

The relevance of Jean Gottmann in today's world

"The question is if there can be a European iconography strong enough to overcome the influence of national iconographies in times of crisis and economic difficulty. Will the French or the Germans accept to sacrifice essential national or other interests for the European idea when no major outside threat is present? Or, for the sake of European unity, should a threat be invented?"

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Introduction

Jean Gottmann is known for his work on cities and especially for his contribution in understanding the urbanized zone from Boston to Philadelphia to which he gave the name "Megalopolis." His other contributions are less known, although lately more and more social scientists are showing interest in them.

In this article the main ideas of Jean Gottmann about the structure, the organization and the dynamics of geographical space are outlined, as well as their relevance to today's problems and issues such as globalization, terrorism or European integration.

During the late 1940s and the early 1950s Jean Gottmann tried, as a geographer, to address the major problems of geographical theory. That was a critical period for Geography. The classical paradigm of the French "regional" school – of which he was one of the major representatives of his generation – was having more and more difficulty in interpreting the new world: a world which had resulted from two world wars, rapid urbanization and the new threats to natural equilibria created by the advances of science and technology (nuclear power, automobile pollution, etc.).

The only existing alternative to the French school, the German *Geopolitik*, had proven extremely dangerous before and during the Second World War. With the German defeat, it disappeared. Thus, geographical theory was in a vacuum. The need to renew Geography led ultimately to the quantitative revolution of the 1950s and of the 1960s which, instead of solving the problem of theory, resulted in many countries in the loss of a valuable geographical tradition and in general to the decline of Geography.

The effort of Jean Gottmann to renew Geography without cutting it from its traditions can be fully appreciated in retrospect. Had it succeeded, it would have contributed to saving and reinforcing the status of Geography as a social science. However Jean Gottmann's concepts were too advanced and too sophisticated for a world whose ideas were organized around the clash of two economist ideologies: Communism and Liberalism.

Geographical space and its partitioning

The basic element of Jean Gottmann's theoretical framework is the concept of the partitioning of geographical space. Geographical space is the space occupied by Mankind: the *Ecumene* of the Ancients. It is limited, since it cannot go beyond the technological capacities of Man; however, as those capacities develop, geographical space is constantly extending its limits. The concept of geographical space is close to that of political space: both are extremely complex and synthetic. All aspects of human life are integrated in them: physical and cultural, economic and social, military and diplomatic.

Geographical space is subdivided into territories occupied, organized and dominated by different groups which form simple or more elaborate political societies. The partitioning of geographical space is a fundamental reality of our world. One of the major symbolic representations of Humanity is the political map of the world: an image of fragmentation.

Partitioning is a highly geographical concept. It is also a fundamental political concept, even though Political Science has not yet adopted it to a sufficient degree. The form of partitioning defines the limits of the various polities. Changing it brings about results of enormous political consequences:



Fig. 1: The partitioning of European space – The density of borders created in Europe during modern times is an expression of territorial instability. It increases from West to East. (Source: Prevelakis, 1994).

majorities become minorities and vice-versa, the regional balance of power is altered, etc. For this reason so much blood has been shed for territorial disputes (fig. 1).

The recent wars in the Balkans have shown once again the importance of partitioning. The unified Yugoslav space has been subdivided into Serbia, Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Macedonia, and Montenegro. Serbs became a minority in Croatia and in Bosnia. They tried, in their turn, to introduce a new partitioning in order to become a majority in even smaller territories. In Croatia they failed and have been obliged to leave their lands; in Bosnia they more or less succeeded, but caused wars and suffering. Similar processes are taking place in the zone of contact between Serbs and Albanians. The Albanian population, a minority in Serbia but a majority in the Serbian province of Kosovo, decided to separate its destinies from those of Serbia. The *de facto* secession of Kosovo transformed the Serbs living there into a persecuted minority. Similar analysis can be made about Macedonia, where the Albanians form a minority. The autonomy of the Albanian-populated areas of Western Macedonia and the prospect of their inclusion into a larger Albanian-dominated territorial entity – Kosovo or Greater Albania – would automatically transform the Macedonians of those areas into minorities (fig. 2).

The partitioning of geographical space is therefore a fundamental concept and a political issue of great importance. The question Jean Gottmann asked was why Mankind needs to partition geographical space; what leads to the fragmentation of Mankind along territorial lines? This is an often-asked question since our dominant view of world affairs conveys the opposite, the unification of the Ecumene.

The potential for circulation

Geographical space was and is characterized by heterogeneity. Natural resources vary from place to place. Mountainous areas abound in products that are lacking in plains and vice-versa. Complementarity of resources can be observed at all geographical scales, from the local to the global. Human life and action reinforce natural heterogeneity. The distribution of manpower or of capital is as uneven as that of natural resources.

Spatial heterogeneity creates differences of potential that, in their turn, can generate currents. Thus, high population densities in one part of the world and the absence of manpower in another constitute a difference of human potential that ultimately will lead to migrations.

