

Joint Commission Seminar on Historical Maps, Atlases and Toponymy

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forum



Jana Moser (Hrsg.)

Joint Commission Seminar on Historical Maps, Atlases and Toponymy



Heft 30 ■ 2016

**Leibniz-Institut
für Länderkunde**



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Jana Moser (Hrsg.)

Joint Commission Seminar on Historical Maps, Atlases and Toponymy



International Cartographic Association
Association Cartographique Internationale



International Geographical Union
Union Géographique Internationale

Leibniz-Institut für Länderkunde
Leipzig 2016



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The **Joint Commission Seminar on Historical Maps, Atlases and Toponymy** took place on Thursday 22nd and Friday 23rd August 2013 at the *Leibniz-Institut für Länderkunde* (Institute for Regional Geography) in Leipzig. As a pre-conference to the 26th International Cartographic Conference in Dresden, Germany, the seminar was organised by the following commissions and working groups:

- ICA Commission on the History of Cartography
- ICA Commission on Atlases
- Joint ICA Working Group and IGU Commission on Toponymy

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Dear colleagues, workshop chairs and delegates!

A warm welcome to all of you at the Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography—or as we say in short: at the IfL. It is a great honour and a pleasure for our institute to host such high-ranking scientists on the special event of a joint workshop of two commissions and one working group from the International Cartographic Association and from the International Geographical Union. Special thanks to Peter Jordan, Elri Liebenberg and Paulo de Menezes for the idea to have this Pre-Conference workshop of the ICC here in Leipzig.

We are convinced that you have chosen a good place for such an endeavour as our institute's research agenda and our publications are centred on the combination of geography and cartography. Here, for example, is to mention our work on the National Atlas of Germany, as well as actual research projects like the Digital Atlas of Geopolitical Imaginaries of Eastern Central Europe (DAPRO) which examined the possibilities for using new media in visualising spatial images in transnational contexts, or Tambora – The climate and environmental history collaborative research environment, which aims at reconstructing, analysing and visualising climatic trends in Europe on a historical scale using archive materials and hermeneutical methods.

The sessions you organised for today and tomorrow thematically fit very well to our philosophy that Geography and Cartography are two disciplines which can cross-fertilise if they take each other serious in their reflexive disciplinary discourses. They offer highly relevant themes in the question how to pursue and operationalise such collaboration. And of course they are interesting to us and our fellows and we want to thank you for the opportunity to host you here and to take part in your scholarly debates. I hope that all of you will find the time to attend the guided tours through our library with the collection of atlases and through the Archive of Geography.

I wish you a pleasant, and more importantly, an interesting and highly instructive time at the Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography.

Sebastian Lentz

Director of Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography



Dear colleagues

First of all I would like to thank Elri Liebenberg for her idea to organise a joint seminar and to involve our Commission. I think that the three commissions have some areas of common interest and that it makes sense to gather not only in the framework of the large International Cartographic Conference (ICC), but also as a smaller group, in which it is easier to get into contact and to present the three research directions to colleagues with very related interests.

Secondly, I am glad that the new ICA Working Group/IGU Commission on Toponymy with Paulo de Menezes as its chair from the ICA side is on board. This is a good opportunity for this new Working Group to present its topic and to demonstrate that toponyms are very relevant also with historical maps and atlases. As a founding and steering committee member of this Working Group/Commission it is always my intention to integrate it into activities for which toponyms are or can be important. It is still a fact that toponyms are regarded as a marginal field. This is also true within cartography. I would rather say that toponyms cannot be overestimated: They have a strong symbolic power and give for this reason often also ground to political conflict. So they have to be treated with utmost care and based on scientific criteria.

Thirdly, I am very grateful for the opportunity to hold this seminar at the Leibniz-Institut für Länderkunde. It is the home of the German national atlas and its derivatives. It is the centre of regional geographical research in Germany. It boasts also—as you will see—a wonderful library, certainly the most comprehensive geographical library in German-speaking countries including an excellent collection of historical maps, postcards and landscape paintings. We will have the opportunity to be guided through it during these days. So I am very grateful to Sebastian Lentz, the head of the Institute, Jana Moser as the local organiser and Heinz-Peter Brogiato, the head of the library, for this opportunity.

I think that we, the organisers, were really surprised by the great interest in this event. Originally we thought of a rather small circle with just a few paper presentations and much time for discussion. At the end we had 40 registrations and 17 papers. This modified also somewhat the character of our meeting into a sequence of paper presentations—into a small-scale conference, so to say. The range of topics, however, remained rather homogenous—additionally bound together by the common umbrella theme of place names.

Place names play also an important role in atlases—as it will become obvious by the following papers. So it was clear for us, the Atlas Commission, to participate in this meeting.

Just to present you a short picture of our Commission: It was founded as the (first “Working Group”, then) “Commission for National and Regional Atlases”, but was always responsible for all types of atlases, i.e. not only national and regional, but also city atlases, thematic atlases, school atlases and popular world or hand atlases. Atlases always were and still are very likely the most comprehensive task in cartography. You have to develop an editorial concept, define and structure the contents, get the project financed, find authors and to cooperate with them, transform the authors’ manuscripts and data collections into methodologically correct maps, to define a good mixture of additional non-cartographic elements such as texts, pictures, diagrams, look at the product from the user perspective and provide for adequate dissemination—to mention just the main steps. So they may be called the “mother of all battles” in cartography.

National, regional and city atlases play also an important role in community and image building. Already the first national atlas, the Atlas of Finland, was conceived as a manifestation of Finnish national identity in Finland’s struggle for independence. The new National Atlas of Germany has also the task to represent a re-unified country to its own population and the outside world. In our globalising world national, regional and city branding becomes always more important in the competition for economic investment. So it seemed and seems worthwhile to devote an ICA commission to a specific form of cartographic publications, while otherwise ICA commissions focus rather on a thematic or methodological aspect of cartography.

Throughout its existence the Atlas Commission has tried offering a forum for the presentation of new atlases which can be regarded as benchmarks for further atlas work—by organising or co-organising workshops and symposia (last year in Kiev, Guangzhou and Vienna) or sessions within International Cartographic Conferences (as next week in Dresden). A very specific project of our Commission, already for some time, is the edition of a cook book for atlas editors. The project is developing, but not really near to completion. We do hope that we can publish it well before the next ICC in Rio de Janeiro in 2015.

I wish this seminar best success and all of you a pleasant stay.

Peter Jordan

Chair: ICA Atlas Commission



Dear Colleagues

As a pre-conference event to the 2013 International Cartographic Conference in Dresden, the ICA Commission on the History of Cartography, the ICA Commission on Atlases, and the Joint ICA Working Group and IGU Commission on Toponymy organised a **Seminar on Historical Maps, Atlases and Toponymy** at the *Leibniz-Institut für Länderkunde* (Institute for Regional Geography) in Leipzig, Germany on Thursday 22 and Friday 23 August 2013. The seminar programme made provision for paper presentations dealing with the **function and use of place names on historical maps and in atlases**, and consisted of sessions on **Place names and atlases, Cartographic place names research** and **Place names on historical maps**. Twenty papers were read and the Seminar was attended by approximately 30 people.

The intimate relationship between the history of cartography, atlases, and place names is well-known and the Commission on the History of Cartography was pleased when Peter Jordan, chair of the ICA Commission on Atlases, and Paulo Menezes, chair of the Joint ICA Working Group and IGU Commission on Toponymy, agreed to join us for this seminar. From an organisational point of view there is much to say for Commissions with overlapping interests to have joint meetings, and from an academic point of view it is not only advisable, but also necessary that such Commissions should take note of each other's work. The place names of a people constitute a very important part of the language of that people and are an essential part of the cultural heritage of a nation. Historical maps are, *inter alia*, records of the evolution of place names over time, and atlases as collections of maps of a specific region or area are ready-to-use sources of the place names in use at a certain time and an indication of how certain names have been adapted, translated and supplanted relative to cultural and political changes and developments.

Historical maps were initially viewed as historical documents to be used in reconstructing the geographies of the past, whether of the ancient world, the biblical lands, or the age of discoveries when the foundations were laid for the overseas empires of the 19th century. Owing to the emergence of Cartography during the latter half of the 20th century as an independent academic discipline and practical activity, this idea has fortunately now become obsolete. Today the history of cartography is recognised as the history of cartographic technology and as an interdisciplinary field in which early maps are studied as artifacts in their own right, as well as a graphic language that has often functioned as a force for change in history.

Since 2007 the work of the ICA Commission on the HoC is mainly concentrating on cartography during the 19th and 20th centuries. The reasons for this is that modern cartographers who need to draw on the experience and models of the past are seldom interested in cartographic data older than 1800. Other considerations are that maps, and even atlases, are no longer paper products

only and that current cartographers should be encouraged to preserve maps for posterity. The latter is especially of concern in the current climate of rapid technological innovation where yesterday's mapping is often considered obsolete and cartographic records of both official and private provenance are willfully destroyed.

We are grateful to the members of our Commission who have opted to present papers at this Seminar and we trust that their presentations will highlight the importance of the study of historical maps, historical atlases and toponymy in understanding the cultural, economic and political evolution of landscapes. We thank the Director of the IfL, Dr. Sebastian Lenz, for making the Institute available as venue for this Seminar, Dr. Jana Moser for her hard work as the local organiser, and the Head of the Institute's exemplary library, Heinz-Peter Brogiato, for his participation in our proceedings.

Sincerely

Elri Liebenberg

Chair: ICA Commission on the History of Cartography (2007–2015).



Dear Colleagues

The joint IGU/ICA Commission/Working Group on Toponymy was proud to work together with both ICA Commissions on the History of Cartography and Atlases during the Seminar on Historical Maps, Atlases and Toponymy at the Leibniz-Institut für Länderkunde (Institute for Regional Geography) in Leipzig, Germany. This meeting took place on Thursday 22nd and Friday 23rd August 2013, as a pre-conference to the 26th International Cartographic Conference, in Dresden, Germany.

This Working Group was the youngest ICA research group of three involved in this pre-conference.

The talks for the creation of an ICA/IGU working group or technical commission acting on toponymy were initiated during the 26th UNGEGN, in Vienna. The need for a specific group inside the two organisations, ICA and IGU, was discussed at this meeting. The importance of a dedicated forum to discuss geographical and cartographical aspects for the presentation of research was highlighted. Discussions regarding the joint working group continued during the 25th International Cartographic Conference in Paris, France, in 2011. During the Paris meeting, the importance of toponymy and the need for cooperation among sister organisations was introduced, at the same time IGU supported the idea of a joint ICA/IGU commission on this theme. Additionally, the role and structure of existing toponymic fora such as the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN) and the International Council of Onomastic Sciences (ICOS) was explained. After the Paris Conference a working group on toponymy was proposed to the ICA Executive Committee as a first step to the creation of a joint ICA/IGU commission.

With ICA Executive Committee agreement for the proposal and the relating of terms of reference, a first meeting of the proposed joint commission was organised at the Regional IGU conference in Santiago, Chile in November 2011. Present at this meeting were Prof. Ron Abler, President of IGU, Prof. Cosimo Palagiano, Italy, Prof. Peter Jordan, Austria and Prof. Paulo Menezes, Brazil, ICA Chair. It was communicated that the IGU Executive Board had approved this joint institution at the rank of commission.

This event could not be a better opportunity to highlight the relationship between the three commissions. The interaction of toponymy with the historical register provided by maps and atlases on the geographical space will show the register of languages, power, cultural aspects, beliefs and empowerment of people, nations and countries. In this way, when invited by Elri Liebenberg, chair of the ICA Commission on the History of Cartography, and Peter Jordan, chair of the ICA Commission on Atlases, both, Cosimo Palagiano and I had no doubt about the success of this event.

Coming from two IGU events, the 32nd International Geographical Congress, Cologne, Germany, 26–30 August 2012 and the IGU Regional Conference, in Kyoto, Japan, 4–9 August 2013, where more than 30 papers were presented, this pre-conference will be the first under the ICA flag.

Personally we would like to thank all Commission members, who attended the event, and of course all organisers, especially the Director of the IfL, Prof. Sebastian Lentz, for making the Institute available as the venue for this seminar, Dr. Jana Moser for her hard work as the local organiser, and the head of the Institute's exemplary library, Dr. Heinz-Peter Brogiato, for his participation in our proceedings.

Sincerely

Paulo Menezes

Chair: Joint IGU/ICA Commission/Working Group on Toponymy (2011–2015)

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Principles of Place-Name Rendering in the Various Kinds of Atlases

Peter Jordan

Introduction

Place names are frequently regarded rather as decorative elements on maps and for this very reason treated by cartographers not always with utmost care. This contribution will relate toponomastics to atlas cartography and cartography in general by dealing with the following questions: What are the basic functions of place names on maps in general and more specifically in atlases? Which are the general principles of place-name rendering in atlases? What are the main differences in this respect by kinds or types of atlases?

Basic functions of place names on maps

Place names explain geographical features, but do not identify them

Let us start with the principal question, whether it is only by the place name that a geographical feature on a map is identified—an assumption to be found in cartographic literature (e.g. KRETSCHMER & STANI-FERTL 2008, p. 126).

Cartographic symbols—whether they have the visual appearance of point symbols, linear or areal symbols—do not only mark a concept, but also a certain geographical feature. While the concept marked by the cartographic symbol is explained in the legend, the geographical feature for which the cartographic symbol stands, can be derived from the map. A circle symbol, e.g., may in general indicate the feature category of populated places, i.e. a general concept that is explained by the legend. On the map, however, due to its geo-referenced location as well as due to the fact that it is embedded into the context of other map symbols, the circle indicates a certain city, a certain town or a certain village. A user well-acquainted with the topography of a certain region may very well be able to derive the specific meaning of the circle even if no place name is added. The same is true for line symbols with the general meaning of rivers or borders. While in the legend they are explained as markers of their general concept, on the map they assume a certain shape and location and identify in this way a very concrete geographical feature. A map reader acquainted with the topography shown by the map will be able to interpret them correctly also without place names.

So it may be stated that place names facilitate map interpretation and map reading and sometimes explain features by highlighting their characteristics, but they are not necessary to identify a feature. Feature identification is already provided by the pure cartographic symbol when it is located on a map.

This is also true, when cartographic symbols, due to the density of contents and for the sake of better readability, are slightly shifted related to their correct geometrical location—as it is frequently the case with thematic maps. Cartographic symbols lose then their strict geo-reference. But they do not (and must not¹) essentially change their spatial relation to other symbols in their surroundings. And due to this context they still identify the geographical feature they represent.

¹ Since this is a precondition of methodologically correct cartographic representation.

If place names do not identify geographical features on maps, what then are their functions? They are manifold and important enough as it is to be demonstrated by the following paragraphs. These are subdivided into functions for users not acquainted with the name (and place) to be found on the map and partly only additional functions for readers acquainted with the name and/or the place to be found on the map.

Functions for users not acquainted with the name (and place) to be found on the map

Place names facilitate map use.

If the name to be found on the map (and accordingly the place marked by this name) is not known to the reader, the place name facilitates map use.

Identification of a place indicated by a cartographic symbol becomes much easier, when it is in addition explained by a place name. If a reader not acquainted with the topography shown on the map would try to identify an unknown place without a place name, he/she would have to compare the map in use with other maps or cartographic source materials that do have a place name for the place in question or compare the geographical coordinates of the place in question with other sources. Thus, map interpretation would become a complicated and tiresome task.

This results in the instruction for cartographers to attribute names to as many geographical map features as possible. When for graphical reasons it is impossible to attribute names to every single feature, at least major and more important features as well as features with exceptional characteristics (This refers especially to thematic maps.) are to be named. It should be possible to address all significant issues and places of a map by mentioning their names.

Place names enable searching for places.

Place names indices are customary components of atlases, road maps or city plans. So are name search functions with interactive electronic maps. They enable the reader to search for a place on the map via the place name in the index or by inserting a place name into the search function. Without place names this would not be possible.

Place names tell more about the character of a geographical feature.

While the cartographic symbol marks just a feature category like mountains, passes, lakes, glaciers, rivers, forests, populated places, etc., the place name may tell more about the specifics of a certain geographical feature.

This additional information can be provided by the **generic element** of a composed place name, if the meaning of the generic is transparent.² Composed place names with a generic element are in turn most frequent with names of natural features like *Coastal Range*, where the generic element *Range* specifies the feature within the wider category of mountains (indicated already by the cartographic symbol), or *Duck Creek*, where the generic element *Creek* characterises the feature more precisely within the wider category of running waters (indicated already by a blue line symbol). The generic element of, e.g., a mountain name may thus specify the feature related to altitude (*hill, upland, mountain*), size (*mountain, mountains*), shape (*plateau, escarpment, range, peak, pinnacle*) or even function (*divide*).

² It happens, however, that the meaning of a generic is opaque. This is most frequently the case, when the generic belongs to an older form of the same language or has been adopted from another language.

But also many names of anthropogenic features have indicative transparent generic parts. Cases in point are, e.g., names of cities like *Newcastle* or *Newport*, where the generic elements *castle* and *port* tell something at least about the historical function of the place, if not about a function still important or about a characteristic of current identity. Generic elements in names of populated places may in this way characterise more precisely its legal position (*city, market, village, borough*), its current or historical function (*port* in *Newport*, *bruck*, i.e. 'bridge' in *Innsbruck*, *furt*, i.e. 'ford' in *Frankfurt*, *castle* in *Newcastle*, *burg*, i.e. 'castle' in *Salzburg*).

Besides the generic element of a place name also a transparent **specific element** can be indicative in respect to character and properties of a place, although they may also refer not to current, but historical characteristics and properties. Cases in point are transparent adjectives such as *new/old*, *great/little*, *upper/lower*, *warm/cold*, also *black/white* with running waters³, adjectives indicating directions (*north/south*), adjectives derived from

- country names (*Uherské Hradiště*, *Uherské* meaning 'Hungarian'),
- region names (*Bohemian Forest* [*Böhmerwald*], *Thuringian Forest* [*Thüringer Wald*], *Câmpulung*, *Moldovenesc* meaning 'Moldavian'),
- ethnonyms (*Frankfurt am Main*, i.e. 'Ford of the Frankonians'; *Kroatisch Minihof*, *Kroatisch* meaning 'Croatian'; *Valašské Meziříčí*, *Valašské* meaning 'Valachian')
- and anthroponyms (*Port Elizabeth*, *Saint Petersburg* [*Sankt Petersburg*]).

With large map scales, characteristics of a place specified more precisely by the place name can become important also for orientation in the field, not the least for military purposes and in cases of emergency. On maps for military use generics are therefore very frequently translated into the language of the audience.

Place names inform on the culture of a place.

This is a function closely related to the former one, but different insofar as it refers not only to transparent name elements. It results from the fact that—except for recent renamings—a place name has usually a long tradition and reflects in this way history and diachronic cultural stratification of a place. Petar Ilievski puts this very well, when he says: "What fossils are to biology, and sediments to geology, toponyms are to cultural history of a country because they reflect the various ethnic, economic, political and other changes in the past of the country." (quoted after JAČEVA-ULČAR 2009, p. 169).

Place names are affiliated to a certain current language, but many evolved from a language spoken earlier at a certain place. They have very often just been "appropriated" by a later language by means of morphological or phonetical adaptation. This refers especially to names of geographical features of outstanding importance already in earlier history, like large rivers or cities founded very early. Right when their meaning is not transparent to the modern reader, they are a wide and fertile field for linguistic and cultural research. They enable to investigate into settlement and cultural history and are, e.g., very reliable indicators as regards the temporal sequence of settlement, i.e. for answering the question, who (which community) was earlier at a certain place.

³ *Black* indicates in the context of running waters usually the larger, slowly running water, while *white* is a metaphor for the smaller, faster running, foaming water.

They reflect, however, not only the temporal sequence of linguistic and cultural layers, but throw also a light on cultural characteristics, predominant economic orientations or religious beliefs of earlier populations. They are, in a way, condensed narratives about human communities in history. It is true that this function favours in the first line professional researchers and much less other map users. But every map user learns from the place name, which language(s) is/are spoken at a certain place. And depending on his/her familiarity in matters of language and culture he/she may derive from this information a more or less complex picture of the cultural situation in place.

It is also true that this function is confined to endonyms in the sense of names used by the local community, and does not apply to exonyms in the sense of names used by other communities for this same place.

(Additional) functions for readers acquainted with the name and/or the place to be found on the map

Place names function as labels.

Users already acquainted with a certain place name (not necessarily with the place) benefit in the first line from a place name's label function. In the symbolic function of a label a place name represents a space-related concept filled with contents. When he/she reads the name, the user recalls all he/she knows about this place, i.e. activates his/her concept of the place.

If he/she is not personally acquainted with the place, this concept corresponds at least to acquired knowledge, more frequently to an image developed during lifetime and sometimes strongly supported by image building or branding.

In this function place names are very similar to flags or coats of arms.

Place names activate emotional relations.

Users acquainted not only with the place name, but also with the place, especially persons with emotional ties to a certain place, i.e. in the first line inhabitants, people having been socialised in a certain place or people, who have acquired a close relation to a certain place in their later life (e.g., as frequent vacationers), feel a certain emotion, when they read the name on the map. Reading the name consciously makes them not only recalling their factual concept of the place (as with the function before), not only recalling their memories of the place as it looks like, but also memories of persons and events they are associating with it. Reading the name activates their emotional ties, their "feel of a place". (TUAN 1977, pp. 183f.).

But it is true that also persons not acquainted with the place can feel emotions when hearing, reading or mentioning a place name. *Paris* and *Auschwitz* [Oświęcim] may be at the positive and negative end within the scope of such feelings.

Principles of place-name rendering in atlases

Before highlighting individual principles it is necessary to clarify four concepts important in our context: *endonym* and *exonym* as well as *transliteration* and *transcription*.

A division of place names into **endonyms and exonyms** is the result, if place names are regarded under the aspect of the spatial relation between the (human) community using a name and the geographical feature bearing this name. If the name is used by locals, it has *endonym* status. If the name is used by non-locals, it has *exonym* status. These are the simplest possible

definitions of these concepts and the smallest common denominators in a situation, when these concepts are again intensively discussed by the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN).⁴ It is also important to mention that while a place name as such always refers to a geographical feature in its entirety, *endonym* and *exonym* are status categories of place names dependent on the relation between user community and feature. Thus, the same place name (e.g., the German name *Donau* for the Danube) can have endonym status in a section of the feature (e.g., *Donau* in the section of the Danube populated by German-speaking communities), while it receives exonym status in another (e.g., *Donau* in the section of the river east of the Austrian border).

While by **transliteration** every single letter of a donor alphabet is converted into a single letter of a receiver alphabet (including the use of diacritics and special letters) and the receiver alphabet is language-neutral, by **transcription** this principle is abandoned in favour of a receiver alphabet corresponding to the writing system of a certain language, i.e. not language-neutral. Transliteration results in a lettering that is highly reversible, but allows only experts exact pronunciation, while transcription results in a lettering that is not reversible, but allows the speakers of the receiver language an easy and close approach to pronunciation in the donor language.

With these concepts in mind, let us turn now first to general principles of place-name rendering in atlases in the sense of principles valid for all the various types of atlases. All these principles, also those mentioned under item, are a systematic listing of inputs from various sources and of the author's personal experiences as a cartographer and atlas editor.

General principles of place-name rendering in atlases

Principle 1: A certain mode of rendering place names (e.g., only endonyms or a combination with exonyms, transliteration or phonetical transcription) has consistently to be applied within a printed atlas, i.e. throughout all the maps of an atlas. It would be confusing for the reader to find changing modes.

Principle 2: With electronic atlases for interactive use enabling to switch between languages (of map titles, legends and texts) and to exchange names, the rendering of names is to be adapted to the language chosen for map titles, legends and texts. The linguistic configuration of a screen image is to be consistent in every respect (also as regards names).

Principle 3: The spelling of standardised endonyms has to be derived from reliable sources. Especially names of settlements and administrative units have standardised and officially fixed spellings, which have to be respected in every detail. Thus, additions to a name with an official status, such as *Niagara-on-the-Lake*, must not be disregarded; abbreviations (like *S.* for *San*, 'Saint') should be avoided, since they are not always transparent for speakers of another language. Also

⁴ It has also to be mentioned that the definitions presented here do not coincide with the current UNGEGN definitions. According to them an endonym is a "name of a geographical feature in an official or well-established language occurring in that area where the feature is located." An exonym is then the "name used in a specific language for a geographical feature situated outside the area where that language is widely spoken, and differing in its form from the respective endonym(s) in the area where the geographical feature is situated. Examples: *Warsaw* is the English exonym for *Warszawa* (Polish); *Mailand* is German for *Milano*; *Londres* is French for *London*; *Kūlūniyā* is Arabic for *Köln*. The officially romanised endonym *Moskva* for *Москва* is not an exonym, nor is the Pinyin form *Beijing*, while *Peking* is an exonym. The United Nations recommends minimising the use of exonyms in international usage." (UNGEGN 2007, p. 2) The author of this contribution is the convenor of the UNGEGN Working Group on Exonyms and charged with the elaboration of new definitions for the endonym and the exonym.

endonyms for features of other categories (like water bodies or mountains) are to be written according to standardised forms.

Reliable sources for settlement names and names of administrative units are official national names gazetteers and data files, for names of other feature categories official topographical maps.

Principle 4: When the donor language is written in the script of the atlas, endonyms are to reflect all special letters and diacritics of the donor alphabet. A German atlas, e.g., needs to reflect all the diacritics of Polish or Czech, when it uses endonyms in these languages like *Łódź* or *České Budějovice*. It has to be considered that, e.g. in Slavonic languages, diacritics can be distinguishing between meanings. A case in point is *sto* and *što* in Croatian, the first meaning 'hundred', the second 'what'.

Principle 5: Names originally written in other scripts are to be converted into the script of the atlas (if possible) according to approved conversion systems, whenever possible according to systems also widely used by the donor language. This departs from the assumption that not many readers are capable of deciphering foreign scripts. An extremely helpful reference in this respect is the website of the UN-GEGN Working Group on Romanization Systems (UN-GEGN-WGRS 2013) documenting UN-approved systems as well as providing links to other conversion systems.

Principle 6: Standardised names in official minority languages are to be represented whenever map scale and space on the map field admit this. Equality in rank of names in majority and minority languages is most suitably indicated by a slash between the names written by letters of the same type and size.

The main divide by types of atlases

It is not necessary here to differentiate between all the different atlas types (national atlases, thematic atlases, city atlases, school atlases etc.), but sufficient to highlight the main divide between scientific atlases and atlases addressing an international, multilingual audience on the one hand and popular atlases and atlases addressing prevalingly a monolingual, domestic audience on the other.

Scientific atlases and atlases addressing an international, multilingual audience

Scientific atlases and atlases addressing an international, multilingual audience are characterised by a scientific attitude and editorial intention and the use of two or more editorial languages (in titles, legends and texts) or the use of a global language as a tool of addressing a multilingual community.

Principle 1: For all kinds of geographical features under a single sovereignty standardised endonyms or English exonyms (as substitutes for exonyms in a multitude of languages) are to be used. It would for graphical reasons simply be impossible to reflect the multitude of exonyms attributed to some features in the various languages.

Principle 2: For features on land exceeding a single sovereignty (e.g., rivers, mountain ranges) three methods are at disposal: (1) to display all endonyms of the communities involved (each

placed on the map in its relevant position—e.g., for the Danube *Donau, Dunaj, Duna, Dunav, Dunărea, Dunav, Dunaj* in this sequence); (2) to display all names in the editorial languages (e.g., *Danube* and *Donau*, if English and German are the editorial languages used also for map titles and legends); (3) to display the name in the main editorial language (e.g., *Danube*, if English is the editorial language used also for map titles and legends). The first approach has the disadvantage not to represent a common name for the feature. The second and third show this common name, but provide no information on local names. With larger map scales, however, this disadvantage can be compensated by adding the endonyms in brackets.

Principle 3: For maritime features exceeding national sovereignty (like oceans, seas) basically also three methods are available: (1) to display all names used by riparian communities or at least countries shown on the map face; (2) to display all names in the editorial languages; (3) to display the name in the main editorial language. The use of all names applied by riparian communities or in riparian countries is, however, only practicable, if the number of riparian communities shown on the map face is small (four at the maximum). Already with the Baltic Sea or the Black Sea method (1) becomes problematic, not to speak of the Mediterranean or the oceans.

Principle 4: Names written in other scripts are to be transliterated into the script of the atlas, not phonetically transcribed. This is, firstly, to offer a “neutral”, not receiver-language oriented conversion to speakers of different languages, and secondly, to enable re-conversion—often important for scientists and librarians.

The United Nations recommend transliteration systems for many non-Roman alphabets (see UNGEGN-WGRS 2013). Languages using ideographic scripts (like Kanji, the common script of the sinosphere for Chinese, Korean or Japanese), however, offer for the written form of the spoken name and for international use near to English-phonetic transcriptions—the Japanese the so-called Modified Hepburn System, the Chinese the Pinyin conversion system. It makes sense to accept these offers, since they are widely used in the public sphere (see Fig. 1) and Latin-script publications of these countries as well as on site (signposts in front of settlements, street names). Also the UN recommend these systems for international use (see UNGEGN-WGRS 2013). Thus, the situation is not that clear-cut and simple.



Fig. 1: Indication of the forthcoming station in the “Narita Express” from the Tokyo Airport to Tokyo. The local ideographic script is converted into Latin according to the Modified Hepburn System, which is near to an English-phonetic rendering of spoken Japanese words.

Photo by P. JORDAN, August 2013

Taking this into account, the UN have abandoned their formerly strictly observed principle to accept and recommend only transliterations also in other cases. In 2012, e.g., they have approved conversions from the Bulgarian and Ukrainian Cyrillic alphabets, which are in fact English-phonetic transcriptions. In this way English is increasingly assuming the role of **the** international language, much more than a *primus inter pares* among the *linguae francae*. It is not anymore the “porperty” of a certain native speaker community (see SEIDLHOFER 2011) and supposed to be nurished, understood and to be clear as regards its pronunciation by/for many people on this globe.

Popular atlases and atlases addressing prevailingly a monolingual, domestic audience

Popular atlases and atlases addressing prevailingly a monolingual, domestic audience are characterised by a popular attitude and editorial intention, the use of only one, i.e. the domestic language and perhaps a second language, but in secondary position (e.g., in smaller letters) or just for selected elements (e.g., titles, not legends and texts). Typical examples for this category are school atlases, world atlases for libraries of educated people (but not for scientists).

Principle 1: Well-known exonyms in the (main) language of the atlas are to be used for features of major importance, certainly countries, but also country capitals, other major cities, physical-geographical features, especially when they extend beyond a single sovereignty and historical features (in a history atlas) lacking correspondence with a current feature (i.e. having no current endonym).

Major arguments for this practice are that exonyms in the domestic language are easy to be pronounced and learned, are easy to be declinated and transformed into adjective forms, are part of the cultural and educational heritage of a language and society—closely related to historical knowledge and other educational arears. The practice bears, however, the danger of being misused for political purposes and of outlining historical situations that may be disliked by the donor community. It has always to be taken into account that the use of exonyms is politically sensitive, since exonyms are frequently interpreted as expressions of territorial claims or at least political nostalgia (see JORDAN 2000).

For international waters, places on Antarctica or historical features lacking a (modern) endonym as a counterpart, however, the editor of an atlas has no other choice than to use an exonym. With maps portraying historical situations, names used for this period by historical literature in the editorial language are certainly the most appropriate.

Principle 2: At least in larger map scales, settlements should additionally be named by the endonym in brackets. Also a school pupil has to be hinted at the existence of another, the local name, with which he/she may be confronted when travelling or by the media.

Principle 3: With endonyms all the general principles mentioned before apply without any restriction.

Principle 4: Endonyms originally written in another script are preferably to be transcribed phonetically into the spelling of the atlas language. This is to ensure that the domestic reader arrives at a pronunciation at least near to the original, while the correct reading of diacritics may in most cases be too much to be asked for.

Conclusions

The article shows that although place names on maps have no role in identifying geographical features or places, they have nevertheless a lot of important functions. They facilitate map use, enable search for places, provide additional information about characteristics of a geographical feature and provide information on the cultural setting of a certain place. For readers acquainted with the name and/or the place to be found on the map they play the additional roles of labels and of activating emotional ties with a place.

With place-names rendering in atlases, apart from six general principles (consistency within a printed atlas and within a map face with electronic atlases, use of reliable sources, respecting the diacritics of the donor alphabet, use of approved conversion systems, representation of names in official minority languages) the main divide between scientific atlases and atlases addressing an international, multilingual audience on the one hand and popular atlases and atlases addressing prevalingly a monolingual, domestic audience on the other has to be regarded. This means, generally speaking, a preference for endonyms and transliteration systems in international atlases in contrast to the use of well-known exonyms and phonetic transcriptions in atlases for a domestic audience.

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Toponymy in School Atlases in a Multilingual Environment

Ernst Spiess

Introduction

The aim of this presentation is to make aware the evolution toponymy in school atlases has experienced in the last one hundred years, due to the increasing recognition of minority languages and to the recommendations for the standardization of names by the UN Group of Experts on Geographical Names. Special emphasis will be placed on the user requirements of school atlases.

The swiss school atlases referred to in this contribution

In Switzerland a first school atlas was published already by Heinrich Wettstein in 1872, followed by an atlas edited by Wilhelm Götzing in 1903. Five years before, in 1898, the Swiss Conference of the Cantonal Ministers of Education was founded. The initiative to publish school atlases in the three official languages, German, French and Italian, was one of the items of the agenda on its first meeting. This «Atlas für Schweizerische Mittelschulen» was edited by Prof. Dr. A. Aepli and released in 1910. The corresponding French edition appeared in 1911, the Italian version in 1915 [6]. In 1928 the Editorial Board for this atlas was reorganized, and Prof. Eduard Imhof was installed as the new editor. The largely modified editions of the three atlases were published in 1932 [7]. The renewed editions of 1962 are characterized by the application of Imhof's method of shaded relief. In 1979 the task of the atlas editor was conferred to the Institute of Cartography of the ETH Zurich. I was empowered by the Board of the Cantonal Ministers of Education to edit and produce entirely new editions for all three atlases under the new names «Schweizer Weltatlas», «Atlas mondial suisse» and «Atlante mondiale svizzero». The first editions appeared in 1993 [8] (fig. 1) and the last ones under my direction in 2005 in French and in 2008 in German and Italian [9](fig. 2).

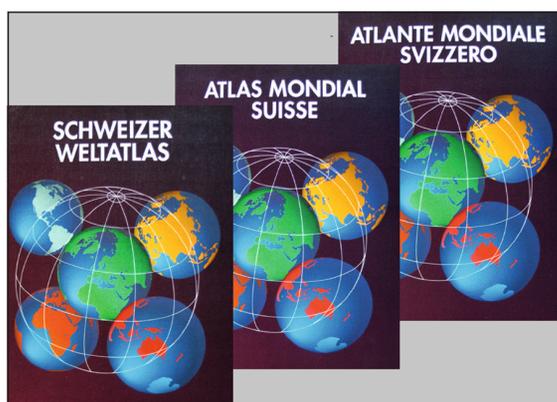


Fig. 1: Swiss World Atlas 1993 ff. [8]

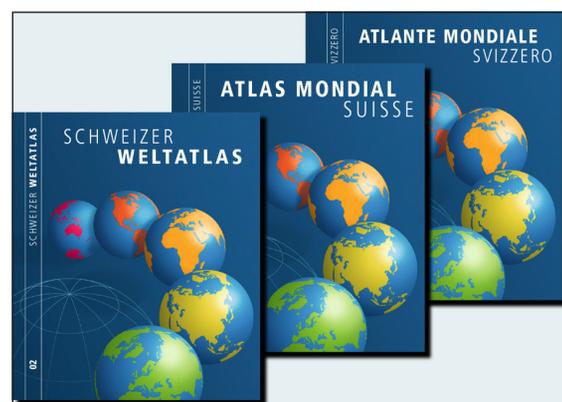


Fig. 2: Enlarged editions 2002 ff. [9]

Since 2009 Prof. Dr. Lorenz Hurni is the editor of the atlases. Editions in German and French were published in 2010, celebrating one hundred years of atlas work. In addition to the printed atlas, an interactive web-based atlas was released. There would be to mention a few other atlases, especially for the lower grade pupils. But concentration on these six editions seems sufficient to illustrate the main topic of this contribution, which is the change in names policy within the last one hundred years.

Requirements concerning geographical names in school atlases

Maps and atlases are the ideal and necessary tool to establish a world wide topographical framework in the pupils mind. Toponyms are one of the most important elements for the orientation on maps. They allow to link other information, like radio, television and press news, as well as historical texts, to the map and to locate them in the geographical space.

Parents communicate in their mother tongues and and their children mature with it. They become familiar with numerous toponyms and integrate them into their vocabulary. Therefore at school this experience gained over the years should not be broken abruptly. This concept implies that for the lower-grade classes you need maps which show the toponyms in the principal language of an atlas. In other words so-called exonyms must be used for the most common features and towns situated outside the area of this language. Historical names as well rely on a long tradition are an integral part of every language.

In upper-grade classes students are learning other languages and gain in linguistic skills. This way they are automatically confronted with the geographical names written and spoken in the respective foreign languages, with the so-called endonyms. The atlas editor has to find a way to fulfill these additional requirements. The students must become acquainted step by step with the peculiarities of other alphabets and with various diacritical signs. This brings up the need for a correct pronunciation of toponyms, a major problem not only for students, but for most people. Some guidance on how to pronounce letters or groups of letters in other languages is therefore desirable.

Somehow related is the necessity to understand the principles of transcription of names originally fixed in other scripts, like Greek, Cyrillic, Chinese, Japanese etc., into the Latin alphabet. The majority will not be able to read the toponyms in those original scripts, but will have to rely on the various transcriptions and transliterations. An insight in these alphabets and in the problems of their specific pronunciation rules is helpful for worldwide communication and for travelling in those regions.

Endonym–exonym problems in the maps of multilingual Switzerland

Switzerland is divided in four language areas. Already the Swiss constitution of 1848 ascertained German, French and Italian as national and official languages. In 1938 Rhaeto-Romance or Romansh, an important language area in the trilingual Canton of Grisons, was enacted as forth national language. This recognition was at the same time a reaction towards territorial claims, based on language only, by Italy. Finally in 1998 it was given the status of an official language, in spite of the only 0.5 % of the country's total population speaking Romansh within their families.

