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HISTORICAL-GEOGRAPHICAL ASPECTS OF DUALITY IN EUROPE

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Abstract

The article is based on the hypothesis that Europe has been historically and permanently “divided” into two parts. Four historical-geographical aspects of this duality are distinguished: cultural, economic-social, political, and ethnic. To examine and define duality, specific indicators are used. Duality is understood as a complex and dynamic phenomenon that changes over the time. Conclusions summarize briefly the historical synthesis.

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Introduction

World War I, World War II, bipolar world, disintegration of the Eastern Bloc, advancing institutional integration of Western Europe – these are the most important recent events and processes that are considered to have shaped the present-day Europe. However, there are also much older “fundaments” that have been affecting geographical and spatial organization of Europe since centuries ago. The author’s broader research has been focused on these fundaments.¹ Especially historical-geographical aspects of duality in Europe have been examined and analyzed, using the basic hypothesis of historical division of Europe into two parts.

The division of Europe into two subregions has been until recently understood in contradictory terms: free-market and democratic West versus socialistic and totalitarian East. Such a dualist perception of Europe became prevalent after World War II, in geopolitical concepts and scientific literature, but also in common use. Though the European bipolarity began to lose its strict, clear contours after 1989, the concept as such did not cease to exist (alternative approaches naturally developed, too). Among the reasons for this are recent historical experiences as well as the fact that a sort of duality in Europe can be traced since many centuries ago, possibly since antiquity. From the historical perspective, the present era may be characterized by a lot of dynamism which includes the transformation of Central Europe and its gradual move towards the West. In other words, duality in Europe is a highly current topic and there are good reasons to understand reasons and processes that shaped it.

Most scholars examining the European duality and its historical-geographical aspects have so far focused mostly on the 20th century,² alternatively on the position of Central Europe – whether it is historically closer to the East or to the West or

¹ Aleš NOVÁČEK, *Dualita Evropy. Historickogeografická analýza* [Duality in Europe. Historical-geographical analysis], Praha 2012; Aleš NOVÁČEK, *Dualita Evropy. Historickogeografická analýza vývoje a její vymezení* [Duality in Europe. Historical-geographical analysis of the development and its delimitation], dissertation, PŘF UK, Praha 2010.

² Among the examples are works where the division Eastern versus Western Europe is part of regional division of the world: John COLE, *Geography of the World’s Regions*, New York 1996; Martin HAMPL, *Globální systém. Stav, současné tendence a možné perspektivy distribuce mocenského potenciálu* [Global System. Situation, Current Trends and Possible Prospects for the Distribution of Power Potential], *Geografie* 114, 2009, No. 1, pp. 1–20; Samuel HUNTINGTON, *The Clash of Civilisation and the Remaking of the World Order*, New York 1996; Bruce RUSSETT, *International Regions and the International System. A Study in Political Ecology*, Chicago 1967. Another group consists of studies that examine the duality in Europe on the base of selected aspects, for instance: Derek ALDCROFT – Steven MOREWOOD, *Economic Change in Eastern Europe since 1918*, Aldershot 1995; Terry JORDAN, *The European Culture Area*, New York 1996.

whether it rather creates a self-contained region.³ Only very few scientific studies look at longer periods of time and these usually examine just one aspect of duality (for instance culture or religion). Consequently, such a single aspect is used as a base on which historical-geographical division of Europe is constructed.⁴ Static and cross-section approaches are mostly used with little or no attention to long-term trends and complex changes of geographical organization. Thus, the dynamic approach towards duality concept is usually absent.⁵

³ Includes, among others, the historic German concept of *Mitteleuropa* advocated in the work of Friedrich NAUMANN, *Mitteleuropa*, Berlin 1915. Other works: Otto FORST de BATTAGLIA, *Zwischeneuropa*, *Geographisches Rundschau* 12, 1960, pp. 305–317; István BIBÓ, *Bída malých národů východní Evropy* [The Distress of the East European States], Brno – Bratislava 1997; Norman DAVIES, *Europa między wschodem a zachodem* [Europe East and West], Kraków 2007; Oskar HALECKI, *Historia Europy – jej granice i podziały* [The Limits and Divisions of European History], Lublin 2000; Hans LEMBERG, *Porozumění. Češi – Němci – východní Evropa 1848–1949* [Comprehension. Czechs – Germans – Eastern Europe 1848–1949], Praha 2000; Jenő SZÜCS, *Tri historické regióny Európy* [Three historical Regions of Europe], Bratislava 2001; Piotr WANDYDZ, *Střední Evropa v dějinách od středověku do současnosti: cena svobody* [The price of freedom. A history of East Central Europe from the Middle Ages to the Present], Praha 2004. Czech (Czech/ French) authors that examined this topic include: Milan KUNDERA, *Unos západu aneb Tragédie střední Evropy* [The Stolen West or The Tragedy of Central Europe], *Proměny* 23, 1986, No. 1, pp. 134–147; Oskar KREJČÍ, *Geopolitika střeoevropského prostoru. Pohled z Prahy a Bratislavy* [Geopolitics of the Central European Region. The view from Prague and Bratislava], Praha 2010; Jan KREN, *Dvě století střední Evropy* [Two Centuries of Central Europe], Praha 2005; Jacques RUPNIK, *Jiná Evropa* [Other Europe], Praha 1992; Jiří STEHLÍK, *Zařazení České republiky v evropském prostoru* [Placement of the Czech Republic in the European area], *Mezinárodní vztahy* 2, 1996, No. 2, pp. 95–106.