If all the differences of potential existing around the earth were added, the outcome would be an enormous capital of economic opportunity. This opportunity cannot however bring economic results as long as there are obstacles, natural or man-made, to movement. The metaphor of communicating vessels is eloquent: the difference of level of water is not sufficient to bring about the flow of water. It is also necessary to establish a connection. Only then will the levels become equal as a result of the movement of water from one vessel to the other.

Humanity has been creating connections between places with differences of potential since times immemorial. From the first boats serving the commerce between different shores to the Internet, Mankind has been struggling against the "friction of space" in order to enlarge the realm of move-

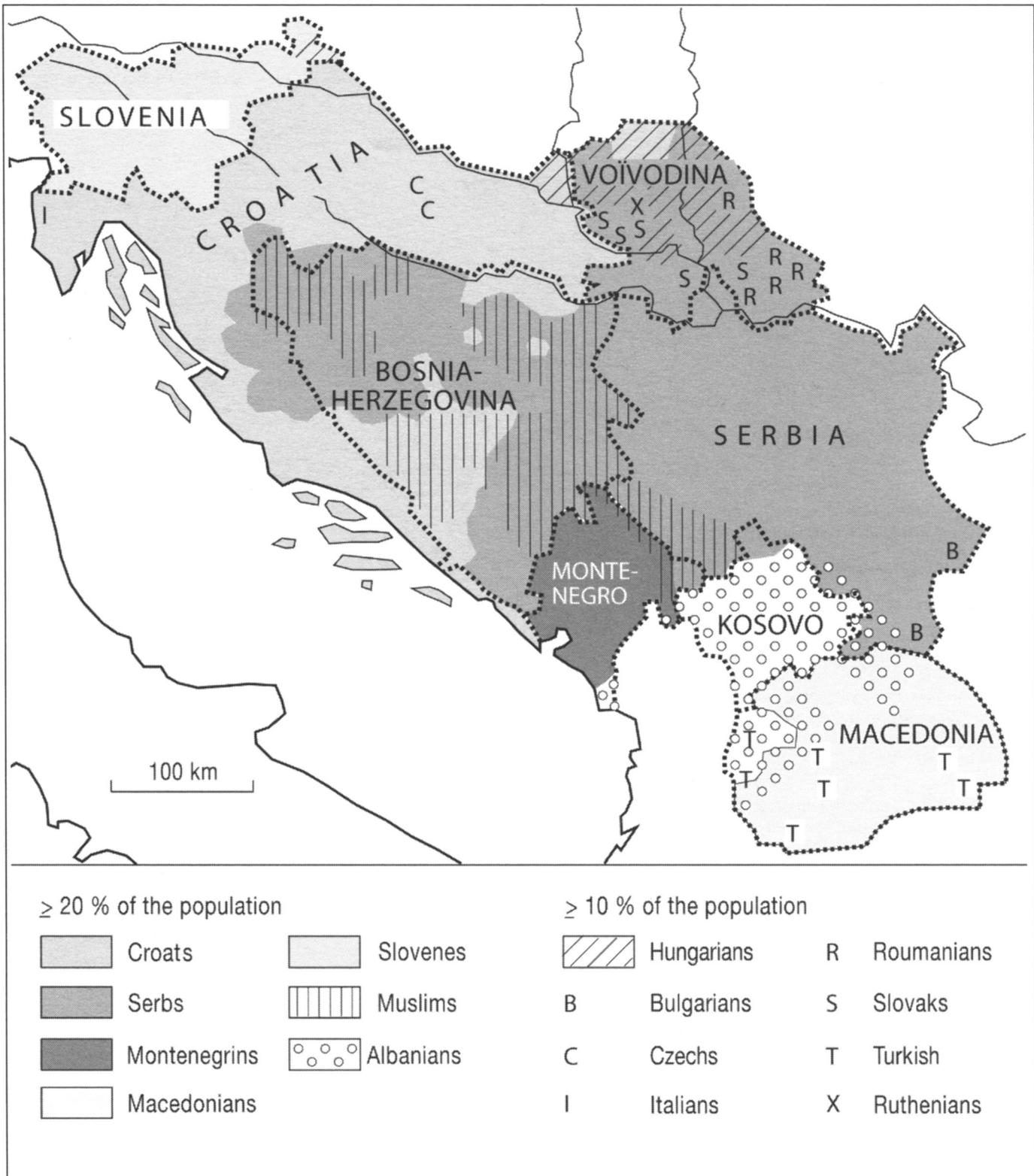


Fig. 2: The importance of territory – The lack of coincidence between political and ethno-linguistic or ethno-religious territories as a cause of conflict in former Yugoslavia. (Source: Prevelakis, 1994).

ment. The more there is movement, the more economic and cultural benefits are reaped, even though certain individuals and groups may suffer. The positive global outcome from the expansion of movement and exchange creates an enormous force pushing towards the unification of the world. Jean

Gottmann called this force **Circulation**.