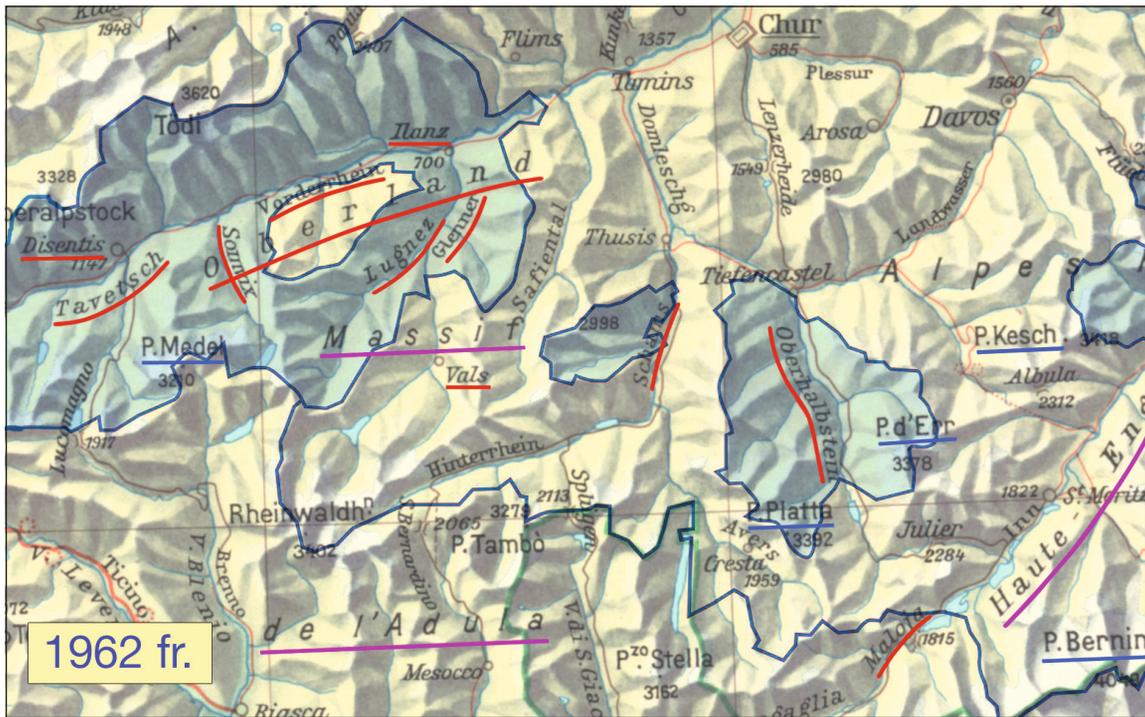


Fig. 3: The Grisons in the map «Suisse» of the «Atlas scolaire Suisse pour l'enseignement secondaire (1965)». Toponyms in the Romansh language area (light blue) are given in general in German (red). French exonyms (magenta) are used for toponyms with generic terms and very few important places; Romansh endonyms (blue) are only used for mountains.

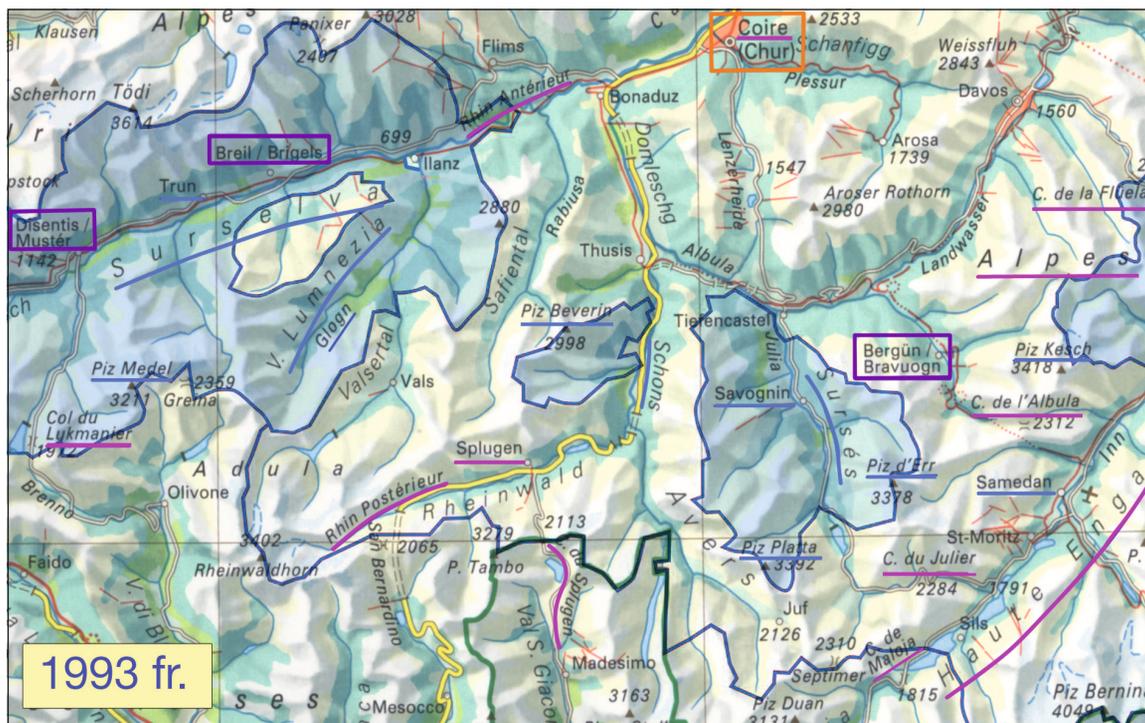


Fig. 4: Grisons in the map «Suisse» of the «Atlas mondial suisse» of 2005 (© EDK). Romansh endonyms (blue) dominate in its respective language area. In the case of official double names of Communities (violett) the name in the language the majority of its inhabitants does not necessarily precede.

The names policy in Switzerland follows the territorial principle, what means that the Cantons and Communities may take measures to retain the traditional language boundaries in view of homogenous language areas. In the Romansh speaking language area, however, the status is quite variable, depending on the criteria applied, as e.g. language of best command, family language, language used in school or in administration. The Communities are in principle free to decide on the names within their territory. In some cases they have chosen the name of the population minority, as e.g. «Samedan», which seems to sound better in the ears of tourists than the German «Samaden». All name changes have to undergo a process of approval by the Cantonal and Federal authorities.

In the atlases that were published between 1903 and 1981, the maps of «Switzerland» have shown nearly all the place names in the Romansh area in German, but also in the French and Italian editions. Local mountains only were given in the endonym form, as there exist no corresponding exonyms (fig. 3).

In all editions of the Swiss World Atlases of 1993 ff. [8 and 9] the policy was to strictly use the official names (fig. 4). Therefore in the Romansh language area the Romansh endonyms are shown, with few exceptions only. Twelf Communities have officially German-Romansh or Romansh-German double names with a slash in between (SPIESS 1997). But some exonyms for the major rivers, valleys and massifs were maintained. The capital of the Canton, in German «Chur», is complemented by the French exonym «(Coire)» in brackets. Due to the widespread bilingualism in this area, people from outside are often more familiar with the German exonym than with the endonym.

The name policy for the small scale map covering the whole of Europe

In accordance with the above requirements the atlases edited in German in 1910, 1911 in French and 1915 in Italian [6] (fig. 5) for upper-grade classes made widely use of exonyms (e.g. «Parigi», «Colonia», «Berlino», «Monaco» (for German «München»), «Praga», «Danubio» etc.). There is no change visible in the atlases edited by Eduard Imhof from 1928 on [7]. This name policy was continued also in the editions with hill shading of 1962 ff.

The same applies for the editions 1993 ff. [8 and 9], edited by Ernst Spiess (fig. 6). Because we considered that the small scale maps of the continents will be used preferably by lower grade pupils, mainly as a fundamental means of orientation in their principal language. The struggle with endonyms might be reserved to maps which are more adequate for upper grades.

The name policy within a map covering adjacent neighbours (Alps 1:2.5m)

The map of the whole massif of the Alps at 1:2.5m, published in 1965, covers the countries surrounding Switzerland at a considerably larger scale. It is a fact, that the number of well-known exonyms is greatest close outside to the border of a language area. Therefore it can be expected that this map accumulates quite a number of exonyms. Indeed, in all the atlases published over the years this principle can be observed. In the «Schweizer Weltatlas» 1993 ff. (fig. 7) however, the exonym name for the most prominent towns is given together with the endonym in parenthesis, where the scale provides enough room, as e.g. «Turin (Torino)», «Mailand (Milano)» etc. Similarly one will find e.g. «Novare (Novara)», «Plaisance (Piacenza)» etc. in the French editions and «Marsiglia (Marseille)», «Lione (Lyon)» etc. in the Italian versions of the atlases.



Fig. 5: Map «Europa 1:15 mio.» of the «Atlante per le Scuole Medie Svizzere (1915)», Italian exonyms in red



Fig. 6: Map «Europe 1:15 mio.» of the «Atlas mondial suisse» 1993 ff. with French exonyms in red (© EDK)

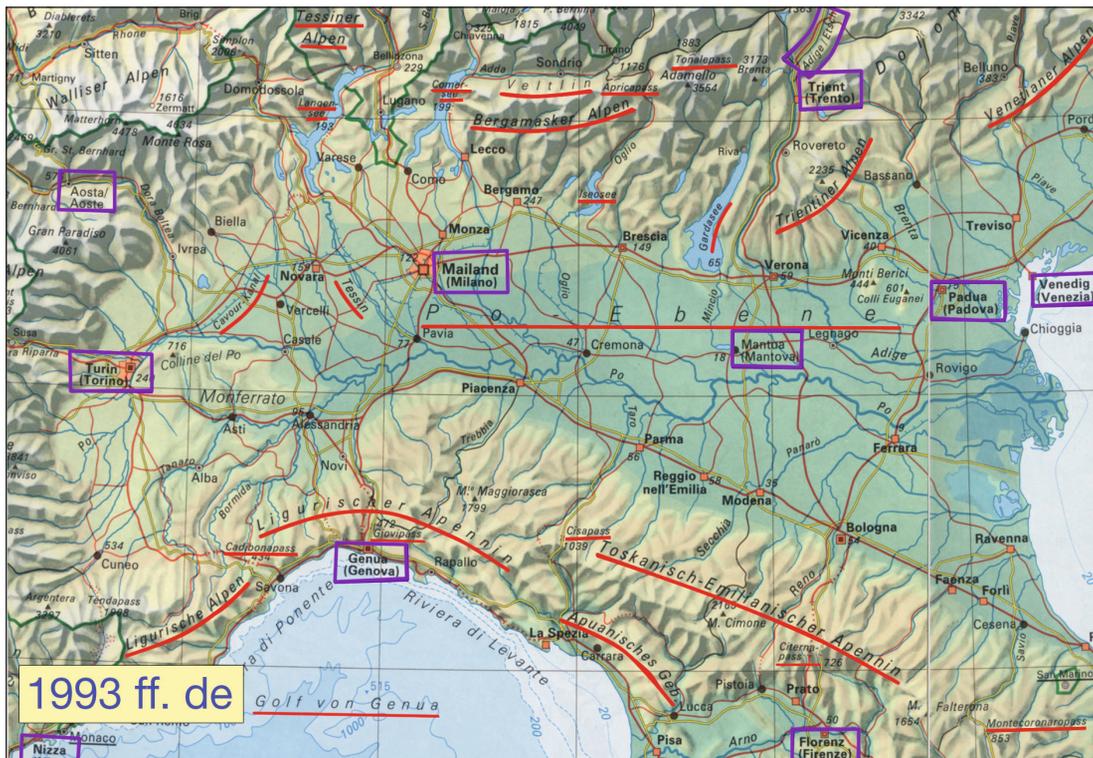


Fig. 7: Map «Alpen 1:2,5 Mio.» of the «Schweizer Weltatlas» (2008) (© EDK), in principal with endonyms, with the exception of the most prominent features. For important towns the exonym is chosen, but supplemented by the endonym in brackets, if the available space allowed for.

In the early 20th century the editors concentrated mainly on writing toponyms in the language of the atlas, ignoring some of the requirements mentioned at the beginning. In the maps the exonym was chosen, wherever such a name variant existed. The endonymic form of the name in the foreign language was non-existent. The sensibility on perceiving and handling such names has notably increased since the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names started its worldwide activities on name standardization in 1967, leading to various resolutions in ten UN-Conferences so far (RAPER 1996). For the atlas editor the pressure to reduce exonyms in favour of the endonyms on the basis of national standardization of names became of major concern.

Alternative name policies in the case of two maps covering the same area

Having allowed for as much exonyms as possible in one map, there can be no objection to render another map, covering the same area, exclusively with endonyms as far as place names are concerned. This is the case with the map of Italy at 1:4m. This idea has been implemented by Imhof in his editions of 1932 ff. [7] (fig. 8) already. As our country is by constitution multilingual, this intention is working in parallel with efforts to promote the study of the other national languages in general.

For the French editions 1993 ff. [8 and 9] we partly abandoned this policy, as we used the exonym form for the names of provinces and large mountain ranges, e.g. in French «Piémont» instead of «Piemonte» and «Apennin Tosco-Emilien» for «Apennino Tosco-Emiliano». Having the choice between the uncommon endonym «Zapadna Stara planina» and the exonyms «Westbalkan»,

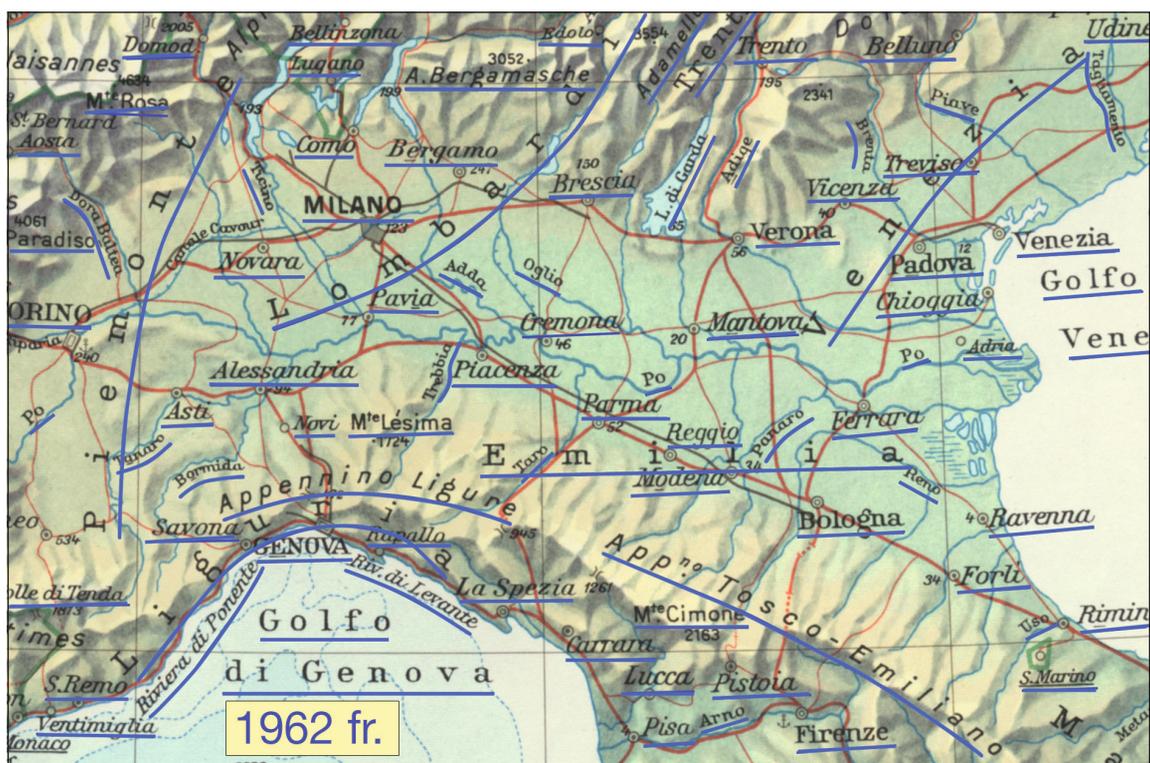


Fig. 8: Map «Italie 1:4 mio.» of the «Atlas scolaire suisse pour l'enseignement secondaire» (1962). All toponyms are endonyms, because part of the area is covered by a large scale map (fig. 7), which contains important exonyms. But unfortunately pupils will not find on this map in Southern Italy French exonyms as e.g. «Naples» for Italian «Napoli».

«Balcan Occidental» or «Balcani Occidentali», teachers and pupils will evidently give preference to the exonym, when speaking about and looking for this prominent feature.

Transcription of names from other writing systems into the roman alphabet

We can illustrate these problems with two examples, with names originally written by the Greek and the cyrillic alphabet. In all editions of our school atlases these names were given in a German, French or Italian transcription, using the Latin alphabet and simulating as precise as possible their pronunciation. Already in the map of the Balkans of 1910 [6] it is evident, that there are numerous German exonyms for Greek names. The same is true for all three editions up to date, due to the importance of the Greek culture for Europe over centuries and the influence of the tourism, which advertises for Greece almost exclusively with the language specific exonyms of towns, islands and major resorts. Roman Stani-Fertl specifies in his publication «Exonyme und Kartographie» (2001) in Greece 43 German exonyms in common use. In the Italian version of the atlas there are considerably more exonyms. This is due to the period of the Italian rule in the Dodecanese between 1912 and 1947.

In 1987 the UN-Conference on Geographical Names accepted the ELOT 743 romanization system as transcription standard for the Greek language. The outcome results in some minor differences, as the former individual transcriptions were oriented more towards the individual pronounciations in the respective languages. So e.g. instead for the former German «Ägina», the French «Ègine» or the Italian «Egina» modern Greek «Aígina» is proposed. Similarly the endonym

IPA	german	french	italian	modern greek
a'θina	Athen (Athinä)	Athènes (Athinai)	Atene (Athina)	Athína
'ejina	Ägina	Ègine	Egina	Aígina
arka'ðia	Arkadien	Arcadie	Arcadía	Arkadía
asti'palea	Astipalea	Astypálaia	Stampalia	Astypálaia
ðoðe'kanisa	Dodekanes	Dodécanèse	Dodecaneso	Dodekánisa
er'mupoli	Ermoupolis	Hermoupolis	Ermopoli	Ermoúpoli
'evia	Euböa (Éwwia)	Eubée (Évvoia)	Eubea (Évvoia)	Évvoia
'zacínθos	Sakinthos	Zante	Zanta	Zákynthos
'θiva	Theben (Thiva)	Thèbes	Tebe	Thíva
'ios	Ios	Ios	Nio	Íos
'kalimnos	Kalimnos	Kálymnos	Calino	Kálymnos
'cercira	Korfu (Kerkyra)	Corfou (Kerkyra)	Corfù (Kerkyra)	Kérkyra
'kriti	Kreta (Kriti)	Crète (Kriti)	Creta (Kriti)	Kriti
ci'klaðes	Kykladen	Cyclades	Cicladi	Kykládes
'lezvos	Lesbos	Lésbos	Lesbo	Lésvos
'mikonos	Mikonos	Mykonos	Micono	Mýkonos
'naφplo	Nafplion	Nauplie	Nauplia	Náplio
'olibos	Olymp	Mont Olymp	Olimpo	Ólympos
pelo'ponisos	Peloponnes	Péloponèse	Peleponeso	Pelopónnisos
pire'as	Piräus	Le Pirée	Il Pireo	Peiraiás
xalciði'ci	Chalkidike	Chalcidique	Calcidica	Chalkidikí

Fig. 9: Pronunciation of some Greek toponyms, transcribed into German, French and Italien in our three atlases 1993 ff. and the Modern Greek endonyms in Latin script, as recommended by the ELOT 743 romanization system (partly after Wikipedia [4])

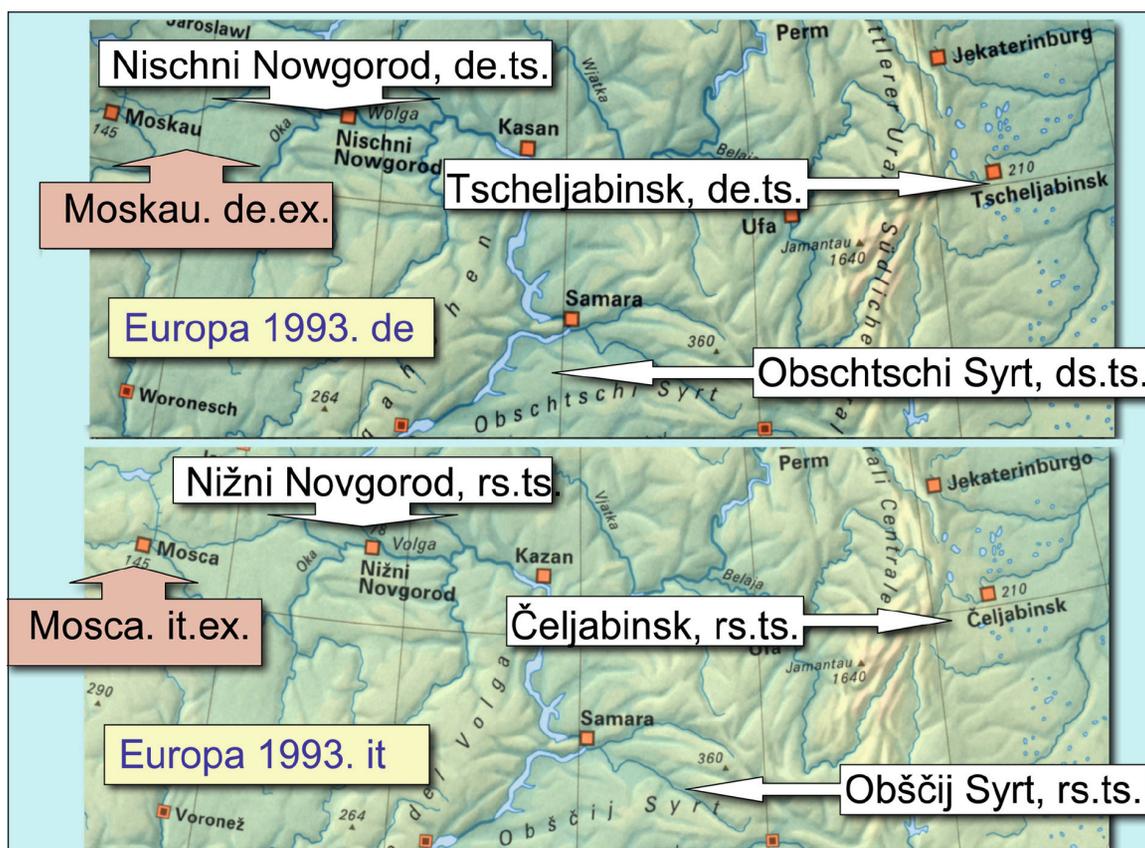


Fig. 10: Above section of the «Schweizer Weltatlas» 1993 ff. with Russian toponyms transcribed in German, below the Italian edition «Atlante mondiale svizzero» 1993 ff. with toponyms written according to the GOST 1983 transliteration system (© EDK)

«Thíva» ought to be used instead of «Theben», «Thèbes» and «Tebe» (fig. 9). Instead of the former German «Dodekanes», the French «Dodécanèse» or the Italian «Dodecaneso» modern Greek «Dodekánisa» is proposed etc. However, many traditional names, like French «Corfou», German «Korfu» and Italian «Corfù», are still in general use besides Greek «Kérkyra».

The situation with Russian toponyms is somehow similar. In all editions the original name form in Cyrillic letters is transcribed in each of the three atlas languages according to its pronunciation, when there is no exonym in general use, like «Moskau», «Moscou» or «Mosca». We find the same situation in the edition of 1939, together with a name change of «Nizhni Novgorod» to «Gorki». The editions 1962 ff. already show a certain move to the endonyms, with the exonyms in brackets. For the Italian editions 1993 ff. (fig. 10) the endonyms have been chosen, as rendered by the GOST 1983 Romanization system, which has been proposed by the donor language, in this case Russian. This system has been recommended by the UN-Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names in 1987. Its alphabet includes the letters ž, š and č, e.g. in «Nižni Novgorod», «Čeljabinsk» or «Obščij Syrt». The trend to a general use of this GOST 1983 system still proceeds hesitatingly. In Middle European and English press products the háček and some other diacritic signs are not yet very common. Often they are simply left away, what may lead to a wrong pronunciation. In the French and German speaking areas there is still some reservation to use this system. Therefore we can read in the respective editions in German «Tscheljabinsk» or in French «Tcheliabinsk» instead of transliterated Russian «Čeljabinsk» in all three languages. In fact this is not consistent at all, as we allow in several other languages various diacritic signs, demanding for a special pronunciation, as e.g. «Łódź» or «České Budějovice».

Delicate problems were caused by the name changes when the CIS-states became independent. It took some time until the new endonyms and their transcriptions were published. A great help was the «Dictionary of Geographical Names of the Baltic States and of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)» compiled by Hans Zikmund, edited by the StAGN and published by Duden in 2000 [5]. To familiarize map readers with the new Ukrainian endonyms will take quite some time, even for the capital of Ukraine. The former Russian «Kiev / Киев» e.g. changed to Ukrainian «Kyïv / Київ». The proposed transcription «Kyïv» is pronounced [ˈkjiɪv]. The press media have not followed this change so far and still use the accustomed transcriptions (German «Kiew», French «Kiev», Italian «Kiev»). Uncertainties are still quite common, just of all in the case of transliterated Russian «Černobyl'», which was changed to transliterated Ukrainian «Čornobyl'», but appeared later in the official population census of 2001 again as «Černobyl'».

Transcription of names from the Japanese and Chinese writing system

Before 1993 the Japanese names were transcribed according to the languages of our three atlases. From then on we used in all the three versions the revised Hepburn system, as it is nowadays almost exclusively used in the newspapers. This Rōmaji-system for the romanization of the Japanese script goes back to 1867. Originally it is based on an English transcription, which means that one has to remember the specific pronunciation of English letters and combinations like j, z, ch and sh. An open question is, whether the makron sign should be used for long vowels, to improve the pronunciation, as e.g. for «Kyōto», «Honshū», «Ōsaka», «Tōkyō» and «Hokkaidō».

In our atlases analogue transcriptions were used for Chinese names in the three atlas languages until 1976, with few changes. Each language group has converted the spoken phonemes into

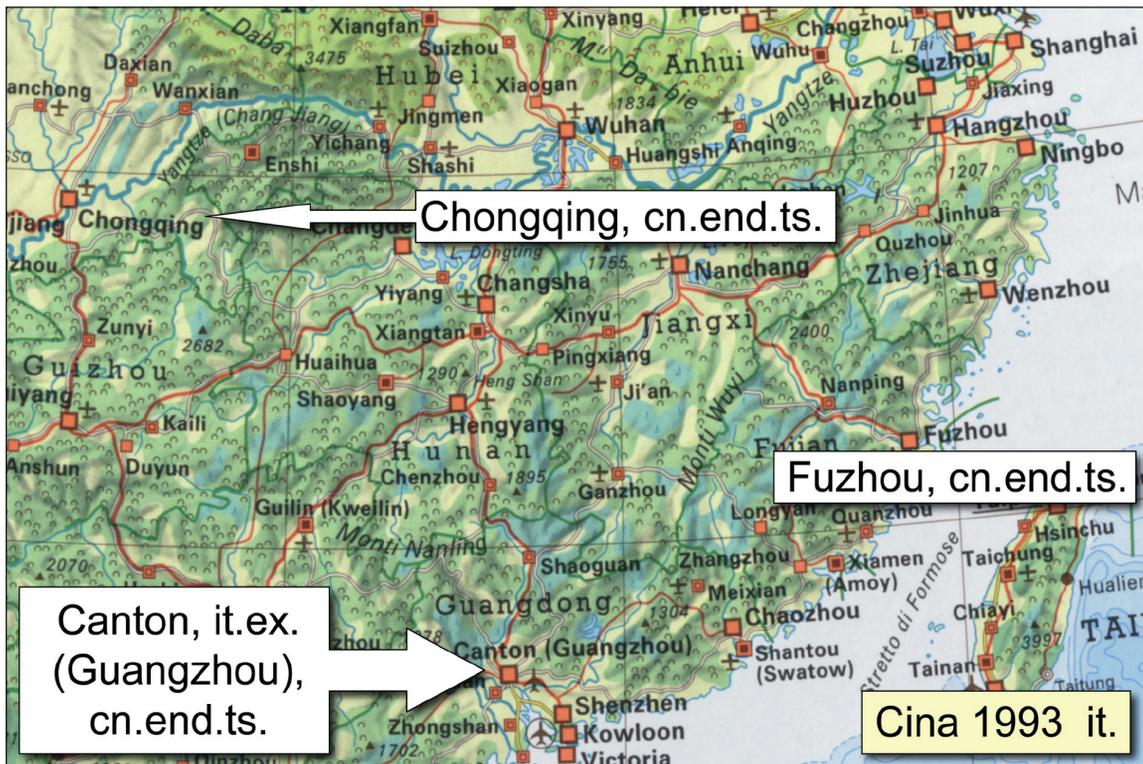


Fig. 11: Section of the map «Cina» of the editions 1993 ff. of the «Atlante mondiale svizzero». The Chinese names are transcribed according to the Pinyin system, with the exception of generic terms (© EDK).

their alphabets, so that, if pronounced in their language, a similar phoneme results. But in these simplified transformation systems the different tonalities of the Chinese languages cannot be reproduced precisely.

In 1977 the UN-Conference recommended that the official Chinese phonetic script Pinyin be used as international transcription system for Chinese geographical names in the Latin alphabet [2]. For the new editions of 1993 ff. [8 and 9] (fig. 11) we followed this recommendation with very few exceptions, i.d. German «Schanghai», «Kanton», «Macao», «Tsingtao», «Tientsin», «Peking», French «Macao», «Canton», «Tsingtao», «Tientsin», «Pékin» and Italian «Macao», «Canton», «Tsingtao», «Tientsin» and «Pechino». Giving up the individual transcriptions for each language was a major change, as the readers have to become acquainted with yet another alphabet which needs explanations about the pronunciation. Already in the editions of 1910, 1911 and 1915 [6] part of the introduction was devoted to the pronunciation of names in languages other than German, French or Italian. As we were lacking space for more such tables, we decided for the editions 1993 ff. [8 and 9] to indicate the pronunciation of critical names in the index using the IPA-system (fig. 12). But it requires a considerable extra effort for the students to study and memorize the system. The index was extended by including also the endonym together with the exonym and vice-versa (fig. 13).

One might ask, what is the benefit to replace the alphabet of the principal language, pupils are grown up with, by the transcription system of the donor language and the IPA in order to pronounce names correctly. But according to the majority of the UN experts it is more important that in every language, which uses the Latin script, a place name must look absolutely the same to avoid misunderstandings.

Aussprachehilfen für einige europäische Sprachen		
Erläuterung des phonetischen Alphabetes	Schwedisch	Norwegisch
[...] = Akzent auf der nachfolgenden Silbe	å = o [o] Åland, Åre [o:land, o:rə]	å = o [o] Ålesund [o:ləsən]
[:] = langer Vokal	g = j [j] vor ä, e, i, ö, y; Gävle [ˈjev̥l̥e]	æ = ä [æ] Svolvær [ˈsvɔlvæ:r]
[~] = nasaler Vokal	k = tch [tʃ] vor ä, e, i, ö, y; Norrköping [ˈnɔrtʃø:piŋ]	au = äü [œ] Haugesund [ˈhøygəsən]
[a] = helles a; Basel [ba:zəl]	o = o [ɔ] kurz; Gotland [ˈgɔtl̥and]	ei = ei [ei] Geiranger [ˈjeir̥aŋər]
[ɑ] = dunkles a; Baar [ba:r]	o = u [u:] lang; Karlskrona [ˈkarlsˈkru:na]	g = j [j] vor ei, i, j, y; Gello [ˈjellu]
[ɛ] = abgeschwächtes a; Lisboa [liʒˈβoɐ]	sj = sch [ʃ] Östersjön [ˈøst̥ɛrʃjøn]	k = ch [ç] vor i, j, y; Kirkenes [ˈçirkənəs]
[æ] = sehr offenes ä; Wädenswil [ˈvædənsˈvil]	sk = sch [ʃ] Skår [ˈʃær]	
[β] = nicht voll geschlossenes b; Cordoba [ˈko:rðoβa]	u = u..ü [ʉ] Luleå [ˈlul̥e:ø:]	
[ç] = Ich-Laut; Zürich [ˈtsy:rɪç]	y = ü [y] Visby [ˈvi:ʃby]	
[ç̥] = scharfer sj-Laut; Cieszyn [ˈtʃɛʃin]		

Fig. 12: Part of the pronunciation guide for the atlas editions 1993 ff. (© EDK).

125 Xiangfan, CN	○ 32° 05' N 112° 06' E	44 Yorkshire, GB	○ 54° 06' N 1° 09' W	kk.Akmola	
125 Xiangtan [ˈçiænˈtan], CN	● 27° 53' N 112° 51' E	147 Yorkton, CA	○ 51° 13' N 102° 28' W	4 Zell, D	● 47° 42' N 7° 51' E
125 Xiayang [ˈçiænˈjaŋ], CN	● 34° 22' N 108° 41' E	152 Yosemite National Park, US	○ 37° 40' N 119° 30' W	52 Zella-Mehlis, D	● 50° 40' N 10° 39' E
125 Xiaogan [ˈçiəuˈgɑn], CN	● 30° 55' N 113° 48' E	150 Youngstown, US	○ 41° 05' N 80° 40' W	12 Zellfeld, CH	● 652 E 225 N
125 Xiao Hinggan Ling, CN, de.Kleines Hingganengebirge	▲ 48° 30' N 127° 00' E	62 Yssyk-Köl, KG, hist.ru.Issyk-Kul	▽ 42° 30' N 77° 20' E	101 Zelten, LY	▲ 29° 27' N 19° 43' E
126 Xiaolongtan, CN	■ 23° 55' N 103° 20' E	58 Ystad, S	○ 55° 27' N 13° 50' E	52 Zeltweg, A	● 47° 11' N 14° 45' E
124 Xichang, CN	○ 27° 51' N 102° 18' E	57 Ytre Sula, N	● 61° 02' N 4° 42' E	40 Zelzate, B	○ 51° 13' N 3° 50' E
128 Xicheng, CN	○ 39° 56' N 116° 23' E	109 Yu Shan, TW, 3997m	▲ 23° 30' N 121° 00' E	70 Zembra, TN, ar.Jézirat Zambrar	● 37° 07' N 10° 49' E
124 Xigazê [ˈçi:ˈgɑˈdsœ], CN	○ 29° 19' N 88° 51' E	143 Yucatán, MX, BZ	○ 19° 00' N 89° 00' W	51 Zempliner-Gebirge, HU, hu.Zempléni-hegység	▲ 48° 26' N 21° 28' E
127 Xikuangshan, CN	▼ 27° 45' N 112° 15' E	157 Yucatán-Bank	▢ 22° 30' N 88° 00' W	71 Zenica, BA	○ 44° 13' N 17° 53' E
127 Xinanjiang, CN	▼ 29° 27' N 119° 15' E	133 Yucatán-Plateau, MX, BA	○ 19° 00' N 89° 00' W	147 Zenon Park, CA	○ 53° 04' N 103° 50' W
159 Xingu [ˈçiŋˈgu], BR	⚡ 5° 41' S 52° 38' W	156 Yucatán-Strasse	■ 21° 30' N 86° 00' W	100 Zentralafrikanische Republik, CF	▢ 7° 00' N 20° 00' E
124 Xining, CN	● 36° 36' N 101° 52' E	143 Yucatánbecken	▢ 20° 41' N 83° 37' W	63 Zentralgebirge, R, ru.Sredinny Hrebet	▲ 57° 50' N 160° 00' E
124 Xinjiang Uyğur [ˈçiŋ dʒiŋ], Sinkiang, CN	▢ 40° 00' N 80° 00' E	121 Yuen Long, CN	○ 22° 26' N 114° 02' E	121 Zentralgebirge, PG	▲ 4° 52' S 142° 41' E
125 Xintai [ˈçiŋˈtai], CN	● 35° 52' N 117° 42' E	134 Yuendumu, AU	○ 22° 12' S 131° 46' E	82 Zentralgraben	▢ 54° 00' N 4° 00' E
125 Xinyang, CN	● 32° 09' N 114° 04' E	140 Yukon, US	⚡ 64° 30' N 155° 00' W	167 Zentralindischer	▢ 26° 00' S 70° 00' E
125 Xinyu, CN	● 27° 49' N 114° 51' E	133 Yukon-Becken, US	○ 65° 00' N 150° 00' W		
126 Xinyuan, CN	■ 43° 24' N 83° 18' E	140 Yukon-Delta, US	○ 62° 00' N 164° 00' W		
		140 Yukon Flats, US	○ 67° 00' N 144° 00' W		

Fig. 13: Each of the three editions 1993 ff. has in the annexe a name index with approx. 20,000 entries, including the endonyms and exonyms and a description by the Int. Phonetic Alphabet where appropriate (© EDK).

Conclusions

The evolution of the toponymy in our school atlases during the last century is characterized by the following steps:

1. In the early 20th century there was apparently a common agreement that for each of the three language editions their traditional exonyms had to be used. When there was no generally accepted exonym, the endonymic name was chosen, yet sometimes without the diacritics that are not part of the German, French or Italian alphabet, as e.g. háčec, kroužek, macron, ogonek etc. For names originating from regions with a non-Latin writing system a transcription system for the language of the respective atlas was applied, that simulated their pronunciation as far as possible.
2. In the editions 1932 ff., published before and after the Second World War, we can note a tendency to prefer the endonym. It might be seen as a contribute for the recognition of smaller language groups. But the exonym for important places is given in parenthesis or retained for countries and for names with generic terms in less known languages.
3. With the event of the First UN-Conference on Geographical Names in Geneva in 1967 the subject gains in attention. The first recommendations stressed the need of name standardization and

went as far as to ask for a one and only name for each toponym. They were extended in the following conferences to items such as showing all diacritics, drastically reducing the number of exonyms and using unique romanization systems instead of different transcription systems for each language.