⁴ Cultural and religious aspects as main determinants of European duality should be mentioned in connection with Weber's work: Max WEBER, *Die protestantische Ethik und der Geist des Kapitalismus*, Tübingen 1934. Europe is divided by religious, language and race lines in the above mentioned work by T. JORDAN (see note 2); religion is seen as a crucial aspect by S. HUNTINGTON (see note 2). When it comes to practical politics, the Curzon Line (demarcation line between Poland and Russia, drafted by the Allies after World War I and de facto adopted after World War II), was based on cultural, ethnic and religious differences. Other authors consider economic inequalities to be crucial for the division of Europe, among others: Daniel CHIROT, *The Origins of Backwardness in Eastern Europe. Economics and Politics from the Middle Ages until the Early Twentieth Century*, Los Angeles – Oxford 1991; Jaroslav PURŠ, *Průmyslová revoluce. Vývoj pojmu a koncepce* [Industrial Revolution. The Development of the Term and Conception], Praha 1973; Immanuel WALLERSTEIN, *The Modern World-System, Vol. I. Capital Agriculture and the Origins of European World-Economy in the Sixteenth Century*, New York – London 1974. A very special historical concept of duality presents the so called Hajnal Line which puts a dividing line between two generalized European family forms called north-western and south-eastern (see note 14).

⁵ Among the exceptions that incorporate the changing character of reality into the duality concept belong among others: Geoffrey BARRACLOUGH, *Eastern and Western Europe in the Middle*

The author has focused his research on European duality on several sub-fields; recently he has finished publication on this topic which is based on dissertation⁶ defended at Faculty of Science, Charles University, Prague. The main goal has been to reveal, define and delimit the duality in Europe based on long-term historical-geographical analysis. First, the concept of European duality has been formulated; duality is approached as a complex and spatially dynamic phenomenon. Second, individual historical-geographical aspects of duality were structured and given hierarchy. Third, an appropriate method suitable for analysing the duality in historical regions in different years has been applied. On this base the main duality border was constructed and fourteen overview historical maps were created. Fourth, attention is given to synthesis, generalization, and explanation of long-term processes and trends in the duality in Europe including key causal processes. Thus, it has been attempted to reveal roots of the present state and development. The European duality was examined in its entire time span, i. e. possibly since around 500 BC till present.⁷ Given the long time scope and large space involved, the research was based on interdisciplinary historical-geographical approach – the one that integrates methods and discoveries from the fields of geography, history, and other branches of social sciences.

Using the above mentioned methods, various historical-geographical aspects and indexes are briefly shown in order to define and examine the duality in Europe in the past and present. Their systematization, structuring, and hierarchization were parts of the conceptual definition of duality and also the base for time analysis. Results of this analysis which combined quantifications with “soft” approach served as a base for delimitation of European duality.

Defining the aspects of duality

Various sources dealing with East-West duality in Europe generally agree on the fact that both parts differ from each other in economic standards and also in the degree of democracy. This state of affairs is often related with membership (or non-membership) in international organizations like EU or NATO. As stated above, scholars most often seek for reasons that caused this situation in the second half of 20th century, namely during the 40 years division of Europe. These explanations are often cited in works that lack deeper historical investigations and also in media.

Ages, London 1970; Werner CAHNMAN, *Frontiers between East and West in Europe*, *Geographical Review* 39, 1949, pp. 605–624; of Czech authors for example: Oskar KREJČÍ, *Mezinárodní politika [International Politics]*, Praha 1997.

⁶ See note 1.

⁷ In the analysis the whole time scope has been divided into 14 cross-sections.

Authors who adopt a sound historical approach usually refer to the split of Roman Empire and to the rise of Byzantine and Frankish Empires and Holy Roman Empire as to main causes of the current East-West duality. Schism within the Church is often mentioned, too, as is the exposure of Eastern Europe towards Asian influences and the clashes between Germanic and Slavic peoples in Central Europe. Economic and social matters that may have influenced the increasing differences between East and West include: different status of serfs, importance of cities, gradual shift of European core area towards the Atlantic coast as a result of the Age of Discovery, consolidation of the global core-periphery system, and Industrial Revolution. Some authors also mention the North-South duality and refer to the heritage of ancient civilizations connected with Romanic languages and Romanic culture, to the contrasts between Catholic and Protestant religions, and also to different philosophical background and working habits. Geographical determinism is sometimes cited as a phenomenon that contributed to both versions of duality, too.⁸

These are just a few examples from a more complex ensemble that consists of mutually connected and dependent causes, aspects, and determinants that contributed to the duality. The whole can be divided into several groups: cultural, economic-social, political, and ethnic aspects of duality. These groups represent parts of reality where duality in Europe can be examined and defined. Each realm features concrete aspects that can be studied using selected indicators (duality indicators).⁹

The influence of each factor and the validity of indicators with regard to duality in Europe have changed over the time. Indicators and factors were examined thoroughly in order to define their importance for European duality in different years – in such a way they form a compact system reflecting continuity. The four aggregated aspects of duality were evaluated and hierarchized in the same manner. Factors and indicators as parts of duality aspects and their significance in each time cross-section are shown in Tables 1 and 2. In the following text the four aggregated aspects of duality are examined in more detail.

⁸ Different climatic patterns are important in the case of east-west orientation (maritime vs. continental climate). On the north-south axis, different climatic zones can be observed (temperate vs. subtropical zones). These natural differences influenced greatly economic activities and well-being of European societies especially in early periods. The north-south duality can be observed also when physical features are taken into account: mostly mountainous south differs from largely flat north.