This force is contradictory to the partitioning of geographical space – at least at a first level. Its triumph is associated with the abolition of every form of technical or political obstacle to movement: borders should disappear and the Ecumene

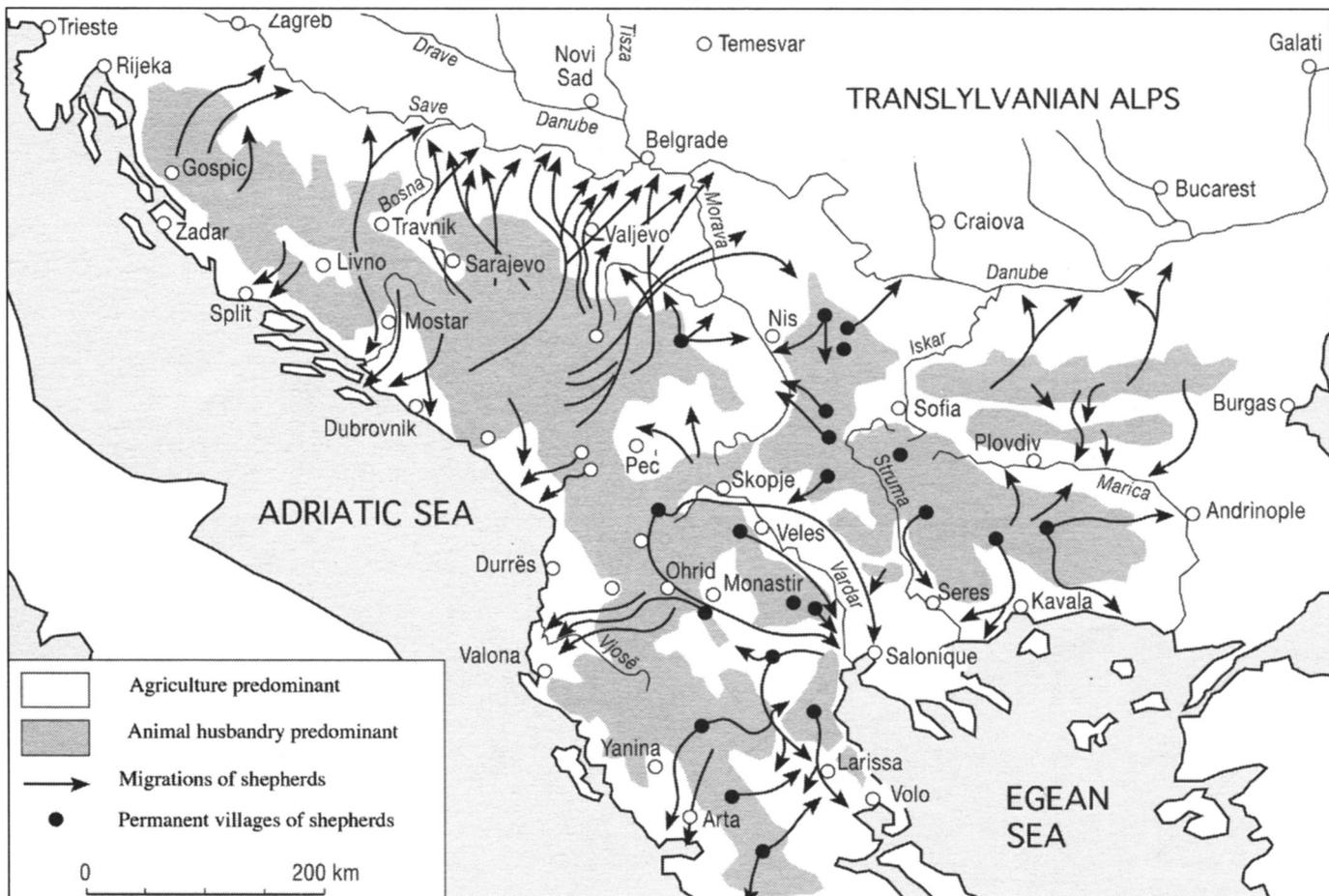


Fig. 3: Circulation in the Balkans – The arrows indicate the annual migrations of semi-nomadic (transhumant) shepherds. (Source: Prevelakis, 1994).

should become a unified economic field (fig. 3). The generalization of circulation, if realized some day, will lead to the gradual abolition of the heterogeneity – as in the metaphor of the communicating vessels. Mankind would live in a uniform geographical space – at least in respect to economic and social conditions. Such a uniformization would abolish what Jean Gottmann called “geographical injustice” and, with it, most of the causes of conflict and war. History would thus “come to an end” and Geography (as the study of the diversity of the face of the Earth) almost disappear.

The dream of unification of Humanity is not new. At certain times in history, parts of mankind came quite close to it. The Roman Empire unified most of the known world of the ancients. Much later, the British Empire also unified a large part of the earth, but for a much shorter period. However, partitioning was never absent, manifesting itself at different scales. Even more important, the Roman Empire collapsed before managing to extend its territory to the whole of the Ecumene. Partitioning ultimately claimed its rights and the long period of Roman unification gave its place to the era of extreme feudal fragmentation in Europe.