4. In view of these recommendations we prepared the editions 1993 ff. of the Swiss School Atlases. One of the provisions by the school authorities was to write the names in compliance with the main press products and media. Thus it was clear that a restricted amount of exonyms was still necessary. Where the legibility allowed it, the endonym or the historical name was added in brackets. Where a single romanization system for names in non-Latin script has become widely used, we adopted it too for our atlases.
5. In future these trends may be enhanced to some extent. But the school atlas remains a unique instrument to provide for the pupil a means for geographical orientation and communication in his native language, including the historical dimension. On this base only and with the help of an index, including endonym and exonym forms and the pronunciation of a name, he can progress gradually to a correct worldwide understanding and application of the whole inventory of names.

Finally we may stress that the sensibility on perceiving and handling names has notably increased since the UN started its worldwide activities on name standardization at the Geneva Conference in 1967. As an atlas editor we could certainly profit from the material debated in the conferences. But equally helpful and very important was the preparatory work in the regional organizations, to mention only the «Ständiger Ausschuss für die Schreibweise geographischer Namen», the «Service de l'information topographique de l'IGN» and the «Toponymic Guidelines» of Italy and several other countries.

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Place Names on Third Military Mapping of Těšín Silesia

Tomáš Marek

Third military mapping took place in Austria-Hungary in 1869–1885, thereof in Bohemia 1877–1879, in Moravia 1876–1877 and in Silesia in 1876. The mapping was carried out in decimal scale of 1:25,000, big cities surroundings in double scale of 1:12,500. The main mapping products were special military maps in scale of 1:75,000. After the Austria-Hungary broke up the maps were taken over by institutions of successor states. These maps were updated and published in Czechoslovakia till 1952.

Map list No. 4161

I have been comparing toponyms in 4 editions of map list No. 4161 in scale of 1:75,000. The first edition was published in 1912 by Kaiserliches und Königliches Militärgeographisches Institut (Imperial and Royal Military Geographical Institute) in Austria-Hungary in Vienna. The second edition from 1935 was published by Vojenský zeměpisný ústav (Military Geographical Institute) in Czechoslovakia in Prague. The third map was published in 1944 by Zeměměřičský úřad Čechy a Morava (Landesvermessungamt Böhmen und Mähren, Land Survey Office Bohemia and Moravia) in Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia in Prague. The last compared map was published in 1948 by Vojenský zeměpisný ústav (Military Geographical Institute) in Czechoslovakia in Prague.

Basic information about the territory

This territory has changed its affiliation to territorial units and different political systems very often during the monitored period. Each one of these changes influenced the official municipal and settlement names and their description on the map. Names of territorial units have changed too; the territory is displayed on the map sheet. Map from the year 1918 captures the state in Austria-Hungary. These territories were located here at that time: Moravia, Silesia and Hungary. Austria-Hungary broke up in 1918. Successor states, which territory is on this map sheet, were Czechoslovakia and Poland, within Czechoslovakia—land of Moravia, Silesia and Slovakia. This situation is observed on a map from 1935. In 1939 Czechoslovakia was divided. One part of the

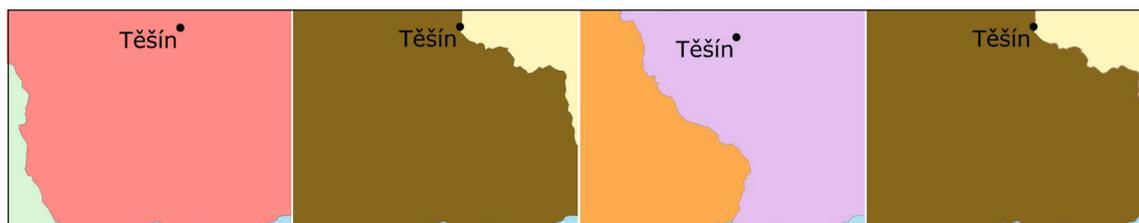


Fig. 1: Change of territorial division. In 1912 (left) territory of Austria-Hungary was on the whole map list and within it Land of Moravia (green), Land of Silesia (red) and Land of Hungary (blue). In 1935 (middle left) we can find Poland (yellow) and Czechoslovakia, within it Land of Moravia-Silesia (brown) and Land of Slovakia (blue) stretch through the territory. Year 1944 (middle right) displays Germany (violet), Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia (orange) and Slovakia Republic (blue). In 1948 (right) there are Poland (yellow) and Czechoslovakia, within it Land of Moravia-Silesia (brown) a Land of Slovakia (blue).

country belonged to Germany, from another part arose Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and the last part was independent Slovak Republic. Situation during World War II is described on a map from the year 1944. After the war in 1945 the state organization went back where it was before the war. This is displayed on our last map from 1948.

The region was settled in the Middle Ages relatively late. Primarily because much of the area constitutes of mountains, forests and is hard to excess. Around the year 1300 there were only 9 significant settlements which are on the examined map till these days. The area was settled mainly by Slavic nations, later also by German speaking nations. Most of the 55 examined settlements from the researched sample have the origin of oikonyms in Czech or another Slavic language (Silesian and Polish); just few names originate in German language or in Latin.

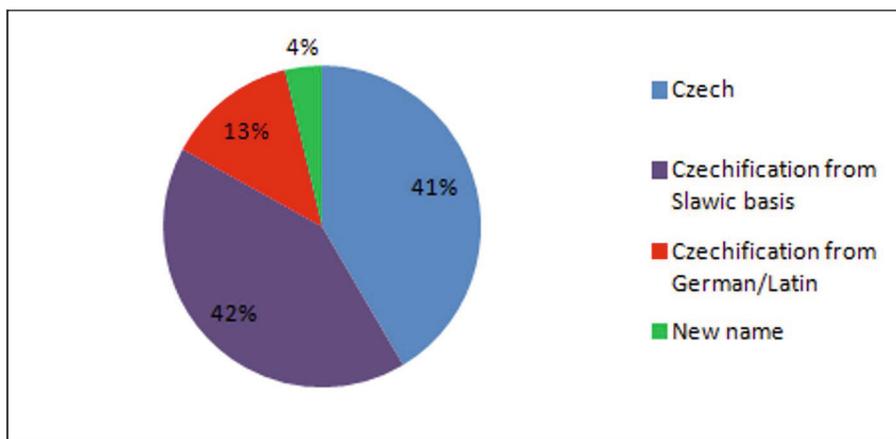


Fig. 2: Origin of Czech form of some oikonyms

Ratio representation of origin of oikonyms responds to ethnic structure of inhabitants on the territory. We can see that based on the results of census from the year 1930 the largest group are Czechs with more than a two thirds representation. The second largest group are Poles with more than 20 %, 8 % of Germans lived on the territory. There is a difference between larger cities and villages. There was a strong representation of Germans in cities. On the contrary villages were almost Czech. The difference is also in the location of the settlement—the more to the east the more inhabitants report to be Polish nationality.

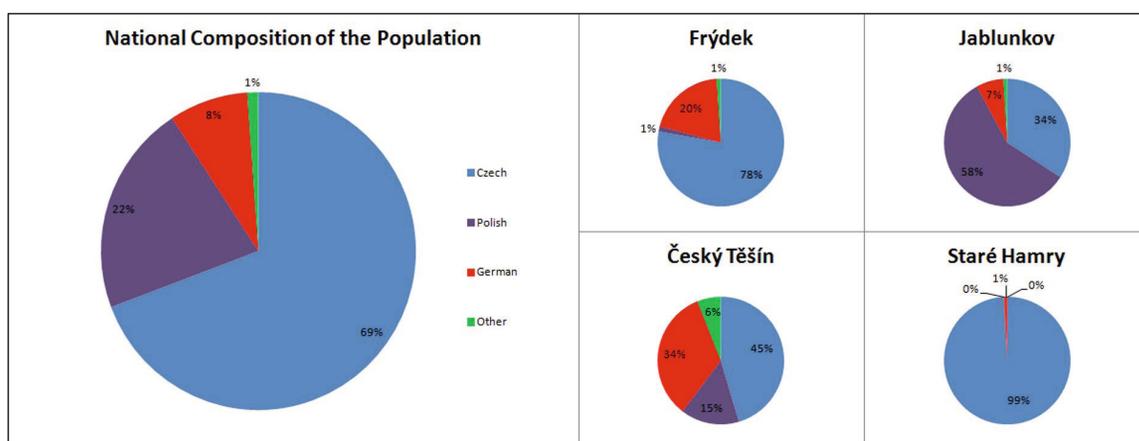


Fig. 3: National representation of inhabitants on the territory on an average (104501 inhabitants), in Frýdek (11541), Český Těšín (9746), Jablunkov (4196) and Staré Hamry (2516)

Compared map editions

First map from the year 1912 with the name Teschen, Mistek und Jablunkau is in German. Map frame information (e.g. Schlesien, Ungarn) and marginal notes (Teilweise berichtet bis 29. IX. 1912.) are also in German. Many settlements have German or Germanised name (Teschen, Jablunkau). E.g. Mosty and Mistek are in Czech. Anoikonyms are mainly in Czech (Lysá hora) sometimes with German transcription (Kalužný wrch). An abbreviation B. is often added to hydronyms, it is an abbreviation to the German word Bach (Ondřejnica B., Lomna B.). There are no other hydronyms on the map. Prepositional agronyms are mainly in German (zu Grudek, zu Neuhof). There are marked borders between Lands of Moravia, Silesia and Hungary on the map.

Second map from the year 1935 named Frýdek is in Czech language. Oikonyms and anoikonyms in German were rewritten to Czech (Jablunkau → Jablunkov), German names were given Czech form (Friedeck → Frýdek). German names, developed from original Czech names, were returned back to the Czech form (Althammer → Staré Hamry, Ober, Unter Ellgoth → Vyšní, Nižní Lhoty). If possible an existing and used Czech name was considered even though it would not have been official. In some cases the origin of the used name was misinterpreted and the original Czech name in dialectal form had been replaced by another Czech name in standard form (Grudek → Hrádek). We can see additional borderline between Poland and Czechoslovakia and now nonexistent Moravia–Silesia Land border (in 1928 Land of Moravia and Land of Silesia united into Land of Moravia-Silesia).

Third map from the year 1944 with the name Teschen was edited during World War II. Map frame and marginal information are bilingual—German and Czech, map descriptions are in Czech. An exception is only Teschen because its Czech and Polish part was united to one town which became a part of Germany. Some settlements on the Protectorate territory are completed by their German names. They are printed in striking purple colour near the original Czech name and are very distracting on the map face. The name Olše is accompanied by the original name Olza. The borderline between Germany, Slovakia and Protectorate Bohemia and Moravia is highlighted on this map which is in contrary to all other editions. Other borders are not displayed on the map.

The last map from 1948 titled Frýdek-Místek is in Czech and it comes out from the previous map release. Almost all names and topography are the same. There are two changes in the names of settlements. Towns Frýdek and Místek were united into one with a new name Frýdek-Místek, which replaced the original name Frýdek on the map. The name Místek maintained on the map but with a lower importance. The second change was repeated separation of Těšín to Cieszyn in Poland and Český Těšín in Czechoslovakia. Completed German names are also missing. There is a state borderline between Czechoslovakia and Poland and a land borderline between Moravia-Silesia and Slovakia. The Protectorate border which no longer existed is missing.

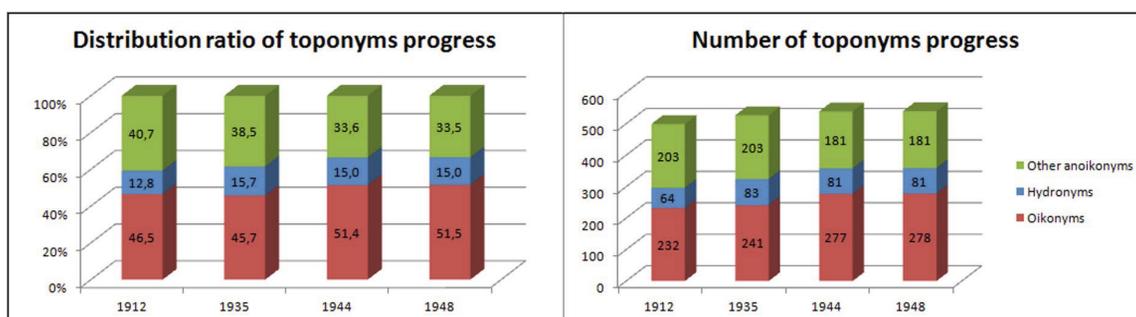


Fig. 4: Development of toponyms on maps

In figure No. 4 we can see that in earlier editions the total number of toponyms was lower. More toponyms were added in the following editions—499 toponyms in 1912 and 540 toponyms in 1948. Oikonyms and anoikonyms had a different tendency in the overall trend. The number of oikonyms had grown mainly by expansion of settlements and by development of local parts of municipalities. There are also more hydronyms on the map.

We can find significant growth between the years 1912 and 1935. Their number has dropped by two between the years 1935 and 1944 but we cannot say that there are two hydronyms missing. Every map also includes other names. The number of other anoikonyms has rapidly dropped—from the original number of 203 in the year 1912 and in 1934 to 181 in the year 1944 (and in the year 1948).

Important and interesting toponyms

Jablunkovské hory

When researching two oldest maps we can see only one name of a mountain ridge in the length of 30 km. On a map from the year 1912 there is a German name Jablunka Gebirge and on a map from 1935 there is a Czech name Jablunkovské hory. The name frequently used until World War II has ceased to exist by these days. Now we call this territory Moravskoslezské Beskydy and Jablunkovské mezihoří, divided by Czech geomorphologists and geographers to geomorphological units in the second half of the 20th century.

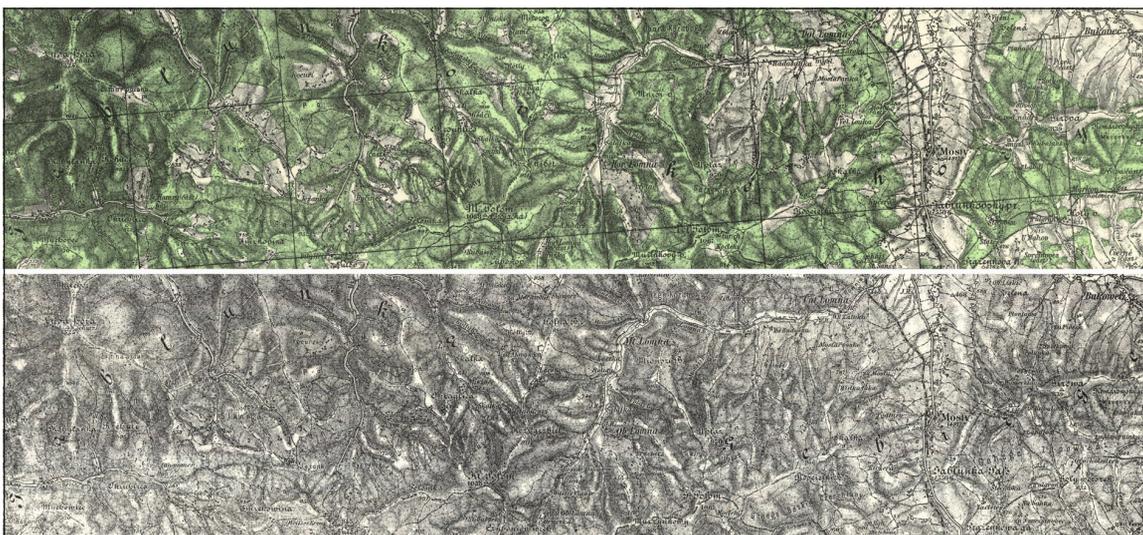


Fig. 5: Jablunkovské hory on maps from 1912 (bottom) and 1935 (up)

Olše

One hydronym went through an interesting development. Experts and non-professionals as well are still discussing the name of the river Olše. On a map from the year 1912 we can see the name Olsa written according to German transcription, read Olza. Before the Austria-Hungary breakup some language purists wanted to get through a change of the name Olza to Olša, Olsza in Polish. Linguists are not unanimous concerning the origin of the name Olza but they agree that it has nothing to do with the word olše (in English – alder). LUTERER, ŠRÁMEK (1980) have the opinion that the name Olza originates in the ancient Slavonic base olbga which means „a river rich on

water“. Jürgen Udolph (in ŠEFČÍK 1998) sees Olza as a Russian expression olbga where it means swamp, mud. According to ŠEFČÍK (1998) the origin of the name Olza is in ancient European expression Alisa which is a common word for flow. Nevertheless the word Olše started to be used in Czechoslovakia after Czechoslovakia and Poland were established. We can find this word on a map from the year 1935. The name Olše (Olza) is also on the protectorate map and it is also displayed on a map from 1948. Recently the name Olše is standardized in the Czech Republic but we can still hear voices defending the older name Olza and demanding its return. In Poland they use the name Olza.



Fig. 6: River Olše on maps from the years 1912, 1935, 1944 and 1948 (from left, some ordination is used on other maps)

Ostravice

The river Ostravice is still perceived as a border between Silesia and Moravia even though it performed this function only till the year 1928 when Land of Moravia and Land of Silesia had been united. The origin of the name is derived from a too sharp and swift flow. The river has given a name to two settlements: Ostravice and Ostrava (and in the twenties of the 20th century also attribute Frýdlant nad Ostravicí). We can find the German transcription Ostraviza on a map from the year 1912 (closer to the source, see Fig. 7) and also Ostrawiza (in the region Místek, see Fig. 9), on the following maps there is already the Czech name Ostravice.



Fig. 7: River Ostravice

Těšín

First note about Těšín is dated to the year 1155 as the castle Tescin. A settlement under the castle had the same name. In 1223 the settlement had changed its name to Tessin but also Teschin (in books from the years 1295–1305). Four names were used at the end of the 19th century: Czech name Těšín, Polish Cieszyn, German Teschen and Latin Tessin. The German name is on a map from the year 1912. Těšín was divided by the river Olše (Olza) to Český Těšín which became a part of Czechoslovakia and Cieszyn which fell upon Poland after the Austria-Hungary breakup. Both mentioned names in appropriate countries can be found on a map from the year 1935. Těšín was united and became a part of Germany during the World War II. That is why there is only one German name Teschen on the protectorate map. After the war the town had split again. We can see two names Český Těšín and Cieszyn on the map.



Fig. 8: The town Tešín on maps from 1912 (upper left), 1935 (upper right), 1944 (bottom left) and 1948 (bottom right)

Frydek-Místek

Originally there were two towns divided by the Moravia-Silesian land border together with the river Ostravice. Místek lies on the left bank of the river Ostravice in Moravia and is first mentioned in the year 1267 as Friedeberch (Friedberg, i.e. a protected place on a hill). Frydek was founded in the years 1327–1368 as Friedeck (i.e. a protected place on a river bend). Friedeck was frequently substituted for Friedberg. That is why Friedberg got a new German name Neuenstetil (i.e. a new town). Together with that emerged a Czech form Miestko, Městko from which gradually developed the name Místek. It is mentioned for the first time in the year 1522. Friedeck and Místek are on a map from the year 1912. The name Friedeck was later Czechified and on a map from the



Fig. 9: The town Frydek-Místek on maps from 1912 (upper left), 1935 (upper right), 1944 (bottom left) and 1948 (bottom right)

year 1935 we can see Frýdek and Místek. In 1942 both towns were united to one with the name Frýdek (Friedeck). On the protectorate map from 1944 there are still names Frýdek and Místek with reprinted German names Friedeck and original Friedberg. The name of the town is changed to Frýdek-Místek in 1945 and that is how it is in the map from now on. Besides that there is Místek written in a smaller font.

Hydronyms Ostrawica (1912) and Ostravice (1935) in the Místek area are on the maps from the years 1912 and 1934. The name was shifted to the south on the following maps due to urban development.

Dolní Líštná

First mention about Lessna Svessonis comes from the year 1305 and later around the year 1475 it was also Německá Leščna. The name Nieder Lischna comes from the 18th century. The German name Nieder Lischna is on the first map but later remained only Dolní Líštná (a Czech name).



Fig. 10: Village Dolní Líštná

Horní Líštná

First mention about Lessna Principis also comes from the year 1305. Later around the year 1430 it was Polischen Lehsen. From the 18th century we know it as Ober Lischna. German name Ober Lischna is on the first map. The village was divided by Czechoslovak-Polish border after the Austria-Hungary breakup. That is why there is Horní Líštná in Czechoslovakia and Górna Leszna in Poland on maps in the later years. The same names are on the protectorate map from the year 1944 when the territory belonged to Germany.



Fig. 11: Village Horní Líštná

Lomná

First mention about Lomná is from the year 1684 as Lomna. Official attributes Horní and Dolní were acquired as late as 1924 according to its position on the river Lomná. Nevertheless the names Ober Lomna, Unter Lomna and furthermore Mittel Lomna are on the map since 1912. Not even used expert literature mentions these names. In later maps the names Horní Lomná and Dolní Lomná are already stated in Czech.



Fig. 12: Lomná. Horní Lomná is above, Dolní Lomná is below.

Staré Hamry

First mention about this village comes from 1800 as Starý Hamr. The village was built up around a blacksmith workshop in the beginning of the 17th century. It obtained the attribute Starý (old) to distinguish the village from the new blacksmith workshops in Frýdlant nad Ostravicí. The German name Althammer is on a map from the year 1912 but on later maps there is already the Czech name Staré Hamry. The protectorate map also carries the reprinted name Alt Hammer.



Fig. 13: Staré Hamry

Frýdlant nad Ostravicí

First mention from the year 1300 states Friedeland which means protected land. On a map from 1912 we can still find the original name Friedland. The name Frýdlant was Czechified after the Austria-Hungary brake up. It obtained the attribute by the river Ostravice to distinguish the name from Frýdlant in Bohemia. That is why on a map from the year 1935 and later maps there is the name Frýdlant nad Ostravicí. The German name along with the attribute Friedland an der Ostrawitzta was extra reprinted on the protectorate map.



Fig. 14: The town Frýdlant nad Ostravicí

Nižní Lhoty

First mention comes from the year 1305 as Rudgeri willa. In the first half of 17th century we can find the Czech name Nižní Lhoty. The name was later Germanized to Unter Lhot. It was translated

to Unter Ellgoth at the end of 19th century. This name is also displayed on the Austria-Hungary map. The Czech name Nižní Lhoty can be found on later maps. On the protectorate map there is also reprinted the German name Unter Ellgoth.



Fig. 15: Village Nižní Lhoty

Vyšní Lhoty

The name Vyšní Lhoty has developed similarly to Nižní Lhoty. First mention also comes from the year 1305 as Warmunthowicz. The Czech name Vyšní Lhoty can be found in the half of 17th century. Later it was Ober Lhot and in the 19th century Ober Ellgoth. This name is also on a map from the year 1912. The Czech name Vyšní Lhoty occurs on later maps. The protectorate map has again the reprinted German name Ober Ellgoth.



Fig. 16: Village Vyšní Lhoty

Oldřichovice

First mention from the year 1305 speaks about Ulrici villa. Oldrzichowicz firstly occurs in the 17th century and in the 19th century we can already find the Czech form Oldřichovice. The German form Oldrzichowitz is on the Austria-Hungary map. On later maps there is only the Czech name Oldřichovice.



Fig. 17: Village Oldřichovice

Třinec

First mention comes from the year 1444 as Trzenecz/Třenec. The name has changed in the course of time to Třinec, Trzyniec in Polish, Trzynietz in German. We can see the German name on a map

from the year 1912. The Czech name Třinec printed on later maps. The recent name has nothing to do with the numeral three. The name is derived from the word trst which means cane, reed.



Fig. 18: The town Třinec

Hrádek

First mention from the year 1538 presents Hrádek as ves Grudkova. Later it was Grudek. The Czech name Hrádek appears in the year 1885. On a map from the year 1912 we can find the name Grudek but on later maps there is already the Czech form Hrádek. It is worth mentioning that this town has bilingual naming: Czech Hrádek and Polish Gródek. Locals consider the original form Grudek as a German name even though it is an expression in Lachian dialect.



Fig. 19: Village Hrádek

Summary

Maps, especially toponyms, are a very valuable source of information when exploring historical development of a certain territory. We can track the changes in administrative organisation when studying toponyms. These changes are very significant on these toponyms as well as linguistic representation of residents in the territory.

The main official language during Austria-Hungary was German. That is why the Austria-Hungary map was written in German. German was not considered as official any more in Czechoslovakia so the maps were written in Czech. Most of the researched names have its origin in Czech or another Slavic base. That actually corresponds with ethnic a linguistic structure of population in the Těšín territory. The origin of the word was very often taken into consideration when creating Czech names of geographical objects. Only the hydronym Olše (alternatively Hrádek) is an exception. Names which originated or presumed their origin in German were Czechified or translated in Czech.

We can see from the number of toponyms that maps which were published later have more names than earlier published maps. The interesting thing is that the absolute number of oikonyms and hydronyms rises while the number of other anoikonyms decreases. We can explain this by growing urbanisation, extinction of grasslands and fields and newly arisen settlements with new names.

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Relation of Toponymy and Minorities Living in the Vojvodina Region in the Beginning of the Twentieth Century

János Jeney

Introduction

The Vojvodina region was part of Hungary until 4 June 1920 when the Treaty of Trianon was signed. Even before the signing of the treaty, this area was known for its ethnic diversity. In Hungary prior to 1920, the part west of the river Tisza was known in Hungarian as Bácssság, later known as Bácska, while east of the Tisza was known as Temesköz and later as Bánság. After the signing of the Treaty of Trianon, the far northern part of Bácska remained part of Hungary the rest, together with the western half of Bánság was ceded to the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The remainder of Bánság became part of Romania. The names Bácska and Bánság continued to be used in Hungarian, while in Serbian the same areas were referred to as Bačka and Banat respectively.

Quite often we see a very interesting combination of the use of official and unofficial names. Frequently these are derived from minority names. In modern times the minority name is used alongside the official name according to the minority living in the area. On maps made at the end of the twentieth century, this can be quite different. Often the use of a place name depends on the information the mapmaker had when he made the map. In certain cases this does relate to the minorities living in those places. For some, especially larger places, names of foreign origin can also exist.

An overview of the region

Vojvodina (Hungarian Vajdaság) is an ethnically heterogeneous area of Europe. As noted above, it formed part of Hungary until 1920. Between 1920 and 1941 it belonged in part to Yugoslavia which, until 1929, was the Kingdom of Serbs Croats and Slovenes, and in part to Romania and a small part to Hungary. Between 1941 and 1947 the areas with Hungarian population were returned to Hungary, while the other areas that were part of Yugoslavia until 1941, were put under German military administration. After 1947 Yugoslavia was formed once again, with its borders being the same as those before the Second World War. After 1991 the region remained part of Yugoslavia, later Serbia. Today the Banat and Bačka region in Serbia forms part of the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. During the wars and changes of the border, the distribution of the population changed and the official place names changed. The region has Hungarian, German, Croat, Ruthenian, Slovak and Serbian populations. Although the distribution of these ethnic groups changed during the 20th century, every group was present throughout the twentieth century.

Today all places have Serbian place names, Serbian being the official language of Serbia. Most also have Croat place names, as during the existence of Yugoslavia, these names were regarded as second official names. Hungarian place names also exist for almost all places, as every place that existed before 1920 had a Hungarian name as the official name. German place names are also very common, as during the 19th century Hungary was administered by the Habsburg Empire. Furthermore, there was a large German minority in this region. In some areas Slovak and Ruthenian names occurred, but these were very rare on maps made in the beginning of the 20th century. Today

the minority names and minority languages are official in the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. These are signposted on roads signs indicating place-names. Sometimes these get vandalized by nationalist groups. In most cases the vandalized signs get replaced within a few days.



Fig. 1: Trilingual road sign with place-names in Serb, Croat/Serb (Latin script) and Hungarian

Photo: G. Szombathelyi



Fig. 2: Vandalised road sign

Photo: G. Szombathelyi

Toponymy on maps of Vojvodina

Maps of this region made in Hungary in the beginning of the 20th century have a very straightforward way of using place names. They use Hungarian place names in the areas belonging to Hungary at the time. The maps made in other countries are not always as consistent.

German maps in most cases were also straightforward. They tended to use German names. In a few cases Hungarian names do appear for example on the map titled “Völker und Staaten in Mitteleuropa” made by Dr. Wilhelm Winkler. Most names in Hungary are in German, but for example Szolnok appears in Hungarian (German Solnok), but in Vojvodina they use German names.

On the map “Ethnographische Karte der Länder der ungarischen Krone” made by Ignaz Hátsek in 1885, German and Hungarian names appear in Vojvodina. Zombor (today Sombor) appears in Hungarian (Hungarian Zombor/Coborszentmihály Serbian Sombor, German: Sombor), Nagybecskerek (written on the map Nagy-Becskerek, today Zrenjanin) is also written in Hungarian (Serbian: Zrenjanin/Veliki Bečkerek, German: Grossbetschkerek, Hungarian: Nagybecserek). For Szabadka (today Subotica) the German name Theresianopel (full German name Maria-Theresianopel, Hungarian: Szabadka, Serbian: Subotica) is used. This does not reflect the ethnic relations either, as Zombor had Hungarians, Germans, Croats and Serbs living there while in Nagybecskerek there were Germans, Hungarians, Slovaks, Romanians and Serbs. In the latter the Hungarians formed the relative majority (there was no absolute majority) while in Zombor the Serbs formed the relative majority (again no absolute majority lived there). Szabadka had over 50% Hungarian majority. In this case we see a combination of the official names and the German names, but these do not reflect the ethnic groups living in those places. Szeged also appears as Szegedin on this map. This seems to have appeared on maps later as well (see below).

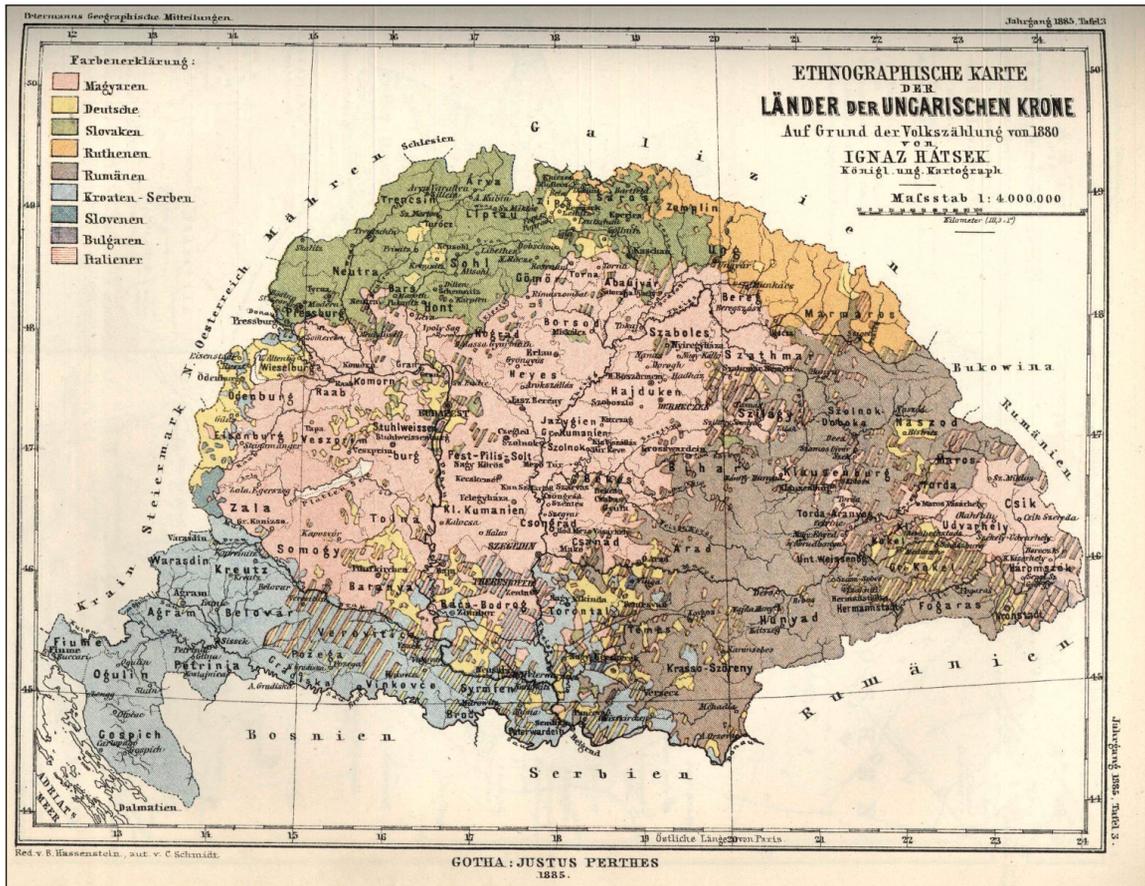


Fig. 3: Ethnographische Karte der Länder der ungarischen Krone

Source: IGNAZ HÁTSEK 1885

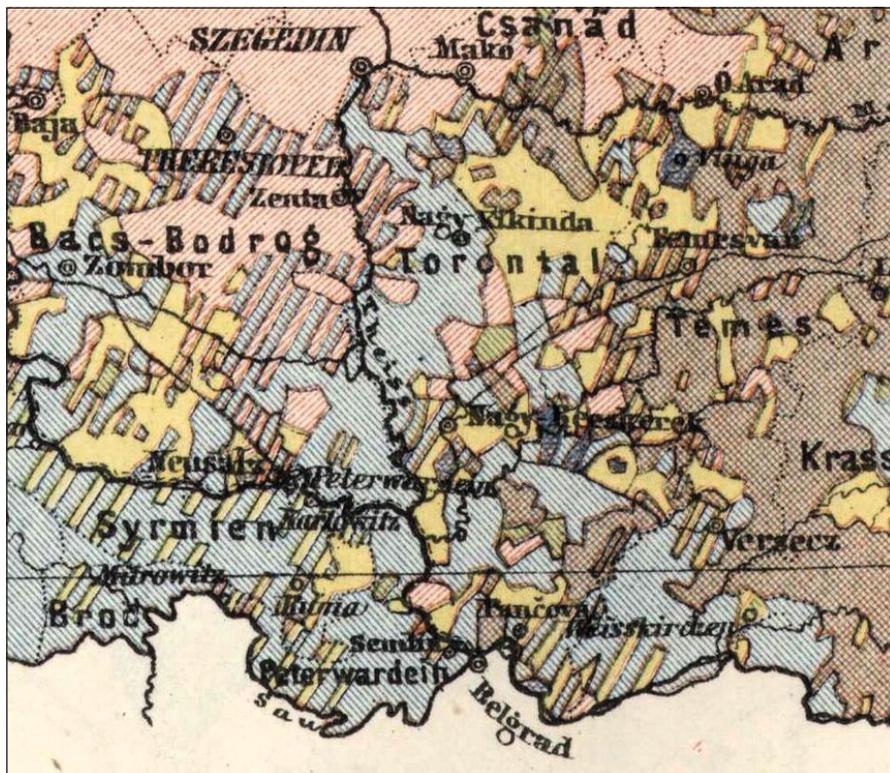


Fig. 4: Vojvodina enlarged from figure 3

The map made by Sir Arthur Evans in 1916 of the region contains the widest range of languages used for place names. The ethnic groups are marked using coloured bands. All place names are written using Latin script. The use of bilingual place names is not straightforward either. Ljubljana is written in Slovenian (Ljubljana) and in brackets German (Laibach), while Zagreb is written in Croat (Zagreb) and in German in brackets (Agram). In these two cases the name reflects the majority living in these places. On the other hand Pécs had a Hungarian majority and is written in Serbian (Pečui, assuming it was misspelled as in Serbian it is Pečuj) and German (Fünfkirchen) in brackets. At the time Szabadka (today Subotica) had a Hungarian majority. The Serbo-Croat name was written on top (Subotica) and the Hungarian name below in brackets. Zenta (today Senta) was written Zénta. This is probably a misspelled version of the Hungarian name. Nagykikinda (today Kikinda) is only written in Serbian, even though it also had a mixture of Serbian and Hungarian population. Szeged is written Szegedin. It had at the time a Hungarian majority. In German it is called Segedin. S in German and sz in Hungarian are pronounced the same, so if one would pronounce the word using Hungarian phonetics it would sound like the German name, but with this spelling the name is unknown, even though it does appear on the Ethnic map of the Austrian Empire by Carl Czöring made in 1955. Belgrade being the only place on the map having an English name is written in English. Its Latin name is in brackets (Singidunum).