⁹ The cultural aspect, for instance, includes religion. The duality of religion is clear when the share of different denominations is examined. The selection of factors and indicators discussed in the following text reflects the analytic demands. The importance of each factor (indicator) with regard to European duality was thoroughly examined. Data availability was an important criterion, of course, as was the possibility to compare data from different time cross-sections. Only part of the data has a quantitative character, i. e. is based on statistical records or estimates. Other information has been derived from historic facts, maps, and atlases.

Cultural aspect

As “culture” has had a changing character over the time, the cultural aspect can be understood in different ways. In antiquity, cultural and civilization differences reflected the north-south duality. In the Middle Ages and Early Modern Era “culture” was perceived in cultural and religious terms; during the secular 19th and 20th centuries one can already talk about “pure culture”. The cultural aspect had played a key role in defining of European duality in antiquity and in the Middle Ages; later, however, its importance declined. At the present time the cultural aspect plays only a minor role because cultural unification in Europe is as high as never before.

Different parts of Europe have shown **striking cultural differences** (cultural standards) over long periods of time. These differences rather reflect the so-called secondary duality defined as differences between more and less developed regions.¹⁰ In this case it is the duality between the highly developed, “creative” core on one side and backward, more passive periphery that rather accepts cultural trends coming from the core on the other side. In practice the general cultural level can be examined by the existence of material (written) documents or artistic artefacts. In the Industrial Age the contradiction between “modern” and “traditional” comes on the scene.

The **degree of cultural influence** typical for different parts of Europe can be understood as a complementary indicator that helps to define the European duality. This is the so-called primary duality that can be seen as a relation between two self-contained, homogeneous and equally important regions with own core areas.¹¹ Such relations existed between the Western and Eastern cultural realms in the Middle Ages, to a certain extent also in Early Modern Era. In antiquity as well as during the Industrial Age the Western (Classical) culture and mentality were dominant and superior.

On similar grounds the cultural duality can also be examined from the **degree of Oriental influence**.¹² Originally non-European (Eastern, Asian) ideas and influences became integral parts of East European culture especially during Late Middle Ages and Early Modern Era. This period is characterized by intensive merging of Western and Asian elements with domestic East European traditions.

There is no doubt that **religion** (or rites) played a decisive role in the process of forming European duality. Many authors see the schism within the Church as the most important event that predetermined the future differences between East and West. Religion typically created the primary duality and also multiplied the identity

¹⁰ This article deals with two duality types, primary and secondary. Details are discussed in the final section.

¹¹ See previous note.

¹² Ideas and aspects typical for Orient (Asia) that include the spread of Islam and despotic rule as well as appearance of artistic styles and monuments common in Oriental countries.

having direct influence on culture, mentality, language, national psyche, and state organization. Unlike with other cultural aspects, empirical data on religion (percentage/number of believers) is often available. The religious division of Europe had had a determining influence on European duality especially in the Middle Ages; later the importance of religion slowly declined.¹³

Some more cultural aspects, less often cited and examined, should be mentioned here. Among these are two prevailing **traditional family forms** as defined by John Hajnal, British demographer and historian with Czech ancestry. He studied different family sizes and marriage patterns and generalized two European traditional family forms called north-western and south-eastern. Differences between the two had been clear in between the 16th and early 20th centuries; later the distinction blurred due to ongoing cultural unification.¹⁴

Economic and social aspects

Unlike the cultural aspects, economic and social aspects rather evoke secondary duality, i. e. differences among advanced and backward regions. The influence of economic and social aspects on European duality tends to increase over the time; during the Modern Era these aspects seem to be the decisive ones. Economic and social indicators can be measured (quantified) in a relatively precise way; statistical data and qualified estimates are often used. The selection of indicators largely depends on availability of appropriate databases.

As far as the pre-industrial period is concerned, the selection of duality indicators is naturally connected with the core-periphery system. **Population density** is an example. It has been assumed that higher population concentrations were closely related to higher economic activity, power centres, and also to more progressive social organization. **Urbanization level** serves as a similar type of indicator. The existence of cities and towns automatically brought more non-agricultural activities and such settlements consequently became symbols of economic, social and political progress. Since the 19th century urbanization is also seen as an indirect indicator of modern lifestyle – urbanized society.

¹³ The aspect of religion, seen from the present-day perspective, also includes different religiosity in different parts of Europe. At the present time religiosity seems to be linked to the North-South duality. It is difficult, however, to trace religiosity in the past and hence historic comparison is statistically nearly impossible.

¹⁴ John HAJNAL, Two kinds of pre-industrial household formation system, in: *Family forms in historic Europe*, eds. Richard Wall – Peter Laslett – Jean Robin et al., Cambridge 1983, pp. 65–104. The dividing line between the two models (so-called Hajnal's Line) was drawn between Saint Petersburg and Trieste, with certain exceptions: Ireland, Finland and parts of Mediterranean were closer to the south-eastern type of multi-generation family.

When it comes to the Industrial Age, the **share of labour force (SLF) outside the primary sector** seems to be an appropriate indicator. Such data is readily available; moreover, due to more advanced agricultural methods the rural communities became less and less agrarian. Thus, SLF outside the primary sector helps to draw the dividing line between industrial and agrarian parts of Europe. The **share of labour force in tertiary and quaternary sector** reflects the differences among economic systems since the early 20th century and marks the transition towards the post industrial society. The latter indicator, however, should be used with care especially for the period 1945–1989.

