very antithesis. Even after the fall of communism, Romanian and Hungarian ethnic disputes in Transylvania in the 1990s did not reach by far the magnitude of the ethnic conflicts in the former Yugoslavia, despite the gloomy predictions of political experts.

We are also analyzing the role played by various elites in intercultural relations. Our working hypothesis is that political and other elites can instigate intercultural disagreements and violent conflicts (just as much as they can alleviate them), but their ability to do so is shaped by the network structure of their communities. In other words, as discussed later on in this Introduction, elites and their communities engage in positive and negative feedback loops that can sometimes erupt into violence. The challenge, however, is to find out why some of these loops do not lead to violence, despite the forecasts of experts, and how we can defuse those that indeed have an acute violent potential before they reach the point of no return. We have, therefore, been testing the theories based on force, as well as those on the decisive role of historical personalities, or of geographical boundaries, starting from the assumption that complexity theory, the theory of emergence and computer-assisted methods may be useful in providing better explanations of intercultural phenomena than those offered so far.

Finally, another objective of our project is to analyze the complex relationships between center and margin, which also seem to affect the interethnic relations in various regions of Europe and other parts of the world. The relationship between center and margin/periphery has received some attention from cultural theorists and sociologists in the last two decades and has gained political relevance in the context of the enlargement of the European Union. Typically, this relationship is seen as asymmetrical and conflictive, where the center dominates the margins and the margins challenge the center, often seeking to replace it. We felt that we could bypass, or at least reconfigure, this power-oriented, binary opposition through linking our concept of intercultural contact with that of *liminality*.

The term "liminality" derives from the Greek *limen* (the etymon is also present in Hebrew, Aramaic and Latin), which means harbour or the meeting place between land and sea, but also "threshold." Thus, liminality in the broadest sense refers to places of "transit" between organized systems and frameworks,

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be they physical, geographical, or cognitive (such as gray areas at the interface of scientific disciplines, where our project lies as well). We hypothesize that there exist "no man's lands" between cultures, similar to the unguarded spaces between the borders of states, which do not "belong" to anyone, where nothing is predetermined and new community/cultural arrangements may arise. Typically, these spaces are seen and treated as conflict zones. We believe, instead, that they may constitute privileged places for intercultural dialogue, negotiation and cooperation. Thus, the boundaries or limits can not only separate people, but also bring them together. In this sense, the boundaries between heterogeneous cultures or communities may also be fertile areas that facilitate peaceful coexistence.

As such, the concept of liminality can also bring a new perspective on the relations between center and margin, whether these terms refer to cultural, sociopolitical, ethno-confessional, or other formations, including disciplinary, scientific and /or academic ones. The margin or periphery can be liminal, but the limen can never be marginal or peripheral: while the margin is always defined in terms of the center, the liminal moves away from the center, sometimes irreversibly. In this respect, several of the studies included in the present volume argue that in Central and Eastern Europe, for example, there are a number of liminal regions that had, throughout their modern history (18th, 19th and 20th century), complex relationships with their political or cultural "center" and cannot be seen simply in terms of the ethno-nationalist framework of the nation-state.

In light of the overall premises and objectives of the project, we considered that the analysis of intercultural relations in historical Banat and Transylvania would be a good starting point, precisely because both regions were defined by centuries-long intercultural contacts, with cases of harmonious cohabitation and violent conflicts that affected the entire Central and East European geopolitical area and remain relevant today. In addition, these regions were characterized, especially in the past, by a very special ethno-cultural and confessional diversity. Over the centuries, a large number of ethnic groups lived together in a relatively small area: Romanians, Hungarians, Serbs, Croatians, Swabians, Saxons, Szeklers, Jews, Gypsies, Armenians, Bulgarians, Macedonians, Czechs, Slovaks, Italians, Frenchmen, Poles, Ruthenians, Turks and Ukrainians, to name only the best known groups. Furthermore, historically, Banat and Transilvania included several other areas, such as the Romanian, Serbian and Hungarian Banat (which together formed the "historical Banat"), Crişana, Maramureş, Ţinutul Sibiului, Ţara Sebeşului, Ţara Făgăraşului, Szekler Land (or Trei Scaune) and so forth, where interethnic relations developed differently depending on the area. So one needs to explain where these differences came from and why they contributed to major intercultural conflicts in some areas, but not in others.

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Finally, besides the fact that Banat and Transylvania have constituted, for longer or shorter historical periods, independent or quasi-independent political entities, they have also been borderlands or liminal spaces, belonging throughout their long history to a series of state formations, including the Ottoman and the Habsburg Empire and various modern nation-states (Romania, Hungary, former Yugoslavia). From this point of view, they are suitable objects of study for intercultural relations between political center and margin, as well as for the role of elites in heterogeneous community relations.

Additionally, as I shall detail later on in this Introduction, the two provinces comprise a number of liminal cities (also called "cities without border" or borderless cities) that were rather common in East Central Europe during the Habsburg Monarchy and up to World War II, engaging in complex, dynamic interactions with their changing center or capital (Vienna, or Budapest, or Bucharest, or Belgrade). In turn, there were a number of "liminal" historical figures that came from such regions and cities, including Banat, Transylvania and Bukovina, and played an important role in proposing creative models of intercultural relations precisely because they were aware of the liminal opportunities offered by the "periphery," in our particular case, the margins of the Habsburg Empire.