The invention of iconography

Since the advantages of circulation are obvious, how can we explain its failure to unify the world? Jean Gottmann answered this question by introducing a second factor; by imagining the dialogue of two terms, the combination of which leads to an

infinity of possible outcomes, some of which are represented by the political map of the world at different historical moments. This second element he called **Iconography**. Circulation and Iconography are therefore the two poles around which Geopolitics oscillate. When Circulation triumphs, geographical space becomes unified; on the contrary, the strengthening of Iconography leads to additional or reinforced partitioning.

Iconography is described by Jean Gottmann as the “glue” which binds individuals together in order to form political societies. It also relates them to a portion of space. This triangular relationship leads to the emergence of territory, since space becomes thus inhabited thanks to the iconographic “glue.” In its turn, territory reinforces the links between the individual members of the political society and becomes part of their iconography.

Iconographies are not made up only of territorial representations, even if most of their elements have a relationship with territoriality, real, imagined or dreamed. Religion, language, history, taboos, all these elements are integrated and mobilized in the constitution of an iconography. Iconographies are made up of cultural elements – or, in the terms of Samuel Huntington – of *civilizational* elements. However, the use of those quite vague terms (culture, civilization) for lack of better ones should not lead to an image of iconographies made up of things immaterial. The elements of iconographies can be very material indeed: the landscapes of our homelands (with their seasonal perfumes) or our religious rit-



Fig. 4: Soviet iconography in Sebastopol – A combination of communist and neoclassical symbols in a city of great symbolic value for Tsarist Russia. (Source: Photograph by the author).

uals (with the tastes of the prescribed foods) are parts of our iconographies. Such iconographic elements are very resistant because they are deeply rooted, far beyond our conscious mind. Through the concept of iconography, Gottmann introduced the anthropological dimension in the debate about identity.

Iconographies can manifest themselves at different scales. Local iconographies can co-exist or be in contradiction with imperial iconographies creating thus an extraordinary interplay of scales. Conflicts or alliances of iconographies rhythm the history of large areas, as shown by the rise and fall of the Ottoman Empire. During the last centuries however, this complicated game has been exceptionally simplified in Europe – and then in the rest of the world – by the domination of iconographies functioning at the national scale. Thus, today's world is characterized by national iconographies subdividing geographical space into national territories. This makes the task of political cartography much easier than at the time of the Holy German Empire.

Iconographies explain thus the failure of circulation to unify the world. Geopolitical systems are founded on iconographies, without which they would crumble under the pressure of forces of circulation. The Soviet Union offered recently a perfect illustration of the dangers related to a weakening iconography. The Soviet Union was much less built on the

communist ideology than on the Soviet iconography, whose father was Joseph Stalin. The communist regime created by Lenin was extremely vulnerable and would not have resisted the German attack without Stalin's iconographic manipulation. He did not hesitate to rehabilitate the symbols of Tsarist Russia and to combine them with elements of the communist ideology that he reinterpreted. Eisenstein, the filmmaker, created through his cinema some of the new icons by combining the symbols of eternal Russia with references from the present. Constructivism, the artistic expression of the communist ideology of the 1920s, gave its place to socialist realism. Finally, the Communist Party took the place of the Church in the same way that Communist Orthodoxy replaced Christian Orthodoxy. The Soviet iconography explains to a large extent the success of the Red Army against the Wehrmacht as well as the transformation of the Soviet Union into the second super power of the post-World War II era.

However, during the decades of the Cold War, the heritage of Stalin weakened, and, together with it, the Soviet iconography. Its erosion can be explained by various reasons, one of which was the activity of Radio Free Europe. The circulation of jazz music across the Iron Curtain probably did as much for the collapse of the Soviet Union as the nuclear threat of the USA (fig. 4).

The end of the Soviet Union is equivalent to the disappear-



Fig. 5: Greek-American iconography in Boston – Resisting destabilization of a diaspora community after the end of the Cold War. (Source: Photograph by the author).

ance of the Soviet iconography. The fragmentation of the Soviet space was the result of the recomposition of the existing iconographic material, its redistribution in new forms. Russia reappeared together with the return of Russian iconography while the renewed Ukrainian or Georgian iconographies led to Ukrainian and Georgian independence.

Iconographies are therefore essential for the stability of a State. They explain why people are ready to sacrifice their lives defending its territorial “integrity.” However, even if we accept their usefulness – together with their virulence, since they also serve to wage war – their *raison d’être* is still unclear. Why does Mankind need States, Territories and Iconographies? Why can't it form one human family, occupying a unified Ecumene animated by unhindered circulation? Why can't the anarchist's dream become reality?

Iconography, a self-defence mechanism

To answer this question Jean Gottmann argues that iconographies constitute societies' defensive mechanisms. What do societies have to defend themselves against?