Gross domestic product (GDP) per capita is another suitable indicator, closely connected to standard of living and economic prosperity. It helps when the core-periphery relations are studied as well as when the “advanced-backward” duality comes into question.¹⁵ When the above mentioned economic and social indicators are summarized and interpreted, general **economic levels** can be compared and the position of different regions within **the core-periphery system** can be assessed – for instance the role in long-distance trade or in labour specialization.

As cultural aspects became less important during the 19th century, the European duality has taken the shape of “advanced vs. backward” form. Most of the above mentioned factors and indicators that help to define the European duality can be used across the time. On the contrary, some other indicators like **spread of western-type towns** or **expansion of universities and printing** apply to selected periods only – from High Middle Ages till Early Modern Era, i. e. before such institutions and skills became common. Of course, the latter examples are of western origin and their gradual diffusion reflects unequal level of contacts among Central and Western European regions.

Social and economic relations are also important when economic and social aspects of duality are studied. For instance, different types of feudalism existed in Europe in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Era; also the social status of serfs varied as did the prevailing type of landownership. Many of such phenomena showed a pronounced north-west vs. south-east polarity.

Level of industrialization reflects well the social and economic relations during the Industrial Age (between early 19th and mid-twentieth century). In the course of this period Europe was clearly divided into advanced (industrial) and backward (mostly agrarian) parts. Three indicators can be used here: index of industrial production per capita, share of labour force in the secondary sector, and existence of railways. Statistical records from this relatively recent period provide also other indicators, not necessarily purely economic ones: **illiteracy rate** or **life expectancy**. Both tell a lot about the social development. Since World War II a composite statistic

¹⁵ Estimates are available since about early 16th century.

called **Human Development Index**¹⁶ came to use. Many other “modern” indicators are readily available, of course, for instance the **car ownership** (number of motor vehicles per 1,000 people). The latter reflects well-being and indirectly also lifestyle – both are factors that help to detect the duality in Europe.

Political aspects

The third basic aspect of duality is the political one. It shows more features of primary duality and can be examined mostly using the “soft” data and comparative studies. Compared to cultural and social-economic aspects, politics had long seemed to play a minor role in defining the European duality, at least seen from the historical perspective. This situation, however, has changed profoundly after World War II – in the following years, on the contrary, politics took the decisive role as regards duality aspects and it partly retains its importance at the present time, too.

Degree of political organization of the society,¹⁷ the first one of selected political factors, is a sort of an exception as it rather shows the secondary type of duality. Historically, it was important especially in antiquity and Early Middle Ages when first states and state-like regions were formed: in that time a clear North-South division existed. **Political status** is another aspect to be considered and can be traced during the long period from antiquity till the present time. “Status” involves relations towards a superior power representing political core within the given region.¹⁸ Such superior European powers included: in the South the Roman Empire; in the West the Frankish Empire, the Holy Roman Empire and modern Western European powers (Great Britain, France, German Empire); in the East the Byzantine Empire, the Ottoman Empire, and Russia. The factor of political status is complemented by **power relations** and prevailing political (strategic, economic) orientation. After World War II **membership in supranational organizations** (political, economic) became highly important. Thus, Western countries were typically NATO and EU members, with strong relations with the USA. On the contrary Eastern countries were Soviet-dominated, members of Warsaw Pact and Comecon. The dividing line between the above political and economic organizations was the most important boundary in the post-war Europe.

¹⁶ Human development index (HDI) has been widely used in geography and economics when quality of life is to be assessed. It is a comparative measure of life expectancy, illiteracy and GDP per capita.

¹⁷ It roughly reflects the following hierarchy: family system – tribal system – tribal union – city state/realms with no strict internal organization – centralized and well organized state.

¹⁸ Political status can include the following: part of sovereign state – dependent territory – independent region.

A whole bunch of factors can be used when European duality is examined in the Modern Era. These include **system of government (political regime), degree of political freedom, and individual human rights**. Many other indicators and principles are often used in this context: concentration of political power and power sharing, constitutional system, stability of political system, minority policies, existence of democratic institutions, economic freedom, corruption index, etc. When these factors are taken into consideration, in most cases the European duality shows east-west (more precisely northwest-southeast) orientation. In other words: in the course of 20th century Europe was more or less divided into democratic and free West vs. autocratic and less free East.

Studies of European duality should also include the **influence of non-European powers** (Tatars, Turks) in certain parts of Europe. These invasions occurred especially in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Era, were usually limited in terms of time and resulted in “lower civilization level” in the European East. **Ideology** is another factor to be considered as it influences **political and economic character** of state. Ideology was especially important in the period 1945–1989, i. e. in the period when political aspects of duality prevailed.

Ethnic aspect

The ethnic aspect – when related to duality in Europe – is the only purely supplementary one. Along with cultural and political aspects it corresponds to primary duality and it always reflects the territorial share of ethnic groups that were identified as crucial for the identity of various parts of Europe. These groups include: Hellenistic and romanized peoples (antiquity; South); Latin (Romance) and Germanic ethnic groups (up to the Industrial Age; West); and Greek and Slavic peoples (up to the Industrial Age; East).¹⁹ With the emergence of modern nations a more complex categorization of ethnic groups using more attributes is needed.²⁰

¹⁹ The ethnic aspect was quite often cited by scholars who studied the East-West duality especially before 1945. In the 19th century Central Europe ethnicity and nationalism were seen as key aspects of national history – this approach was adopted among others by Leopold von Ranke or František Palacký. Also some post-war scholars argued that Slavic peoples formed one of the cornerstones of European East (together with Orthodox Church). Some other, usually less populous Eastern European nations (Lithuanians, Latvians, Estonians, Hungarians, or Romanians) were often perceived as being part of „Slavic history“, i. e. part of European East – though most of these nations had historically strong cultural and religious relations with the West (Romanians excluded).