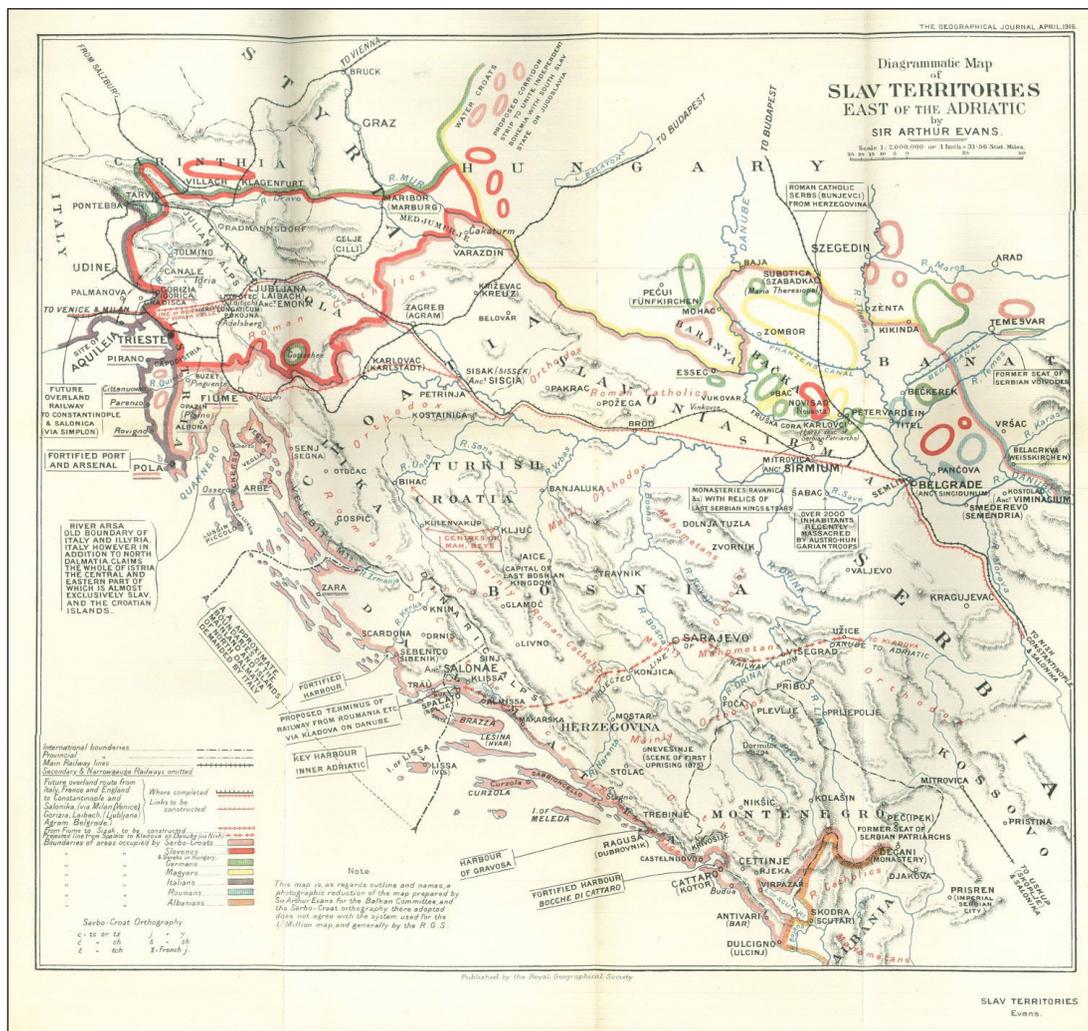


Fig. 5: Slav territories east of the Adriatic
 Source: SIR ARTHUR EVANS 1916

Some maps on the other hand made outside of Hungary, for example the map of Southern Hungary by B.C. Wallis published in the Geographical Review in 1918 has all place names that were in Hungary at the time written in Hungarian. Only two place names in Croatia have other forms. Zagreb has the Hungarian name (Zágráb) and the German name (Agram), while Osijek has the Hungarian name (Eszék) and a probably misspelled version of the Croatian name (Osiek on the map, Croatian Osijek). Only in the Southern parts of Croatia near the coast does the mapmaker use Croatian names, for example Gospić (Hungarian Goszpics). Here he does not use Hungarian names. Belgrade similarly to the last map is on the map in English, only this time it is written in brackets in Serbian using Latin script.

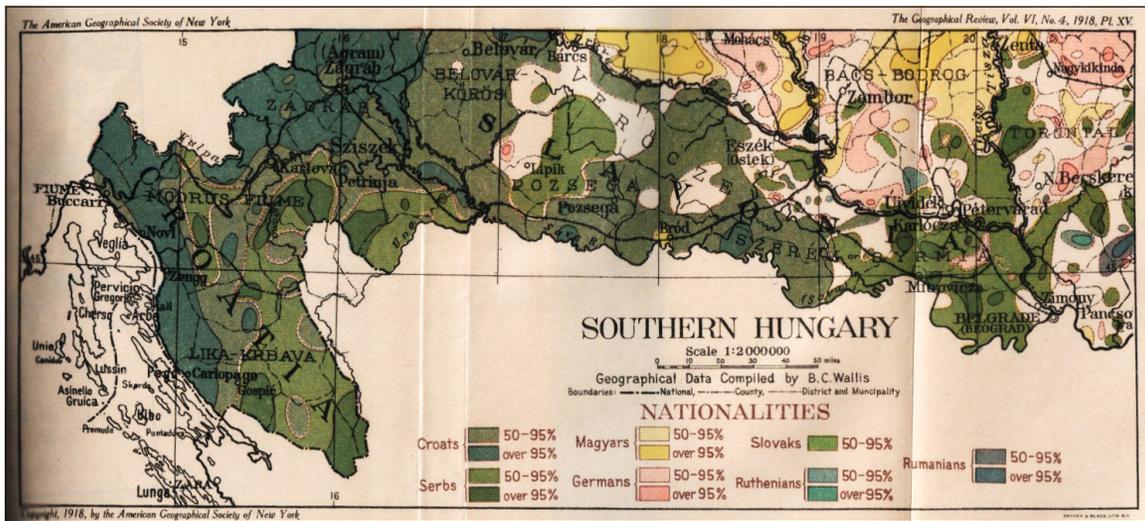


Fig. 6: Southern Hungary
Source: B.C. WALLIS 1918



Fig. 7: Vojvodina enlarged from figure 5

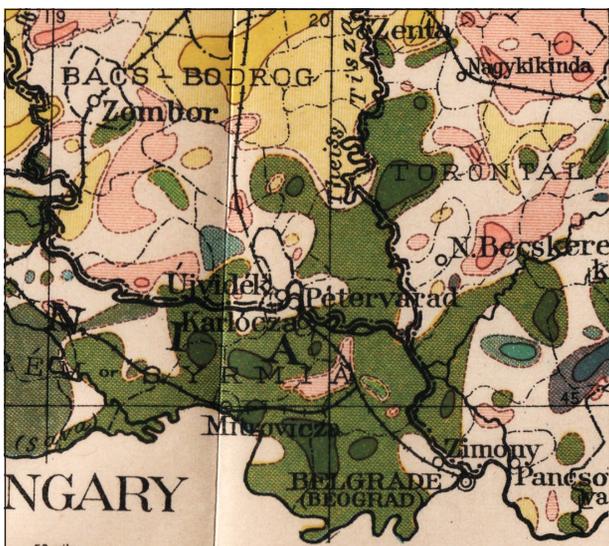


Fig. 8: Vojvodina enlarged from figure 6

Summary

The above examples show us that the use of place names does not necessarily reflect the ethnic composition, even if names other than the official names are used. Quite often the place names that are not the official names, usually reflecting the language of the reader for whom the map is intended.

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Place Names as Ethnocultural Indicators – The Example of German Toponyms on Maps of the American Midwest

Stephan Fuchs

Introduction

This paper explores the potentials of using place names as ethnocultural indicators based on the case study of German toponyms on historic maps of the American Midwest. I contend that, despite representing a standard element of cartographic work, place names have often been underestimated in their indicative potential. As a valuable starting point, RAITZ (1973) applied a close analysis of U.S. topographic maps discerning ethnocultural features and patterns of different groups and areas. Within this context, names “often yield the only real insight into cultural difference in areas where other types of map evidence are difficult to interpret” (RAITZ 1973, 30). His analysis, however, remains rather descriptive and morphological, focusing on settlement structures and forms and the immediate historic background of distinctive names such as the Amana Colonies in central Iowa.¹ So the main question I am concerned with here is: What is the comprehensive value of using or assessing toponyms on historic maps for studying ethnocultural contexts?

For my discussion, I use the example of German toponyms in the American Midwest, which includes names that have their origin within the boundaries of the German Empire of 1871 and in related German-speaking areas, i.e., the Austrian-Hungarian Empire, Switzerland, Luxembourg, and the settlement areas of Volga and Black Sea Germans in the southern Russian Empire (hereafter referred to as German-related). My focus thus extends beyond the proper borders of contemporary Germany encompassing the areas of major German-speaking emigration during the nineteenth and early twentieth century (HOERDER 1995a, 1995b). Within this period, the American Midwest represents a prime destination for German and other European emigrants seeking economic prospects and individual freedom in the United States. According to the definition of the UNITED STATES CENSUS BUREAU (2015), the American Midwest encompasses twelve States: Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois, Missouri, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Kansas, Nebraska, North and South Dakota. Following the patterns of mass immigration, Germans settled this region in a general “leapfrog” pattern forming local concentrations as well as bypassing other areas (CONZEN 1984; KAMPFHOFNER 1984). Germans formed the largest foreign-born group in most of the above states over the second half of the nineteenth century and still represent the dominant ancestral group in the area today (BRITTINGHAM AND DE LA CRUZ 2004; HOERDER 1995a, 1995b). German migrants and their descendants thus constitute a prevalent element of the region’s historic and current ethno-demographic fabric.

¹ Founded by German pietists in 1855, these seven villages represent a highly concentrated and viable cluster of religious order and ethnic representation (BARTHEL-BOUCHIER 2001). Their egalitarian and pious attitudes are expressed in the uniform naming of their settlements, differentiated only by cardinal directions (East Amana, High Amana etc.), as well as in the name’s origin in the biblical mountain translating to ‘remain true’. Today ‘Amana’ is highly commodified as a brand name and tourist destination.

Census data as the “classic” ethnocultural indicator

Early on, the national and ethnic composition of the U.S. population has been subject to socio-demographic study and respective cartographic representation. The produced maps generally rely on census data, for instance, by representing the German-born proportions of the total population on the county level (Figure 1). This aggregate format shows a broad distribution but also local concentrations of Germans in the Midwest, such as in eastern Wisconsin, central Minnesota, or along the Illinois–Missouri border. It, however, remains highly quantitative and descriptive in its informational content using different numerical categories (I–IV) to specify the local demographic impact of German-born residents. The German-born category only covers migrants born within the boundaries of the contemporary German states and Empire, respectively. It thus misses ethnoculturally similar groups such as German-speaking migrants from southern Russia (RIPPLEY 1993, 1–2). The map therefore gives a limited areal overview which does not provide additional information and starting points, for example, for identifying and discussing specific local contexts, processes and broader cultural backgrounds.

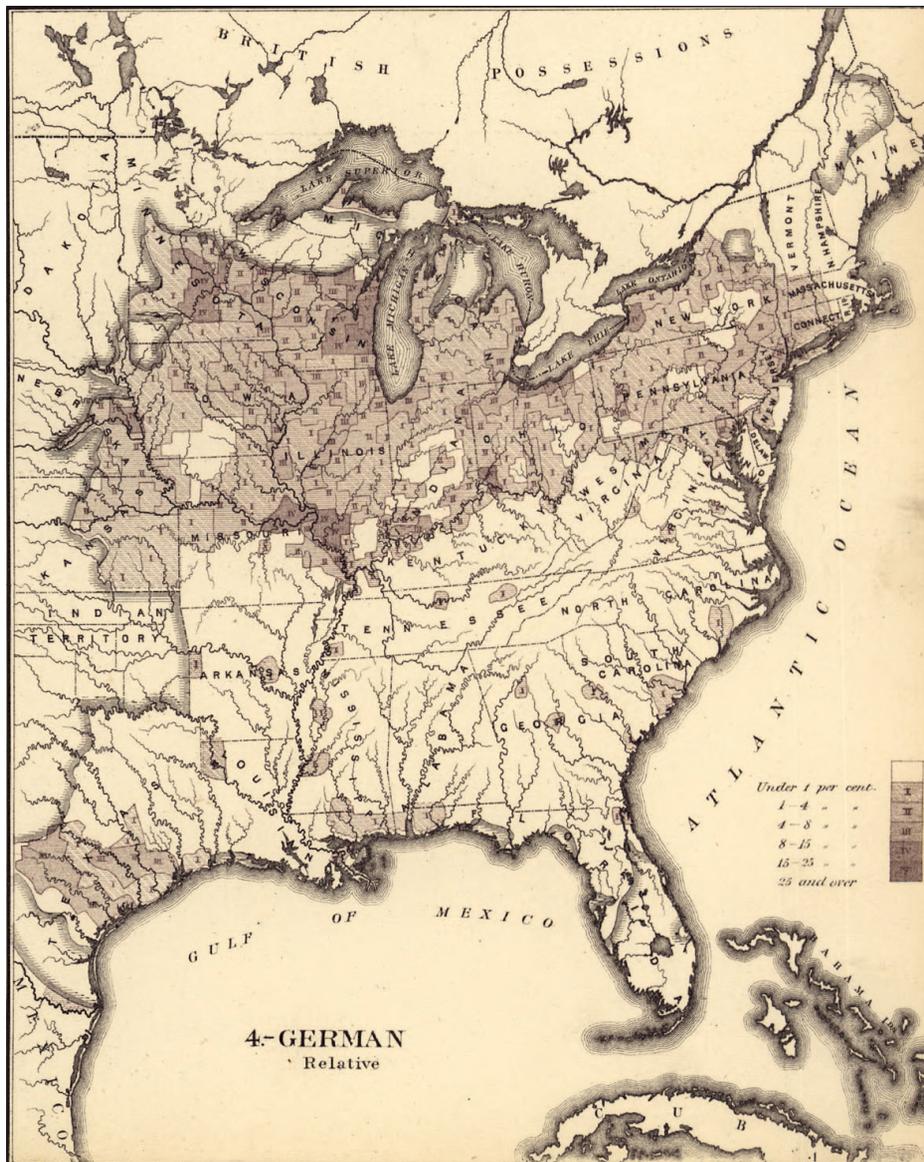


Fig. 1: Proportion of German-born residents 1870

Source: WALKER 1874

Also more specific discussions of the German element in the United States such as HANNEMANN's work from 1936, use selective demographic data to illustrate the German presence in its overall geographic extent and areal concentration (Figures 2 and 3). In a series of decennial maps for the years 1850 to 1930, Hannemann uses proportional point symbols to present the absolute number of German-born residents in the U.S. over time. The American Midwest again stands out as a coherent zone of German settlement. This point-based approach outlines local distributions more precisely and illustrates temporal dynamics; the use of absolute numbers, however, overemphasises urban areas such as New York or Chicago. In addition, the information and indicative value of birthplace data remains generally quantitative, descriptive and limited in its ethnocultural scope; it also loses its significance over time as the immigrant generation passes away and the demographic pattern gradually thins out until 1930. So how can we integrate additional indicators that are more robust and help assessing different socio-cultural dimensions, processes and contexts of German settlement in the Midwest?

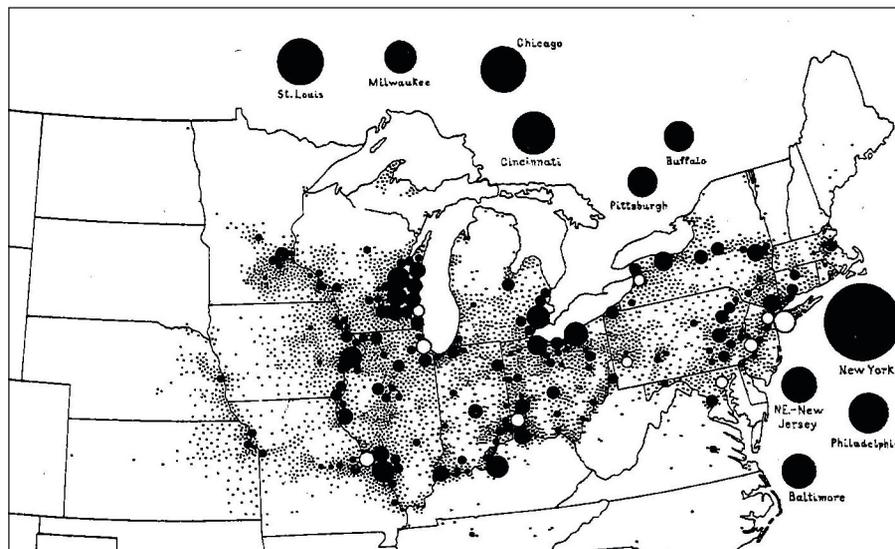


Fig. 2: Number of German-born residents 1870

Source: HANNEMANN 1936

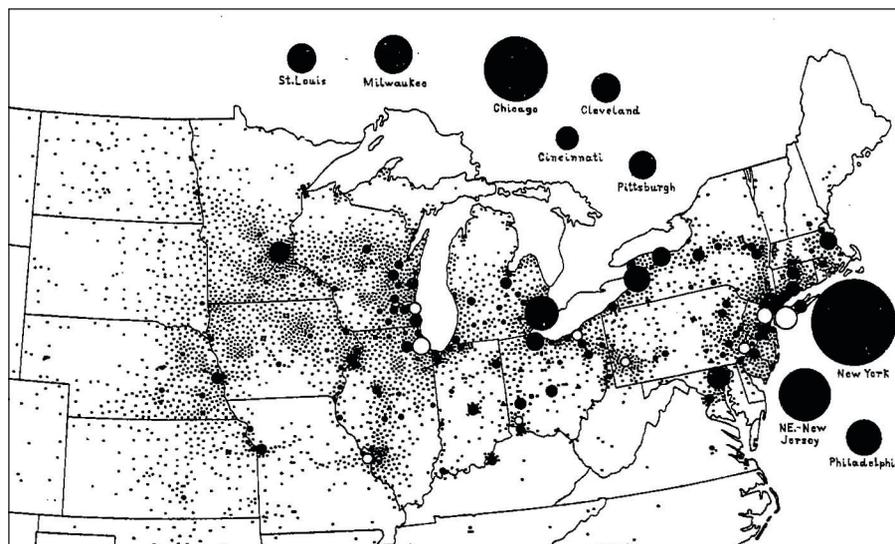


Fig. 3: Number of German-born residents 1930

Source: HANNEMANN 1936

German toponyms on midwestern maps

The map of PAUL LANGHANS titled “Verbreitung des Deutschtums in Nord-Amerika” (Spread of Germanism in North America) from his 1897 colonial atlas provides an interesting starting point in this context. Driven by the nationalistic motives of the time, it shows the German element in the U.S. in a detailed and elaborate cartographic depiction consisting of a main map and several inserts (RUTSCHMANN 2012). Representing the northeast section of the main map, Figure 4 shows the American Midwest as the major zone of contemporary German settlement. Combining aspects of the above census-based formats (Figures 1–3), the map features a colour range to show the proportion of German-born residents on the county level in 1890; in addition, LANGHANS integrated different point symbols which indicate German proportions in cities above 25.0000 residents and identify specific aspects of interest such as the location and predominant religious character (Catholic, Evangelical, Mennonite or mixed) of local German communities (Figure 4 and 5). Instead of aggregate areas and approximate point patterns, these place symbols represent selective but concrete spatial markers of local settlement intensity and indicate certain ethnocultural characteristics. These additional features thus provide a higher spatial precision as well as introduce specific background information on the local German element; its analytical value, however, still remains rather descriptive and limited to the German-born category. Below the main map, cities and towns are shown in even greater detail in several enlarged inserts that focus on distinct regions such as eastern Wisconsin, Ohio or the Saint Louis area. The latter section, for instance, provides numerous toponyms in addition to the colour and place symbols discussed above (Figure 6).

Place names represent a standard element of topographic or thematic maps describing different landscape elements such as rivers, mountains, towns or regions (RAITZ 1973; RANDALL 2001). They thus fulfil a highly practical purpose of specifying and discerning the features put on the map. This denotative character provides the standard means for everyday human orientation and communication. Taxonomic and etymological analysis allows discerning different toponymic types and origins such as places named for/by German migrants. Based on an extensive analysis of place name gazetteers in conjunction with a variety of local, online and scholarly resources, I identified 770 toponyms of historic and still existing populated places in the Midwest that have a German naming background (FUCHS 2013).² For a toponym to qualify, two reliable sources—printed publications and websites of professional scholars and organisations as well as of official national, state and local institutions—had to confirm its German origin. In addition, I used historic census manuscripts to verify the nationality or birthplace of eponyms (name givers) and local residents. The dataset includes toponyms given by German persons or by their second-generation descendants; places that were named after a German place (e.g., a town or region) or person (e.g., a local settler or popular figure such as Bismarck, North Dakota); and names that represent a direct German reference (e.g., Germantown). Historic toponyms represent names that are not in use anymore because of deliberate name changes or place abandonment. In the German case most places were founded and named in the nineteenth century; the resulting toponymic pattern, however, has remained quite stable through time as 85% of the names recorded are still in use today.

² As defined by the U.S. Board on Geographic Names, a populated place represents a “place or area with clustered or scattered buildings and a permanent human population (city, settlement, town, village)” (UNITED STATES GEOLOGICAL SURVEY 2015).



Fig. 4: Spread of Germanism in North America

Source: LANGHANS 1897



Fig. 5: Legend – Spread of Germanism in North America

Source: LANGHANS 1897

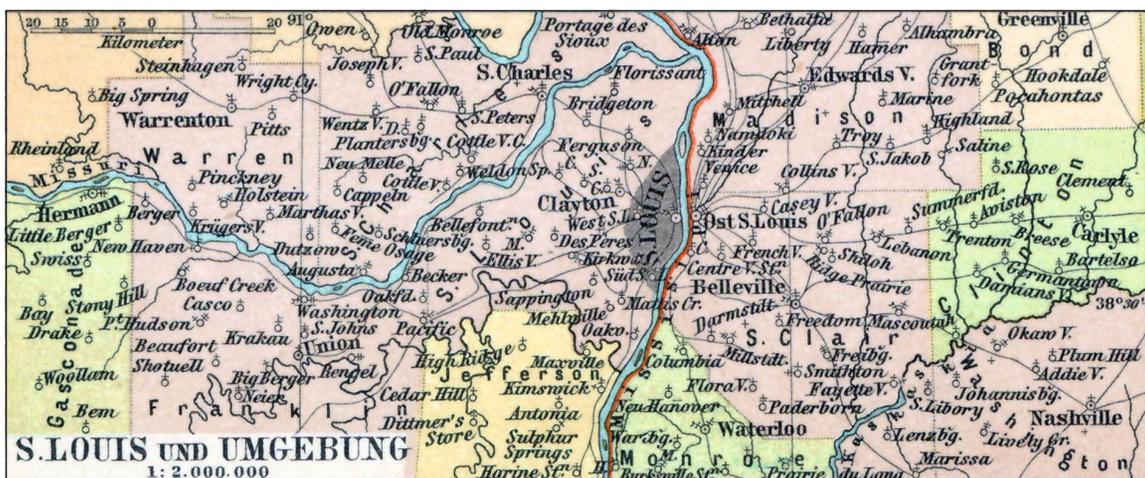


Fig. 6: Toponyms and German-born proportions in the St. Louis area

Source: LANGHANS 1897

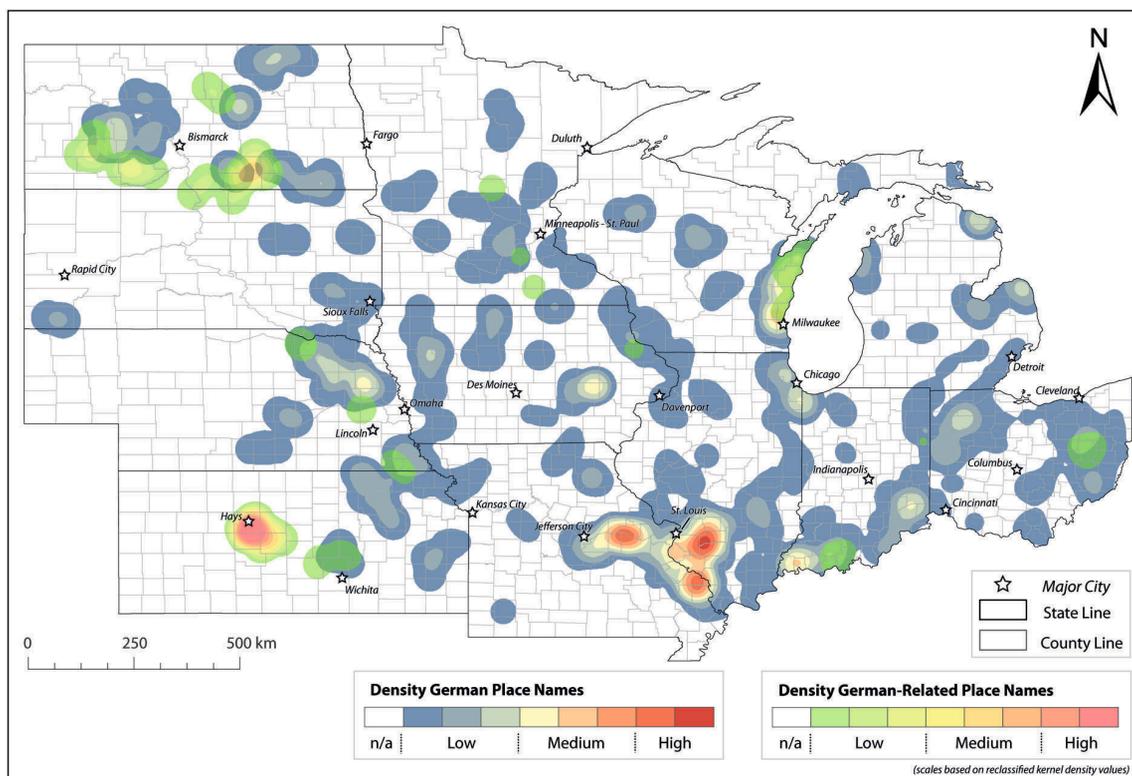


Fig. 7: Density of German and German-related toponyms in the American Midwest

Source: FUCHS 2013

Processed in a GIS environment, for example in form of a kernel density analysis (Figure 7; WANG 2006, 35–42), toponymic types and categories can be reprojected on a thematic map and discussed in terms of their spatio-statistical character.³ Using these advanced means of cartographic analysis, spheres of German and German-related toponyms stand out from areas of no or very sporadic naming. The toponymic outline generally parallels the above demographic patterns based on census data (cf. Figures 1–4). In contrast to aggregate formats, the generated place name densities represent continuous surfaces of gradually changing values, not affected or interrupted by artificial boundaries such as county lines which yields high and unobstructed spatial precision. Small local clusters which are hard to discern on an aggregate level are highlighted, such as the Amana Colonies in central Iowa (see note 1). Available in a point-based, rather than aggregate, format and implemented in advanced spatio-statistical analysis, toponyms thus critically complement classic ethno-demographic indicators such as census data (FUCHS 2015). In addition to several low to medium-level concentrations, the German toponymic imprint appears most profound in western Illinois and eastern Missouri, along Wisconsin’s lakeshore, in central Kansas and south-central North Dakota. The latter two, for instance, illustrate the local impact of German-related groups; they predominantly encompass names with origins in the Volga and Black Sea areas of southern Russia such as Liebenthal, Kansas or New Leipzig, North Dakota (both named after their former homes in southern Russia). To avoid increased assimilative pressure in Russia, these autonomous

³ Kernel density is a sophisticated method to detect concentrations of point features and to visualise potential clusters based on feature location and an optional integration of data values (WANG 2006, 35–42). In a Spatial Smoothing process, I incorporated the relative prominence of German and German-related names among all populated place names around each location using the Floating Catchment Area (FCA) method. The generated output represents a generic raster surface that I reclassified into a continuous scale from low to high densities based on natural break values.

German groups moved to the Dakota and Kansas Plains in the late nineteenth century seeking socio-economic prospects and continued self-determination (SALLET 1974). Recorded as Russian natives by the census they, however, are not included in the regular dataset of German-born residents. Place names therefore provide a concise geographic outline of the extent, distribution, and intensity of the German element on the regional level and integrate broader ethnocultural patterns, e.g., specific German-related backgrounds.

As the previous examples show, toponyms do not only provide spatial and quantitative information. Each place name has its story and carries meaning such as referring to a town or region, a prominent figure or local settlers (RAITZ 1973; RANDALL 2001; TUAN 1991). They, for instance, describe natural features (e.g., the Great Plains), commemorate important political or public figures (e.g., Washington D.C.) or express vernacular interpretations (e.g., Devils Tower, Wyoming). In the context of Anglo-European colonisation of the American Midwest, different immigrant groups left their toponymic mark on the landscape by creating new names or by transferring distinctive toponyms from their home countries. Several place names of Figure 6 appear to be of German or related origin such as Hermann, Holstein, Rhineland or Swiss. They thus provide direct access to qualitative information and make “it then possible to progress beyond simple identification of the feature and study the character of the people, their religion, nationality, and languages, their perception of environmental features, or even their sense of humor” (RAITZ 1973, 30). The Germanic hero Hermann the Cheruscan represents a highly symbolic figure of German resilience, unity and independence (see below); Holstein and Rhineland express regional origins which establishes a symbolic link between the settlers’ former and new homes; and Swiss prominently highlights the presence of a distinctive ethnocultural (sub)group. These examples clearly illustrate that toponyms are highly connotative constructs that express certain values, meanings and images. Place names therefore provide the unique value of combining geographic/denotative and symbolic/connotative functions and can be effectively used as ethnocultural indicators beyond mere description.

People, groups and institutions function as eponyms and represent active agents in the naming process (TUAN 1991). The type and act of (re)naming places thus reflects specific social, political and cultural relations between different actors involved at the time of (re)naming and provides access to underlying processes and successive developments. Within this context, recent critical studies emphasise the need to transcend the descriptive and etymological level of analysis and assess the politics of spatial inscription in toponymic scholarship (VUOLTEENAHO AND BERG 2009; ROSE-REDWOOD, ALDERMAN AND AZARYAHU 2009). In this perspective, toponyms parallel structures and dynamics of power and follow uneven patterns and processes of socio-political authority and cultural impact. Anglo-European pioneers in the American Midwest, for instance, continuously replaced and/or appropriated indigenous names (GROUNDS 2001; HERMAN 1999). (Re)naming places might involve ideological and political aspects and describe issues of domination and conflict (YEOH 1996; ZELINSKY 1983). This leads beyond tabulation, mapping and description into interpretative and critical analyses of toponymic patterns and underlying processes which I would like to illustrate in a few examples of German names along the lower Missouri River east of St. Louis.

The places names highlighted in Figure 8 predominantly represent geographic references to German source areas such as New Melle (a city close to Oldenburg), Holstein or Rhineland and important German cities such as Hamburg. This reflects the general migration pattern of the area’s

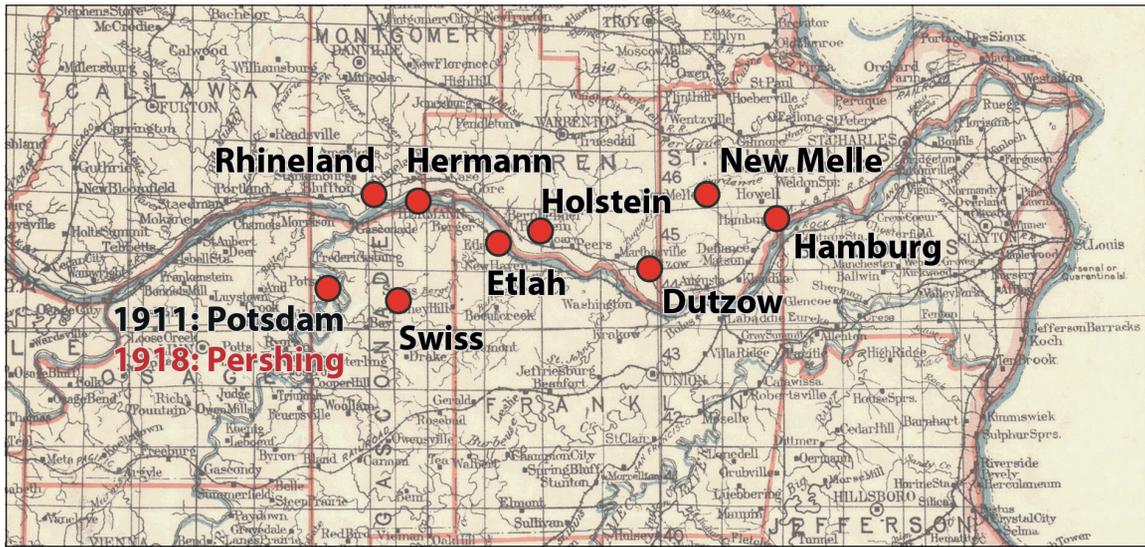


Fig. 8: Selected German toponyms in the lower Missouri River Valley
 Base map: DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR – GENERAL LAND OFFICE 1911

settlers who predominantly came from northwest German provinces (KAMPFHOFNER 1984). Other groups such as Swiss migrants also intersettled and created a patchwork pattern of different regional origins. As discussed above, the naming background and process can take us also beyond inferences on regional origins into patterns of national pride (Hermann), transatlantic relations (Holstein, Rhineland, New Melle) and ethnic representation (Swiss). Understanding toponyms as means of spatial appropriation and ethnocultural expression, place names become a device of local authority, ideology and social power which opens a number of aspects for critical discussion.

Dutzow and Hermann for example represent two of the few remaining evidences of several group colonisation efforts in the region, which aimed for exclusive German settlements on the American frontier. Dutzow was initially started and financed by a group of noblemen and professionals that, however, soon disbanded. It was named after the estate of a wealthy member on the Baltic Sea and shows the possessive claim of an elite group on new territories in America which still reverberates in the toponymic landscape today. Hermann or Arminius who defeated the Romans in the battle of the Teutoburger Forest in 9 A.D. was idealised in nineteenth century Germany as a symbol of Germanic freedom, unity and resilience (RAMPELMANN 2008). The German migrants transferred this image to the U.S. founding Hermann lodges nationwide and erecting an elaborate statue of Hermann in New Ulm, Minnesota. Naming a settlement after Hermann expresses the founders' ideological spirit of creating an exclusive, safe and egalitarian German haven in America which they did quite successfully for several decades. Even today the symbolic meaning of Hermann as a freedom fighter is emphasised and celebrated in the communities of Hermann and New Ulm. As permanent ethnocultural markers in the landscape, toponyms thus selectively connect the present with the past, providing access to historic backgrounds but also touching on local patterns of heritage and identity today.

The toponymic pattern, however, also involves temporal dynamics and changes. The symbolic meaning and powerful connotations of place names can, for instance, become subject to political and sociocultural debates and struggles. The base map of Figure 8 dates to 1911 and still shows the place of Potsdam in northwest Gasconade County. A few years later, as the United States were gradually moving towards entering World War I, the town name became subject to fierce renaming

efforts by local activists who wanted to confirm the community's patriotic attitude (DEWITT 2012; LUEBKE 1974). In 1918, the name was permanently changed to Pershing for the commander of the U.S. expedition forces in Europe. This indicates the pronounced nationalism and consequent public and political pressure on the German communities in the U.S. between 1914 and 1918. In addition to name changing campaigns, nationwide patterns of suspicion, surveillance and harassment by federal, state and local authorities included the registration of non-naturalised Germans as 'alien enemies', the confiscation of property from absent owners and the suspension of local politicians. The symbolic meaning and related dynamics of toponyms thus effectively tie into powerful political and cultural (inter)relations that extend beyond the specific local context.

My final example is the name of Etlah located on the main railroad line between Saint Louis and Kansas City in northeast Franklin County. As a stop along the railroad, it represents the German word Halt(e) spelled backwards. It thus illustrates the transfer, maintenance and flexible assimilation of German language as an important cultural element and symbol of ethnic identity or, maybe, a sense of humour in disguise.

Summary

The cartographic representation and subsequent analysis of ethnocultural groups of the United States generally follows a quantitative and descriptive approach using birthplace and other census data as the prime indicator. The above discussion of German toponyms on historic maps of the American Midwest, however, outlines two intricate levels of additional potential. Place names function as:

1. advanced spatio-statistical indicators, for example by using density calculations which effectively outline ethnocultural concentrations on the regional level and complement other socio-demographic indicators such as census data. In contrast to common aggregate formats, point-based toponymic data provide a higher degree of geographic precision and allow a more comprehensive characterisation of local ethnocultural (sub)groups and backgrounds.
2. sophisticated qualitative indicators that evoke socio-cultural and critical analyses of underlying structures and processes. German name types and semantics allow us to directly access background information and related connotations which opens a window to issues of social power and cultural representation. These patterns of (re) naming, for instance, include regional ties, political issues and ethnic identification as well as their dynamics through time.

Combining denotative and connotative functions, the use of toponyms as ethnocultural indicators thus leads beyond the surface of geographic and socio-demographic facts into underlying social, cultural and political structures and processes that have continuously shaped these patterns. As power-laden constructs place names express cultural values and meanings and selectively connect the present with the past. In addition to the descriptive information put on the map, this allows qualitative interpretations and critical discussions. Including toponyms as additional markers of ethnocultural patterns and processes thus effectively complements the insights gained from spatial statistics and demographic data. So when we (re)produce or study maps of ethnic groups in contemporary or historic contexts, including and considering place names as complex and powerful human constructs gives us the valuable opportunity to broaden our perspective and to gain new insights.

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Historical Maps in Context – The Interdisciplinary Atlas of Geopolitical Imaginaries of East Central Europe

Eric H. Losang

Introduction

Maps seem to be a universal medium for communication, easily understood and appreciated by most people, regardless of language or culture. They can be, when interpreted as cultural texts, a mirror of culture and civilization. “They do more than describe the areas of habitation, as they locate humans in a **cultural** and **psychological** sense as well” (KLINGHOFFER 2006, p. 17). However, what happens to maps when they are produced in a specific **political** context? Are they still universal or do they transfer/communicate a politically influenced and influencing message? Are maps simple depictions of space or do they themselves produce spatial relationships while being produced or interpreted? Can we trace back certain influences by implementing context and mapping related analysis frameworks? These questions are driving the pioneering interdisciplinary project **Digital Atlas of Geopolitical Imaginaries of East Central Europe in the 20th Century**, DAPRO.¹ It makes maps accessible for research on history and geographical imaginaries. Furthermore it will function as a learning management system for initial teacher training/education in historical and political sciences and a reference source that covers maps and mapping-related topics for the humanities.

Maps – the rediscovery of space

Critical cartography

While undergoing a technological revolution from the computer-assisted printing of maps to computer based mapping deploying Geographical Information Systems (GIS) in the 1980s, part of the cartographic community initiated a pervasive critique on the assumptions and practices of professional cartography, highlighting the politics of mapping. In 1989 J. B. Harley in his widely acknowledged article “Deconstructing the Map” pointed out, that “It is better for us to begin from the premise that cartography is seldom what cartographers say it is”, thus reflecting an existing critique of a positivist post-war cartography that was a-political, empirical and separated from context (CRAMPTON/KRYGIER 2006, p. 24). Subsequently, by the early 1990s there was self-conscious engagement with the fundamentals of cartographic thinking and behavior (for a comprehensive overview of the critical movement in cartography see CRAMPTON/KRYGIER, 2006 and WOOD/FELS 2010, WOOD/KRYGIER 2011).

Following Foucault (and Derrida) by approaching maps as representations and sites of power-knowledge (Harley, Wood, Edney) and thus incorporating poststructuralist theory into cartography’s assumption of maps as communication devices (CRAMPTON 2001, p. 692), this critical views opened up the opportunity for cartography to renew relationship with critical human geography and with the humanities.