Circulation is certainly essential to human life. We can understand its importance when we are deprived of the liberty to circulate. Short of capital punishment, the worst penalty is life imprisonment. However, circulation has to be regulated, otherwise it can bring about very negative results. Circulation is the geographical expression of the wider concept of change. Circulation is change in space. In its turn, it

produces all kinds of transformations. Commerce changes the terms of competition where new and inexpensive products are introduced and can thus ruin traditional economy, as happened in India during the 19th century with the introduction of British textiles. New ideas penetrate societies through circulation and produce radical changes in the behavior of populations. Change is, for conservative minds, equivalent to corruption. Plato's utopia was a society without change. One of the ways devised by the great philosopher to attain this ideal was to minimize circulation. His utopian city was to be built on an island.

Isolation as a means of preserving a society from change has been adopted by many regimes, from Japan of the Tokugawa (mid 17th-19th centuries) to Albania of Enver Hoxha or to Stalin's Iron Curtain. However, the abolition of circulation weakens the defences of society by rigidifying its iconography. It can lead to its collapse when finally circulation manages to make its way through the fissures of its walls (fig. 5).

Circulation is thus a factor of change which, if left unhindered, can destabilize societies in the same way that too rapid change can lead individuals to the loss of their psychological balance. Like persons, societies do not all have the same capacity to adapt to change. Some are more threatened by change than others. However, no society can adapt to an unlimited amount of circulation in the same way that no person is capable of constant reinvention of his or her lifestyle. Even the open societies of Western Europe of today suffer from the stresses of immigration and tend to restrict circulation of people as the rise of extremist ideologies shows.

Circulation is therefore regulated by Iconography. The spatial result of their interplay is the partitioning of the world. For this reason partitioning is dynamic. Borders do change, in spite of efforts to limit those changes to a minimum, to preserve the *status quo*. Even when their geometry remains immobile, they can become more or less open, expressing thus more subtle, but still very important, transformations in the partitioning of geographical space. In the European Union, state borders remained unchanged during the Cold War; however their function changed enormously during that period. European integration, by promoting the free circulation of goods, people and ideas, has altered the partitioning of the continent without shifting its borderlines. The end of the Cold War also more or less respected the geometry of European borders. However, the disappearance of the Iron Curtain completely changed the function of those that were part of it. Again, the respect of the principle of the intangibility of borders did not limit the dynamic character of the partitioning of geographical space.

These two sets of forces, Circulation and Iconography, do not always function in the direction of either unifying or partitioning space. There are cases when Circulation can be captured by iconography and serve its purposes; and vice-versa. Scale is an important aspect of the dialectics of partitioning.

Thus, European integration has promoted circulation and has thus contributed in de-partitioning a large part of European space. Borders between France, Belgium or Germany became practically invisible. The unification of European space by circulation has been possible because of a certain idea of Europe, because of a European iconography, however weak it may still be. The more circulation develops inside Europe, the stronger the European iconography will become. Various programs of the European Commission (such as Erasmus) promoted the movement of students in order to bring about a feeling of common identity among the future opinion makers.

The growth of a European Iconography however brings about another type of partitioning, the one between the European Union and the rest of the world. The case of Great Britain shows the dilemmas of repartitioning. Will British students prefer to go to other European universities for post-graduate studies rather than to American universities? This would be one of the tests concerning the iconographic limits of Europe. We see thus that Iconography does not always limit circulation, but rather redistributes and regulates it.

One could multiply the examples in arguing that the Gottmannian dialectics of Circulation and Iconography are able to interpret efficiently the geopolitical evolution at different places and times. Through their prism, history is animated; the political map of the world constantly changes form, scale and function with the rise and fall of Iconographies and with the ebb and flow of Circulation.

Jean Gottmann's ideas in the post-Cold War period

This extraordinary intellectual instrument devised by Jean Gottmann in the late 1940s and in the early 1950s remained unexploited during the Cold War. It is true that this was an exceptional period of stability, at least in the Western world. Changes of borders outside Europe and America continued to take place, however the traditional eurocentrism of the social sciences limited the perception of these events (with the exception of Israeli geography, for obvious reasons). Thus, the ideas of Jean Gottmann attracted little interest. Their author, discouraged, did not fully develop them in a theoretical book – the closest to a theoretical presentation is his

Significance of Territory – as he doubted if he would find a public or even a publisher. Jean Gottmann's ideas are dispersed in articles and in regional analyses. Our task today is to assemble them into a coherent *corpus*.

With the end of the Cold War, the predominant paradigms collapsed. Economism, either left wing (Marxism) or right wing (Liberalism), was proven unable to explain the passions leading to conflicts and wars, from the Balkans to Afghanistan and even further. The social sciences have failed in predicting the new threats to stability and in preparing States and Governments to cope with them, as the events of 11 September 2001 have shown. The replacement of old paradigms by new ones became an urgent necessity. Certain prominent intellectuals have tried to respond to this need. Samuel Huntington is the most well-known among them.