On the other hand, the extraordinary complexity and diversity of these provinces complicated our task as researchers. Given our limited human and material resources, we had to make difficult decisions regarding what research tracks to follow more closely and what to defer to subsequent analyses or to other researchers. In this first volume published in English (we did publish a more voluminous collection in Romanian, to which we shall occasionally refer in this work as well)[1], we decided, on the one hand, to address several key theoretical and methodological issues concerning intercultural relations in general and, on the other hand, to explore how such issues might relate to historical Banat and Transylvania in particular. We decided first to explore the sources of conflict in these regions, and to what extent they were due to ethnic and religious diversity. In other words, what is the role of ethnicity and religion in the development of intercultural conflict and harmonious relations in the regions under study? Indeed, this question is part of an even larger question of how a certain mentality, generally defined as a particular way of being, thinking, feeling, and behaving, based on a specific system of values and beliefs, may determine the sociopolitical, economic, cultural, and spiritual structure of a community, be it culturally diverse or monolithic.

1 See Mihai I. Spariosu and Vasile Boari, editors, *Armonie și conflict intercultural în Banat și Transylvania. Perspective cultural-istorice, 1650–195*0, Iași: Institutul European, 2014. Henceforth cited in the main text as Spariosu and Boari 2014.

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We have approached such questions from a number of disciplinary, interdisciplinary, and transdisciplinary perspectives that are, in our view, the most appropriate for the developing field of intercultural studies (Spariosu 2006). Although our thematic focus is regional and cultural-historical, our methodologies are diverse, ranging from the theoretical to the qualitative-quantitative approaches of the contemporary social sciences, including computer-assisted social modeling and simulation. Consequently, we have divided this volume into three parts: Part One concentrates on the contemporary Western theories of intercultural relations and their past and current applications in North America and the European Union with special reference to East Central Europe; Part Two presents a number of cultural-historical case studies from Transylvania and Banat over a span of almost a century (1849–1939) that saw the gradual change of these provinces from liminal, multicultural regions to the partitioned territories of three monolithic nation-states; and Part Three discusses the theoretical principles and methodologies of the new field of digital humanities, with a few examples of its applications in intercultural studies with reference to historical Banat and Transylvania.

Part One comprises four essays that present theoretical reflections on intercultural relations that are relevant both to the current state of these relations in the European Union and to the case studies of historical Banat and Transylvania, presented in Parts Two and Three of the volume. Specifically, the essays are centered on the problems of ethno-confessional identity that arise in the modern nation-state and can be traced back to the Romantic ethno-nationalist movements of 1848–49 in East Central Europe and beyond. They demonstrate that the liminal, borderland regions at the intersection of various cultures, such as historical Banat and Transylvania (but also many others) do not fit into the conceptual mold of national historiographies and/or the multicultural policies emanating from the center of a nation-state or a supranational state formation. In this regard, they also show that the current multiculturalist policies of the European Union, which have already failed in various parts of Europe (including the Republic of Moldova) could be significantly modified and improved by a thorough historical study of these borderlands in order to avoid, *mutatis mutandi*, the mistakes of the multinational Habsburg Empire that eventually led to its dissolution.

In the first essay of Part One, Victor Neumann argues that national(ist) historiographies have inadequate tools for understanding the complex history of borderland regions, such as Banat and Transylvania. He proposes a comprehensive analysis of historical Banat as an expression of the multi- and intercultural realities of Central and Southeastern Europe, of the Balkan-Orthodox-Byzantine and Roman-Catholic worlds. This region, situated at the border of two former empires (Ottoman and Habsburg) and three contemporary nation-states

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(Romania, Serbia, Hungary), can best be understood in relation to its geography, at the crossroads and interferences of various cultures and civilizations. A regional history of this type, Neumann contends, should incorporate all of the historical facts and events from a pluralist perspective. It is only from such a perspective that "the perceptions of the past and the present will transcend the prejudices born from a fictitious sense of cultural-linguistic, ethnic, and religious unity." (Neumann, *infra*)

Throughout his analysis, Neumann implies that in borderland regions such as Banat, the relationship between heterogeneous ethno-confessional groups is not based on multiculturalist policies provided by the Center, but on a harmonious cohabitation of the local communities in everyday life. Interference from the Center in the form of misguided policies (such as the Magyarization policies from Budapest under the Dual Monarchy, or the nationalist policies from Bucharest during the interwar period) results in ethno-religious conflict and the slow-down of the harmonious socio-economic and cultural development of those communities. Finally, Neumann suggests that the present Banat might again become the socio-economically and culturally prosperous region that it was in the past, if it relearned how to utilize its considerable material and human resources, not least its rich multicultural tradition across national borders.