¹ German project title: **Digitaler Atlas politischer Raumbilder zu Ostmitteleuropa im 20. Jahrhundert**

The 'spatial turn' in the humanities

Space is central to our understanding of a tightly connected, interdependent world and phenomena such as social exclusion.

The recent reassertion of space into scientific consciousness is based on the interpretation of seminal works by Henri Levevre and Michel Foucault who have put space at the center of their structural and functional interpretation of capitalism. In geography, David Harvey (1982, 1989) repositioned the understanding of space from a given entity to one that is produced or constructed by social life. Thus, a turn to considering space in different ways initiated a decline of historicism, which had privileged time and social dependence over space (SOJA 1993) putting the later in the focus as an important organisational structure of (networked) knowledge (WEINBERGER 2012). As COSGROVE (1999, p. 7) stated, "a widely acknowledged 'spatial turn' across arts and sciences [which] corresponds to a post-structuralism agnosticism about [...] naturalistic and universal explanations and [finally] to the concomitant recognition that position and context are inescapably implicated in all constructions of knowledge." In this realm space functions as a complex organisational pattern for different approaches in social sciences concerned with the influence of globalization e.g "Spaces of Flow" by Manuel Castells.

Maps as research object in the humanities

As space claimed scientific territory in the humanities, the understanding of maps and mapping, of cartography and the history of cartography widened in historical science. Among the first that recognised Maps as visual images that offer sustaining notions of historical situations was Jeremy Black. In his book "Maps and History. Construction images of the past" he analyzed historical maps focussing on historical atlases, that tend to be treated as taken for granted reference books by historians. Thus he identified the "role of images [maps] as a mean of creating perceptions of power and [...] iconographic aspects of political and cultural authority" (BLAKE 1997, p. ix). The expanding application of maps in historical and political scientific publications over the years between 1998 and 2004 corroborated that "in fact cartography is a rich transdisciplinary field" (CRAMPTON/KRYGIER 2005, p. 15) increasingly inherited by different disciplines, either by adapting maps and spatial relations as methodological fundament (topographical turn) or by simply adopting mapping techniques.

In Germany the historian Ute Schneider in her remarkable book "Die Macht der Karten" (The Power of Maps) has put form and function, production and consumption of maps in centre stage. The book was an initial spark for German historians to gradually turn their attention from maps as auxiliary tools to their function as representations of spatial ideas thus reflecting on Schneiders central statement, that Maps are present in two different ways: as a material basis in a paper or digital form, and as a spatial idea in the form of mental maps. This opened up new interpretations regarding questions on the eminence of maps in political discourse and in contexts of political decision-making. Hence, maps are mentally continuously present either in the form of target assumptions or as (emotionalized) representations of fear.

The Digital Atlas of Geopolitical Imaginaries of East Central Europe

As an interdisciplinary project the "Digital Atlas of Geopolitical Imaginaries of East Central Europe in the 20th Century (DAPRO)" will make historical maps accessible for research on

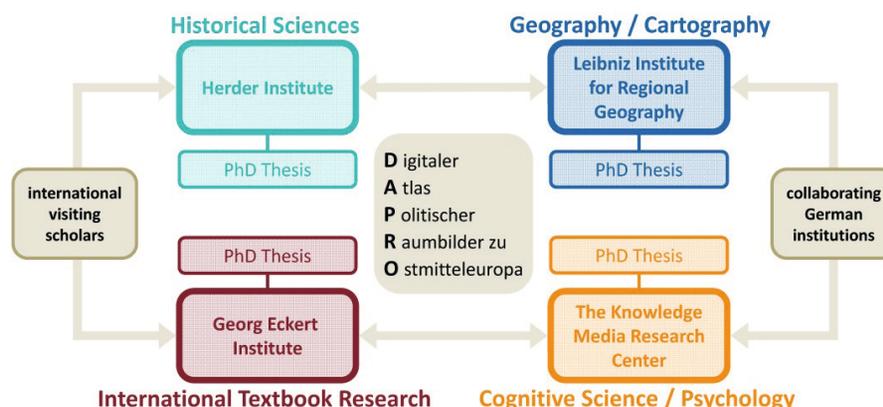
history and spatial (geo)imaginaries. Started in 2012, it is driven by the aforementioned ongoing epistemological turn in the humanities and reflects the concept of critical cartography linking cartographic dissemination with political contexts of production.

The DAPRO combines methods from different scientific disciplines to further unveil production environments as well as representations and patterns on maps. Thus acknowledging power as a driving force in mapping processes the DAPRO allows a deeper and better reflexive understanding of the processes of map making and map usage by establishing a cartographic framework for historical research.

The partners

The project is funded by Germany's Leibniz Association, in the framework of the "Joint Initiative for Research and Innovation". Within the sub-program "Networking and Clusters of Excellence, National and International Collaborations" the work on the digital atlas is taking place within a network of four scholarly institutions of very different scientific provenance, which all have already conducted research on different aspects of maps (Figure 1):

- The Herder Institute in Marburg is one of the leading German centers of research on East Central Europe with a large map collection and a comprehensive archive with map-related historical documents.
- The Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography in Leipzig is a research center which in this project focuses on the history and theory of regional geography as well as on geovisualization and cartography.
- The Georg Eckert Institute for International Textbook Research in Braunschweig has the most comprehensive collection of textbooks on history, geography, politics and social studies worldwide. This is the base for studies how political space, historical concepts and cultural identities are conveyed.
- The Knowledge Media Research Center at Tübingen brings together scholars from cognition and behavioral studies and the social sciences. Their aim is to explore how digital media convey and transfer knowledge to their users.



Funding: Leibniz Association: Joint Initiative for Research and Innovation, Funding guidelines: Networking and clusters of excellence, national and international collaborations, Funding period: May 2011 - April 2014

Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography
Graphic: D. Hänsgen, E. Losang

Fig. 1: DAPRO – Partner Institutions

Methodological approaches

A special aim of the project is to compare cartographic languages as a means of visualization. In doing so, the DAPRO combines various approaches from historians, geographers, cartographers, researchers of educational media, political scientists, and cognitive psychologists.

Regarding the specialization of the partners, Figure 1 illustrates how they participate in the project, distinguishing between relevant research facilities (hardware), methodological approaches and dedicated research agendas.

It would exceed this article's aim to explicate the methodological concepts of the named disciplines (and even more with respect to their epistemological "turns"). Thus the article prioritise the "cartographic/geographic" core areas in the project.

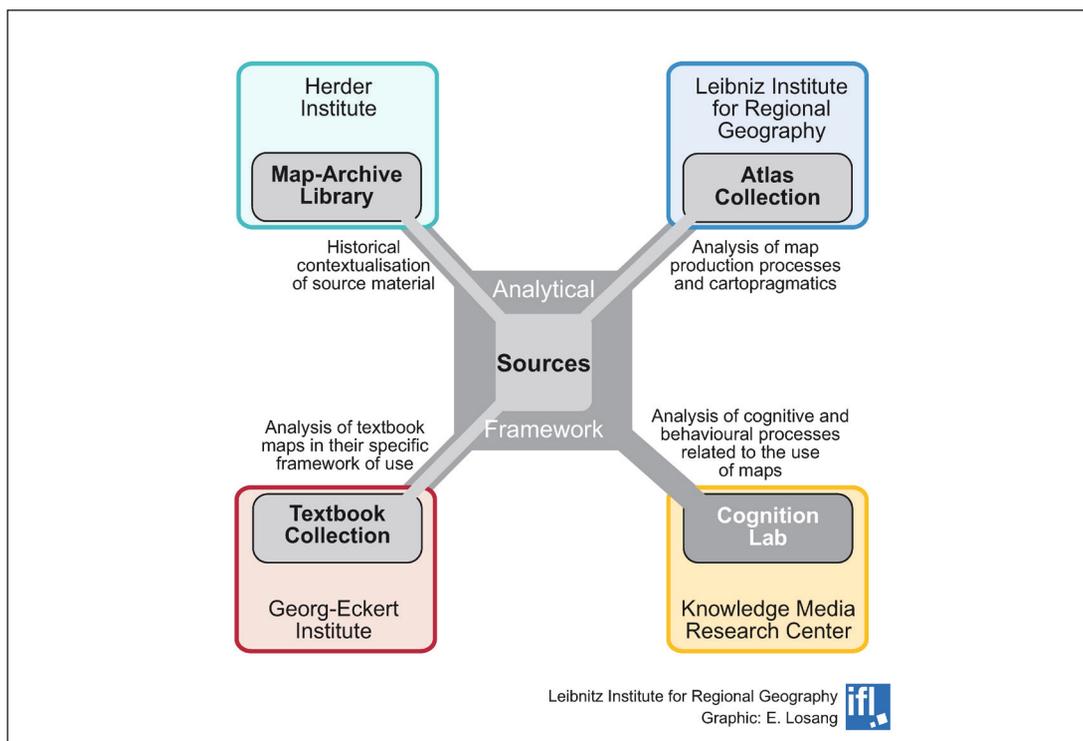


Fig. 2: Participation and methodological embedding of the partner institutes

Spatial image vs. geopolitical imaginaries

It is difficult to accurately translate the German word "Raumbild" without evoking technical connotations—the word itself is simply prone to misunderstanding. To speak, for example, of a "spatial image", one might simply connect it to areal or satellite photography (even after using google). By looking at how the categories of space, are recently being thought about in the humanities a link to geography/cartography occurs by employing the definition of geographical imaginaries by Derek Gregory.

Thus, "Geographical imaginaries are taken-for-granted spatial orderings of the world. [They are] more or less unconscious and unreflective construction[s], which refer to spatial ordering and bordering. [They] often act as tacit valorizations that derive not only from the cognitive operations of reason but also from structures of feeling and the operation of affect. As such, they are more than representations or constructions of the world: they are vitally implicated in a material, sensuous process of worlding" (GREGORY 2009, p. 282). What Gregory describes as 'worlding' is

the basis of the influence of maps on societies. As a theoretical approach it leads to an explanation of how maps, in their respective contexts of usage, become media of cartographic or geopolitical imaginaries—with great political impact.

Analysis framework

The DAPRO-Project focuses on the imaginative spatial images beyond the map and how they are, intentionally or unintentionally, constructed, interpreted, perceived, and used. This would normally mean to consider map communication models. Although there have been alterations and additions, they can be characterized as process models that define mapping as a process of transmitting (geographic) information via the map from the cartographer to the map-user by applying a map-language which is common to both (cf. FREITAG 2001, pp. 10ff).

Thus, the comprehension of a map is based on individual cognitive processes of “the user”, but does not reflect the social, religious, historical or political contexts in which the map has been produced, published and used. Especially for historical maps, produced in countries that experienced territorial changes, this can only be examined while recurring to map production environments in their respective times. This means to not only consider printing techniques and publishing processes but also map production processes and utilized map languages (and their theoretical foundation) as well as the use (and understanding) of maps by analyzing them, while taking the aforementioned specific contexts into account.

For the investigation of historical and political maps this means implementing a bifocal analytical framework. Reflecting the modes of use of mapping elements the cartography related framework (Figure 3) consists of production (map making) related and a cognition (map using) related approach. On the other hand the context analysis framework tries to identify and apply archival material relating to both processes, emphasizing the socio-cultural and political influences driving either the depiction or the reception of the map.

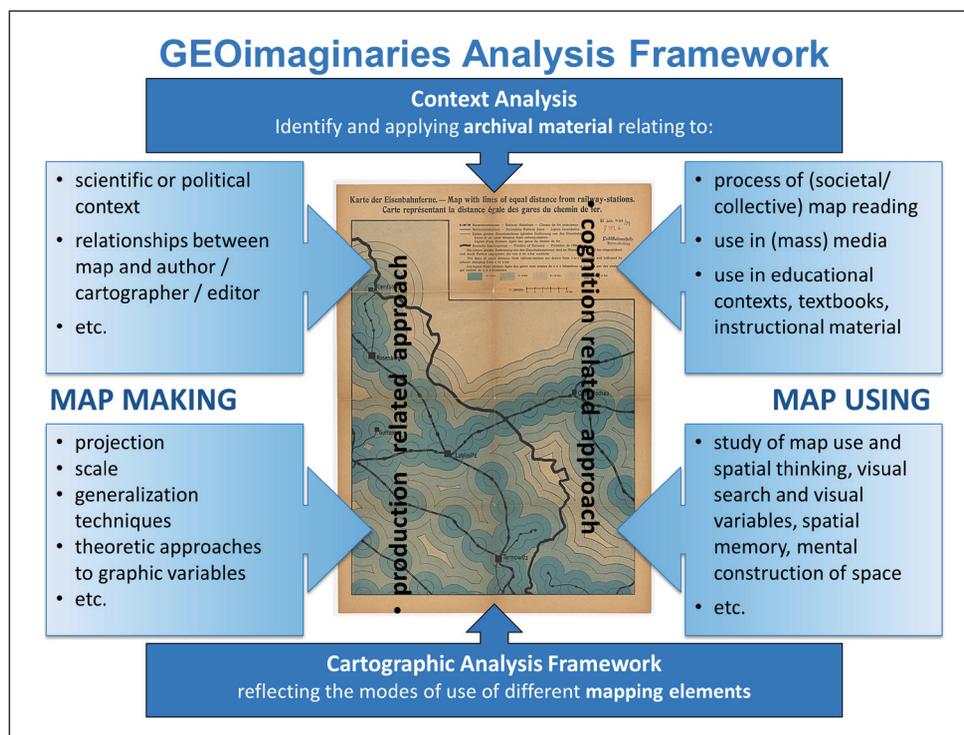


Fig. 3: GeoImaginaries - Analytic Space

Geolmaginaries

Based on Derek Gregory's definition of the main object of investigation and for the purpose of shortening the original title of the "Digital Atlas of Geopolitical Imaginaries of East Central Europe in the 20th Century", the atlas will be published under the title Geolmaginaries (geolmaginaries.org).

Structural elements of Geolmaginaries

The atlas has four perspectives to structure its content. It is important to reflect and to consider the different methodologies of the scientific fields involved, as illustrated in Figure 4. On the other hand they reflect the different user interfaces.

Map Collection

The principal constituent is the corpus of source maps (virtual map library) which are chronologically and geographically ordered. In addition the metadata of the maps are stored in a relational database, comprising detailed information on the production and publishing context. The map itself is stored in different image resolutions to cover either the wide range of display devices or the possibility of high definition print, depending on copyright issues. The data on maps are complemented by a wide range of additional material (documents, graphics, photos, derivative maps etc.) again related to the production context and use of maps. These are also stored in a database and can be linked to other maps by tagging.

Thematic Units

The atlas has offers several thematic units of varying scope, structuring the content; they reflect specified map content matters such as war, peace, territory or border. The units contain a brief abstract of the topic and links to related maps and stories.

Stories

Vertical to the thematic units, stories in depth trace certain spatial and historic themes. Stories will extend the atlas without modifying the structure of the contents by using tagging-techniques. Whenever a story needs additional content, this will be incorporated in the structure of the source corpus and tagged to the story itself.

Map Analysis Unit

The map analysis unit is dealing with visual means of cartographic expressions and map language and spans across the above named structural parts of the atlas. It is an educational unit that triggers the interactive process of map deconstruction by reconstruction. The unit is based on the synopsis of cartographic textbooks and explains the constituent elements of maps reflecting the map production process. It comprises simplified topics, such as coordinate systems, projection, scale, generalization and cartographic symbols.

The purpose is to enable users lacking cartographic background to understand the different techniques and determinations in the numerous steps of map-design, hence to be able to recognize deviations from standard procedures and to tag the respective maps accordingly (Figure 6). By taking the map apart virtually the user will understand how maps function visually. The simplification of the topics is inevitable considering the users of the atlas.

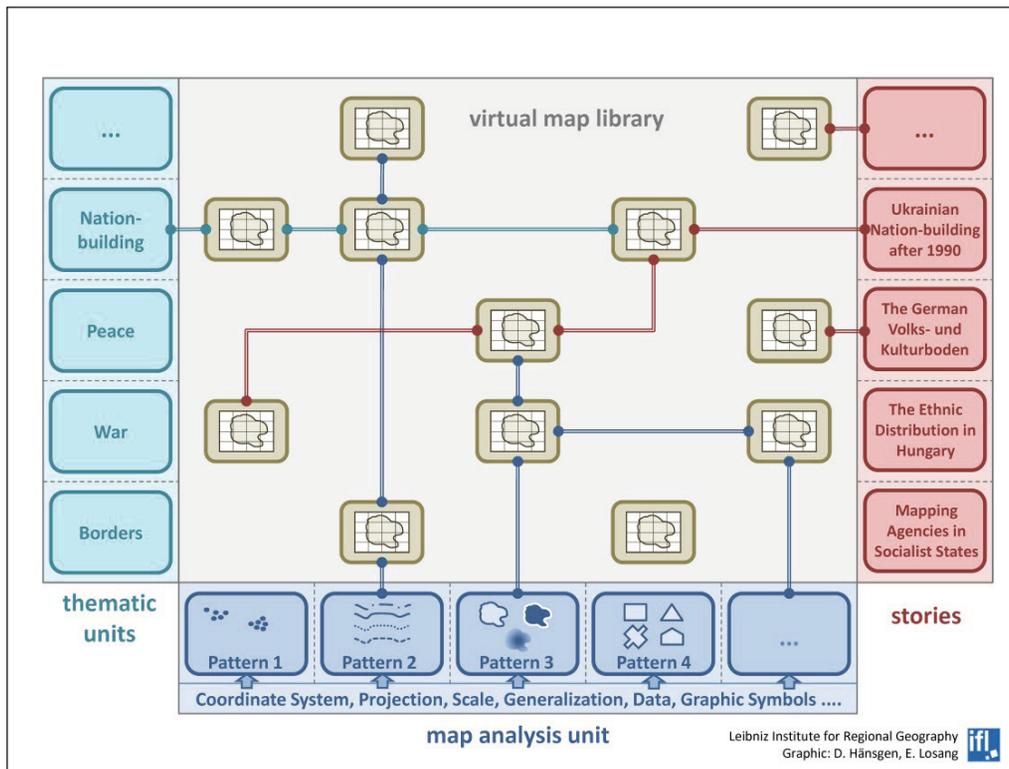


Fig. 4: Functional structure of the atlas

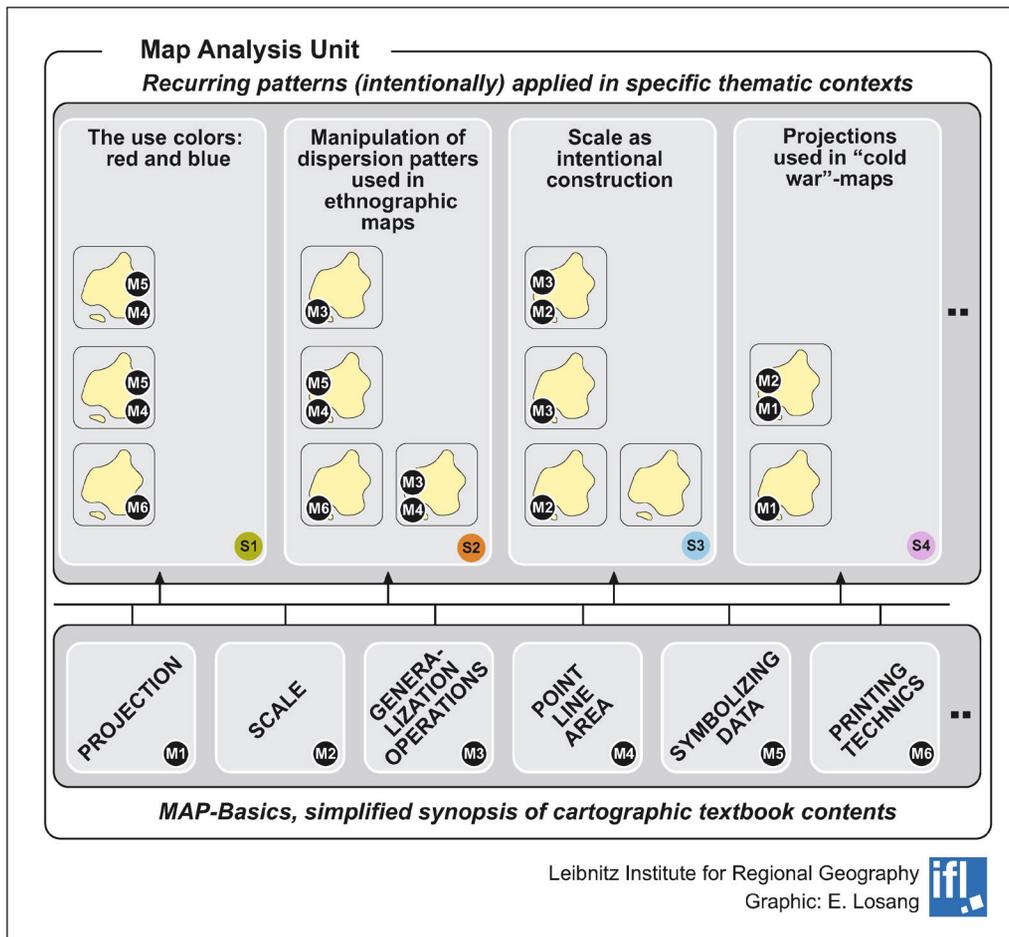


Fig. 5: Map Analysis Unit

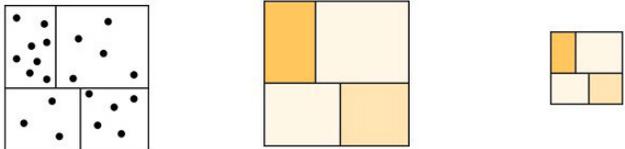
In this respect the unit has been thoroughly tested in seminars on critical reading of historic maps at the Department of Humanities at Leipzig University.

Following evaluation and feedback from the seminars a second more individualized test-series will be set up at the cognition lab of the Knowledge Media Research Center. The second aim of the map analysis unit is to indicate recurring patterns (intentionally) applied in specific thematic contexts e.g. the use of colors and signature types in ethnic maps (Figure 5). Tracing these patterns in different maps from different periods allows us to conclude that different mapping contexts use the same visualization techniques when depicting similar social or political circumstances.

GENERALISIERUNG - Grafische Maßnahmen

Darstellungswechsel

Hierbei handelt es sich um eine Veränderung der Art und Weise, wie Objekte in der Karte dargestellt werden. Einerseits beschreibt es den Wechsel von einer grundrißlichen Darstellung zur Signatur (1), andererseits wird der Übergang von einer Signatur- zur Flächendarstellung (2) verstanden.

(1)		
(2)		
	Ausgangsmaßstab 1:n	Folgemaßstab 1:n
		Folgemaßstab 1:2n

Generalisierungs-
maßnahmen

Zusammenfassen

Form-
vereinfachung

Verdrängung

Schlagworte:
[Generalisierung](#), [Generalisierungsmaßnahmen](#), [Darstellungswechsel](#) ...

Leibniz Institute for Regional Geography

Fig. 6: Map Analysis Unit – Digest of the generalization module

Outlook

GeoImaginaris was initially meant to be an interactive digital atlas covering the interdisciplinary research on selected historical maps and their contexts and targeting teacher-training e.g. at universities. Thus it was originally conceived for providing maps and context material as examples for helping with explanation of maps. However, during the content related development it became obvious that the outline of the atlas needed to be changed:

- The multitude of different historic and spatial contexts in which maps have depicted geographical imaginations, combined with different purposes of maps and their respective mapping (production) contexts is far too complex to be covered by maps of merely three, very specialised archives. Thus, the research driven addition of maps and contextualised content is inevitable, therefore giving GeoImaginaris the character of a steady published loose leaf atlas.
- Reflecting the comprehensive arriving of maps as subject in different scientific realms, the deconstructing of historic maps should be realised by associating not only cartographers and

historians specialised in particular topics. Instead GeoImaginarities give scientist of different provenance the opportunity to add content to the atlas, use the infrastructure of a map analysis module and the corpus of sources provides e.g. by the Herder-Institute. In this respect GeoImaginarities will function as a virtual research environment (VRE).

This will widen the content of the atlas by adding different perspectives and by providing the link-up of various topics, regions as well as maps and their production environments. It is envisaged that Geoimaginarities will lead to the targeted comparison of mapping languages in different contexts.

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German Contribution to the 19th Century Cartography of European Turkey¹ – With Special Regard on the Map of Heinrich Kiepert

Mirela Slukan Altić

The paper analyzes the German maps of European Turkey of the first half of the 19th century, putting them in context of the geopolitical changes that came about as a result of the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire and the settlement of the Eastern Question. The focus of the analysis is on Heinrich Kiepert's 1853 map as an example of the best scientific synthesis of German cartography of the 19th century. Special attention has been paid to the problem of language editing of the maps with reference to transliteration and transcription of place names from maps of different linguistic provenance.

The cartography of European Turkey – between fascination, geopolitics and commercial interest

The focus of European cartographers on the Ottoman Empire began to develop already in the early modern period. European cartographies paid close attention to territorial expansion of the Ottomans, information about which was brought forward not only on theater-of-war maps, the so-called *Kriegs-Theatrum Karten*, but also on especially popular graphic sheets, which provided information about individual battles. Until as late as the 17th century, the European interest in mapping the Ottoman Empire and its border lands was primarily due to defense requirements of the rest of Europe.

With the stabilization of the borders with the Ottoman Empire in the late 17th century and intensification of the trade exchange with the Orient new needs came to the fore. The Ottoman Empire, particularly its European dominions, became a cultural and trade tie between Europe and the Orient. The trade routes that Europe was establishing with the Orient went precisely across the territory of European Turkey, which, like a wedge, was connecting Istanbul with Central Europe. Thus, from the mid-17th century, the first maps of the European part of Turkey began to appear. They were mainly of French provenance as the French trade balance with Istanbul was the largest. These were, of course, small-scale maps that were not based on field surveys, which were rarely carried out in these areas, but on individual observations and accounts of travelers, traders, and travel writers.

The nineteenth century would bring big changes to Europe that would once again shift the political focus to the European part of the Ottoman Empire as the geostrategic key to the relations between the European powers. The Napoleonic Wars and the national movements in the Ottoman Empire, as well as the expansion of the young nation-states such as Serbia, Montenegro, Greece and Bulgaria, brought about the escalation of the Eastern Question, which would result in new military and diplomatic actions regarding the division of the Ottoman possessions in Europe. While the Habsburgs laid claim to Bosnia and Serbia as their own territories, France saw the Ottoman Empire as an ally in its conflict with Russia and a hindrance to the realization of Habsburg political

¹ European Turkey is a common name for the European part of the Ottoman Empire, which came into wide use especially in the 19th century. This term which originally comes from German language (*europäischen Türkei*) is taken by many other languages as a traditional name for this part of Turkish territory. In 19th century British cartography, the term *Turkey in Europe* is more common.

ambitions in the Ottoman territories. Russia, on the other hand, supported the partitioning of the Ottoman Empire as a means of its own expansion into the Black and Mediterranean Seas. Germany, at the same time, saw in the Ottoman territories a possibility of its thrust toward the East (*Drang nach Osten*) and the interests in the Near and Middle East. In this context, the production of the maps of European Turkey, which was to reach its peak during the 19th century, should be seen as part of the geopolitical changes resulting from the process of dissolution of the Ottoman Empire, when addressing the Eastern Question was to create a whole new distribution of great powers in which, especially after 1870, Germany occupied a central position (SLUKAN ALTIĆ 2006).

German maps of European Turkey of the first half of the 19th century and their geographic nomenclature

German maps of European Turkey were produced by compiling the maps of different provenance, especially those made by Austrian, French and Russian cartographers. German cartographers mainly used small- and medium-scale military maps as their cartographic sources, which maps were produced as a result of military operations (Wallachia, Moldavia, Bulgaria, Greece), or by way of intelligence operations and clandestine mapping, as was the case in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As such, the synthesis of maps of different scales and different language editions posed considerable problems to German cartographers. European Turkey of that time was an extremely multicultural society. That part of the Ottoman Empire consisted of a large number of lands, which spoke different languages (Greek, Bulgarian, Romanian, Serbian, Croatian, Albanian, Turkish), and used different alphabets (Latin, Serbian Cyrillic, Russian Cyrillic, Greek, and Turkish alphabets). Most maps of that area came from the pens of foreign cartographers who used to note down place names in the field as they heard them spoken aloud, often through several intermediaries or interpreters, which caused additional difficulties. Noting down the Slavic diacritical characters (such as *č, ć, š, ž, đ*, etc.) that were unknown to the German alphabet required additional efforts. In addition, the cartographers often used older cartographic bases in their work, in which local place names were noted down either in their Germanized, Italianized, or Latinized form, thus further distancing the place names from their original forms. All this greatly hampered the work of German cartographers, for which different language editions of their base maps were among the most difficult obstacles they had to overcome in the production of their own maps of European Turkey.

One of the first German maps of European Turkey was produced by the famous Prussian historian and geographer Konrad Mannert.² In 1803, Mannert became the head of Homann Heirs publishing firm, and within a short time edited several cartographic editions (KRETSCHMER 1986). In 1804, Mannert prepared a map of European Turkey at a scale of 1:2,850,000³. Printed by the

² Konrad Mannert (April 17, 1756 – September 27, 1834) was a Prussian historian and geographer. Mannert was born in Altdorf bei Nürnberg, where he did his studies. In 1784 he became a teacher at the Sebaldusschule in Nuremberg, and in 1788 at the Ägidiusgymnasium there. In 1796 he became professor of history at the University of Altdorf, in 1805 at the University of Würzburg, in 1807 at the Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich (then in Landshut), and from 1826 at the same university in its new location in Munich. He died in Munich in 1834. His historical work was known in particular for its focus on studying primary sources. Meyers Konversations-Lexikon 11 (4th edition Ed.). 1890. p. 195.

³ Charte von der Europaeischen Türkei, Kleinasien, einem Theile Syriens und andern angränzenden Ländern/entworfen von Conrad Mannert. 1:2,850,000. Nürnberg, hererausgegeben in der Kais. priv. Kunsthandlung Schneider und Weigels, 1804.

Nuremberg firm Schneider and Weigel⁴, the map depicted the geopolitical climate at the beginning of the Napoleonic Wars. Compiling from various sources of different linguistic provenance caused Mannert quite a few problems, and his map was full of errors. Certain toponyms were drawn twice in different language editions, while certain names—particularly oronyms—were highly distorted, and the map was widely criticized in the professional community (HAARDT VON HARTENTHURN 1901). In addition, Mannert's map clearly pointed out another problem of the cartography of the time—a very inconsistent knowledge of specific areas of European Turkey. The peripheral areas of the Ottoman Empire, involved in the operations of the Russo-Turkish and Austro-Turkish Wars, were mapped for military purposes. At the same time, the mountainous interior of European Turkey was still exceptionally little known, so that its presentation based on rare travelogues and inadequate cartographic sketches.

The next German map of European Turkey was produced in the height of the Napoleonic Wars, at the time when Prussia became Austria's ally by joining the coalition against Napoleon. Made by Champion and J. G. Baumann in Leipzig in 1812⁵, the map came about at the time of the French invasion of Russia, when the attention of most cartographers was focused on Central and Eastern Europe, where most of the battles were fought (in 1813, the Leipzig region precisely became the arena of one of the key battles, where the French army suffered a crushing defeat). But even in such times Napoleon did not lose sight of the Balkans. In the period from 1807–1812, a number of French cartographers (Vaudoncourt, Palma, Pertisier, Sorbier, Pouqueville) were reconnoitering the transport network of European Turkey (HAARDT VON HARTENTHURN 1901). Baumann's 1812 map, intended primarily for travelers, copied precisely the results of the French surveys, making it possible for the first time to see the marked main roads which connected Central Europe with remote regions of European Turkey. Apart from roads, Baumann introduced yet another novelty—he classified the settlements solely with respect to their number of inhabitants, and not with respect to certain other functional characteristics (such as fort, post office, tavern, etc.), as was then the custom under the influence of military cartography. Because of its small scale, the map did not abound in place names, but those that were noted down were written in almost their original form (replacing only the diacritical characters). The relatively high accuracy of the transcription of the toponyms was due to the use of uniform sources of French provenance. Baumann's map of European Turkey was well received, and was followed by two more editions, in 1822 and 1828.⁶

Napoleon's final defeat and the Congress of Vienna of 1815, which established a new political image of Europe, marked yet another milestone in the mapping of European Turkey. With the elimination of Napoleon, all attention was again focused on the issue of the Ottoman Empire. In the period from 1819–1823, Franz von Weiss produced a 18-sheet map for the Austrian General Staff that depicted the area of European Turkey at a relatively large scale of 1:576,000.⁷ Significantly improving the level of geographic knowledge about European Turkey, that map would have

⁴ Johann Christoph Weigel (1703/04–1777) and Adam Gottlieb Schneider (1745–1815) founded their publishing house in Nuremberg in 1746 (TOOLEY 1979).

⁵ Politisch-statistische Charte von der Europäischen Türkei mit genauer Bezeichnung der Strassen zum Gebrauche für Reisende etc./ Gezeichnet und gest. unter der Direction der Herrn Champion und Baumann. 1:3,170,000. Leipzig, J.G. Baumann, 1812.

⁶ The map was republished in Leipzig by Ernst Klein in 1822 and 1828. Cf. *Charten – Recensionen. Neue allgemeine geographische (und statistische) Ephemeriden*, Geographisches Institut zu Weimar, 1822, pp. 461–466.

⁷ *Geographische Karte des Osmanischen Reiches in Europa nebst einem Theil von Anatolien in III Colonnen 18 Blätter. Nach den neuesten Ortsbestimmungen etc. zusammengestellt und gezeichnet in den Jahren 1819–1823 durch den Oberstlieutenant Franz von Weiss.*

powerful reverberations in all European cartographies, serving as the basic base map for German cartographic editions as well. Relying on Weiss's map and the similar Pierre Lapie's 1822 map, in 1828 in Munich, the Cotta Geographical Institute⁸ published their own map of European Turkey at a scale of 1:989,000.⁹ It was until then the most detailed German map of European Turkey that provided a number of new geographical insights in that little known area. For the first time it became evident that the area was not so sparsely populated (apart from towns, the map recorded a large number of villages as well), and that it had a categorized network of roads as well as a clearly marked administrative and territorial structure (the names and boundaries of sanjaks and nahiyahs were noted as well). The map also included a large number of villages whose names were largely copied from Weiss's map, and transcribed in accordance with the rules of the German orthography, while for the areas of southern Serbia and Macedonia, the names of the villages were represented in the Turkish language (in Latin transliteration). Because of its relatively large scale, the map attracted great attention, and its publication was met with positive reviews in the specialist literature of the time.¹⁰

Once again, the Russo-Turkish War of 1828–1829 was promoting interest in European Turkey. The war, whose battlefields stretched between the present-day Bulgaria and the Caucasus, inspired new activities in the reconnaissance of the terrain as well. The information obtained through the systematic surveys, conducted by Russian military topographers, significantly improved the representation of the eastern part of European Turkey.¹¹ At the same time, the national independence movements in Serbia (1801–1830) and Greece (1821–1829), were to create two new independent states in the territory of European Turkey (Greece in 1829, Serbia in 1830), which would further boost the interest of German cartographers in the territory of European Turkey. Already during the uprising, Serbia began their own cartographic surveys, while the geodetic survey of Greece was conducted by French officers led by General Pelet in the period from 1829–1831 (HAARDT VON HARTENTHURN 1901). In 1832, in the wake of these geopolitical changes, the Geographical Institute of Weimar published a new map of European Turkey,¹² which was for these purposes made by Carl Ferdinand Weiland.¹³ It was a small-scale outline map which depicted the new borders of European Turkey after the 1828–1829 War and the independence of Greece and Serbia, respectively. Although the progress in the knowledge of some parts of European Turkey came to the fore only partly because of the small scale of the map, the influence of the geodetic surveys undertaken in certain parts of European Turkey, particularly in the areas of Greece and the Aegean Islands, was evident.

⁸ Johann Georg, Freiherr Cotta von Cottendorf (1796–1863), inherited the publishing house of his father, the famous publisher and politician Johann Friedrich Cotta. (1764–1832). Cotta's publishing house, which had a key role in the publication of German literary works, had branches in Tübingen, Stuttgart, Ulm, and Augsburg. In 1827, the family established a branch in Munich. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, eleventh edition (1910–1911), vol. 7, pp. 250–251.

⁹ *Das Osmanische Reich in Europa mit einem Theile desselben in Asien nebst den angränzenden oesterreichischen und russischen Gebieten*. 1:989,000. München, in der J. G. Cotta'schen geographischen Anstalt, lith. von A. Schmidt, W. Pobuda sc., 1828.

¹⁰ *Charten – Recensionen und Anzeigen, Neue allgemeine geographische (und statistische) Ephemeriden*, Geographisches Institut zu Weimar, 1831, pp. 83–87.

¹¹ In 1828, under the leadership of the Russian colonel Ditmars, the officers Vronchenko, Ortenberg and Essen conducted systematic field measurements, particularly in the regions of Wallachia and Moldavia, the scenes of decisive battles.

¹² *Das osmanische Europa oder die europäische Turkey nebst dem Königreiche Griechenland und den Jonischen Inseln /entworfen und gezeichnet von C. F. Weiland*. 1:3,000,000. Weimar, Geographisches Institut, 1832.

¹³ Weiland, Carl Ferdinand (1782–1847), German cartographer, acted at the Geographic Institute founded in Weimar in 1804. Worked on a series of maps and atlas publications of the Institute, collaborated with Heinrich Kiepert (TOOLEY 1979).



Fig. 1: Detail of Baumann's map of European Turkey, Leipzig, 1812 (War Archives in Vienna)



Fig. 2: Map of European Turkey, Cotta Geographical Institute, 1828, detail presenting southern Serbia, Kosovo and Macedonia (War Archives in Vienna)

In the 1830s, the cartographers began to particularly focus their attention on the western edge of European Turkey where the movement for national autonomy was getting stronger. The Austrian and French reconnoitering in the regions of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Montenegro and Albania, respectively, enabled to improve the knowledge of this area, the then least known part of European Turkey. A particular contribution was made by natural scientists, among them Ami Boué. Traveling across European Turkey, he explored the geographical features of the land. Scientific work that came about as a result of his explorations would fill in numerous empty spaces on the maps of the time. Even more importantly, these scientific efforts encompassed the recording of the original names of the local toponyms, which was also positively reflected on the maps that were using such travelogues as their sources. In 1840, after Boué had published his work *La Turquie d'Europe*, to which he had also attached the eponymous map at a scale of 1:1,000,000 (Paris, 1840), Heinrich Kiepert¹⁴ produced his own map of Bosnia and Dalmatia which was compiled on the basis of the surveys, conducted by Austrian intelligence officers, and Boué's observations.¹⁵ The work on the map of Bosnia and Dalmatia drew Heinrich Kiepert's attention to the insufficient quality of the maps of European Turkey as the least-known part of the European continent. Improving a cartographer's perception of European Turkey was to become one of his main preoccupations over the coming years.