²⁰ For more details regarding categories and differences among ethnic groups in relation to duality in Europe see A. NOVÁČEK, *Dualita Evropy* (see note 1).

Conclusions

The above mentioned factors and indicators constitute detection and conceptual framework of duality. They have been structured into four historical-geographical aspects in order to study the duality in more detail, to analyze and delimit it. Among the number of results brought by this research the long-term development of duality in Europe can be summarized in two syntheses.

First, **two types of duality** have been examined. These were described as primary and secondary dualities – in praxis, though, they were always closely intertwined. The primary duality indicates relations between two self-contained and more or less equal regions, each with its own core. On the contrary, unequal relations between two regions are typical for the secondary duality: one region, featuring own core area, is more developed than the other one which is weaker or dependent. As stated above, cultural, political, and ethnic aspects rather tend to create primary dualities, while economic and social aspects often imply secondary dualities. Over the course of time the European duality more often showed elements of secondary duality. In antiquity and Early Middle Ages the North-South (secondary) duality prevailed, sometimes in an extreme form. The East-West polarization became to emerge during Early Middle Ages and was much influenced by political and religious rivalry between the Frankish Empire (later Holy Roman Empire, pope) on one side and the Byzantine Empire on the other side. East and West gradually formed two equally strong European regions featuring at first mostly primary type of duality. Roughly around the end of 13th century the ratio between primary and secondary dualities had become balanced and later secondary dualities began to dominate. Among the reasons was better economic performance of the West accompanied by stagnation in the East.²¹ Later, the long-time dominance of secondary duality was twice disrupted. In both cases this disruption occurred when Russia became (though disputed) the core area of European East. This happened first at the turn of 18th and 19th centuries – in that time the ratio between primary and secondary dualities was roughly balanced. Second, Russia was the dominant power in the East in between 1945 and 1989. During the latter period a specific form of primary duality prevailed.

The other synthesis aims to define the **basic evolutionary stages of European duality**. Gradual conceptual changes of duality are described with help of the four

²¹ It is reasonable to assume that one of the key reasons why the East began to lag behind the West was the loss of the former Eastern core area (seizure of Constantinople by Crusaders in 1204); moreover the East remained vulnerable to attacks from Asia. The advance of Asian nations (Turks, Tatars) turned the Eastern Europe into chaos and isolation and unstable circumstances prevailed, especially at the Balkan Peninsula, until the 19th century. Slow social and economic progress, adoption of „oriental“ manners, general passivity and despotic rule were among the consequences.

basic aspects and can be understood as a gradual shift from the antiquity (when cultural aspects dominated) towards the Modern Era (when economic and social aspects prevail).²² This periodization, however, also takes into account other facets. The periods differ from each other in orientation, prevailing type of duality, position of the core as well as in other features.²³ Thus, at first the whole European history since antiquity can be divided into two long phases that differ in prevailing orientation of duality.

The first phase is dominated by North-South duality that lasted from about 500 BC till the Early Middle Ages (symbolically till 800 AD²⁴). It was a specific type of secondary duality based mainly on different cultural aspects. To put it in a simple way, Europe was divided into “more civilized” South and “barbarian” North. Natural conditions, especially more favourable climate in the Mediterranean, played an important role in this division. Only the South had its own core area and thus could be understood as a compact region. In this respect, no major changes occurred during the whole period.

On the contrary, the East-West duality was typical for the second phase which can be further divided into four or five shorter periods. The first period lasted from the symbolic year 800 until mid-thirteenth century. During this time the European space (under the rule of Christian powers) was divided into two subregions that differed from each other in cultural aspects, especially in religion. Both subregions were approximately equally strong, equally developed, with own core areas – i. e. mutual relations corresponded to primary type of duality. The second period lasted since the 13th century until the 17th century and both cultural and social-economic aspects contributed to the duality; the latter became eventually dominant. The East lacked a core area, lagged behind the West and became more and more vulnerable to alien (Asian) influences. Thus, Europe was divided into more advanced West and backward East – a sort of secondary duality. The third period was a relatively short one and covered the 18th century plus the first half of the 19th century. The differences between West and East did not increase any more; Russia became a strong empire and created a partial counterbalance to Western powers.²⁵ The last, fourth

²² See Table 2.

²³ See Table 3.

²⁴ Charlemagne’s imperial coronation in 800 is widely considered to mark the establishing of European West.

²⁵ „Counterbalance“ in the power and cultural sense rather than in economic sense. In this period a new identity emerged in the East that consisted of imported Western ideas and patterns; these patterns were incorporated into Eastern traditions, often influenced from Asia. Social and economic conditions remained poor, however.

period began in mid-nineteenth century and in a sense lasts till the present time; the duality has been much defined by different economic and social aspects that divide Europe into developed and less developed parts.²⁶ The secondary character of duality is intensified by the fact that only West possesses a core area and its influence spreads far towards the East. The time between 1945 and 1989 shows some special characteristics and it is sometimes understood as a separate period of East-West duality. Two clearly defined political pacts, internally homogeneous with own core areas, were typical for this post-war period.²⁷

This research – including the above mentioned historical-geographical aspects of duality in Europe – shows that the perception of Europe as a space that has been historically divided into two parts has sound foundations. Surely, the presented conclusions should not be understood as the only possible ones or non-debatable. On the other hand they are based on systematic and extended analyses and include exact argumentation which places them far beyond a pure conceptual speculation.