My own essay offers a critical review of the East-Central European field of cultural studies in the post-communist period, arguing that many local researchers tend to employ narrow research methods borrowed from American cultural studies, which are mostly theories of conflict and domination in order to explain much more complex intercultural phenomena in the region. I emphasize the need for our younger generation of researchers to concentrate on the specific problems of East Central Europe, instead of automatically borrowing and applying cultural theories that are currently fashionable in the West, particularly in the United States, and that are largely based on identity politics and the neo-Marxian, "Unholy" Trinity of class, gender and ethnicity/race. I argue that the endemic problems in this region (but in most other regions as well) are primarily of an ethical nature, concerning a certain mentality that is not conducive to the harmonious development of the communities in this part of Europe, irrespective of their ethno-confessional specificity.

I suggest several research projects in intercultural – rather than cultural – studies that could be undertaken by transnational and transdisciplinary teams of researchers from the region and stress the need for an entirely different way of approaching and solving the major regional problems, including the issue of ethnic minorities. But, the first step in this reform process would be to devise an entirely different way of educating our future cultural and political elites. In this respect, I also suggest that we need to offer inspiring models for these elites. For this purpose, I invoke the figure of Paul Iorgovici Brâncoveanu – a late 18th and

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early 19th century philosopher, linguist and educator from Banat – as an appropriate model of cultural leader, who acted according to the principles and practices of the ancient tradition of wisdom or the "perennial philosophy." This ancient tradition, revitalized and adapted to the contemporary world, would, in my view, be the most viable ethical compass for navigating the very complex, crisis-ridden, globalizing world of today.

In turn, Vasile Boari's essay approaches the issues of multiculturalism from an ethical and religious viewpoint. In line with such thinkers as Joseph Ratzinger, Marcello Pera and George Weigel (but also in the spirit of Juergen Habermas' recent, "post-secular" turn), Boari considers that the European Union currently experiences a severe identity crisis because of its overemphasis of the economic, political and secular aspects of the Union to the detriment of its cultural and spiritual elements, embodied in the millenary pillars of European identity: the Greco-Roman and the Judeo-Christian traditions. Concentrating on the latter, Boari argues that the failure of current multiculturalist policies, acknowledged by some prominent leaders of the nation-states comprising the EU, such as Angela Merkel and David Cameron, are also due, in good measure, to the "Christophobia" of most EU leaders. This mindset has contributed to the West-European secular societies losing their moral bearings and plunging into a deep axiological crisis, which have in turn facilitated the rise of fundamentalist and extremist ideologies, intolerant of the Other. After discussing Gérard Bouchard's views on interculturalism, with which he agrees in part, Boari suggests that a revitalized and reformed Judeo-Christian tradition, based on the original values contained in the Bible, would substantially contribute to Europe's regaining its secure, common identity.

In the last essay of Part One, Daniela Cervinschi reviews the main Western theories of multiculturalism and post-multiculturalism and the debates among them. The post-multiculturalists consider that due to the new realities of globalization, including global mass migrations, multiculturalism needs to be revisited in terms of transnationalism and super-diversity. They also speak of acknowledging a common, underlying identity, in addition to differences among various cultures. Cervinschi then addresses the question whether the interculturalist approach should be subsumed to multiculturalism/post-culturalism or should be regarded as an independent theory. She favors the second possibility, having identified a number of distinguishing features of interculturalism: emphasis on cohabitation, interaction, and dialogue. Like other contributors to the present volume, Cervinschi regards interculturalism as an evolutionary step above multiculturalism, its principles and methods being more appropriate in terms of a globalized society. One may add that the next step in this evolutionary process will consist in the nation-state losing its overriding importance, so that

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the concept of ethno-national majorities and minorities will become meaningless.

In the last part of her essay, Cervinschi considers the case of the Republic of Moldova and the Autonomous Territorial Region Gagauzia that it created, based on the EU principles of multiculturalism. The Moldavian multiculturalist policies prevented armed conflict with the Gagauzian minority from the southeastern part of the Republic and institutionalized the relation between the existing ethnic communities. They led to Gagauzian autonomy and a legal frame, on paper, in accordance with the European norm. But what they have failed to accomplish is the development of collaboration, interaction, and exchange of cultural values between the Moldavian communities at large. In this regard, the Republic of Moldova is the country of "misunderstood and excessive multiculturalism" (Cervinschi, *infra*) that has generated unwanted consequences. It solidified the status of the Russian language and culture among the ethnic minorities, instead of creating a suitable framework for the development of the Ukrainian, Gagauzian and Bulgarian languages and cultures. Thus, it contributed to the weakening of the Moldavian identity as a truly pluralistic nation and, possibly, to generating further territorial problems with Russia. Cervinschi concludes that an interculturalist approach would have been more appropriate for the Republic of Moldova and proposes a few measures that would reset the country's policies in that direction.

Part Two of the volume contains nine case studies that address a series of chronologically ordered, important moments in the intercultural relations within historical Banat and Transylvania, with a focus on the modern historical period, from the aftermath of the 1848 Revolution to the establishment of the Dual Monarchy in 1867, to the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in the wake of World War I and the formation and development of the Romanian nation-state during the interwar period. We have attempted to cover, as much as possible within a very limited space, major areas of social interaction such as politics, religion, education, and cultural activities where ethno-confessional relations in the two regions played a significant role and remain highly relevant today.