Heinrich Kiepert – General-Karte von der europäischen Türkei (1853)

Kiepert published his map of European Turkey in 1853, in an atmosphere of preparation for a new Russo-Turkish War, which would break out in 1853 (the Crimean War of 1853–1856), and the growing instability in the western part of the Ottoman Empire (the unrest in Bosnia and Herzegovina did not subside, the Albanian revolt in Kosovo broke out in 1844, and the Montenegrin rebellion against Ottoman rule resulted in the declaration of Montenegro's independence in 1852). A new synthesis at a scale of 1:1,000,000, Kiepert's map had all the characteristics of a military outline topographic map.¹⁶ On the eve of the Crimean War, the map provided information about physical and geographical features of European Turkey, including the network of settlements and roads and the administrative and territorial division of the Empire. Because of his interest in classical history as well as extensive traveling across the Ottoman Empire, for many years Kiepert had been collecting the results of scientific research in different fields in this area, thanks to which he was able to produce a map whose quality and accuracy was to surpass the maps of all his predecessors and contemporaries.

¹⁴ Heinrich Kiepert (1818–1899), one of the most prominent German 19th century geographers and cartographers. He was educated at the University of Berlin, studying especially history, philology and geography. In 1840, in collaboration with Karl Ritter, he issued his first work "Atlas von Hellas und den hellenischen Kolonien" which brought him at once into eminence in the sphere of ancient historical cartography. Another major interest was the Ottoman Empire, where Kiepert travelled numerous times, gathering enough data to produce several major maps of the Ottoman world between the 1840s and 1890s. Kiepert was head of the Geographisches Institut in Weimar between 1845 and 1852 and professor at the University of Berlin from 1852. He maintained a long association with the publisher Dietrich Reimer. Many later editions of Kiepert's maps were updated by his son, Richard Kiepert (KRETSCHMER 1986).

¹⁵ Bosnien und Dalmatien/von Heinrich Kiepert. 1:800,000. Weimar: Geographisches Institut, 1840. Unhappy with the result, especially the presentation of relief and hydrography, Kiepert prepared a new edition of the map, which was published in 1851.

¹⁶ General-Karte von der europäischen Türkei/Heinrich Kiepert. 1:1,000,000. Berlin: In Commission bei Dietrich Reimer, 1853.

In order to compile his own map of European Turkey, Kiepert was studying the travelogues and maps of contemporary researchers with extraordinary perseverance and knowledge. He accompanied his map with Explanatory Notes (*Erläuterungen*), in which he presented a detailed account on how his map had been compiled, which particular base maps he had used, and which problems encountered. Kiepert said about his map that it was created on the basis of his explorations of that particular region over the preceding 25 years. During that time, Kiepert was carefully collecting all the maps of the area that were produced on the basis of geodetic surveys, and would later use them in the production of his own map. He first compared the best then available maps of European Turkey, among which he noted the maps of French provenance: Guillaume de Vaudoncourt's¹⁷, Pierre Lapie's¹⁸, and François Pouqueville's maps¹⁹, while among the German maps he pointed out the already mentioned Cotta's 1828 edition (only briefly mentioning Weiss's map of European Turkey, however, as he considered it merely a copy of Lapie's map). To complement his data, in addition to the available outline maps of European Turkey, Kiepert used a number of regional medium- and large-scale maps. He found that the largest number of data was available for the regions of Moldavia and Wallachia, where, because of military operations, the cartographic activities were most intense, so that he was able to use the data from a number of military maps of Russian provenance. Especially prominent among them were the Russian survey maps of 1828/1829²⁰, the six-sheet map of Moldavia by General Bauer, the map of Wallachia, published by the General Staff at a scale of 1:576,000 in 1812, as well as another detailed Russian map of Wallachia and Moldavia, which came about from the results of the survey of 1817–1820. In addition, for the area of the Russo-Turkish War of 1828/1829 he could also use the Russian military operation plans.²¹ For the depiction of the southern part of Hungary he relied on the outline map made by Johannes Lipszky.²² For the area of Serbia he compiled the data from the maps by Joseph Riedl²³, Jovan Bugarski²⁴, and the Russian cartographer Alexander Chirkov.²⁵ He also paid special attention to marking the Adriatic coast, whose depiction was based on the data obtained in the hydrographic survey of the Adriatic (1817–1819). The Aegean coast was depicted according to the data obtained in the survey by the British Navy (1830), and the Black Sea according to the maps drawn by the Russian cartographer Egor Manganari (1840). The greatest problem posed the depiction of the little-known high mountainous areas of Montenegro, Albania and Macedonia, for which he used the maps drawn by Fedor de Karacsay²⁶ and Joseph Müller²⁷, cleverly supplementing them with the

¹⁷ Carte générale de la Turquie.../F. Guillaume de Vaudoncourt, 1822, scale 1:1,350,000.

¹⁸ Carte de la Turquie d'Europe.../Pierre Lapie, Paris, 1822, scale 1:800,000.

¹⁹ Carta militare e amministrativa delle provincie Turche/François Pouqueville, Milan, 1828, 1:1,500,000.

²⁰ On this occasion, the Russian surveyors established forty astronomically determined points, and made a series of field sketches at scales of 1:42,000 and 1:84,000. Based on this material, in 1831, the Russian colonel Artamanov compiled a map of European Turkey at a scale of 1:420,000 (10 versts per inch), comprising 20 sheets.

²¹ Karten und Pläne zur Geschichte des türkischen Feldzuges von 1828 und 29 (2 Bände in russischer Sprache mit 2 Karten und 19 Plänen). St. Petersburg, 1844.

²² Mappa generalis Regni Hungariae.../Johannes Lipszky. Budapest, 1806, scale 1:480,000.

²³ Karte von Serbien, Bosnien und dem größten Teile Illyriens/Joseph Riedl. Vienna, 1810, scale 1:480,000.

²⁴ Karta kneževine Srbije/Jovan Bugarski. Belgrade, 1845, 1:345,000.

²⁵ Carte de la Principauté de Serbie et des provinces limitrophes/Alexander Chirkov. St. Petersburg, 1848, scale 1:662,700.

²⁶ Carte du Pays de Montenegro/Fedor de Karacsay. 1828, scale 1:288,000.

²⁷ Albanien, Rumelien und die österreichische-montenegrinische Grenze/Joseph Müller. Prague, 1844.

data obtained from the travelogues written by Ami Boué, William Martin Leake²⁸, Sir John Gardner Wilkinson²⁹, August Grisebach³⁰, and Auguste Viquesnel.³¹ It was precisely that choice of sources that were used in the making of his map that speaks much of Kiepert's dedication to his work. The latter maps were the best military maps drawn solely on the basis of field surveys, while the authors of travelogues were the leading scientists of their time. The military precision of the maps and the scientific restraint of the travelogues enabled Kiepert to make a synthesis which until then had not been achieved in cartography. Kiepert's map of European Turkey summed up all the latest knowledge about the area, which was not limited only to the physical and geographical notion of this region, but also comprised a number of historical, political, ethnographic and anthropological data, which Kiepert incorporated into his map. Perhaps the best example of his skill is the way in which he depicted the then almost unknown areas of northern Albania and present-day Kosovo, in which an Albanian revolt against the Ottoman Empire broke out in 1844. Recognizing the importance of this issue, Kiepert specifically indicated the areas of several Albanian tribes on his map (*Gebiete unabhängiger Albanesen Stämme*), recording the names of the tribes in the Albanian language. In the border areas towards Kosovo and Macedonia and the northern and central Albania, respectively, where most of the rebel tribes were located, he delineated the approximate boundaries of their territory, thus pushing the official administrative and territorial division of that part of the Ottoman Empire into the background (SLUKAN ALTIĆ 2006).

1. Kyrillisch. (Russisch.)	2. Polnisch.	3. Nenbühmisch (Czechisch.)	4. Kroatisch und Serbisch in Oesterreich.	5. Dalmatisch. (Serbisch.)	6. Magyarisch.	7. Italiänisch.	8. Französisch.	9. Deutsch.
з	z	z	z	z zu Anfang	z	z und s in der Mitte		f (weich)
с	s	s	sz	s	sz	s zu Anfang (ç)		ß, ð (ff)
ц	c	c	cz	cz (z zu Ende)	cz	cz	ts	ç, ß
ж	ž	ž	x	x	zs	—	j	(fehlt)
ш	sz	v	ss (sch)	ss	s (ss)	sc vor e u. i	ch	šđ
ч	cz	c	cs	ç	cs	c vor e u. i	tek	čđ
ѣ	ti	e	ch	čh	ty	—	—	tj

Fig. 3: Transliteration and transcription of place names according Kiepert's *Erläuterungen* (Library of Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Berlin)

As in previous editions of the German maps of European Turkey, one of the most difficult tasks was the language editing of the map. Speaking about the language aspect of his map, KIEPERT (1853) particularly highlighted the issue of orthography. The biggest problem here was the transliteration of cartographic sources from the Russian, Serbian and Turkish languages. The above mentioned issue of Germanization, Italianization and Magyarization of place names in the map source material further complicated the identification of original names. Aware of the multilingual map bases as well as issues relating to the standardization of the writing of certain geographical names and their adjectives, Kiepert attached to his Explanatory Notes a special comparative table showing the transliteration of individual characters as well as a comparative list of geographical nouns and adjectives in the Turkish, Serbian, Greek, Albanian and Bulgarian languages. In this context, Kiepert's map brings significant improvements in the quality of geographic nomenclature of

²⁸ Travels in Northern Greece. London, 1835.

²⁹ Dalmatia and Montenegro, 2 volumes. London, 1848.

³⁰ Reise durch Rumelien und nach Brussa im Jahre 1839. Göttingen, 1841.

³¹ Voyage dans la Turquie d'Europe: description physique et géologique de la Thrace, Paris, 1855.

individual countries, especially where he did not have the opportunity to make use of maps in the original language of the country concerned (e.g., in the case of Serbia). In the largest number of cases, Kiepert gave the original toponyms (along with certain deformations), replacing, of course, the Slavic diacritical characters (č, ć, š, ž, and đ) with their appropriate German equivalents (albeit very inconsistently; for example, the diacritical character č was equally often replaced by *ch* and *sch*). Meanwhile, along the Adriatic coast, all the toponyms were given in their Italianized form, while the toponyms in the areas of Bosnia and Croatia were Germanized, or even Magyarized (Zagreb was likewise indicated as Agram (German) and Zagrab (Hungarian)). Addressing the issue of the geographic nomenclature was most complex in areas in which he relied on Turkish sources. In the areas of southern Serbia and Macedonia, the toponyms were often recorded in two languages, i.e., in their Slavic (Italianized) and Turkish Latinized version (e.g., Veles, Macedonia = Kiöprülü (Wales) and Skopje, Macedonia = Üschküb (Škopia)). The transcription of the diacritical characters of the Slavic languages certainly posed the biggest problem for him, and most affected the deformation of the original toponymy. Also, it is evident that, as a rule, the names of the settlements having a lower degree of centrality were recorded more accurately than the names of the settlements with a high or medium degree of centrality. This phenomenon was the consequence of a variety of different sources when it came to more important settlements whose names, written in different forms, had to be reconciled for the purposes of the map.

Erklärung auf der Karte häufig vorkommender geographischer Benennungen in verschiedenen Sprachen.			
	Türkisch.	Serbisch (b. Bulgarisch).	Adjectiva.
Wasser (auch Flufs, Ssu (Ssuju) Bach)		Woda	
Flufs	Tschai, Yrmak	Rjeka	Weifs Ak, Aktscha
Quelle	Bunar	Iswor	Schwarz Kara, Karadscha
Warme Quelle	Lydscha, Hammam	Banja	Grau Bos, Bosdscha
Fuhrt	Getschid	Brod	Roth Kysyl, Kysylscha
Insel	Ada (Adassy)	Ostrow	Blau Gök, Gökdsche
Sumpf	Batak	Blato	Grün Jeschil
See	Göl (Gölü)	Jesero	Gelb Ssary
Salzsee, Saline	Tusla	—	Grofs Bäjük, Ulu
Meer	Denis (Denisi)	More	Klein Kütschük, Indsche
Meerenge (auch Flufsmündung)	Boghas (Boghasy)	—	Lang Usun
Hafen, Bai	Liman	—	Hoch Jükssek
Landungsplatz	Iskele (Iskelesi)	—	Ober- Jokara
Vorgebirge (eig. Nase)	Burun (Burnu)	—	Unter- Aschagha
Fels	Kaja (Kajafsy)	—	Krumm Egri
Stein	Tasch	Kamen	Spitz Ssiwri
Berg, Gebirge	Dagh (Daghy)	Gora, Brdo	Trocken Kuru
Kopf (in Bergnamen)	Basch (Baschy)	Glaw	Alt Eski
Bergspitze (auch spitzer Hügel)	Tepe (Tepesi)	Wr (Wrch)	Neu Jeni
Flache Anhöhe, Hügel	Bair	—	Schön, gut Jaus, Güsel
Bergsattel (Hals)	Bojun	—	Heilig —
Bergwerk	Ma'aden	Maidan	
Alpenweide	Jaila (Jailafsy)	—	Griechisch. Potamo
Waldiger Bergrücken	—	Planina	Albanesisch. Ljumei
Wald	Orman	Schuma	Wlachisch. Ritu
Baum	Aghatsch	—	Nisi —
Wiese	Tschair	—	Vorgebirg Kavo
Ebene	Owa (Owafsy)	Polje (b. Polena)	Gebirg, Berg Vuno
Thal	Dero (Derefsi)	Dolina (b. Dol)	Ebene —
Engpafs	Derbend	—	Thal —
Thor	Kapu (Kapufsu)	—	Dorf Chorio
Brücke	Köprü (Köprüsü) arab. Deschir	Most	Stadt Chora
Haus	Ew	Dom	weifs aspro
Mühle	Degirmen	—	schwarz mavro
Gehöft, Meierei	Tschiftlik	Dwor	ober apano
Gästhaus	Chan	—	unter kato
Garten	Baghtsche	—	heilig hagio
Dorf	Köi	Sselo	
Markt	Basar	Pasar	
Flecken	Kafsaba	Warosch	
Stadt	Schehr	Grad	
Pallast	Sseraj, Konak	—	
Festes Schlofs, Burg	Hissar, Kale (Kalefsi)	Grad (b. Gradische)	
Kirche	Kilisseh	Zrkwa (b. Zrakwu)	

Fig. 4: Problem of multilingual geographical nouns and adjectives according Kiepert's *Erläuterungen* (Library of Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences and Humanities, Berlin)

Thanks to his scientific approach, an unerring instinct for selecting the most reliable sources of information of different provenance, and supplementation with his expertise in the field of archeology, botany, geology, ethnography and history, Kiepert's 1853 map of European Turkey represented the best multidisciplinary cartographic synthesis of the first half of the 19th century. Even though there were still some lesser known areas of the central part of European Turkey (southern Serbia, Macedonia) on Kiepert's map that were clearly identifiable, it was one of the epochal works of the era of pre-geodetic cartography. Its scientific foundation and accuracy were confirmed by subsequent geodetic surveys that were to be conducted in the area of European Turkey during the second half of the 19th century. Perhaps the greatest tribute to Kiepert's map was paid by the cartographers of the Austrian General Staff who, in their first topographic survey of Bosnia and the neighboring lands of 1876, took precisely Kiepert's map of European Turkey as the base map for the production of their topographic outline map at a scale of 1:300,000, relying on it as a safe starting point for preparing the first larger scale topographic map.



Fig. 5: Detail of the Kiepert's map with place names given in two version: Slavic (Italianized) and Turkish (Latinized) (National Library of Croatia, Zagreb)

Tab. 1: A comparison of place name transcriptions on the maps of European Turkey

Present-day place name	Mannert 1806	Baumann 1812	Weiss 1822	Cotta 1828	Weiland 1832	Kiepert 1853
Bihać	Bihatsch	Bihatsh	Bihach	Bicach	Bihacz	Bihatsch
Banja Luka	Banjaluka	BanjaLuka	Banyaluka (Banaluka)	Banialuka	Banialuka	Banjaluka
Jajce	Jaitza	Jaitsha	Jaicza (Jaidsha)	Jaicza	-	Jaitza
Sarajevo	Serajewo	Sarajewo	Bosna Seraj (Serajevo)	Bosna Serai	Bosna Serai od. Serajevo	Bosna Serai
Podgorica	Podgoritza	Podgoriza	Podgoritza (Poschgoridscha)	Podgoritza	Podgoritza	Podgoritza
Nikšić	Nikschtje	-	Niskiki	Niksiki	Nisich	Niksiki
Priština	Pirština (Prischtina)	Pristina	Piristina (Pristina)	Pristina	Pristina	Pristina
Prizren		Prizredni	Perserin	Pristend od. Perserin	Perserin	Prišrendi (Persserin)
Skopje	Üschküb (Škopia)	Skopia	Uskub (Skopia)	Koprili	Uskob od. Scopia	Koprili
Peć	-	-	Ipak (Pekia)	Ipeick	Ipek	Ipek
Kjustendil	Giustendil	Giustandi	Kostendil	Chiustendil	Kostendil od. Giustendil	Köštendil
Užice	Usitza	Usitza	Uxitscha (Uxice)	Usitza	Usicza	Ushitza
Shkodër	Skutari	Skutari	Skutari (Iskenderje/Scodra)	Scutari	Scutari	Schkodra (Scutari)

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Cigale's World Atlas and its Influence on Slovenian Exonyms

Drago Kladnik, Matjaž Geršič

Introduction

Atlases are an invaluable source for toponym research, regardless of which areas they present. Atlases of local and regional significance make it possible to study toponyms at various time periods and to determine how they have changed over time. World atlases are especially appropriate for studying exonyms—that is, foreign geographical names adapted to another language. In such studies, researchers seek out the oldest or most original forms of a particular exonym. The comparison of original, intermediate, and modern name forms makes it possible to determine how exonyms have gradually changed, when they arose, and what has influenced their possible changes.

The second half of the nineteenth century was a watershed period for the Slovenian nation in many respects. This was a time of national movements and ethnic groups' demands to establish their own political entities. During this period, various ideas about political autonomy also developed in Slovenia, both as part of the Austrian Empire as well as in the framework of a common state shared with other South Slavic peoples. The use of ethnic groups' languages with equal rights was one of the main demands made by leaders of national awakenings in their revolutionary fervor. These languages also enriched their lexicon with exonyms, and so world atlases published during this time are especially important for exonym research. The first such Slovenian atlas was published in fascicles over a number of years, starting in 1869. It was called *Atlant* (literally, 'atlas') and it was created by Matej Cigale.

The life and work of Matej Cigale

Matej Cigale—the editor, reviser, and adapter of the geographical names in *Atlant*—was born 2 September 1819 in the village of Lome on the Črni Vrh Plateau above Idrija. The family lived at the Petrič farm, and so he was also referred to as *Petričev dohtar* 'Doc Petrič' (DEBEVEC 1889). He attended schools in Idrija, Gorizia, Ljubljana, Graz, and finally Vienna. At the high school in Gorizia he became acquainted with classical, Romance, and Germanic languages, which he built upon during his theology studies and later in his law studies, to which he added Slavic languages, in particular Croatian, Serbian, Russian, and Czech. In the watershed year of 1848, he passed the judges' exam in Klagenfurt, but was unable to follow this professional path due to a lack of finances. Apprentice judges were not paid, and government support had temporarily been halted due to the revolutionary events (URBANC 2005).

At the invitation of the Blaznik press, he assumed the editorship of the newly founded newspaper *Slovenija* and became the secretary of the Slovenian Society (*Slovensko društvo*), the main purpose of which was to cultivate Slovenian language and literature (MAJARON 1887). By the end of 1849, he had relocated back to Vienna. There, as the Slovenian editor of the state legal code, he was appointed to the state committee for legal and political terminology for the Slavic languages (KACIN 1976). He carried out this task faithfully and self-sacrificially for a full thirty-eight years. Cigale's role as a lawyer and linguist was well known and has been the subject of several

publications (DEBEVEC 1889; NAVRATIL 1894; SUHADOLNIK 1960; OROŽEN 1986; OBLAK 2003), but less is known about his work in the development of geography. Here, too, he was led by patriotism and worked for the good of the Slovenian nation, whereby he understood language as the basis of national awareness.

Cigale was a fervent defender and advocate of the use of local languages, and he followed his mission of developing the Slovenian language his entire life. He earned a living by translating legislation, but it was through his contributions to newspapers, journals, and publishing and through his activities in societies that he expressed himself as an ethnically conscious Slovenian. He recognized that in order to strengthen ethnic consciousness it was necessary not only to know one's own country, but also other parts of the world (URBANC 2005).

His work on geographical names and technical terminology began in 1854 with *Zemljovid Slovenske dežele in pokrajin* (Map of the Slovenian Land and Regions), published by Peter Kozler, a Gottschee German by birth. All of the writers of that time that dealt with maps or with local history perceived a lack of or insufficiency in Slovenian geographical terminology (BOHINEC 1925). Cigale filled a lacuna in this area, and his work (CIGALE 1880) raised technical terminology to a scholarly level and started a process with geographical names that is being improved upon today by standardization (URBANC 2005). In 1861 Cigale translated Heufler's geographical textbook (HEUFLER 1861; MARN 1889), and later, from the very beginning as an external member of the committee, he participated in the publication of several geography books issued by the Slovenian Society (*Slovenska Matica*). In 1865, he adapted both the terminology and geographical names for Rebec's translations of Erben's geographical, statistical, and historical sketches of Carinthia and Carniola (ERBEN 1866a, 1866b). This was followed by a translation of Schubert's geography textbook, which is testified to by the minutes of the Slovenian Society published in issue 17 of the newspaper *Novice gospodarske, obertnijske in narodske* in 1868. From this it is clear that the committee decided that it would not be able to publish the volume. Despite some later initiatives, the textbook was never published. Matej Cigale died on 20 April 1889 in Vienna, where he is also buried (URBANC 2005).

The Slovenian atlas *Atlant*

Atlant was published by the Slovenian Society, and the events connected with its publication were recorded in the minutes of the general meetings and sessions preserved at the Archives of the Republic of Slovenia and printed in the *Letopis Slovenske Matice* (Slovenian Society Almanac) and in the newspaper *Novice gospodarske, obertnijske in narodske*. Among other things, the minutes of the second session of the Slovenian Society's committee of 11 January 1866 record that, at the initiative of Matej Cigale and Peter Kozler, the society was to publish the Slovenian atlas *Atlant* with at least thirteen maps. This was the first written mention of *Atlant* (OROŽEN ADAMIČ/URBANC 2005).

There were several difficulties in selecting the printer for *Atlant*. All three printers to whom an offer was sent declined to participate for various reasons (OROŽEN ADAMIČ/URBANC 2005). Cigale therefore suggested the Köke lithograph company of Vienna, feeling that with their lithographic technique this company created the least expensive maps that were nonetheless still attractive. On 24 June 1869 *Atlant* was already being produced (*Letopis Slovenske Matice* 1869) because the Slovenian Society had signed a contract with Friedrich Köke, the owner of the lithograph company

in Vienna (OROŽEN ADAMIČ/URBANC 2005). For the first map, the two hemispheres of the Earth, the stonemason demanded 145 guildens, five more for the map of Europe, and 270 guildens for the map of Austria. The proof prints for all three maps with a print run of 2,000 cost 120 guildens, and the paper 169 guildens. It was agreed that all three maps would be printed in five months. The selection of the Vienna company turned out to be wise because it facilitated negotiations and Cigale's editorial supervision of the work. The first fascicles were produced in print runs of 2,000, and from the third fascicle onwards in 3,000 copies, primarily because the membership numbers of the Slovenian Society were growing quickly (OROŽEN ADAMIČ/URBANC 2005).

Between 1869 and 1877, *Atlant* was published in six fascicles on three sheets apiece. Thus, eighteen maps were printed that depicted the world in its entirety and individual parts of it. The fascicles were numbered with Roman numerals from I to VI. Each one contained three maps.

Tab. 1: Maps in *Atlant* by publication order, print run, scale, and format

Fascicle number	Year	Print run	Title	Scale	Format
I	1869	2,000	<i>Obraz cele zemlje v polutah</i> (Face of the Entire Earth in Hemispheres)	Unspecified	26 × 36 cm
			<i>Evropa</i> (Europe)	1:18,000,000	30 × 38 cm
			<i>Avstrija</i> (Austria)	1:3,300,000	33 × 42 cm
II	1871	2,000	<i>Azija</i> (Asia)	1:30,000,000	34 × 42 cm
			<i>Severna Amerika</i> (North America)	1:30,000,000	34 × 42 cm
			<i>Južna Amerika</i> (South America)	1:30,000,000	34 × 42 cm
III	1872	2,000	<i>Afrika</i> (Africa)	Unspecified	34 × 43 cm
			<i>Avstralija</i> (Australia)	Unspecified	34 × 44 cm
			<i>Rusija</i> (Russia)	1:9,600,000	41 × 34 cm
IV	1874	3,000	<i>Nemško cesarstvo</i> (German Empire)	1:3,800,000	33 × 43 cm
			<i>Italija</i> (Italy)	1:3,300,000	42 × 34 cm
			<i>Turčija in druge vzhodne dežele</i> (Turkey and Other Eastern Countries)	Unspecified	41 × 34 cm
V	1875	3,000	<i>Velika Britanija in Irsko</i> (Great Britain and Ireland)	1:3,800,000	41 × 33 cm
			<i>Francija</i> (France)	Unspecified	43 × 33 cm
			<i>Skandinavija</i> (Scandinavia)	1:5,300,000	41 × 33 cm
VI	1877	3,000	<i>Švica</i> (Switzerland)	1:800,000	29 × 44 cm
			<i>Španija in Portugalsko</i> (Spain and Portugal)	1:3,000,000	33 × 42 cm
			<i>Nizozemsko in Belgija</i> (The Netherlands and Belgium)	1:1,200,000	40 × 31 cm

Source: MUNDA 1964

Reprinting was first considered in 1871 because the first fascicle was beginning to run out. An offer was sent to Köke, who prepared a quotation and at the same time offered to make corrections: that is, the new French–German border and the newly built Austrian railroad (LETOPIS SLOVENSKE MATICE 1871). Even though reprinting was discussed again a year later (LETOPIS SLOVENSKE

MATICE 1872), the additional 500 copies were never printed. Nevertheless, the idea of reprinting was not completely given up because the printer retained the printing plates until 1882 (NOVICE GOSPODARSKE, OBERTNIJSKE IN NARODSKE 1882).

The *Atlant* maps were never bound into a book. The individual maps were frequently lost, and so they have become relatively rare today. Complete sets of all of the maps are even rarer. The National and University Library in Ljubljana has only two copies of the atlas (OROŽEN ADAMIČ/URBANC 2005).



Fig. 1: Part of the map *Nemško cesarstvo* (German Empire)

Source: FRIDL et. al. 2005

Geographical names in *Atlant*

Foreign geographical names started appearing in Slovenian in textbooks in the first half of the nineteenth century. The first such names were systematically presented on a large scale by Janez Jesenko. In the textbook *Zemljepisna začetnica za gimnazije in realke* (Introduction to Geography for Upper and Intermediate Secondary Schools) (JESENKO 1865) he first of all provided the Slovenian names for the continents (*Evropa* 'Europe', *Azija* 'Asia', *Afrika* 'Africa', *Avstralija* 'Australia', and *Amerika* 'the Americas') and the oceans of the world (*Veliko morje* 'Pacific Ocean', *Atlantsko morje* 'Atlantic Ocean', *Indijsko morje* 'Indian Ocean', *Južno ledeno morje* 'Antarctic Ocean', and *Severno ledeno morje* 'Arctic Ocean'). This was followed by the name of major peninsulas, capes, and countries or the most prominent regions by individual continents, and for the oceans he systematically presented the seas on their margins and major gulfs.

In chapter five of section three, he also presented the major islands in the "great seas," and in chapter six the most important (*nar znamenitejše*) straits. This was followed by the major lakes and rivers, mountains, peaks, and lowlands by continent. Lakes, rivers, peaks, and volcanoes of global significance are also cited in tables at the end of chapter four. Section six, which comprises the second part of the book, was called *Deržavni zemljepis* (National Geography). It included relatively precise regional geographical descriptions of the nineteen crown lands of the Austrian Empire with detailed citations of many geographical names. Other countries and colonies were treated simply by listing facts: citing names, sometimes their inhabitants, and the names of the capitals and any other important cities. When a name was written in the original form, its pronunciation was given in parentheses. The cities and major towns in Austria are also listed in a table on pages 99–101, a table on page 102 lists the major *evropejska* 'European' cities, and on page 104 the *največja mesta na drugih zemljinah* 'largest cities on other continents' (JESENKO 1865).

Jesenko's extraordinary sense for terminology and onomastics was written about by Valter Bohinec in the very first issue of *Geografski vestnik* (BOHINEC 1925): "In terms of method, these volumes are of great importance because they also introduced new methods into our schools, thereby establishing a connection with the leading trends in geography in other countries—an aspect that geography in Slovenia unfortunately later greatly neglected. No less important is their significance in the national sense because, as Jesenko himself writes, they showed the world abroad that we could teach our young people in their native language."

Jesenko's selection of over one hundred Slovenianized foreign geographical names was certainly an important example for Cigale's work in preparing *Atlant*. To understand the sensitive mutual relations, and also Slovenian geographical terminology in general, the author's debate with Jesenko in the newspaper *Novice gospodarske, obertnijske in narodske* (in 1865 and 1866) is also important. In it, the author of *Atlant* clearly expressed his view in the issue of certain geographical terms and geographical names used on the maps in the atlas. Cigale especially criticized Jesenko's general terms, but did not have major comments on the geographical names in his textbooks. He observed that Greek and Latin names ending in *-os* and *-us* should be Slovenianized by removing the suffixes. He gave specific examples only in the following criticisms: "I should also mention that *Thorn* is *Torun*, that *Petersburg* does not have a Slavic name (thus not *Petrograd*); *Nizozemelje*, *Nizozemsko*, and not *Nizozemlje*; *Nemen*, not *Memem*. The Balkan Mountains (*Gora Balkan*) are called *Stara planina* in Bulgarian, and so it would be good to add this name. *Pančevo*, not *Pančeva*" (NOVICE GOSPODARSKE, OBERTNIJSKE IN NARODSKE 1865, p. 397).

There are 28,075 names and some general terms written on all of the maps in *Atlant*, of which 5,907 or 21% are Slovenianized. There are 22,233 different names, and 5,842 appear twice or more. There are 4,651 different Slovenianized geographical names (KLADNIK 2005). All of the major geographical names have been Slovenianized, and so Cigale can justifiably be called the founder of these names alongside Jesenko, especially considering that later attempts to Slovenianize names were more removed from the forms most commonly used today.

Despite its exceptional importance for the development of Slovenian, *Atlant* was not properly received later on. Moreover, in his article “Razvoj geografije v Slovencih” (The Development of Geography among the Slovenians), Bohinec (BOHINEC 1925) wrote that Matej Cigale merely viewed *Atlant* as a philological issue, in which the precise presentation of place names and the additional brief terminology is its only good aspect, but which “signaled no advance” for geography because the geophysical aspect was completely neglected, as was the methodological presentation (BOHINEC 1925). What an error! Despite certain deficiencies, all eighteen maps are comparable to Kocen’s map (BRATEC MRVAR et al. 2011) and other achievements from the second half of the nineteenth century, and their content is an invaluable source for study and the foundation of Slovenian geographical onomastics. Slovenian has thus been enriched for over a century with a considerable number of exonyms, which—in the era of globalization, when tendencies toward the total domination of English are appearing—is an important value (KLADNIK 2005).

The map of Austria contains the most names (2,298), followed by the map of the Netherlands and Belgium (2,240). There are also over 2,000 geographical names on the maps of France, Turkey, and other eastern countries, and the German Empire. In contrast, four maps have fewer than 1,000 names, and the fewest (791 and 636) are on the maps of North and South America (KLADNIK 2005).

Just as on modern maps, the share of Slovenianized names is greater on general maps of the world and continents, and less—with the exception of Austria, which included Slovenia at that time—in depictions of individual European countries. Thus, on the maps of the Earth in hemispheres, 56.5% of names are Slovenianized, on the map of North America 45.3%, Europe 44.7%, and Asia 43.3%. The maps of Australia and Austria are similar, with shares of 35.5% the first one and 35.3% the second one, whereas South America has 19.8%, the German Empire 26.6%, Turkey and other eastern countries 22.7%, and Russia also 22.7%. Thus nearby countries, where there are (or were) also strong Slavic roots, experienced a strong impulse for Slovenianized names. The share of Slovenianized names on the map of neighboring Italy, a Romance-language country, is considerably smaller (11.3%), only a bit more than on the map of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (8.4%), and there are considerably fewer on the maps of Switzerland (4.2%; it should also be noted that this map of Switzerland at a scale of 1:800,000 remains the most detailed Slovenian map of this alpine country), the Netherlands and Belgium (4.0%), and Spain and Portugal (2.0%) (KLADNIK 2005).

In order to categorize the geographical names in the index specially created for the facsimile of *Atlant* (FRIDL et al. 2005), a typological division was created for sixteen types of features: continents, countries, administrative units, historical administrative units, settlements, historical settlements, historical regions, natural regions (e.g., deserts, steppes, provinces), land relief forms (e.g., mountain ranges, mountains, lowlands), coastal relief forms (e.g., peninsulas, capes, coasts), island relief forms (e.g., islands, archipelagos, reefs), ocean relief forms (e.g., shallows), land hydronyms (e.g., rivers, lakes, canals), ocean hydronyms (e.g., seas, bays, straits), peoples, and

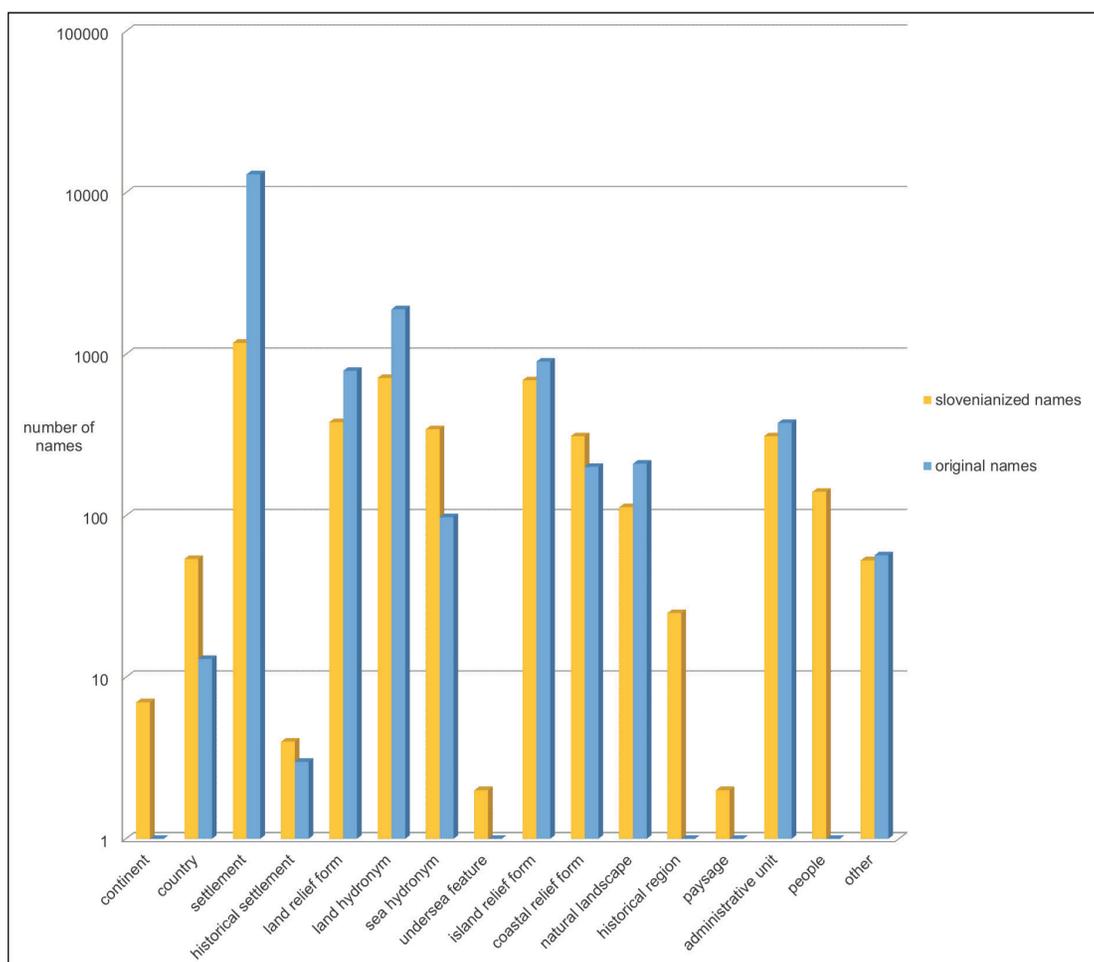


Fig. 2: Proportion between Slovenianized and original names in Cigale's Atlant according to their semantic types

Source: Own calculations

other names and features (e.g., isolated fortresses in newly colonized areas, labeling of the equator, the tropics, the polar circles, and the poles) (KLADNIK 2005).

Among all of the geographical names, the overwhelming majority, or nearly two-thirds (18,316 or 65.3%), are names of settlements. The most numerous group after this is land hydronyms (3,492 or 12.5%), followed by half as many islands (1872 or 6.7%). There are more than 1,000 names of land relief forms and administrative units (there would be fewer of these if there had been more independent countries at the time), and more than 500 names of coastal relief forms and ocean hydronyms (KLADNIK 2005).