Table 1. Factors and Indicators of Duality in Europe.²⁸

• Antiquity and the Middle Ages (North-South duality)

Aspects and factors or corresponding indicators	Time cross-sections		
	5.–2. cent. BC	1.–4. cent. AD	ca. 800
Cultural	3	4	3
- cultural standards (artefacts, monuments)	x	x	x
- degree of cultural influence (Greek, Roman)	x	x	x
- religion	–	–	x

²⁶ In this sense West and East are synonymous to “advanced” and “backward”.

²⁷ Table 3 summarizes the stages of European duality.

²⁸ Explanations to Table 1:

– Numbers (related to aspects) indicate the importance for definition and delimitation of duality in respective time cross-section. Bold characters indicate chief aspects; underlined characters indicate so-called important secondary aspects, standard characters indicate other secondary aspects. For details see Table 2.

– Hyphen (–) means that the respective factor (indicator) was not used for the given time cross-section. On the contrary, “x” means that the respective factor (indicator) was used (in early periods when indicators were not hierarchized).

– Numbers (related factors and indicators) show the approximate importance for calculations of the summarized value. For methodical details see A. NOVÁČEK, *Dualita* (see note 1).

Economic and social	2	2	1
- population density	x	x	x
- urbanization – the role of cities	x	x	x
- economic level, position in the core-periphery system	x	x	x
Political	1	2	1
- degree of political organization of the society	x	x	x
- political status (related to...)	x	x	x
Ethnic	1	1	1
- share of Hellenistic and romanized peoples	x	x	x

• Pre-Industrial Age (East-West duality)

Aspects and factors or corresponding indicators	Time cross-sections					
	ca. 800	11 th cent.	ca. 1300	ca. 1500	ca. 1600	mid-18 th cent.
Cultural	3	4	3,5	3	2,5	2
- cultural standards (artefacts, monuments)	–	x	x	x	x	x
- degree of cult. influence (Western vs. Eastern)	x	x	x	x	x	x
- religion – rites	x	x	x	x	x	x
- degree of Oriental influence	–	–	–	x	x	x
Economic and social	–	2	3	3	3,5	4
- population density	x	x	x	x	x	x
- urbanization – the role of cities, share of crafts and commerce	x	x	x	x	x	x
- spread of western-type cities (city rights)	–	–	x	x	–	–
- econ. level, position in core-periphery system	x	x	x	x	x	x
- type of feudal system, dominance of western-type feudalism, status of serfs → social and economic relations (or prevailing type of landownership)	–	x	x	x	x	x
- GDP per capita	–	–	–	x	x	x
- spread of universities and printing	–	–	–	x	x	–
- prevailing family form	–	–	–	–	x	x
Political	1	1	1	1	1	1
- political status (related to...)	x	x	x	x	x	x
- power relations, dominant political orientation	–	–	x	x	x	x
- areas invaded by non-European nations (Tatars, Turks)	–	–	x	x	x	–
- system of government / political regime	–	–	–	–	–	x
Ethnic	1	1	1	1	1	1
- share of Latin+ Germanic vs. Hellenistic+ Slavic etc. peoples	x	x	x	x	x	x

Historical-geographical Aspects of Duality in Europe

• Industrial Age (East-West duality)

Aspects and factors or corresponding indicators	Time cross-sections			
	1815/ 1820	1870/ 1871	1910/ 1914	ca. 1930
Cultural	<u>2</u>	<u>2,5</u>	2	2
- cultural standards; prevailing modern / western culture, artistic trends; „western thinking “	1	2	2	2
- religion – rites	1	1	1	1
- prevailing family form ²⁹	–	1	1	1
Economic and social	4	5	5	4
- population density	(1)	0,5	0,5	0,5
- urbanization level	(1)	1	1	1
- economic level, position in the core-periphery system ³⁰	3	–	–	–
- social and economic relations, status of serfs (or prev. type of landownership)	2	–	–	–
- GDP per capita	(1)	1	1	1
- prevailing family form	1	–	–	–
- share of labour force outside the primary sector	(1)	1	1	1
- level of industrialization (three indicators ³¹)	–	2	2	2
- illiteracy rate	–	1	1	1
- life expectancy	–	–	–	1
Political	1,5	1,5	2	2
- political status (related to...), power relations, dominant political orientation	2 ³²	1	1	1
- system of government / political regime, degree of freedom and individual human rights	1	1	1	1
Ethnic	1	2	2	2
- share of Latin+ Germ. vs. Hellenistic+ Slavic etc. peoples ³³	1	1	1	1

²⁹ Dominant family form belonged earlier among the economic and social aspects. In modern times it is rather considered part of cultural aspects. Commencing 1870/1871, the economic and social aspects are understood more in the sense of economic and social well-being – in this respect, however, family forms are no longer important.

³⁰ Indirectly derived from indicators given in parentheses: population density, GDP per capita, urbanization, share of labour force outside the primary sector. All indicators have equal importance.

³¹ Index of industrial production per capita, share of labour force in the secondary sector, existence of railway lines (with respect to population and area).

³² The past status towards Napoleonic France / areas affected by Napoleonic Wars was taken into consideration, too.

³³ Ethnic groups are sequenced roughly by approximate East-West identity, i. e. by language, religion, culture, origin of nation (all with equal importance).