Since, in this particular volume, we have primarily concentrated on the tensions and conflicts among the main ethno-confessional communities in the region (Romanian, Hungarian, German and Serbian) we have largely selected the ones that had the potential of erupting into mass violence and, occasionally, did so. Thus, we paid particular attention to the relations between the Romanian and Serbian communities in Banat and those between the Romanian and the Hungarian communities in Transylvania. This limited focus does not mean, however, that there were no considerable tensions and conflicts between the German communities and the other major communities in the two historical

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provinces particularly during the 1848 Revolution, when the German and the Romanian communities sided with Vienna against the Hungarian ones, as well as during the Dual Monarchy, when most of the non-Hungarian communities resisted the Magyarization policies in both Banat and Transylvania. Finally, the Second World War and its aftermath saw a serious deterioration between the German and the non-German communities in the entire region for obvious political and military reasons, but this period falls outside the one covered in the present volume.

Likewise, as several of the contributions in Part Two make it clear (and as I shall stress again later on in this Introduction), when speaking of all of these ethno-confessional communities we often mean the intercultural relations among their leaders, who clash with their counterparts over their different, narrow interests without necessarily having the consent of, or being automatically followed by their own communities. For the most part and with few exceptions, all of these communities, especially when contiguous, lived in peace and as good neighbors throughout the period covered by the present volume. It is for this reason that we have also emphasized, in our contributions, those outstanding figures among the elites that did not fuel violent clashes, but sought to find peaceful resolutions to the tensions and conflicts of interest among the ethno-confessional groups they belonged to.

In the first essay of Part Two, Lorand Madly describes the post-1848 political evolution of the Habsburg Monarchy that affected the developments in Transylvania up to the establishment of the Dual Monarchy in 1867 and beyond. He examines the chain of complex and contradictory developments inaugurated by the Revolution of 1848, specifically the two major Habsburg experiments, Neoabsolutism (1849–1860) and Liberalism (1860–1867), which attempted to reform the political system in order to keep the Empire together and which were also implemented, largely unsuccessfully, in the Grand Principality of Transylvania.

Madly shows that Neoabsolutism, reacting to the revolutionary events between 1848 and 1849 that shook the Empire, deliberately ignored the nationalist idea that arose during those events, proving to be a determining factor in subsequent political developments. The Neoabsolutist regime initiated useful administrative reforms, including a policy of appointing civil servants according to their capability and professional competence, instead of their ethnic and religious origin, thus resisting the pressure of constant petitions and nationalist manifestations, particularly on the part of the Hungarian nobility in Transylvania. This nobility, allied with its counterpart in Budapest, continued pushing for the union of Transylvania with Hungary, for changing the official language of the Grand Principality to Hungarian and for a disproportionate representation of the Hungarian "nation" over the other two "nations," Saxon and Romanian

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(the last one not even being officially recognized as such) in the Transylvanian Assembly.

Neoabsolutist policies made no concessions to the Hungarian nationalist aspirations in Transylvania, attempting, at least initially, to counterbalance the influence of the Hungarian nobility by restricting former revolutionaries from participating in the political life of the principality (or removing them altogether from it, not least by the summary execution of the most prominent leaders in 1849) and by promoting Saxons and Romanians to administrative positions, since they had, for the great part, remained loyal to the Habsburg Monarchy during the 1848 Revolution. But, the fall of the Neoabsolutist regime and the establishment of Liberalism in 1860 opened the way to freedom of speech and a vigorous clash of ideas in the political circles of the Empire. Therefore, nationalism as an essential political factor resurfaced after an absence of a few years, giving rise to nationalist movements throughout the Danubian space.

According to Madly, the complexity of the situation, in the context of a precarious European balance of powers and an almost bankrupt and inept Habsburg Monarchy that lost two major wars with Prussia and the Italian nationalists, paved the way to the Austro-Hungarian dualism ratified in 1867. In turn, the Dual Monarchy inevitably led to the further dissolution of the Empire, under the impact of the nationalist policies of Budapest, which triggered a chain of strong reactions on the part of the elites of the other ethnic groups who were unhappy with these policies and sought their own national emancipation.

Relying on recent archival and bibliographical research, Madly brings new information on the balance of political forces at the level of the Danube Monarchy and its impact on the local Transylvanian situation, particularly at the level of the governors and other leaders, such as Ludwig von Wohlgemut, Alexander and Eduard Bach, Karl von Schwarzenberg, and Ludwig Folliot de Crenneville. For example, Madly mentions that de Crenneville, the last governor of Transylvania appointed by Vienna, constantly complained in his reports to the Center about the interminable disputes over the official language, Hungarian nobility's boycott of imperial taxes, and the poor financial situation, which made the "Society for Building the Tower of Babel," as he himself styled his governing mission, well nigh impossible.