Samuel Huntington's ideas about the "clash of civilizations" seem to correspond most to the new intellectual and geopolitical environment. They have the great advantage of bringing the cultural factor back to our attention. However, the fundamental hypothesis of Huntington is an over-simplification of a much more complex reality. It has the advantage that it has permitted Huntington's ideas to reach a very wide audience and to contribute to the relativization of Economism. However, over-simplification can constitute a danger. The most obvious risk of Huntington's hypothesis is that it may lead to the consideration that populations' geopolitical behaviors are predetermined by cultural factors that can neither change nor be interpreted in various manners. Thus, after having abandoned the Marxist deterministic historic view, a new kind of historical determinism threatens to appear through the vulgarizations of Huntington's hypothesis.

Jean Gottmann's ideas can offer a much more balanced solution to the need of a new paradigm. His concept of Iconography reintroduces the role of culture in politics. However, there is nothing static about Iconographies. They constitute elements of conservatism and inertia. However they change constantly through the redefinition of their elements in their effort to adapt to the changing challenges of circulation.

The role of circulation is as essential as iconography. The material world of the economy, of technology and of migrations cannot be ignored. Focusing only on culture or civilization can lead to a vision as mistaken as that of the Cold War Economisms.

A short presentation of the applicability of Jean Gottmann's ideas to the major issues of today's world will show the efficiency and the relevance of his theoretical framework.

Globalization as Circulation generalized

Globalization has occupied a large part of the debate during the last decade. Some have argued that it corresponds to a new phenomenon, others that there have been precedents. Together with the theories of Globalization, the argument that Humanity has been unified in a Global Village has been advanced. The End of History and the End of Geography have been announced in the same outlook.

In Gottmann's terms, Globalization corresponds to a dramatic advance of Circulation, due to a series of technological, economic and political evolutions. It is not original in essence. However the extent to which circulation has become a generalized phenomenon is new.

Will the opening of the world bring about progress and happiness to Mankind, as some argue, or is it a threat as the anti-globalization movement tries to persuade international public opinion? If we follow Gottmann's ideas, we will arrive at an in-

termediary position. Globalization has positive effects of various kinds; it is certainly a factor limiting "geographical injustice" even if, at the same time, it reinforces social inequalities at various scales. However, whatever the merits and the disadvantages of globalization, one thing is clear. As a generalization of circulation, globalization is a factor of destabilization. Our world has certainly become more interesting during recent decades, but at the same time it is a more dangerous and unpredictable world.

The new instability is multi-faced. The creation of one world market has thus introduced new financial threats. A global economic crisis with unprecedented destructive results is looming like a sword of Damocles over the national and the global economies.

However, the most spectacular form of destabilization related to globalization has been the events of 11 September, 2001. The USA, by dominating the world, has also unified it militarily and politically. Unification leads also to polarization. The relationship of Center and Periphery that has been created leads naturally to the interiorization of peripheral conflicts in the Center. No wonder therefore that violence has shifted, that the symbols of the Core have been attacked. The events of September 2001 have been the price of globalization, a price paid by the major power promoting globalization in its very flesh.

The major force of terrorism resides in the resentment created in peripheral populations as a reaction to a dominant and unifying cultural model. Again we encounter the destabilizing role of circulation. The global cultural model, diffused all around the world, is threatening the values of traditional societies. In order to preserve their social order, they have to promote strong and aggressive iconographies that will struggle against the free circulation of ideas and its promoters. Thus, the cultural and political foundations for terrorism (and for other forms of conflict) are laid.

At the same time, globalization offers enormous new possibilities to terrorism and limits the means of States to defend their territories. Free circulation of people all around the world helps terrorists in their movements and offers them the possibility to extend their networks everywhere. Freedom of the movement of capital solves problems of terrorist logistics that would be much more complicated in economies under the control of States. Finally, the volume of information circulating around the world facilitates the organization and the functioning of global terrorist networks that can hide their communications behind a cloud of "noise" of unthinkable dimensions.

After a period of rapid globalization, the destabilizing effects of circulation start to become obvious. Resistance to circulation is growing first of all in those who lose because of it. As the global destabilizing effects are becoming felt and threaten even the "winners" of the game, more and more voices argue in favor of limiting circulation and demand to moderate globalization.

Thus, we should not be surprised if Mankind, after its great advances in developing circulation during the past decades, has now started to build obstacles to movement, to develop iconographic defences against destabilization. Contrary to the idea that globalization will go on indefinitely, Gottmann's ideas lead to the prediction that we will soon enter into a new period characterized by protectionism, xenophobia and the constitution of regional blocs, probably antagonistic economically and politically. A new political map of the world is in the making. Its form may surprise us.

Europe is one of the major issues of the redesign of the world map. The challenges of European integration are also clarified by the use of Gottmann's concepts.