The shares of Slovenianized names differ considerably by individual groups. The names of peoples, continents, and historical regions are completely Slovenianized. Similarly, more than half of the names of countries (81.9%), ocean hydronyms (79.2%), coastal relief forms (61.3%), and administrative units (55.8%) are also Slovenianized. The degree of Slovenianization for settlement names is considerably lower; only 8.7% of settlement names are Slovenianized (KLADNIK 2005).

The name *Tisa* 'Tisza River' appears most frequently in *Atlant* (fourteen times), and the following names appear at least ten times: *Bistrica*, *Sava*, *Belgrad*, *Donava* 'Danube', *Bug*, *Visla* 'Vistula', *Drava*, *Ren* 'Rhine', *Volga*, *Zell*, and *Neustadt*. It must be taken into account that in some cases (*Bistrica*, *Zell*, *Neustadt*, and *Belgrad*) the names designate rivers and settlements with the same names (e.g., *Belgrad* 'Belgrade, Biograd na Moru, Székesfehérvár, Alba Iulia'), and are therefore homonyms.

Among ocean hydronyms, the most frequent name is *Severno morje* 'North Sea, Northern Pacific Ocean, Northern Atlantic Ocean', among countries *Francija* 'France', among administrative units *Galicija* 'Galicia', among island relief forms *Sicilija* 'Sicily', and among demonyms *Samojedi* 'Samoyeds'. Only groups of names in which a particular name appears more than five times are cited. Altogether in *Atlant* there are eighty-six such names, of which thirty-nine are settlements and thirty-five are land hydronyms, although these latter are represented eighteen times among the twenty-five most common names that appear at least eight times.

Considering the period when *Atlant* was created and the technical capacities available at the time, the selection of graphemes used for the names is relatively diverse. In addition to all of the upper- and lower-case letters in the Slovenian alphabet, the following letters with diacritics also appear: à, á, â, ä, ã, å, ā, Â, Ă, Ȧ, ç, ć, è, é, ê, ë, ě, Ê, Ě, ì, í, î, ĩ, Î, ĺ, ñ, ò, ó, ô, õ, ö, ő, Ó, Ö, ś, ù, ú, û, ü, ů, Ű, and ž. With the exception of transliterations from Cyrillic, which led to Slovenianization in many cases, the spellings are relatively distant from the modern transliteration norms for the individual languages, although they point to Cigale's considerable familiarity with the features of the individual languages, their pronunciation, and their representation in the Roman alphabet. This is also confirmed by the instructions for pronouncing groups of letters in individual languages written in the margin of some maps (KLADNIK 2005).

Understanding the meaning of geographical names is easier because of the different fonts used for marking separate sets of features. The fonts differentiate, for example, ocean hydronyms, land hydronyms, names of countries, regions, settlements, and mountain ranges, and other features. The use of upper- and lower-case letters also indicates the relative importance of different features on a particular map, which is emphasized in some places with fonts of different weight. Unfortunately, the fonts used from map to map are not entirely uniform regarding what they indicate and how they appear, which makes it more difficult to understand *Atlant*. There is also unfortunately no universal legend to explain the meaning of the different fonts used (KLADNIK 2005).

Many geographical names are written in an abbreviated form. This is especially true for multiword names, whether the generic element precedes the name—for example, *O.(tok) Kalgujev* 'Kolgujev Island', *P.(ol) O.(tok) Apšeronski* 'Absheron Peninsula', *M.(onte) Argentario*, *N.(os) Sv.(ete) Mar.(ije)* 'Cape Sainte Marie'—or follows the name: *Kerguelenova d.(ežela)* 'Kerguelen's Land', *Jon.(ski) ot.(oci)* 'Ionian Islands', *Bavarske Pl.(anine)* 'Bavarian Alps'. To a certain degree, the abbreviations are difficult to understand. Fortunately, in some places the parts of names that are most often abbreviated are written out in full or are clear enough that they can be reconstructed following examples (e.g., *Severnofriski o^{tci}* 'North Frisian Islands' on the map of the German Empire). Because Cigale used different word forms here and there (e.g., *otoki* and *otočje* 'islands, archipelago'), the index contains the full form of the name based on the majority pattern (KLADNIK 2005).

One also finds relatively inconsistent used of upper- and lower-case letters, especially in spellings of abbreviated forms of multiword names. The index consistently includes forms based on the abbreviated spellings. The impression is that Cigale was insufficiently consistent both in preparing the various maps and in his spellings on a particular map. In any case, it can be seen that when a generic element appeared to the left in multiword names he tended to use an upper-case letter, and when it appeared to the right he tended to use a lower-case letter. It is interesting that many of the names written out in full have a generic element to the right written with a capital letter (e.g., *Sveti Nos* 'Cape Svyatoi Nos' on the map of Europe), and that some names with a generic element to the left are written entirely in lower-case letters (e.g., *otoci zelenega nosa* 'Cape Verde

Islands' on the map of the western hemisphere). This inconsistency may be ascribed to gradually changing linguistic norms and probably also to superficial treatment.

Cigale was certainly competent in his use of upper- and lower-case initial letters in geographical names, which is seen in his letter in *Novice gospodarske, obertnijske in narodske* (1875), when he addressed the question "Should we write adjectives in geographical proper nouns with an upper- or lower-case letter?" to the editorship as "a friend and expert in linguistic matters whose advice we are always happy to hear." Among other things, he says: "... here there reigns the greatest individuality among writers, or I dare say even randomness. There is no particular rule that would be an absolute mistake to break, nor have the Slavs come to full agreement on any rule ..." (CIGALE 1875).

The Slovenianization of names at that time still followed the lively spirit of pan-Slavism, and so everywhere that Slavic names were in use these are also written in *Atlant*. Thus one finds, for example, *Kraljevo* 'Craiova', *Belgrad* 'Alba Iulia', and *Oraštje* 'Orăștie' in Romania. Perhaps even better examples are found in what is now Germany. Where Slavic names were found, these are also written. Thus, in Mecklenburg and Brandenburg, one finds *Roztoki* 'Rostock', *Ribnica* 'Ribnitz-Damgarten', *Plava* 'Plau am See', *Branibor* 'Brandenburg an der Havel', and *Devin* 'Magdeburg' (Figure 1). The majority of Polish and Russian names were also Slovenianized, as were many names on the Balkan Peninsula; for example, *Baker* 'Bakar', *Kladenj* 'Kladanj', *Čaček* 'Čačak', *Kragujevec* 'Kragujevac', and of course *Belgrad* (Srb. *Beograd*) 'Belgrade' (KLADNIK 2005).

Cigale obviously relied on the onomastics in Czech atlases that were published in the mid-nineteenth century, a good two decades before *Atlant* (ZEMĚPISNÝ ATLAS PODLÉ NEJNOWĚJŠÍCH PRAMENŮW A POMŮCEK 1842; MERKLAS 1846). This is indicated by the names of some major towns in the southern part of present-day Germany that were clearly written following Czech patterns, although following the rules for Slovenianizing Czech: *Mnihov* (Cz. *Mnichov*) 'Munich', *Rezno* (Cz. *Řezno*) 'Regensburg', *Norimberg* (Cz. *Norimberk*) 'Nuremberg', and perhaps most interestingly *Moguč* (Cz. *Mohuč*) 'Mainz' (Figure 1). Similarly, he preferentially wrote the Italian port town of Ancona with a form that is completely unknown today, *Jakin* (a Czech name based on the Croatian exonym) but, interestingly, Cigale did not use the Czech example of *Janov* to record the name of the port city of Genoa (KLADNIK 2005).

Otherwise, *Atlant* shows a German basis in the use of certain German and English names in distant countries that Cigale either did not wish to Slovenianize, or did not know how to, or forgot to. Characteristic examples of such names are *Peterhof* 'Peterhof' (previously *Petrovdvoretz*) in Russia; *Tiflis* 'Tbilisi' in Georgia; *Oporto* 'Porto' in Portugal; and island group *Grenadinen* 'the Grenadines' in the Lesser Antilles. Even more geographical names have a political, ethnic, and linguistic image from the second half of the nineteenth century that differs considerably from that of today. For example, present-day Kaliningrad (formerly East Prussian *Königsberg*) is Slovenianized as *Kraljevec*, the Swedish names *Helsingfors* and *Åbo* are used for Helsinki and Turku in Finland, the German name *Jakobstadt* is used for Jēkabpils, Latvia, the Turkish-based name *Köstendže* and Hungarian *Belenyes* are used for Constanța and Beiuș in Romania, the Italian name *Neresi* is used for the Croatian settlement of Nerezine on the island of Brač, German *Trident* is used for the South Tyrol town of Trento, German *Strassburg* and *Strasburg* are used for the French town of Strasbourg, and the German name *Lütich* is used for the Belgian town of Liège (KLADNIK 2005).

There is a perceptible difference in the development of the onomastics between countries that were already well known and those that European researchers were only beginning to "discover"

in greater detail. Thus, for example, there are blank spots in the heart of Africa, and on their margins there are some “exotic” names, no trace of which remain today. Similar is true in places in Oceania (KLADNIK 2005).

Difficult work in creating *Atlant* can be seen in the relatively numerous inconsistent ways that the same features are written. The fault for this primarily lies in the intuitive approach and the time-consuming lithographic technology, which did not permit more consistent usage and oversight—and, in part, the inconsistencies are a result of changed perspectives over nearly a decade while *Atlant* was being produced. Thus, for example, the Ardennes mountain range is marked as *Ardene Gorovje* ‘Ardennes Mountain Range’, *Ardenske gore* ‘Ardennes Mountains’, and *Ardenski gozd* ‘Ardennes Forest’, the island of Sri Lanka (or Ceylon) is written as *Ceylon* (*Selan ali Sinhala Diva*) and *Ceylon*, the Japanese capital Tokyo (originally Edo) is marked *Jeddo* and *Jedo*, North America’s Lake Michigan is written as *Michigansko Jezero* and *Mičigansko jezero*, and the Romanian region of Moldavia as *Moldavija*, *Moldova* (*Multanija*), and *Moldavska*. Perhaps the most noticeable is the spelling of Haiti, which appears three times in *Atlant*, each time differently: *Haiti*, *Hajti*, and *Hajty* (KLADNIK 2005).

Conclusion

Atlant is clearly an exceptionally important work from the perspective of preserving Slovenian linguistic, cultural, and intellectual heritage. It is not only a collection of maps, but also a mirror of the time and people that created it, or a document that offers an insight into the second half of the nineteenth century. As such, it is an interesting source for geographers, cartographers, historians, linguists, and also the general public.

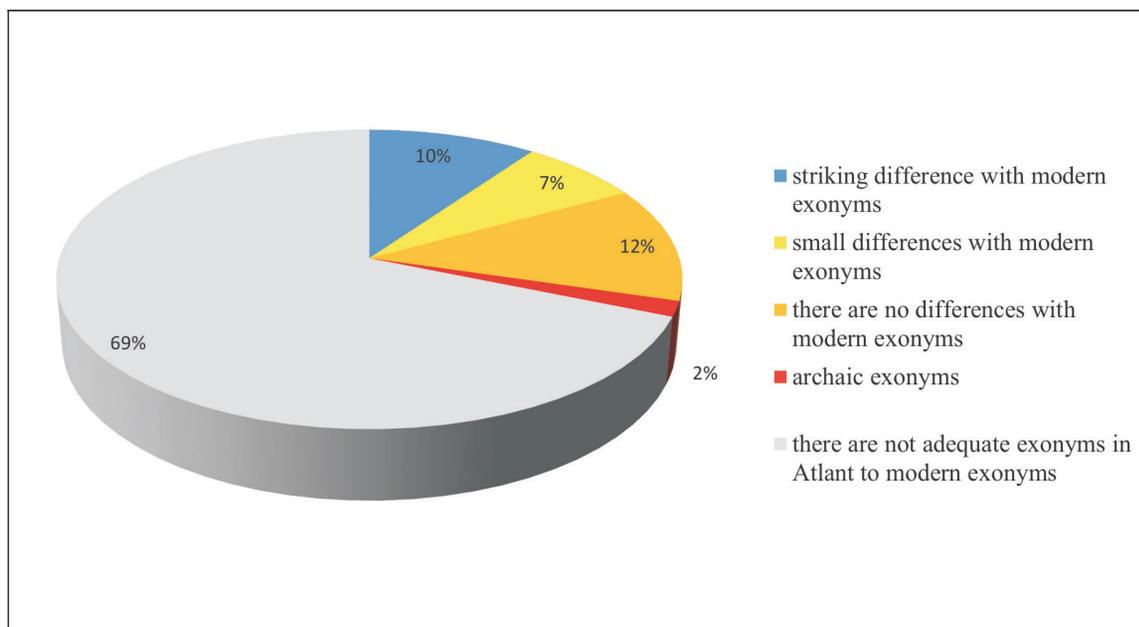


Fig. 3: The comparison of modern exonyms and exonyms in Cigale’s *Atlant*

Source: Own calculations

Even though some geographical names may sound unusual today or even amusing, the editor Cigale nonetheless did an outstanding job because he systematically presented many foreign names in Slovenian for the first time through translations and Slovenianization. Nor can his critical

approach be overlooked because in *Atlant* he presented some exceptionally good solutions that were later distorted under the influence of Russification and Serbo-Croatian. Thus, for example, for some areas of the Antarctic and Arctic and also in Australia he used Slovenian names of regions (e.g., *Wilkezova dežela* 'Wilkes Land' in Antarctica, *Washingtonova dežela* 'Washington Land' in Greenland, and *Vandimenova dežela* or *Tasmanija* 'Van Diemen's Land or Tasmania'), which until recently on Slovenian maps were consistently written with the word *zemlja* that is, with a Russian or Serbian equivalent of the fine Slovenian word *dežela*. These errors still have not been completely eradicated.

Atlant was the first comprehensive general geographical atlas of the world in Slovenian, and to some degree it also played a pioneering role as a school atlas. The next general atlas in Slovenian, titled *Veliki atlas* (Great Atlas), did not appear until 1972 following proposals by the English press Geographical Projects or Aldus Books, and was published by the Mladinska Knjiga press of Ljubljana. The central figures in preparing it were the geographer Jakob Medved and the linguist Janko Moder, whose valuable discussion in the appendix about writing and pronouncing geographical names made an important contribution to the development of geographical onomastics (MODER 1972). With the independence of Slovenia, a new period began in the 1990s, in which Slovenians added to the collection of such literature with a series of diverse atlases. These quality products placed them in the company of much larger nations that have a significantly longer literary tradition.

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The Shape of Italy on Ancient Maps

Cosimo Palagiano

Studying how the shape of Italy has been drawing on the ancient maps is a fascinating and exciting path that leads not only to Italian cartographers and engravers, but also to other people involved in other activities—like astronomers, mathematicians, writers, politicians, economists—during the centuries. Before considering Italy, as well as we observe today from images captured by satellites, there have been many experiences from partial knowledge. A profile and content that slowly grew rich in detail and, not only that, also from the technical point of view the position has been correcting over time.

Due to its central position in the Western Mediterranean, Italy's peninsula experienced many changes of its shape, because of the excessive dimensions in longitude of the Mediterranean Sea on the ancient maps. The error depends on the difficulty to calculate the longitude without the chronometer. On the ancient maps of Ptolemaic derivation this longitude is $c 20^\circ$ wider. Ptolemy supposed that the Mediterranean Sea had a longitudinal extension of 62° , while the real extension is of $41^\circ 30'$ (PALAGIANO et al. 1995, p. 30).

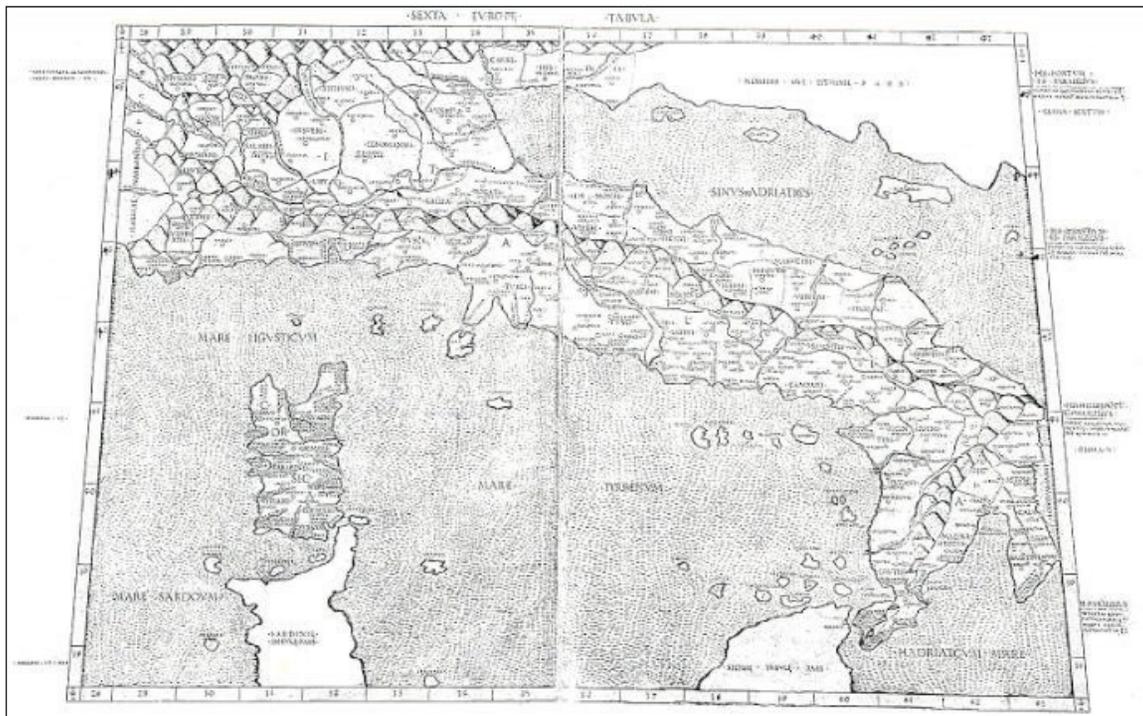


Fig. 1: Nicolaus Germanicus, Rome 1478

Source: BORRI 1999, p. 24

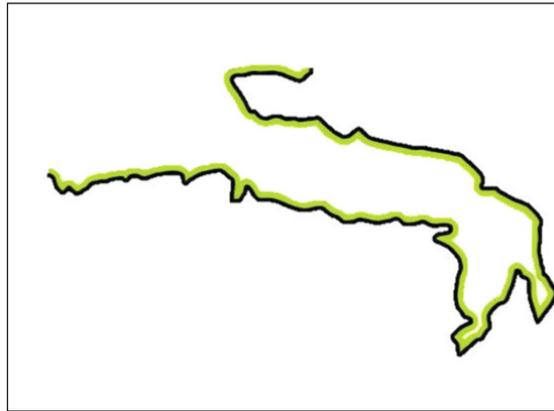


Fig. 2: Ptolemaic map, which was on the geographical textbook since the end of 15th century. Source: BORRI 1999, p. 16

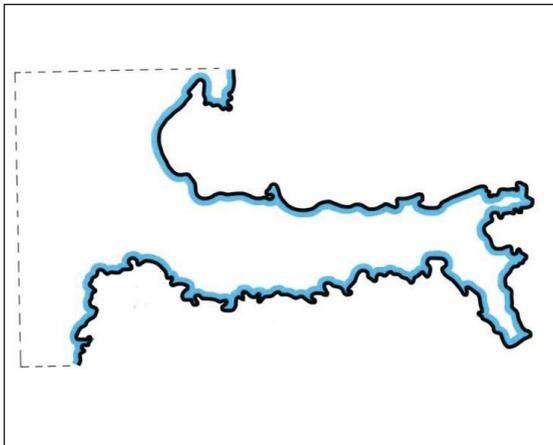


Fig. 3: Tabula nova (1492) suggested by charts. Source: BORRI 1999, p. 16

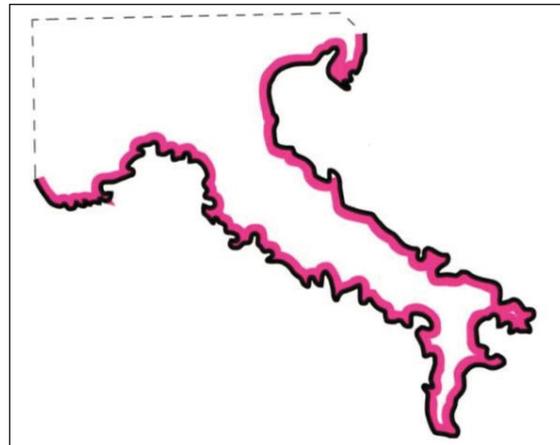


Fig. 4: F. Rosselli (1492), a model for many next maps. Source: BORRI 1999, p. 16

Over the centuries, the shape of the Italian peninsula, cartographically, has changed its profile. The different representations are often subject to constraints of time in which the representations are made. In Figures 2, 3 and 4 we show some examples of these different representations, thanks to a reconstruction realized by R. Borri in his famous atlas “L’Italia nell’antica cartografia, 1477–1799”.

In the 1478 map by Nicolò Germanico, of, the orography is purely approximate, but the design of Alps give us significant details on the time during which the map itself has been made.

The charts, because of their empirical use by sailors, present a major accuracy. The cartographers who outlined the maps considered the magnetic course and the relative coordinates (i.e. azimuth and distance). They had the compass at their disposal.

In the *Carta Pisana* Italy occupies a central position in what today we would call “paper” space. During the Middle Ages, but also during the 15th century, some particular maps flourished, which we use to call *mappae mundi* or *circular hemispheres*. The aim of «maps» like these is not geographic, but ideological, with many captions about religious and mythological legends. Among these *mappae mundi* it is interesting the *mappa mundi Borgia*, where the Italy’s shape is a quadrangular figure in a wide Mediterranean Sea.



Fig. 5: Carta Pisana is a map made at the end of the 13th century, about 1275–1300
Source: www.magellano.org



Fig. 6: The Mappa mundi Borgia or Tavola di Velletri
Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Tavola_di_Velletri.jpg, accessed 10-11-2015

An Arab cartographer, who worked at the court of Ruger the 2nd, in 12th century, built a mappa mundi, where the Italy's shape is impressionistic.



Fig. 8: The Al Idrisi's mappa mundi

Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Al-Idrisi's_world_map_Rotated_180_degrees.JPG, accessed 30-11-2015

Al Idrisi painted a map of the Mediterranean and of Middle East countries, where the Italy's shape is more realistic. The map is in 70 sheets, that have been joined for the reader's convenience.

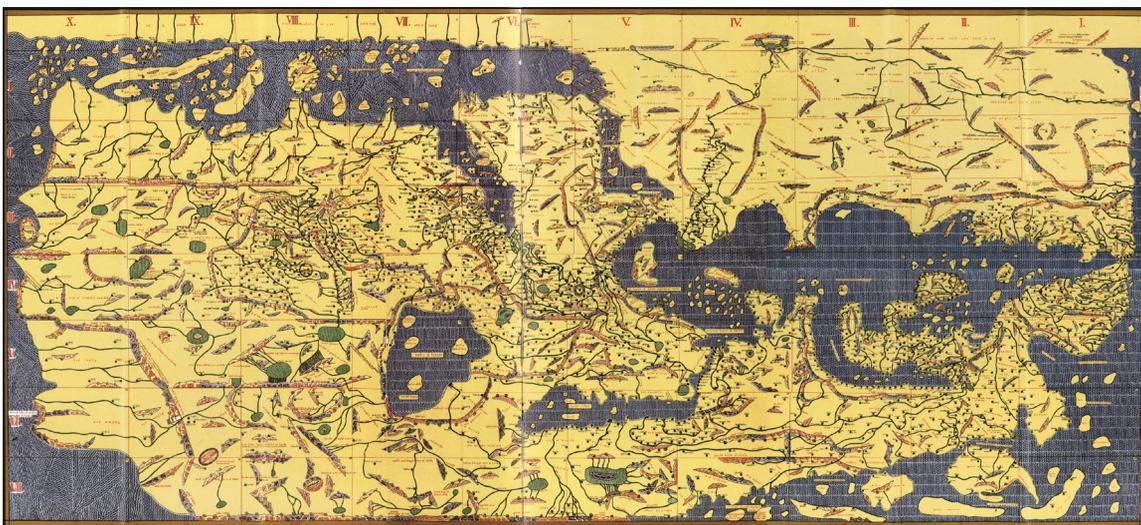


Fig. 7: The Al Idrisi's map of the countries of the Mediterranean Sea and Middle East (with the South up).

Source: <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:TabulaRogeriana.jpg>, accessed 30-11-2015

The shape of Italy until the advent of geodesic mapping has taken different forms, with elements of innovation and regression, I think due to the strong influence of the Ptolemaic cartography, even many decades after the discovery of America. The maps of Magini are more accurate, because the cartographer was in contact with the various Italian princes, which provided him with the data for publishing the map of Italy. Elements of accuracy are also maps that refer to the charts.



Fig. 9: Martin Waldseemüller (Strassburg, 1513). *Source: BORRI 1999, p. 32*

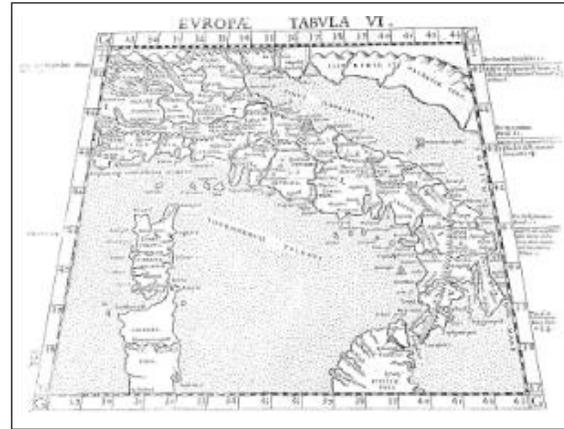


Fig. 10: Iacopo Gastaldi, Venice, 1561. *Source: BORRI 1999, p. 45*

In 1548, Giacomo Castaldi (Villafranca Piemonte, about 1500–1566) carried out six maps. “With the Gastaldi’s outputs the Italian cartography enters a new phase and achieves in Europe an undisputable primacy—as Almagià and Biasutti pointed out: Gastaldi appears to us as the systematic editor of the cartographic representation of Italy, according to a typology that became established and remained exclusive for almost half a century, taking place of honor also in the most reputed foreign cartographic works (ALMAGIÀ 1929). With the Map of Italy in 1561 Gastaldi replaces the foregoing types of, making a radical revision of the traditional values of longitude and latitude at which the cartographers of previous periods went back on the basis of the Ptolemy’s data. In addition the best outline of the Adriatic Sea thanks to some Venetians cartographic materials is also noteworthy.

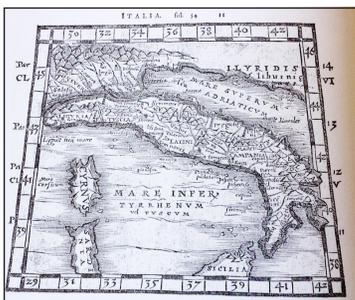


Fig. 11: Gerard Kremer (Mercator), Köln, 1578. *Source: BORRI 1999, p. 52*



Fig. 12: Petro Plancius, Haarlem, 1595. *Source: BORRI 1999, p. 58*



Fig. 13: Giovanni A. Magini, Amsterdam c. 1616. *Source: BORRI 1999, p. 74*

With Giovanni Antonio Magini's work (Padova 1555 – Bologna 1617) the official cartography of the Italian States achieves the best synthesis unlike what happened previously with Gastaldi. In fact Almagià calls "private" the Gastaldi's cartography. The Magini's *Atlante d'Italia*, published posthumously by his son Fabio in 1620, combines, coordinates, elaborates the joint work by many cartographers, mostly officers, who had independently worked with different methods and procedures. The results of this work are largely advertised, so that they establish for ever a significant stage of the progress of the cartographic representation of our country. The Italy's shape is very different from that of all maps of Ptolemaic derivation. In addition it is much abounding with chorographic information (mountains, waters, towns). For this reason the Magini's work was very successful and was utilized and exploited in Italy and abroad.

The Francesco Valeggio's map, printed in Venice, copperplate engraved of 450 mm x 545 mm, clearly derives from Gerardus Mercator and more precisely the map printed in Duisburg collects all his cartographical knowledge. Some anomalies long the Adriatic coast are much more marked in the Mercator's work than in the Valeggio's map. The Ligurian coastal arch disappears and integrates with the Toscan coast.



Fig. 14: Francesco Valeggio, Venice 1620

Source: BORRI 1999, p. 75

The next maps always become more refined and the details of shape are more accurate: for instance, on the Sanson's map the curved shape of the coast between Basilicata and Puglia, the shape of Gargano and the islands and archipelagos are outlined with great accuracy. In addition the geopolitical division of the territory, that already appeared on a coloured map of 1652 by Nicolaus I. Visscher and Abraham Goos derived from Magini, is very scrupulous.



Fig. 15: Nicolas Sanson, Rome, 1672

Source: BORRI 1999, p. 98

The rounded Italy's shape of the map by Edward Wells of 1700 is particular. The coast still shows some elements of Magini's derivation and influences of De l'Isle, as the curved line of the Ligurian coast and the indentations of the Salento Peninsula. The map of 1740 by Matthäus Seutter is much more rich in details with a "major extension of the Peninsula breadthwise West–East and a different configuration of Sardinia" (BORRI 1999, p. 139).



Fig. 16: Edward Wells, Oxford, 1700.
Source: BORRI 1999, p. 177



Fig. 17: Guillaume de l'Isle, Paris, 1715. Source: BORRI 1999, p. 129



Fig. 18: Matthäus Seutter, Augsburg, 1740. Source: BORRI 1999, p. 139

Of course, the major cartographic work is that by Giovanni Rizzi Zannoni, who published an ambitious representation of Italy on astronomical-geodetical basis in 15 sheets. The map of 1760 shows original elements, whilst e.g. the copperplate engraving of 1771 derives from the map by D'Anville of 1743 (BORRI 1999, p. 161).



Fig. 19: Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni, Paris, 1760
Source: BORRI 1999, p. 153



Fig. 20: Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni, Paris, 1771
Source: BORRI 1999, p. 161

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Names on Old Maps

Ferjan Ormeling

The ways western cartographers of old maps dealt with geographical names while compiling their maps is the subject of this presentation and my study area is the East Indies, present-day Malaysia and Indonesia. My intention was to get a better understanding of the geographical names found on early Dutch maps of Indonesia, mostly drawn from Portuguese examples. At the previous meeting of the ICA Commission on the History of Cartography in Budapest I looked at changing naming concepts and at relative name locations (ORMELING 2013). Now I will be looking at the sources of the cartographers that compiled the maps, and at the way they dealt with uncertainty, spelling mistakes, and linguistic issues like transcriptions.

Ancient sources of names

Sources for the area were Ptolemy (STÜCKELBERGER AND GRASSHOFF 2009), accessible to western cartographers from the end of the 15th century, Polo and Conti. On Ptolemy's maps of extreme Asia there was the Golden Chersonesos, or the Malaccan peninsula and the isle of Iabadiu, which was either Java or Sumatra. Ptolemy claimed the Indian Ocean was landlocked and that is why the Chinese coastline on his map had to move southwards again in order to meet with the South-African coast. The next source would have been Marco Polo, who traveled through the area at the end of the 13th century and stayed for half a year at the town of Sumatra, that gave its name to the island. Fra Mauro tried to accommodate the new knowledge from Marco Polo (1299, see LATHAM 1958)) and other travellers like Niccolo Conti (his account was written down in 1444, first printed in 1492, and also incorporated in Ramusio's travel books, 1550) within the Ptolemean framework, introducing names like Malacca and Banda in his 1459 world map. Unfortunately, when compiling his map, he thought that there had to be two large peninsulas in Southeast Asia, one with the town Malacca and one with Singapore, and two rivers Ganges. As scientists agreed that the name Taprobane no longer referred to Ceylon, but to Sumatra, previously known as Lesser Java, he now had one Java extra (Figure 1). Fra Mauro also was used to portray separate realms as islands: Lamuri in Northern Sumatra and Sonda or Sunda, which actually was located on West Java now became an island in-between Sumatra and Java.

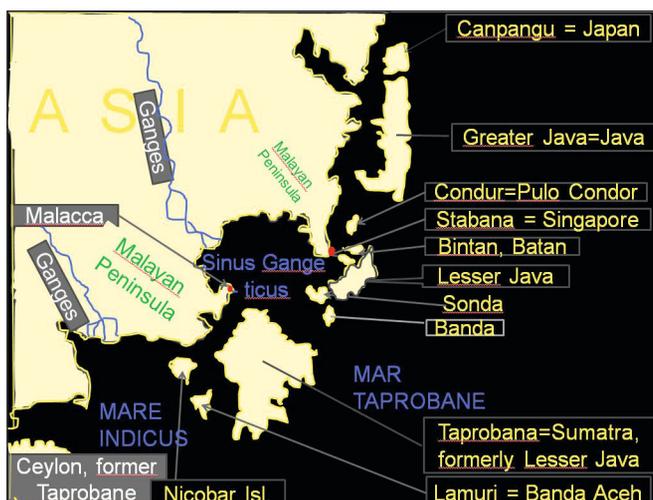


Fig. 1: Southeast Asian name confusion on Fra Mauro's world map (1459)

Portuguese journeys of discovery

So that was the cartographic situation prior to the Portuguese discoveries. After the Portuguese first entered the Indian Ocean, at Calicut in India they got information on the East Indies, and at first this was accommodated to Ptolemy as is shown by the Cantino World map, although the idea that the Indian Ocean was landlocked was dropped. There, the island Sumatra, with the name Taprobane already transferred to it from Ceylon, with the town Camotera in the North, had the interior gold-producing realm of Menangkabau also displayed. The author of the Cantino map (1502) was confronted with two different renderings of the name Chittagong, one of the main ports for travelling to the East from India, and he included both of them at different locations (Çatigão=Çarigão=Chittagong). And there was confusion over generics. The Malay word *pulau*, or island, was probable mangled by his Arab sources into *fulo* and not recognised as a generic for island.

With the Portuguese expeditions to the Moluccas (d'Abreu and Serrao 1511) and to China (d'Andrade 1513) the mapped image changed and became more detailed eastwards and northwards. The Portuguese used some descriptive names like Rio Ferosa and Ilha de Fugo, but mostly indigenous Malay names, although sometimes doubling them as they did not realize different spelling referred to the same objects: as e.g. Aru and Daru (from Isole d'Aru). There was also mislocation of named objects: Campar is located north instead of south of Indragiri by them.

The map in the Miller Atlas (1519) also has the phenomenon of double names at different locations for the same object, with name pairs as Sunda and Candin, Malaqua and Mablaua, or Maluqus and Mocalor. It also has names attached to the wrong object (Macaer or Makassar for Borneo instead of Celebes, Palembang and Banka island too far north). In figure 2 I have inserted the Portuguese trade routes from Malacca eastwards and northwards up to 1520 in red. It was only later in the 1520s, when another, quicker route north of Borneo and Celebes to the Moluccas, here shown in green, was found, that Borneo got a more truthful representation; for the isle of Celebes it took much longer.

There are mangled names (Blaram for Bali), folk etymologies (like Pulvoreira ('powder island') for Pulau Berhala), descriptive names like Isla de Papagaois or Rio Ferosa and a commemorative name like Ilha de Serrão, for the island Pulau Penyu/Turtle island where Francisco Serrão, the first Portuguese to reach Ternate in the Moluccas, was shipwrecked. The name Giava Maior, used by Marco Polo, always referred to Java, as the most important island in the archipelago, but the name Iava Minor was first attached to Sumatra, then to Sumbawa as it is here, and later referred to Borneo or even Sumba.

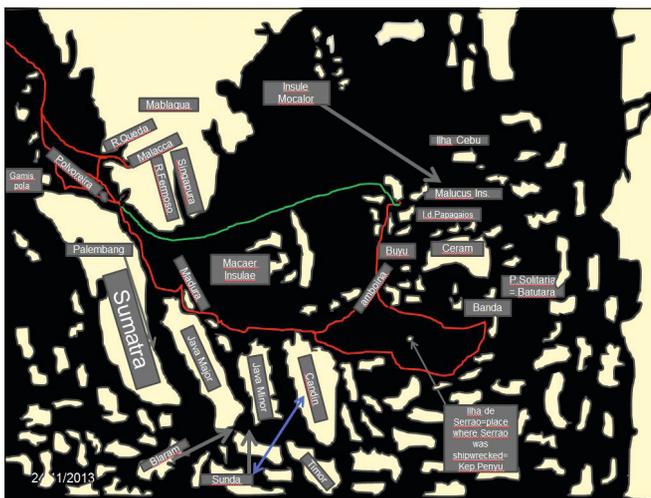


Fig. 2: Placenames in Southeast Asia according to the Miller Map (1519)

Compilation by French and Italian cartographers

The Miller map was produced directly by the Portuguese, but if we go to other European map compilers, the name issues are not much different. Gastaldi for his 1548 edition of Ptolemy had a Marco Polo-based realm of cannibals wrongly located in the south of Sumatra (as Han R.) instead of in the North. Names such as Ardagui R. for the realm of Indragiri, were located on the south coast instead of the east coast. This happens frequently for narrow islands, where it is not clear for derived map compilers on which side of the original map named objects are located. Manope is the isle of Banca, referred to by the name of Menumbing mountain on this island, a spectacular landmark. The 'banca' near the island is understood as a generic, like sand bank. Nucupora comes from Nusa Maspari, later europeanized as Lucipara Island.



Fig. 3: India tercera Nova Tabula by Giacomo Gastaldi, for his 1548 edition of Ptolemy

Source: <https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/30872>, accessed 3-11-2015

Then there are names referring to the wrong objects: Capacia does not refer to a town but to shoals west of Malacca. Fideida at the east end of Java is interesting because it has a town symbol but it just refers to a remark on a source map, saying this is the end of Java (*fin d'ioa*). Mandalica on Java likewise has a town symbol, but refers to a small island north of Java. The name *Java Menor* now refers to Borneo, with its capital Burna or Brunei. S. Pedro is the Portuguese name for Mount Kinabalu, a major landmark for navigation, and not a town. The name Golpho Grande in the area of Java Sea is based on Ptolemy's Sinus Magnus.