In the next essay of Part Two, Mircea Măran analyzes Serbian-Romanian relations in Banat during the second part of the 19th century and the first decades of the 20th century, with a special focus on the so-called Serbian Banat, the part of the historical region that went to the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenians (later on Yugoslavia) after the Great War and that today is part of the Republic of Serbia as the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. According to the author, the Serbian-Romanian relations are one of the most interesting components of the Habsburg Empire, as both communities were Eastern Orthodox

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and had, in principle, the same interests. However, Măran notes that political disputes did take place and culminated during the 1848–49 Revolution, when the Serbs took the side of the revolutionaries while the Romanian communities remained very reluctant to engage in armed conflict against the Habsburg authorities and did so only under intense Serbian pressure. Later on, there were also disputes at the level of the Church hierarchies that resulted in the separation of the Romanian Orthodox Church from its Serbian counterpart.

Măran concludes that despite political, religious or other disputes, individual relations and reciprocal influences in language, customs, traditions, and mentality were, and still are, important elements of everyday life in Banat, especially in mixed communities. In the last and most interesting part of his essay, he presents several intellectual, religious, cultural and political personalities from historical Banat such as the Ivackovic/Ivascu/Ivacicovici family (including Sofronie and Petru/Procopie, outstanding church dignitaries and cultural animators in both communities), Constantin Daniel, Maxim Manuilovici, Lazar Stefanovici, Svetozar Miletić, Mihailo Polit-Desančić, Vincențiu Babeș, and Emil Gavrilla. These prominent personalities, some of whom came from mixed ethnic backgrounds, are claimed by each community as their own, but actually have a "double identity" (Măran, *infra*), rising above any nationalist claims. One can add that, just like Paul Iorgovici Brâncoveanu and Joseph Joanovich of Sacabent (their illustrious predecessors whom I discuss in my own essay), they are "liminal" figures, belonging not only to both of their communities but also to humanity at large.

In the third essay, Ion Cârja focuses on another source of conflict in Transylvania, this time of an intra-ethnic, confessional nature, concerning the dilemmas of cohabitation between the Romanian Orthodox and the Unitarian (Greek-Catholic) communities during the second half of the 19th century up to the First World War. Introducing the term *biconfessionalism*, Cârja notes that, following the ecclesiastic union of the Catholic and Orthodox Churches at the end of the 17th century, Romanians of different confessions slowly learned how to cohabit, their interactions alternating between open conflict and peaceful coexistence.

Although the conflicts did not reach the degree of violence recorded in the 18th century, for instance during the anti-Unitarian movement (1759–1762) led by the firebrand Orthodox priest, Sofronie of Cioara,[2] the continued attempts of the

2 For a discussion of this movement, see Greta-Monica Miron, "Uniți și neuniți într-un timp al conflictului confesional: mișcarea lui Sofronie în comitatul Dăbâca (1759–1762)" (Unitarians and Non-Unitarians at A Time of Interconfessional Conflict: Sofronie's Movement in the Dăbâca County – 1759–1762), in Spariosu and Boari 2014, pp. 345–360. Like Cârja, however, she points out that, at the local level, parish priests often served both religious communities according to their needs, irrespective of their denomination.

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Habsburg authorities to impose the Greek-Catholic Church on the mostly Orthodox Romanian population elicited strong reactions from the Orthodox Church. Overall, however, Cârja points out that the post-revolutionary period in Transylvania marked a reduction of the tensions between the two confessions and a modernization of Romanian biconfesssionalism. On the one hand, Bishop Andrei Șaguna restored institutional Orthodoxy, founding the Metropolitan See in Sibiu in 1864. On the other hand, the synods of 1892, 1882 and 1900 consolidated the constitutional organization of the Romanian Unitarian Church. Cârja concludes that, in the end, the two confessions learned how to live side by side, irrespective of the disputes at the level of their hierarchies: at the local level, whenever the need arose, the priests of both confessions officiated mass at each other's churches for weddings, christenings or burials, irrespective of the denomination of the faithful that requested their services.

In the fourth essay of Part Two, Ioan Munteanu examines the educational policies of the Dual Monarchy and their impact on Banat at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. The author shows, based on a large amount of data and statistical records, that the authorities in Budapest placed great importance on education in the region, particularly in relation to a strong economic and industrial development and to a considerable increase in urban population. There was sustained interest in extending the school network, preparing schoolteachers, integrating school-age children into the learning process, combating school absenteeism, and reducing illiteracy.

According to Munteanu, the positive aspects of these educational efforts were, however, undermined by the official school legislation emanating from the Budapest government that aimed at the Magyarization of the non-Hungarian population. The author points out that the Orthodox, Greek Catholic, and Roman Catholic primary schools were supported by their confessional communities, instead of the Hungarian government, and played an essential role in acquiring literacy among this population. It was not in the interest of the Hungarian regime to develop a Romanian or Serbian intellectual elite, with a high school and university education, which could then instigate and lead nationalist movements. Consequently it did not encourage the creation of schools beyond the primary level in the languages of the majority population in Banat. For example, up to 1918, there was no Romanian high school in the province, while in Timișoara, the government did not approve the creation of a Polytechnic at the tertiary school level. There was only a Diocesan Theological Seminary in the Romanian language, at the secondary school level in Caransebeș, with a very small number of students.