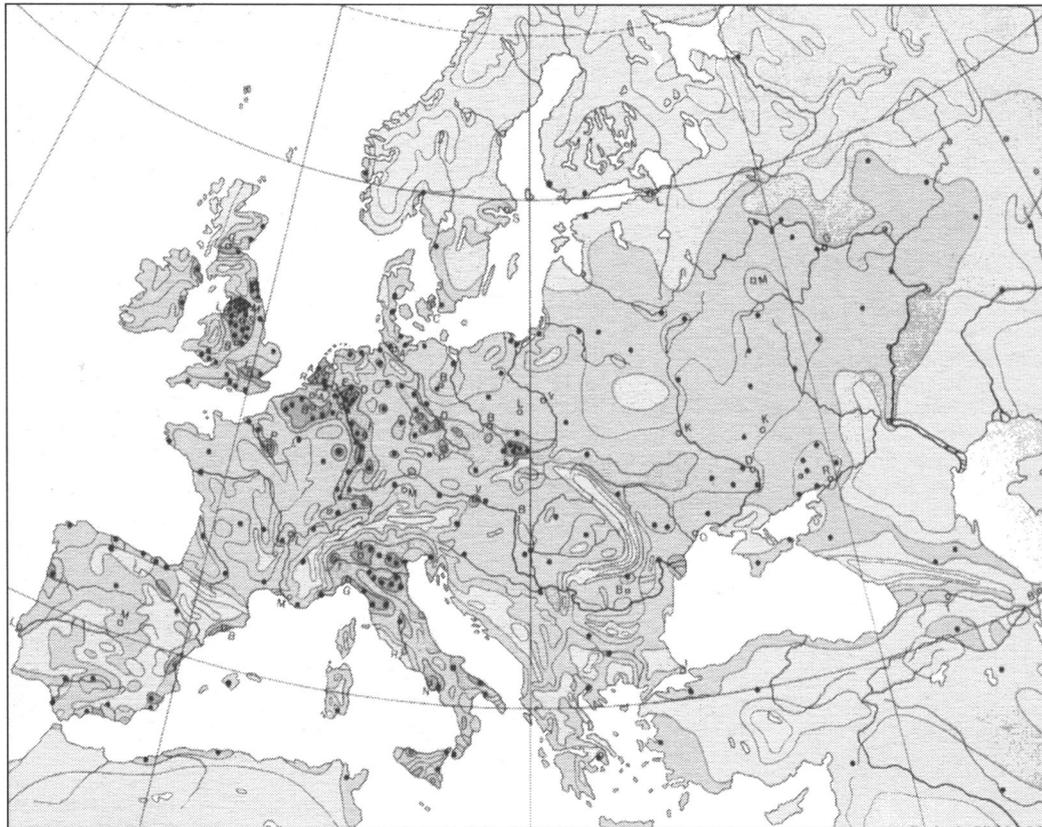
The European question, an iconographic dilemma

During the Cold War, European integration was the result of a rather vague European iconography and of the fear of Communism. Europe has been constructed as part of a larger anti-Communist geopolitical structure, dominated by the USA. The Cold War European iconography included large parts of a liberal Western ideology that Europe shared with North America. The end of the Cold War challenged this outlook since the Communist threat disappeared. Europe inherited its unity from the Cold War, but, at the same time, lost part of its *raison d'être*. Why should Europe remain united?

Unable to answer this question in a convincing way, the leaders of Europe engaged their countries in pursuit of deepening and widening the European realm as if those policies were self-evident. The metaphor of the bicycle has been used as an explanation: a European integration that stopped moving would fall. However, the major geopolitical problems of European integration could not be addressed in this way. The question is if there can be a European iconography strong enough to overcome the influence of national iconographies in times of crisis and economic difficulty. Will the French or the Germans accept to sacrifice essential national or other interests for the European idea when no major outside threat is present? Or, for the sake of European unity, should a threat be invented? Until now, the peoples of Europe have not been confronted with those dilemmas. Before 1989, the communist threat functioned as efficient glue; after the end of the Cold War the euphoria of the victory created an atmosphere of optimism. However, sooner or later, the moment of truth will come and at that moment Europe will need a strong iconography in order to resist forces of disintegration. The arrival of an era of global regression in respect of globalization will soon create important tensions inside and outside Europe and will render the question of European iconography more and more urgent.