• Post-War period (East-West duality)

Aspects and factors or corresponding indicators	Time cross-sections	
	1970/ 1980	present
Cultural	1	–
- cultural standards; prevailing modern / western culture, artistic trends; „western thinking“	1	–
Economic and social	<u>4</u>	5
- share of labour force in the primary sector	0,5	0,5
- share of labour force in tertiary and quaternary sector	0,5	0,5
- Human Development Index (three equally important indicators: GDP per capita, illiteracy rate, life expectancy)	2	2
- number of motor vehicles per 1,000 people	1	1
Political	5	<u>2,5</u>
- political (and economic) orientation and integration	2	1
- political regime, degree of freedom and individual human rights → index of democracy and economic freedom	1	1
- political-economic character / ideology	1	–
Ethnic	1	1
- share of ethnic group at given territory ³⁴	1	1

Source: author's own suggestion.

³⁴ See previous note.

³⁵ Explanations to Table 2:

– Aspects: A = cultural, B = economic and social, C = political, D = ethnical.

– Numbers (0 to 6) indicate the importance of each aspect for definition and delimitation of duality in given time cross-section: 0 = no importance (equals “–“ in the Table; in such case the aspect was not used), 1 = low importance, 2 = moderate importance, 3 = moderate to high importance, 4 = high importance, 5 = decisive importance, 6 = total importance (theoretical value – in such a case no other aspects would be taken into consideration). Use of bold characters indicates chief aspects; underlined characters indicate so-called important secondary aspects, standard characters indicate other secondary aspects.

– Capital letters in the upper section of Table 2 indicate the prevailing scheme of duality. S = South, N = North, W = West, E = East. No parenthesis means that the respective relation is an equal one, i. e. primary type of duality exists. In case of unequal relations, the weaker regions are given in parentheses, i. e. secondary type of duality exists. Question mark indicates cases when elements of primary and secondary dualities were roughly balanced.

Table 2. Hierarchization and Importance of Aspects Determining the Duality in Europe.³⁵

←Aspects	Time selections and schematization of the predominant duality													
	5 th -2 nd cent. BC	1 st -4 th cent. AD	ca. 800 ³⁶	11 th cent.	ca. 1300	ca. 1500	ca. 1600	mid-18 th cent.	1815/1820	1870/1871	1910/1914	ca. 1930	1970/1980	present
	S-(N)	S-(N)	S-(N) W-E	W-E	W-(E)	W-(E)	W-(E)	W-E?	W-E	W-E?	W-(E)	W-(E)	W-E	W-(E)
A	3	4	AI=3 AII=3	4	3,5	3	2,5	2	2	2,5	2	2	1	-
B	2	2	BI=1	2	3	3	3,5	4	4	5	5	4	4	5
C	1	2	CI=1 CII=1	1	1	1	1	1	1,5	1,5	2	2	5	2,5
D	1	1	DI=1 DII=1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1

Source: author's own suggestion.

Table 3. Evolutionary Stages of European Duality.³⁷

Stage	Time scope	Character of the duality	Position of the core area	Main aspects of the delimitation of the duality and its conception
I.	1 st half of the 1 st millennium BC – 800 AD	S – (N)	S	A: „civilized“ South – „barbarian“ North
II.	1. 800 – early 13 th cent.	W – E	W, E	A: Western – Eastern cultural scope
	2. 13 th cent. – 17 th cent.	W – (E)	W	A, B: more developed/Western vs. backward /Eastern cultural scope
	3. 18 th cent. – mid-19 th cent.	W – E?	W, part. also E	B: developed West – backward East
	4. 2 nd half of 19 th cent. – 1 st half of 20 th cent. and after 1989	W – (E)	W	B: developed West – backward East
	x4 1945–1989	W – E	W, E	C: Western – Eastern

Source: author's own suggestion.

³⁶ The year 800 symbolizes an important change as regards duality definition. North-South and East-West dualities were approximately equally important. AI, CI, and DI indicate importance for the North-South duality; AII, CII, and DII indicate importance for the East-West duality.

³⁷ See note 35.