Thus, Munteanu joins Victor Neumann (*infra*) in concluding that the policies of Magyarization in the region were unfortunate and counterproductive. They backfired, eliciting "a strong resistance from the majority of the population of

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Banat, a fierce defense of literacy in the mother tongue" (Munteanu, i*nfra*) and leading to an intensification of the nationalist movements of the non-Hungarian ethnic groups.

On the other hand, Flavius Ghender's essay describes the intensification of Romanian nationalism under the Dual Monarchy, particularly as reflected in the principal press organ of the Romanian National Party, the *Românul* (The Romanian) newspaper, founded in Arad at the beginning of the 20th century and banned several times by the Hungarian authorities. Based on his research of the newspaper's issues of 1911, 1912 and 1918, Ghender traces the evolution of the Romanian elite's concepts of ethnicity, nation and national minorities from being the founding principles of a political and administrative entity equal with its ethno-national counterparts within the Empire to being the founding principles of an independent nation-state. The newspaper's issues from the pre-war period show a critical, occasionally combative stand toward the Hungarian authorities, combined with a conciliatory tone toward Vienna, from which the Romanian elites expected relief from what they perceived as Budapest's oppressive nationalist policies. At no time is there a question of separation, as the Romanian nationalists remain loyal, at least in print, to the House of Habsburg and a federalist solution to the "national question."

The postwar issues of 1918, however, show a complete *volte-face* toward union with the Kingdom of Romania. Furthermore, the political stand of the Romanian nationalists is now grounded, at least in principle, in the democratic ideas promoted by the American President Woodrow Wilson. For example, the newspaper supports the 1918 Union Declaration of Alba Iulia, which comprises a generous offer addressed to the ethnic "minorities" (in contrast with the spirit of the time in Central and Eastern Europe): these "minorities" such as the Hungarians and the Germans of Transylvania and Banat are to administer their own affairs, enjoying the privileges of full education at all levels in their mother tongue, as well as judicial courts in their native language. However, the newspaper's rhetoric favouring pluralism and tolerance is often doubled by a strong ethnocentric vision. There are numerous proofs that pluralism and tolerance are mostly situational: the conception of much of the Romanian elite regarding the nation implies an ethnically and culturally homogenous state.

In the next essay, Corina-Mihaela Beleaua tackles the most contentious issue between the Hungarian and the Romanian elites in Transylvania, known in shorthand as "Trianon" and remaining a controversial political topic to the present day. The treaty of Trianon was the peace agreement in 1920 that distributed territories of the former Austro-Hungarian Empire to non-Hungarian peoples, at the end of World War I. Following the doctrine of self-determination, the Allies created new nation-states (mostly through the division of the pre-war Kingdom of Hungary, which became a much reduced nation-state itself). Also

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known as Wilson's peace, the treaty of Trianon thus became an ongoing source of conflict between Hungary and its neighboring countries, such as Romania, Yugoslavia and Czechoslovakia.

In accordance with a perspectivist approach to multicultural regional histories, to which most of the contributors to the present volume subscribe, Beleaua proposes a "pluriperspectivist" analysis of the event in June 1920, on the basis of publications in Austria, Germany, Hungary, Romania, France, Great Britain, USA and Italy. Arguing that new insights about Trianon are possible through discourse analysis, she focuses on the rhetoric of various political leaders and their persuasive techniques. The essay tabulates words and phrases carrying a strong emotional charge and centralizes them, preparing the groundwork for future studies of Trianon based on computer-assisted programs. Beleaua concludes with the proposition that the political problems raised by the Trianon peace treaty cannot find a satisfactory resolution within the framework of the nation-state and will most likely disappear only with the disappearance of the latter.

In turn, Lucian Nastasă analyzes the aftermath of the Trianon treaty and its implications for the large Hungarian community that finds itself relegated to the status of an "ethnic minority" in the new, Great Romania. In the first part of the essay dedicated to theoretical considerations, Nastasă, like Neumann and Beleaua, takes a transnational approach to the issues that national historiographies all too often either sweep under the carpet or treat from a narrow, nationalist perspective. He criticizes the extent to which the national histories of Transylvania focus on the "dis-harmonic" character of the region, starting from such agonistic concepts as "geographical primacy rights," the "civilizing mission" of one nation or another, or the "oppression" of one nation by another. Such histories seem to be an "exercise in the humiliation of the other" (Nastasă, *infra*), through omission, negative characterization, highlighting the unessential and favoring elements that separate ethno-cultural groups over those that bring them together. As an alternative, Nastasă envisions Transylvania as an experimental space for vanguard historiographical constructions, discovering and introducing new socio-historical variables designed to reflect the development of a multicultural society.