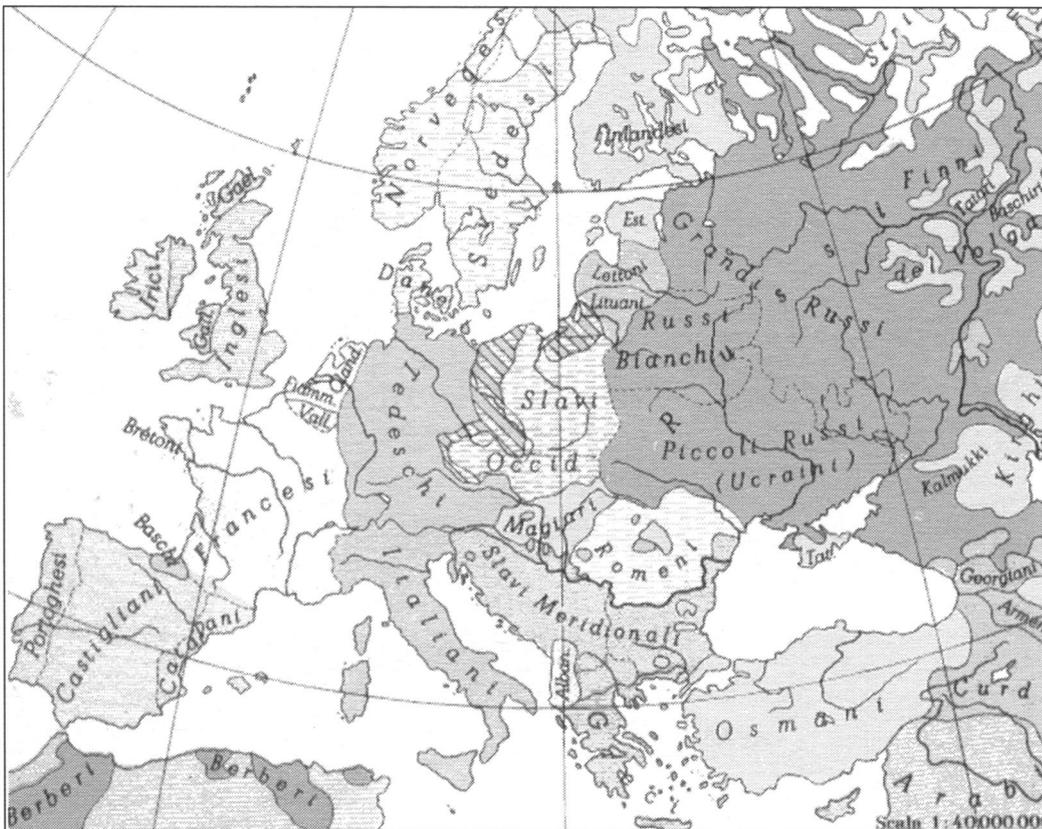
This question is related to a series of issues, economic, cultural, historical and political. The process of enlargement is of critical importance. Including new countries will introduce more cultural heterogeneity to Europe. Some analysts consider this as a major danger, as a threat to dilute and therefore weaken whatever exists of a European iconography. On the other hand, without enlargement, what would be the core of the European iconography? The personality of Europe would appear as that of a prosperous private club of dominant nations, ignoring the difficulties of the others. If the basis of European iconography is to be arrogance and egoism, then why not return to nationalism? National iconographies are much more efficient in expressing isolation and xenophobia. To be successful, the European iconography has to be open to the others and with a positive outlook towards circulation.

The issue of iconography is therefore the most critical European question of the coming years. For this reason, the debate around the European identity is starting to develop in many institutions, although still not enough. There are no easy answers to this question since European history is characterized by a very strong heritage of national iconographies, which are the least malleable of all. In order to advance in this debate, a solid theoretical framework is necessary. Jean Gottmann's ideas on the dynamics of iconographies and on the dialectics of geographical space offer a convincing basis. The European question is, finally, a question of partitioning of geographical space. The Europeans are participating in the redefinition of the World Political Map of the 21st century. They need it for that geographical theory. Jean Gottmann's project of renewing it is relevant again.



- inabitato
 - 0-1 abit. per kmq.
 - 1-10
 - 10-25 abit. per kmq
 - 25-50 "
 - 50-100
 - 100-200 abit per kmq.
 - oltre 200 "
- Città con oltre 100 000 abit.
 - Città con oltre 500 000 abit.
 - Città con oltre 1 milione di ab.

Fig. 6: Population density in Europe – Mean for square kilometer. (Source: Atlante Geografico Zanichelli).



- Neolatini:**
- Italiani
 - Francesi e Valloni
 - Spagnoli e Portoghesi
 - Romeni
- Germani:**
- Tedeschi
 - Inglesi
 - Olandesi e Flamminghi
 - Scandinavi
- Slavi:**
- Slavi orientali
 - Slavi occidentali
 - Slavi meridionali (Iugoslavi)
- Lituani e Lettoni
 - Celti
 - Greci
 - Albanesi
 - Iranici (Armeni, Curdi)
- Uralo-Altai:**
- Finni
 - Turchi
- Semito-Camiti:**
- Arabi
 - Berberi

Fig. 7: Peoples and languages in Europe. (Source: Atlante Geografico Zanichelli).

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Fig. 8: Jean and Bernice Gottmann, and (left) Panayis Psomopoulos, in the Zappeion Megaron Lecture Hall, Athens, Greece, attending the meeting on "The big metropolises around the Mediterranean Sea" in November 1986 convened by the "Great World Metropolises Research Committee" of the International Geographical Union, chaired at the time by Jacqueline Beaujeu-Garnier. The meeting was organized by George Prevelakis and sponsored by the Athens Municipality.