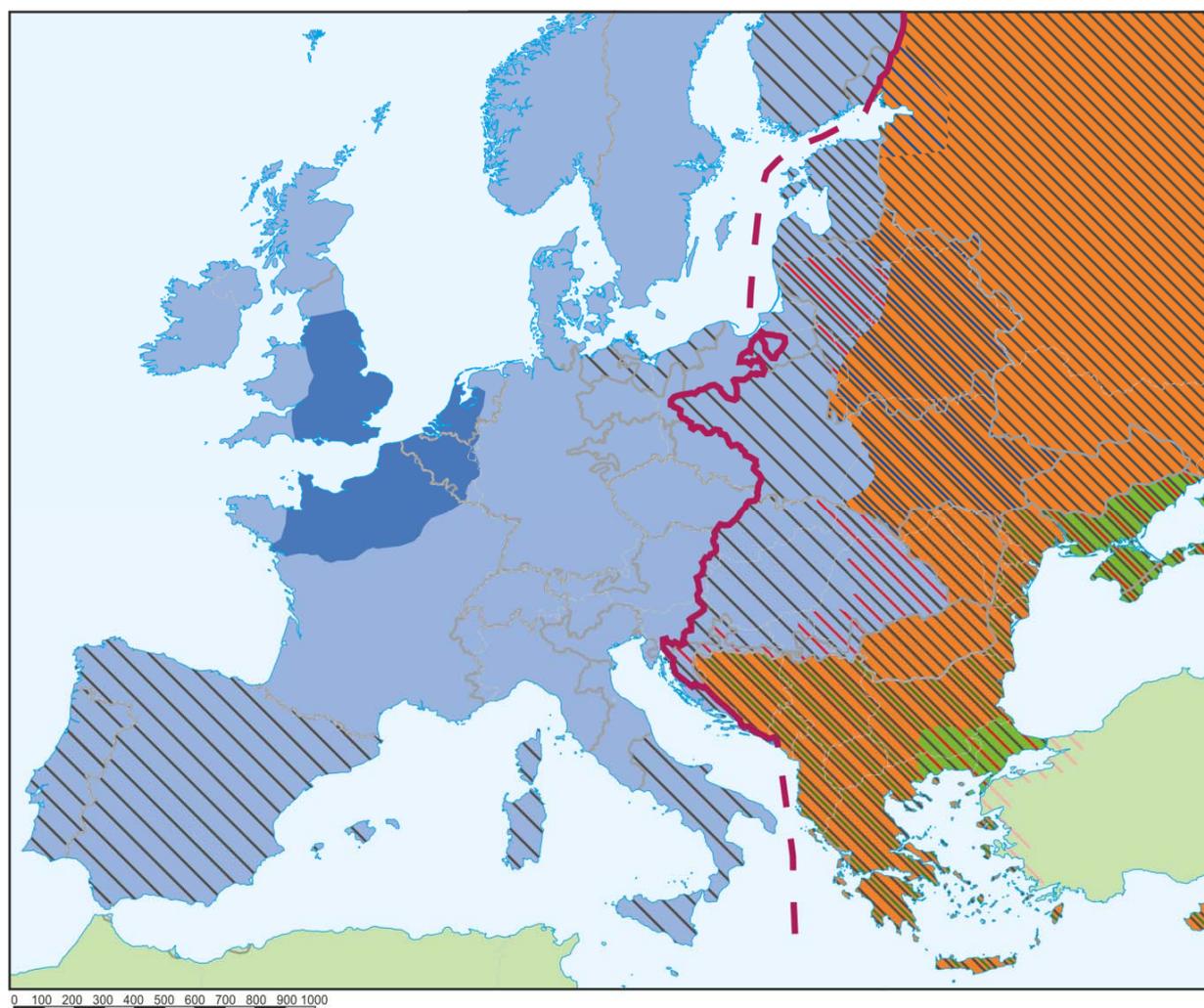


Fig. no. 1. European duality in mid-eighteenth century. – Source: author's own suggestion. Historical boundaries according to Daniel GURŇÁK, *Dejepisný atlas Štáty v premenách storočí* [States in the course of centuries, Historical Atlas], Bratislava 2004.

Legend:

-  – historical boundaries (selection)
-  – present-day boundaries
-  – main duality boundary

-  – West (in the cultural sense); dark blue: the most developed western core area
-  – East (in the cultural sense)
-  – Orient, i. e. non-European / Islamic civilization; pale green is used for non-European areas
-  – strong Western influence in non-Western regions
-  – strong Eastern influence in non-Eastern regions
-  – strong Oriental influence on the European territory
-  – economic and socially backward / less developed European regions; the more dense raster the least developed regions

Aleš Nováček

Historickogeografické aspekty duality Evropy

Příspěvek předkládá osobitý pohled na prostorovou diferenciaci Evropy, přičemž vychází z hlavní hypotézy jejího trvalého a dějinného „rozdělení“ na dvě části. Takové pojetí Evropy se stalo zcela dominantním po 2. světové válce. Minimálně až do roku 1989 byla tato dualita odbornou literaturou i samotnou veřejností viděna jednoznačně: kapitalistický a demokratický Západ na jedné a socialistický a totalitární Východ na straně druhé. Ani po roce 1989 však nedošlo k rozpadu duálního vnímání Evropy. Kořeny duality sahají totiž daleko hlouběji do minulosti a lze ji kontinuálně pozorovat na širší škále jevů a aspektů. V jejich rámci je možné rozlišit čtyři historickogeografické aspekty duality: kulturní, ekonomicko-sociální, politický a etnický. Článek se jimi blíže zabývá z pohledu konkrétních faktorů a ukazatelů, které se nabízí k sledování a vymezení duality. Ta je zde chápána jako jev komplexní, dynamický a v minulosti proměnlivý. V průběhu dějin se proto váha uvedených čtyř aspektů při definování a vymezení duality měnila. To platí i pro působnost jednotlivých faktorů a tím i vypovídací schopnost zvolených ukazatelů. Výsledný návrh jejich volby pro dané časové průřezy prezentují tabulky č. 1 a 2.

Závěr je věnován krátké syntéze tohoto vývoje, přičemž se zabývá obdobím od zformování duality kolem poloviny 1. tisíciletí př. n. l. až do současnosti. Rozlišuje dva typy duality. Tzv. primární typ, který označuje vztah dvou svébytných a relativně rovnocenných evropských regionů s vlastními jádry. A tzv. sekundární typ, který je charakteristický nerovnocenným vztahem dvou oblastí, z nichž první představuje vyspělejší celek s vlastním jádrem a druhá zaostalejší nebo závislé území bez vlastního jádra. Dále se věnuje souborné periodizaci vývoje duality. Ten rozděluje do dvou fází, z nichž druhou ještě podrobněji člení na 4 až 5 etap (viz tabulka č. 3).

Příspěvek vychází z širšího autorova výzkumu, jehož hlavní výsledky byly nedávno publikovány v monografii nazvané „Dualita Evropy: historickogeografická analýza“.