The second part of the essay details the flawed implementation of the Trianon peace treaty by various Romanian administrations, at the same time that it describes the differentiated, non-monolithic reactions of the Hungarian (and Romanian) political and cultural elites to the Romanian State's nationalist policies. In conclusion, Nastasă pleads for a reconstruction of Transylvanian history, based on the acknowledgement that individuals as well as ethnic, religious and social groups are marked not only by the consciousness of their own identity, but also by that of other identities. Therefore, no ethnic group must be

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denied its historical memory, and each must be included in these historical reconstructions.

In the last but one essay of Part Two, Cornel Ungureanu demonstrates that during the interwar period and beyond, up to the instauration of the Communist regime in Romania, Timișoara and Banat preserved their multicultural character, with their cultural and artistic elites engaging in a lively intercultural dialogue and evincing a special opening towards Central and Western European cultures. In Timișoara, people spoke and/or understood at least three languages (Romanian, Hungarian and German) and in many cases even four, if we add Serbian, while the intercultural dialogues took place in both the cultural magazines and the literary cafés (fashioned after those of Vienna). Ungureanu presents a number of interesting, even picturesque, personalities such as men of letters, journalists, translators and visual artists of different ethnic origins, but mostly with leftist political sympathies, who frequented the city cafés and participated in productive intercultural dialogues. Such notorious local personalities included: Ion Stoia-Udrea (1901–1977), poet, novelist, translator, but, above all, cultural entrepreneur and mentor who founded literary magazines and publishing houses, printing a wide range of works from poetry anthologies to touristic guides; Zoltan Franyo (1887–1978), trilingual poet and playwright, internationalist revolutionary and adventurer, but above all an exceptionally talented translator from and into four languages (Hungarian, German, Romanian and Serbian); Franz Liebhard (1899–1989), Hungarian expressionist poet, social-democrat, anarchist, Dadaist, proletcultist, accused of Nazi sympathies and deported to USSR and later on (after 1989) of Stalinism, then – under the name of Robert Reiter – German writer, journalist and historian of the Banat region as well as distinguished, trilingual literary translator; Jozsef Meliusz (1909–1995), Hungarian proletcultist novelist, with university studies in Budapest and Zurich, journalist, member of the Romanian Academy, poet and trilingual translator; and René Philippe Mueller, later on Fülöp-Miller (1891–1963), Austrian then American writer, born in Caransebeș of a Serbian mother and an Alsacian father, journalist, adventurer, sympathizer of both the Bolshevik and the Nazi regimes (but equally disliked by both), author of sensational, worldwide bestsellers in the 1930's, but then entirely forgotten, once in America.

Among the visual artists who belonged to the same intercultural circles in Banat, being friends or even relatives, Ungureanu mentions Julius Podlipny, expressionist painter and revolutionary, born in Bratislava, but established in Timișoara; and Romul Ladea, sculptor and "subversive" bohemian artist, born in Caransabeș, but also established in Timișoara, following extended sojourns in Budapest, Vienna, and Paris. After evoking all of these colorful figures, Ungureanu concludes that the intellectual openness of writers and artists belonging to diverse ethnic groups and different political orientations shows the interwar

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cultural elite of Banat to have been committed, beyond local patriotism, to a "creative localism, grounded in the region but also in Central Europe." (Ungureanu, *infra*)

In the last essay of Part Two, Ionuț Apahideanu undertakes an extensive comparative analysis of intercultural relations in Banat and Transylvania between 1867 and 1939, thus fully covering the periods during which the regions were under the Dual Monarchy and then under the Romanian administration. Using a subset of qualitative concepts and quantitative methods and tools from the field of ethno-confessional conflict management, Apahideanu synthesizes an impressive amount of statistical data that offer a measurable explanation, even if partial, of the historical reality, or at least of the perception according to which "historically, Banat has been a province less affected by ethno-confessional conflicts than Transylvania." (Apahideanu, *infra*)

Part Three of the volume concentrates on a new field of interdisciplinary studies, known in the West as "digital humanities," which is at its early stages in Romania and other parts of East Central Europe (and only a little more advanced in other areas of Europe). In the first essay, I discuss the main theoretical assumptions behind this new field of study as well as the principal methodologies that can be used in order to enhance research in the humanities and the social sciences. I look particularly at an innovative concept, the Quantum Relations Principle (QRP), which provides an excellent theoretical basis for developing advanced technological platforms for the kind of intercultural projects that we are currently engaged in. Unlike most reductionist scientific theories, QRP implicitly acknowledges diversity and alterity as the very conditions of existence. Whereas the current reductionist theoretical models perpetuate the globalist pretensions of mainstream Western science, attempting to impose its dualistic, Cartesian perspective on all cultures in the guise of objective, universal knowledge, QRP can take into account and process widely different cognitive perspectives, including linguistic, philosophical, cultural, sexual, ethnic, and other observer-dependent variables. Like other contemporary strands of general systems theory, QRP acknowledges that hierarchies as modes of organization are best understood not as "centers of command and control," but as reference frames or levels of complexity embedded or nestled within each other and engaged in constant communication and mutual interaction. QRP thus supports and enhances a cooperative, symbiotic view of our universe, in which all living and nonliving components of the global system and subsystems depend on each other for their well-being and in which each perspective needs to be acknowledged and respected as potentially valuable for the common good. Finally, the Quantum Relations Principle allows our intercultural data to be placed in a comparative perspective, but only after we generate this data from the local viewpoint of each culture or subculture, whether large or small, and not from the

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so-called "universally valid" perspective of current Western mainstream social science. This methodology, we hope, will go a long way toward creating the kind of credible social science needed in our global, intercultural environment.

The next three studies illustrate some of the methodologies I discuss in my essay, applying them to specific instances of intercultural relations in historical Banat and Transylvania. Thus, Vlad Jecan and Radu Meza create a co-citation map based on scientific publications issued in Timișoara and Arad in the last quarter of the 19th and first quarter of the 20th century (up to the Great War). The books were in Romanian, German and Hungarian, the three main languages present in the two cities during that period. In order to visualize the citation relationships, they used NodeXL, a Microsoft Excel template developed by Microsoft Research to study social networks, and VOSviewer, a software for building maps based on network data. The visualized data revealed 256 nodes or connection points between the authors who published in the two cities during that period. The results showed that there was a significant interaction between scholars of the three ethnic groups in Banat.Thus, their works can be seen as bridges linking the three communities, because all of them were familiar with each other's languages and intellectual positions.

One can further refine this research by analysing the content of the citations (favourable or unfavourable) and the frequency of the citations in relation to the author's ethnicity. Thus, the German scholars were the most frequently (and most favourably) cited by both the Romanian and the Hungarian authors, while the Romanian authors were the least cited by the other two ethnic groups. This finding indirectly supports the contention that the relationship between the dominant Austrian and Hungarian cultures of the Habsburg Empire and the local Romanian culture was asymmetrical.

In the next essay, Adela Fofiu illustrates the value of data visualization for the preservation and use of journalistic memory. Several recent projects in the academic community address the issue of access to historical archives for both researchers and lay people. Such attempts require the interdisciplinary co-operation of computer scientists, IT specialists, humanists and social scientists, placing them on the fertile cusp of digital humanities. The discovery and exploration of patterns and models in historical and media archives oftentimes depends on our possibilities to visualize such archives and sets of data. By way of example, Fofiu identifies a form of visualizing the digital catalogue of periodicals published between 1860 and 1940 in Transylvania and Banat – a catalogue made available by the "Lucian Blaga" Central University Library in Cluj-Napoca. Its tool of choice, Leaflet JS, illustrates a potentially problematic line of contact between two endemic cultures, Hungarian and Romanian. The volumetric difference between the two samples of periodicals in the Hungarian and the Romanian languages in the digital database of a Romanian public institution of

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memory and knowledge (which does not reflect the reality of the historical period in question) indicates a political friction that does not transcend the model of the "clash of civilizations." Visualizing this difference in the digital dataset reveals the politics of "small numbers" and the "geography of anger" (Appadurai 2006) as the information flows of globalization create tensions expressed in census uncertainties – "we" can never know how many of "them" (people of a different culture) exist among us and how "they" may affect our welfare.

Finally, Dan Caragea applies OWLEDGE, an engine for indexing and analyzing large corpora, developed in the academic environment and dedicated to analysts and researchers in the social sciences and the humanities, to a study of the issue of "ethnic minorities" in *Societatea de mâine* – a weekly periodical for social and economic issues, appearing in Cluj (April 1924 – August 1940), then in Bucharest (September 1940–April 1945). The corpus Caragea considers in his analysis consists of 137 issues of the periodical in electronic format, published from 1924 to 1939 in Cluj-Napoca. Using TROPES RO, the only software for the semantic analysis of texts in Romanian (which he produced with Pierre Mollette), Caragea categorizes 3,721,032 terms based on morphology and semantics. His results support the main conclusions that Neumann, Ghender, Beleaua, Nastasă and Fofiu reach in their essays and open the way for further qualitative-quantitative studies of the issue of interethnic relations in interwar Romania.

This brief description of the volume's contents has revealed the similarities, but also the differences between the two regions selected for study. Some of these differences are due to their different geographical situations and, during certain periods, their different historical and political trajectories. Banat is situated on the so-called "Danubian corridor" and its neighbouring population is largely made up of Eastern Orthodox Slavs (Serbs and Bulgarians). Transylvania, on the other hand, is completely surrounded by mountains, thus somewhat more isolated geographically speaking. It was also under the sway of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary, reconstituted later on within the Habsburg Empire. By contrast, Banat was the property of the House of Habsburg, governed directly from Vienna during a crucial period in its economic and cultural development. Thus, Banat, unlike Transylvania, constituted a liminal space of sociocultural experimentation (or what sociologists would call 'social engineering' today) for the House of Habsburg, at least up to the Dual Monarchy (1867–1918) when the socio-political differences between the two regions became less significant.

The different historical and geographical conditions considerably affected the relations between the various heterogeneous communities in the two regions, those in Banat being, grosso modo, more harmonious than those in Transylvania over the nine decades we looked at. The principal moments of interethnic and religious conflict in Transylvania were related to the imposition of inequitable

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