How compilation work can badly go wrong is manifest in some Dieppe maps, where, according to Richardson, cartographers linked up maps of Java with those of the Sumatran and Vietnam

coast, resulting in the Sumatran place name Palembang staying incorporated on the west or south coast of Java as well until 1700, when Java's south coast finally was accurately surveyed.

It also does so at the next Gastaldi map of the area, produced in 1554. Sumatra had already been circumnavigated by then and a much better image of the coastlines resulted. The realm of Aceh had shown an impressive expansion, but Gastaldi had been misinformed regarding its location: he put it in south instead of north Sumatra. The name Banca has by now been recognised as an island name instead of a generic, but Gastaldi was not sure about the location of Biliton, so he put it in twice. The name Dinabaro comes from Chinabato shoals, via the misspelling Clinabato. Brunei in Borneo was drawn in here on the east coast instead of the west coast. The map contains the first named image of Celebes. The name Gunung Api, or Fire mountain, a volcano north of Sumbawa, is rendered as Guinape. Mare Lantchiodol, located in the Java Sea, is misplaced, the Indonesian name Laut Kidul means South Sea, that is Indian Ocean. The tip of the Malayan Peninsula has been separated here from the mainland for the first time: the existence of a trade route along the upper courses of the Feroso or Batu Pahat and Pahang rivers, linked by a portage, was portrayed inadvertently like some marine superhighway. It would endure for more than a century.



Fig. 4: 1554 Map of Gastaldi of Southeast Asia in Ramusio's travels

Source: <https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/11669>, accessed 3-11-2015

Five years later (1559) a separate Gastaldi map of Sumatra was incorporated in volume 2 of Ramusio's travel accounts (1500–1509) based on a French map by the Parmentier brothers, who travelled there in 1529 and this gives by far the best shape and angle to the island, unfortunately not copied to Gastaldi's later maps.

The standard Gastaldi representation became as rendered in figure 5 on a detail from his map of Southeast Asia. Possibly because of the trade reports on gold production in the interior of Sumatra, the northeast coast Regno de Aru had been changed into a west-coast Regno de Auru (Realm of Gold), with a capital of the same name. Calatigaon and Delinga are rendered as cities on the coast while they refer to islands before the coast. The fictitious Sunda island, actually the western part of Java, is again inserted in-between Java and Sumatra, and there are many other references to Sunda (Sanda, Cida, Zunda). Paliba(o)n is reversed on Javas Southwest coast. Tangaranto on West Borneo is Tanjung Datu, no city but a cape. Unfortunately Banca reverted to the name Manopi.

On other parts of the same map other name phenomena were observed: If Gastaldi was unsure about the spelling, he just put in the object twice (Angaman and Angamian). The islands Condur, Sondur and Lambri, named by Marco Polo, have been relegated to the extreme eastern end of the known world on this map, as did some Mauro-derived place names.

Multiple represented objects are also drawn in on Camocchio's version of this map, drawn 1574 where this can be observed for Aceh (Achis, Dachen and Achen), for Selangor and Sunda. Wrongly named objects are preserved from previous maps.



Fig. 5: Detail from Gastaldi's 1561 map of Southeast-Asia

Source: <https://www.raremaps.com/gallery/detail/30554hbp>, accessed 3-11-2015

Four years later Jan Huygen van Linschoten published his *Itinerario*, a description of travel to the East Indies, also based on Portuguese maps by Lasso, engraved by Van Langeren. How mariners are to make sense on this map of the isles in the Java Sea is beyond me, with e.g. three times the same island name Nusasira (see Figure 6); the same goes for a garbled interior of Sumatra. At least the river highway through Malaysia has been drawn to more normal proportions.

My last map in fig. 7 is to show that the Dutch did not do much better initially, name-wise, than Italian compilers—this is the first map produced after the first Dutch voyage to the East Indies, by Willem Lodewijks in 1599—based on the ship journals, and it has a muddled result as especially the towns in East Java seem to be randomly sequenced. Mandalika island is rendered twice. On the western edge of Java the Dieppe inverted map phenomenon wreaks havoc. On Sumatra, Speriamon and Baros should have been situated on the west coast instead of east coast, Anarelhas belongs in the northeast.



Fig. 7: Nova Tabula Insularum Iavae, Sumatrae, Borneonis et Aliarum Malaccam usque delineata in insula Iava ... by Willem Lodewijks, 1599

Source: Library University of Amsterdam, KZL O.K.130

Naming processes

If we summarize the various faulty naming processes described here, there are:

- the adherence to superseded concepts introduced by perceived authorities like Ptolemy and Marco Polo, that seem to be difficult to shed, and have a confusing influence, like Java Minor, that subsequently referred to Sumatra, Sumbawa, Borneo and Sumba. Cartographers still thought objects named by Ptolemy or Marco Polo had to be shown, although these objects were gradually relegated to the map margins.
- linking names to wrong object categories (especially to town symbols) is the most frequent mistake—but this depends on the use of symbols. On Portuguese manuscript maps no symbols were used; there we depend on the prepositions like C(abo), I(sland), R(io), Costa, Baixos, Terra, P(ulo), to define the feature class of the named objects. To recognise the nature of the named object is made more difficult by the fact that the Malay seafarers did not differentiate between the names of rivers and of settlements located near the river mouth.
- the existence of different name variants for the same object leads to double or even triple representations
- there were a few commemorative names and descriptive names given in the Malay-speaking ecumene by the Portuguese, and some translations (C.Ferro, C.Flores) but, overall, Malay names were retained; Malay generics were accepted in Portuguese: P/Pulo, G/Gunung.
- wrongly named or located objects usually were corrected on frequently travelled routes, outside those routes they persisted (e.g. on the south coast of Java)
- The Italian Gastaldi seems to have had no problems in adapting the Portuguese names to his Italian audience, but Dutch cartographers had trouble in finding a suitable transcription, or even a translation of Portuguese generics.
- finally, sequential copying on manuscript maps led sometimes to completely unrecognisable names:
 - » Nusa Kambing > Lucucamby > Lusacambiu > Nossocamba > Nossocābu (island near Timor).
 - » Nusa Raja > Luserāge > Lucaraia > Lusartaia (island north of Flores).
 - » Tanjung Pulau Condor (Malay) or Mui Ca Mau (Vietnamese) 8°36'N/104°42'E > Cabo de Fulucondera > Fulucandoia > Capo Pulocanpola.
 - » Gunung Menumbing, an impressive landmark on the north entrance of Bangka Strait, is rendered as Cape Monopin, Manopi, Manope, Manepin and Monpin (it is located at the west point of Bangka (2°00'S/105°12'E) . In the 16th century Bangka island (2°15'S/106°00'E) was referred to by this name.
 - » The five hills on the Vung Tau headland in southern Vietnam (Mui Vung Tao 10°19'N/107°05'E) were called by the Portuguese in the 16th century Cinco Chagas (after the five wounds of Christ), in Dutch it became Hoek (Cape) van Singues Jagres or Sinques Jaques > in French Cap St.Jacques > and in English Cape St James (this last example was taken from History of Cartography project).

Eventually most mistakes were corrected and objects received their correct native spelling, but for some these Europeanized spellings persisted into the 20th century, as they had been codified in both mariners handbooks and nautical charts.

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Colonialism and Toponymy in the Kei Valley, South Africa, c.1850–1900

Lindsay Frederick Braun

Introduction

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the progressive extension of British colonial rule and a variety of local developments altered the social, political, and spatial conditions among the isiXhosa-speaking populations immediately abutting the Kei River in South Africa (see Fig. 1; SAUNDERS 1978). These changes included attempts to clear land of ‘enemies’ for new black or white settlement, changes in territorial structure for governance, or the evaluation of geography itself, especially in lands northeast of the Kei that were poorly known to colonial cartographers and largely unsurveyed (BRAUN 2009). Each development involved the colonial construction of knowledge and, in turn, a certain amount of chaos in the assignment of names to places and features. By looking at a few examples of toponym shift thematically, the wide range of processes at work in setting labels on lands and people becomes visible—as do their limitations.

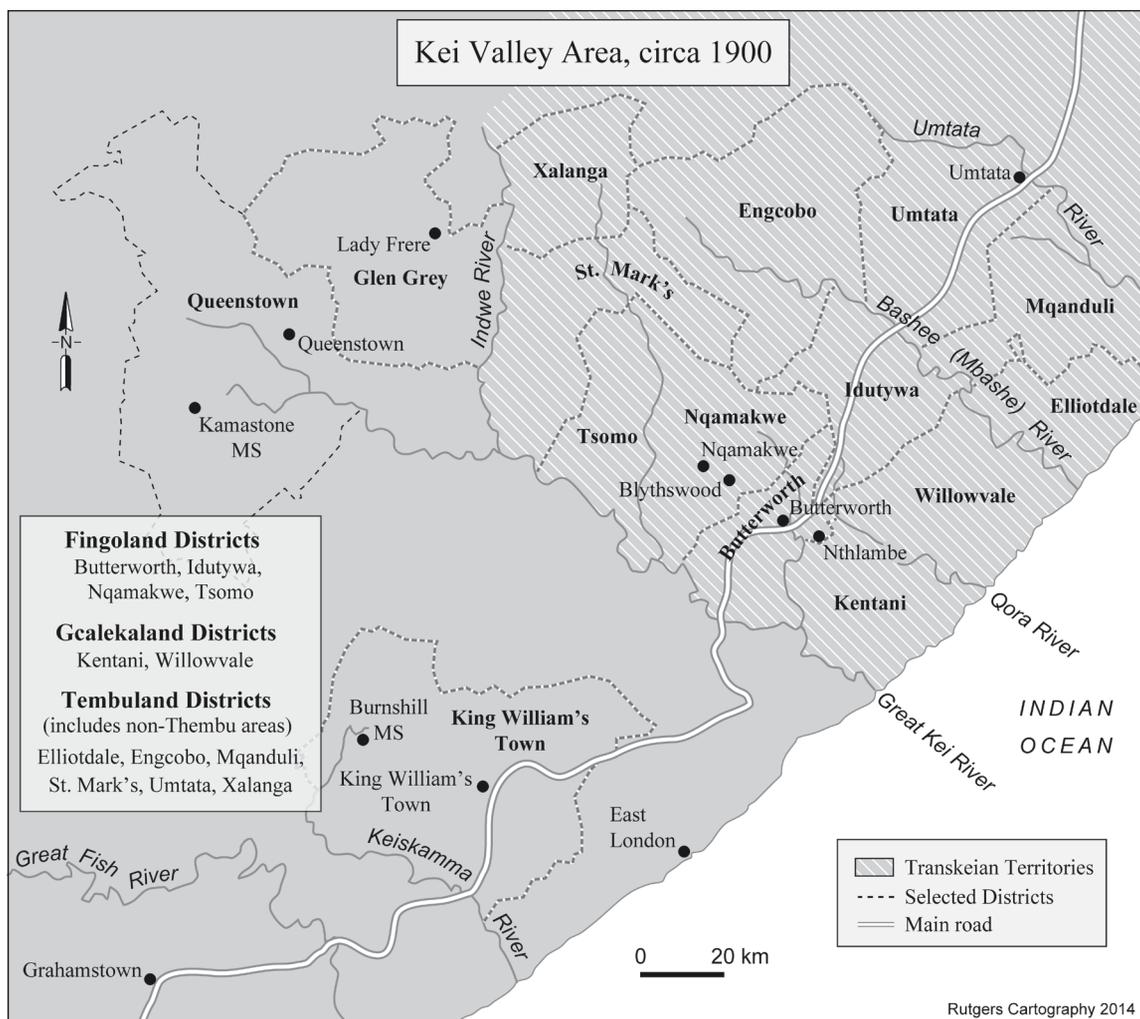


Fig. 1: Colonial Magisterial Districts and Divisions around the Kei circa 1900

Source: own compilation by L. Braun

Theoretical considerations

The critical study of toponyms is still in its infancy, and is only starting to move away from a more etymological and taxonomic model towards one that considers the context of their production (ROSE-REDWOOD ET AL. 2009, p. 455; VUOLTEENAHO AND BERG 2009, pp. 1–2). This is certainly true compared to other aspects of spatial theory and cartographic history, whether in the context of colonialism or not. In considering toponyms historically, however, we encounter appropriations, erasures, and inscriptions alike, whether intentional or accidental. The change in names over time demands that we consider the context of their production and, in the process, learn something about the way colonial hegemony functioned (or malfunctioned).

There are several ways we might unpack the dynamics of naming places and inscribing those names on colonial maps. Processes of governmentality—legibility through the reification of state and local structures, the enumeration of people and lands through census and survey, and ultimately various methods of direct addressing—played undeniably important roles (SCOTT 2003; HANNAH 2000; COHN 1996; ROSE-REDWOOD 2009). There are also important elements of colonial semiotics and their interaction with symbolic resistance, which ROSE-REDWOOD ET AL. (2009) identify as two other aspects of the modern critical turn in toponymy, and these worked in tandem to co-produce place-names of various kinds on a new colonised landscape. If imperial mapping is ironic for excluding most of the colonised population from its audience (EDNEY 2009, p. 13), colonial mapping exposes another irony through its changing labels that carry some trace of that excluded audience.

What is clear in any case is that older landscapes and new human geographies ordered themselves, despite colonial attempts to divine and create order. These developments are subtle enough to hide on the map but they sometimes come out through names that required consent, on some level, to exist. Vuolteenaho and Berg (2009, p. 14) refer to this aspect of toponymy as operating on ‘two registers’—one, a complex hegemonic discourse, and the other a broader cultural contest beyond that. In this paper, I take the aims of the state and its functionaries as emblematic of the first register and its state-centred semiotics, while alterations and omissions reflect the second register and the broader contest over meanings. The reality is however messier, because the colonial world operated primarily within a literate tradition, whereas the colonised were initially non-literate, so virtually every name on the map is some way an exonym—that is, assigned by someone outside the majority population—even when it is an attempt to render an endonym, or a name that local people use.

Analytical categories and sources

In this study, I consider examples in three categories, focusing primarily on examples from the Transkei, or the northeastern banks of the Kei River:

- The unmaking, making, and using of ‘Great Places’
- Locating and characterizing waterways
- Naming, addressing, and administration

These categories are potentially more expansive than I present them here, but they provide confinement for my chosen examples. A discussion of great places, for example, can extend to any locale where power or meaning resides, while considering waterways only limits us in terms of a

type of landform but does not suppose a necessary distinction from other types of landforms in terms of naming. I generally refer to four maps in this paper, all from the office of the Surveyor General in Cape Town, and all compiled from administrative documents and reconnaissance sketches or general plans. These are the 1871 compilation map of the Transkei by C. N. Thomas, the chief compiler; the 1877 map further modified by Thomas and police captain J. M. Grant; the fresh 1884 Transkeian Territories compilation; and the administrative revision of that 1884 map by the Surveyor General in 1899.

Unmaking, making, and using great places, an overview

In the appropriation of names and places, one aspect taking, but another is erasure. Sometimes both happened at the same time. During and after the campaigns against the Gcaleka king Sarhili (or Kreli) from 1858 to 1879, we see both processes in operation, as well as creation and modification of exonyms from many sources. These lands cover the area between the Kei and Mbashe all the way up to the northern edge of modern-day Xhalinga district. The region is enormous, and it took the government nearly six years to decide what to do with it once they had a hold of it. But what's interesting in terms of human geography and toponymy is the role of 'great places'—administrative or cultural centres, be they Xhosa or colonial.

The great places of Sarhili

The first example involves Xhosa great places. It begins with war against the titular Xhosa paramount and actual Gcaleka king Sarhili (Kreli) in the wake of the failed prophecies of rebirth and the 'Cattle Killing' of 1857–1858, which was both punishment for perceived agitation and an opportunistic move to clear a powerful political leader from the vicinity of British colonial territory. Cape colonial forces and their Fingo (Xhosa-speaking) allies largely cleared the region between Kei and Mbashe of Sarhili's clients and theoretically opened the land for colonial disposal, but the war of 1858 wasn't the only one Sarhili lost. He returned to the area south of the Gcuwa River from 1865 to 1878, after which he remained in exile in Xhorha (Elliotdale) district until his death in 1892. His amaGcaleka however came back, or perhaps remained, in significant numbers. In the development of colonial cartography relative to Sarhili's successive centers of royal authority, both erasure and appropriation are visible.

Sarhili's great place in 1857, Hohita, was a site he relocated to for purposes of presence and administration. The capital was near present-day Cofimvaba, in contested territory he took from the rival Thembu kingdom in the 1830s (PEIRES 1989, p. 81). But it never appears as Hohita on the early maps that situate it. Rather, the Cape reconnaissance officers and surveyors who compiled the initial sketch maps, which underlaid virtually every map of the region before the 1890s, connected it only with Sarhili as the escaped foe. Sarhili himself had become so impoverished by early 1858, having killed most of his cattle, that he could flee colonial forces with relative ease. The colonial government's functionaries therefore named it for him, and noted it as a site of victory that situated themselves as the legitimate successors to its authority. AmaGcaleka however also remember it, and even though the territory became predominantly Thembu later, the name transferred to a mission station tellingly placed there (Hoyita), and it still survives as the name of the watercourse nearby, and in memory (more about that process later). When the Surveyor General in Cape Town had a large noting plan assembled to chart changes in geographical knowledge about the

Transkei and serve as the base for a new 1884 map, 'Kreli's Great Place' was gone. By then Ndarala, a Thembu chief, had set his own headquarters in the territory, and an administrative seat existed to further cement colonial legitimacy.

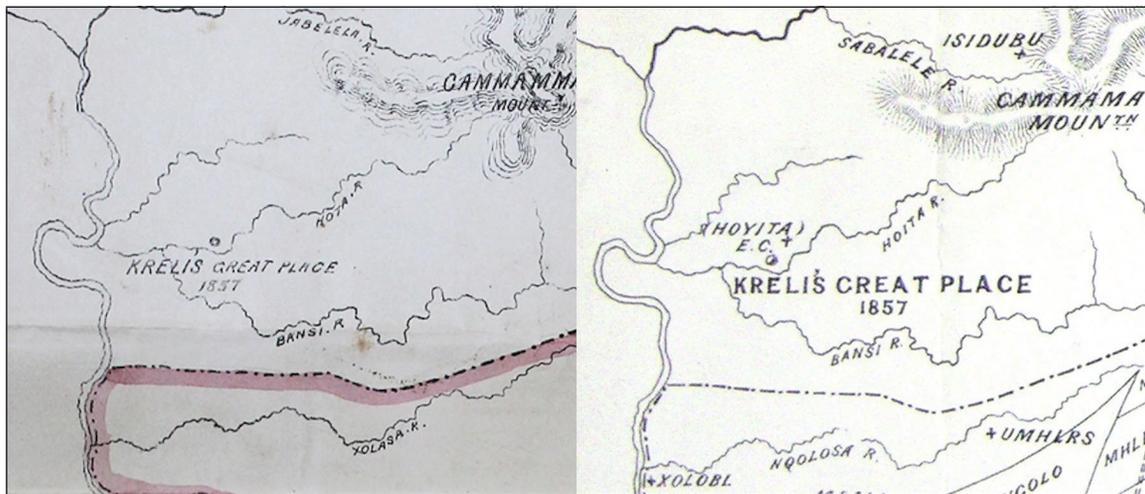


Fig. 2: (left) Hohita as shown on the 1871 SG map; (right) Hohita toponyms on the war map of 30 October 1877

Sources: Enclosure in Colonial Secretary to Surveyor General, 22 August 1871, SG 1/1/3/46, Cape Archives, Cape Town, South Africa; Unnumbered Atlas, Office of the Surveyor General, Cape Town, South Africa

The names on the maps reflect this change. In the first published map of 1871, drawn from surveys just after the 1858 war, and the elaboration of that map in October 1877, it appears clearly as a site. But the drift is already apparent in 1877 (see Fig. 2): it became also the spot of the 'Hoyita' mission station under the London Missionary Society (E.C., or English Church). The associated river name varies in spelling on these maps, becoming 'Hoita', but today it carries the spelling Hohita again.

Sarhili's great place after his return from exile was Holela, about 20km east of the Wesleyan mission station of Butterworth, which itself was situated near the former great place of Sarhili's father (Hintsu) before his defeat and scandalous death in 1835. The land north of those small seaward districts had been by that time given over to colonial Xhosa clients known as Fingoes (or amaMfengu), who served as the Colony's African auxiliaries, and the area took on the broad name of Fingoland in English. When in 1877 a wedding and beer drink near the border turned into a fight between Fingoes and amaGcaleka. It soon became a war, and Sarhili was routed and again fled across the Mbashe (SPICER 1978). This time he stayed in exile, despite efforts to negotiate another return.

Holela also did not receive its name on maps, even though it exists today as a named settlement. Instead, on these maps, it is simply where 'Kreli was found' in 1864 after his return, as shown on the 1877 Transkei war map (Fig. 3)—likely because it was never the site of a major military confrontation, which remained further to the west, even though conferences did take place there. After 1878, many amaGcaleka returned to the eastern half of the former lands—today district Gatyana—and the area around Holela remained an important space for them but not an administrative one and it does not appear on the 1884 map of the Transkei. The erasure of its meaning had a certain effectiveness, but it is worth noting that the current Great Place (Nqadu) of

Mpendulo Zwelelonke Sigcawu, the reigning Gcaleka king, is only about a kilometre away from it—but then, it is still a new site with a new name, and only the 'Nxadu' river appears on the era's maps.

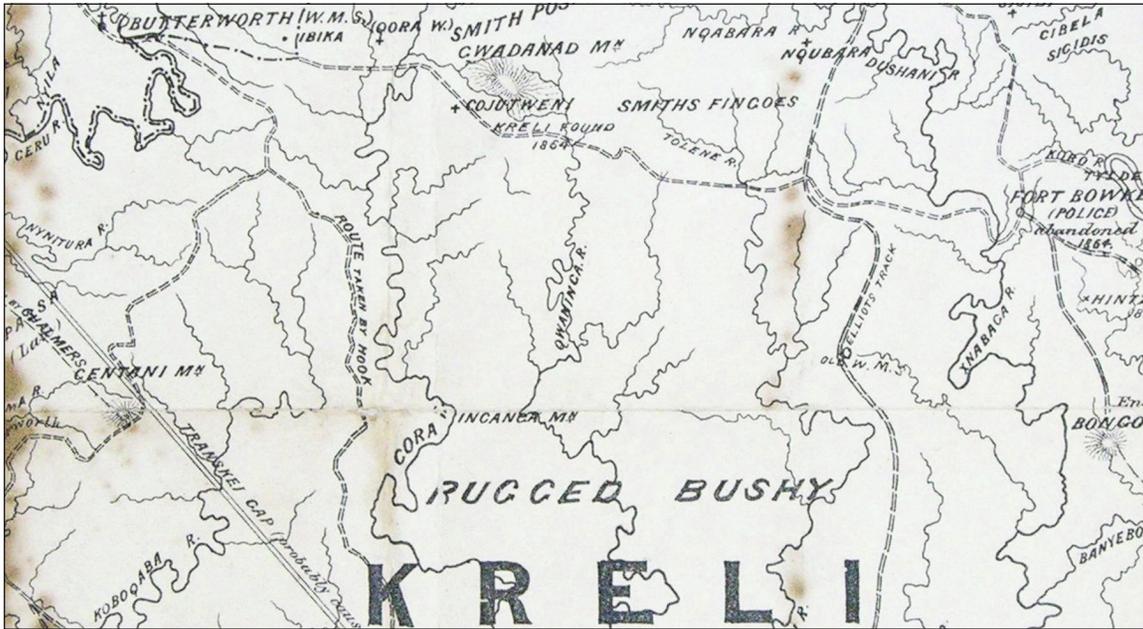


Fig. 3: The 30 October 1877 map, showing only the label 'Kreli found 1864' at Holela (top center) and labeling the whole area 'Kreli'

Source: *Unnumbered Atlas, Office of the Surveyor General, Cape Town, South Africa*

The final great place of Sarhili does not appear on maps during this period, but it is an important heritage site for the Gcaleka hierarchy today. The absence exists because the colony never claimed a victory there or surveyed that territory, but it is a place of power because Sarhili was buried in exile there, in the district of Xhorha (Elliotdale) known then to Europeans as 'Bomvanaland.' This place is called Tsholora, and today its toponym carries about as much weight as Holela does. It is



Fig. 4: Detail from Bomvanaland (Xholora) on the SG map of 1899

Source: *M3/56, Cape Archives, Cape Town, South Africa*

relevant, but not the location of colonial triumph that even Holela was. The earlier names were both erased and re-appropriated, but Tsholora was not open to the discourse of colonial conquest, and on the first official map after his death it remained within a vague area simply labeled 'Kreli' but before that time his final position was not yet certain (Fig. 4).

The great places of colonialism

The erasure or appropriation of Gcaleka great places on maps provides one view of toponymy, but another exists on the colonial end and involves inscription as well as alteration in the cultural environment of the same region. The decidedly English naming of so many mission stations, such as Butterworth or Clarkbury, is certainly one element. By the 1880s however many stations took the names of rivers or local (convert) headmen as well in a sort of 'permanent alliance' with local leadership. But the official names attributed to colonial centres are even more interesting. The colonial government, starting with the Special Magistrate in 1859 and continuing through the Fingo Agent in 1865 and district magistrates after 1878, had to make their own sites of authority. Ideally these 'colonial great places' would be equidistant from all parts of their client population (in Fingoland, certainly) and so good for surveillance and 'counselling' local headmen and chiefs.

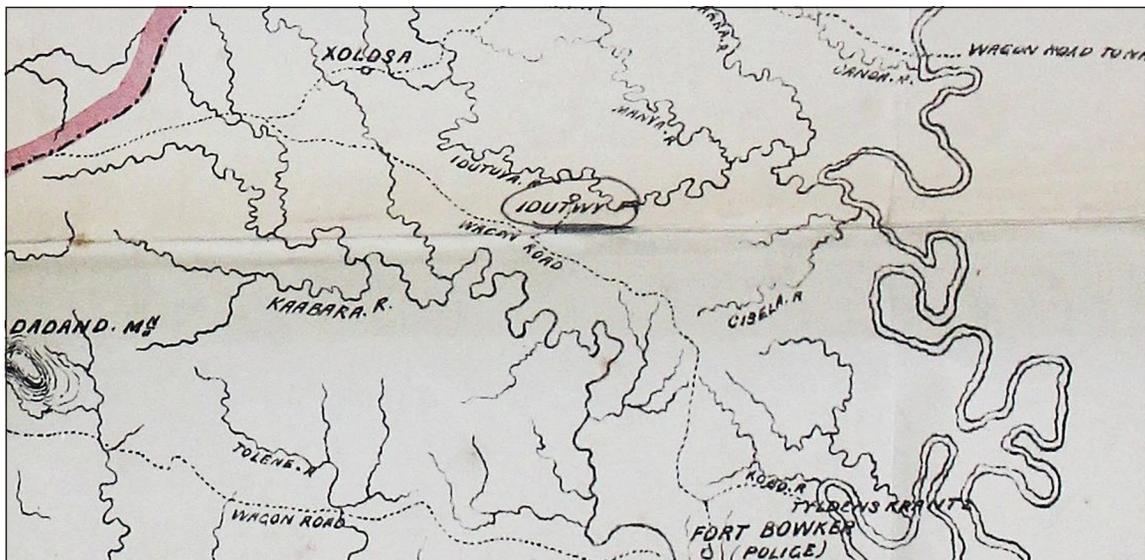


Fig. 5: The initial renderings of 'Idutywa,' 1871, showing flux

Source: *Enclosure in Colonial Secretary to Surveyor General, 22 August 1871, SG 1/1/3/46, Cape Archives, Cape Town, South Africa*

The first case was Idutywa, founded as a fortified town and later a cluster of villages near the Mbashe under military watch in 1858. It was a rapid response site for Fingo levies against Sarhili, but it soon became the home of the Gcaleka chief Sigidi who had sided with the colony and the relocated Ndlambe chief Smith Mhala as well. On the initial 1871 map and its source material, the name is still in flux, but it is clearly evident (Fig. 5). The name 'Idutywa' comes from the Dutywa tributary of the Mbashe River, but the name probably stuck among other Xhosa-speakers because it roughly translates to 'place of disorder.' This became the Idutywa Reserve and later the Idutywa District, and it retains the name today as 'Dutywa.' It had an orientational purpose for the colony on the river, but it possessed an additional, more metaphorically resonant meaning to local people that surely aided its longevity.

The second such imposition was Ngqamakhwe, as it is spelled today. But in 1865, it was the residence of the new Fingo Agent, Charles Cobbe, who named it Namaqua—an ethnonym that applied to people over a thousand kilometres away! There was no town (until one was laid out around 1900), only a residency with carefully tended English gardens thanks to Cobbe and his successors including the writer and poet William Charles Scully, who left a description of this attempt to create an English estate in the Transkei (SCULLY 1913). But the name itself is a remarkable thing, because it mutated in real time even before Cobbe’s removal in 1869. From its original ‘Namaqua’ on the 1871 map it became Namakwa, Namkwe, Namaqwe, and several other odd spellings in correspondence. The site actually vanished from the 1877 and 1884 maps before it finally settled into the Xhosa endo-form ‘Nqamakwe’, complete with a new palatal click (the q), on the 1899 administrative map (Fig. 6). In effect, to give the toponym graphical legitimacy, the colonial authorities had to make it Xhosa enough and then remember to put it on the map. It was certainly not a natural gathering place, and people did not gravitate there until a road passed by and the government deliberately built a town. The recent revamping of the spelling of the name to Ngqamakhwe is a further appropriation of the original name, which began as a colonial imposition but had already shifted to reflect Xhosa pronunciation and spelling conventions as understood at the time.

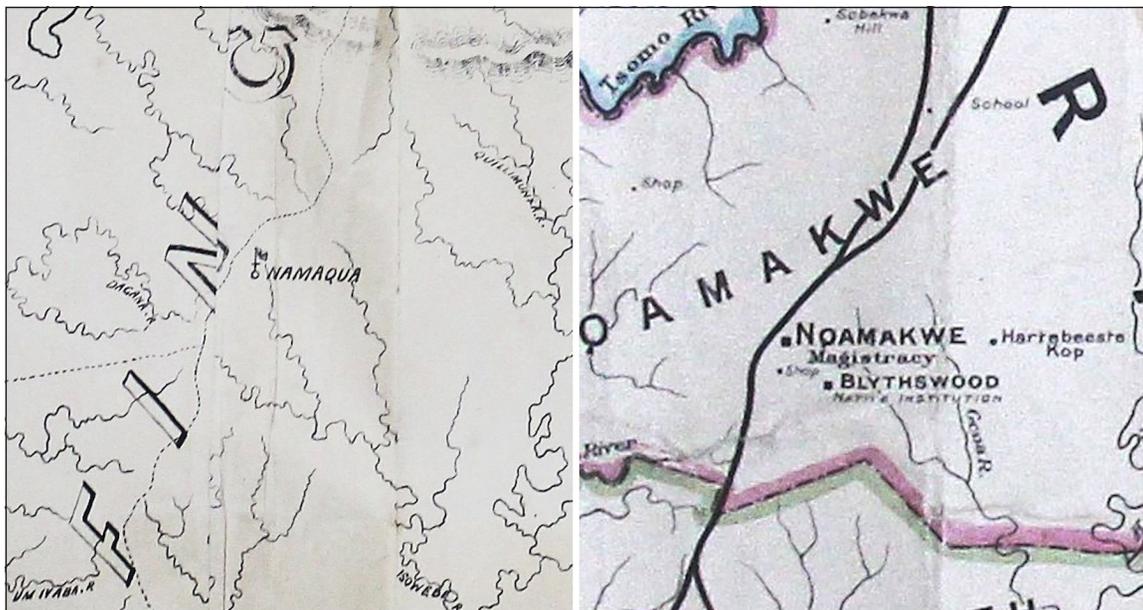


Fig. 6: (left) ‘Namaqua’, the Fingo Agent’s residence, on the 1871 SG map; (right) ‘Nqamakwe’ as a magisterial center on the 1899 SG administrative map

Sources: Enclosure in Colonial Secretary to Surveyor General, 22 August 1871, SG 1/1/3/46, Cape Archives, Cape Town, South Africa; M3/56, Cape Archives, Cape Town, South Africa

Locating and characterising waterways

The issue of toponym survival on rivers is a thorny one. Major river names however were appropriated as directly as possible, like the Kei, the Qora, the Gcuwa, the Tsomo, and the Mbashe, all with various spellings. The so-called Great Kei in particular was a triple appropriation, from Khoesan to Thembu to Gcaleka and finally to the Colony, and it was redundant because its original Khoi name already meant ‘great’ (FORBES 1965). These rivers however formed useful boundaries and were widely known to people of many backgrounds even before the advent of reconnaissance surveys, and they appear even on the crude route maps that existed before 1858. The Mbashe (or Bashee) River was an exception in that it only seemed to emerge clearly into European geographical consciousness with the defeat of Sarhili and the imposition of colonial suzerainty and then rule in the region.

There is a strong possibility that smaller waterway names survived because of people living in those areas and could be asked, or who had lived east of the river before whether or not they were ‘Fingo’ prior to colonial conquest—a radical shift from historians’ prior understanding that the older population fled entirely (STAPLETON 1996). Our maps provide little help beyond exposing the problem, because mapmakers chose to name different minor rivers on different maps, and called some by different names, but that may suggest the timing of population movement in cases where former clients of Sarhili ‘became’ Fingo. For example, the Nqamakwe River on maps in 1877 was a river called ‘Isowebe’ on the 1871 map and became ‘Geya’ in 1884 before becoming a branch of the Gcuwa River. We do not know who renamed it, or why the circumstances changed. As early as the 1850s names appeared on tributaries and creeks in rough sketches. But we have no information about the informants who provided them to the person recording the names, and we do not know whether the mapmaker might simply have inscribed one of their own from reading or remembering letters, reports, or other accounts.

The variability of inscription of meanings on rivers is especially visible through one particular case on the Mbashe, where a feature shows the contrast between colonial appropriation of a river name to recognise the presence and ‘native title’ of colonised people (WEAVER 2003) as well as the creation of an entirely new toponym for a feature on that river that had no reason to be named before. This is the section of the Mbashe known as the ‘Colley Wobbles’ near Xhorha (Elliotdale) which, in popular lore, got its name in 1859 when G. P. Colley was conducting the first of the military reconnaissance surveys that would provide almost all of the regional survey data for the area between Kei and Mbashe until after 1878 (BRAUN 2009). As the story goes, he stopped at this section of river, and said noted how the river ‘wobbles’, to which one of his fellow British officers responded something like ‘Yes, in fact it Colley wobbles!’

While the popular story is meant to display the clever pun in the name, it exposes a basic truth of colonial toponymy for physical features: it remarked on features that were not abnormal to the local population, and called on European perceptions to



Fig. 7: The ‘Colley Wobbles,’ as they appeared on the 1884 map by the Surveyor General. The label first appeared in 1875 on a military sketch plan with more limited distribution. *Source: Plan 505, Office of the Surveyor General, Cape Town, South Africa*

give the names meaning. In order to consider a river to have ‘collywobbles’—wobbly intestines—one must have something to compare it with: a river without such looping meanders, in an area that is secure, placid, and healthy. The name Mbashe (meaning dark or perilous ravine) was, for Xhosa speakers, already synonymous with the valley and its circuitous river. We may of course ask about the sticking of the newer name, which appears on the maps derived from Colley and his successor, police captain J. M. Grant (Fig. 7). It tells us more about the nature of that colonial gaze—the musing view of an English officer who considered the river schematically in relation to his expectation of a waterway, and a name referring to anxiety and intestinal distress that had staying power though a bit of dark humour.

Naming, addressing, and administration

The last issue involves toponyms less than the labels put on somewhat arbitrary areas for purposes of enumeration and control, both for larger areas under accountable local proxies and for individual farms or small lots. Colonial governments were exceptionally good at the former in the Kei valley. Initially they had, in 1835, attempted to create on the southwestern banks of the Kei a new province of the Cape Colony, Queen Adelaide, with a series of English counties carved out of it and colonial law applied within (LESTER 1998). They had to give it back to local authorities soon after, but returned in 1847 with a slightly modified scheme of client chiefs and ‘native law’ (PEIRES 1982). The tendency to lay claim to spaces as places and define their limits through naming and addressing became more prevalent in the late nineteenth century.



Fig. 8: Attempted depiction of ‘location’ areas and boundaries on the ‘war scare’ map of 30 October 1877

Source: *Unnumbered Atlas, Office of the Surveyor General, Cape Town, South Africa*

One of the vehicles for this progressive atomisation of Xhosa-speaking populations was the creation of locations under accountable and increasingly dependent headmen. This process was particularly strong in Fingoland, where Fingo people were under the greatest colonial influence. When they began settling in the area between Sarhili's abbreviated Gcaleka territory and the Thembu areas to the north in 1865, the officers in charge of the operation created 104 locations for these headmen, and wrote textual descriptions of the boundaries in a single book that remained at the residency of the Fingo Agent. No precise boundaries or map of these areas existed, but people colloquially knew places by the names of the headmen in 1865. The first effort to chart these areas showed what the Fingo Agents and their successors already knew: that the descriptions were vague and even contradictory, and could not be reconciled even with the limited surveys of the late 1850s. One of the two military surveyors, J. M. Grant, was responsible for trying to plot these Fingo locations for his 1877 war map (Fig. 8), but the vast number of incomplete and missing lines and the presence of too few names attests to his frustration at an opaque system of indirect administration, where districts and magisterial names gave only a sheen of colonial knowledge. These locations did not appear on the 1884 or 1899 maps in any form.

It was only at the end of the nineteenth century that systematic survey for individual title began in this portion of the Transkei, despite some abortive attempts to introduce surveyed allotments in Sarhili's former territory and some cursory survey of plots far to the north. These new surveys started after 1899 under the Glen Grey Act (No. 25 of 1894) and related proclamations, which introduced a council system, new taxes, and later individual tenure to amalgamated former location areas. This was governmentality in classic form, replacing opaque and variable local conditions with approved authorities with known powers over a definite area, while reserving some of that authority over land and people to the state. Surveyed lands would be in contiguous blocks, with fixed positions relative to triangulation points attached in turn to a geodetic survey backbone. The lots received numbers, which created a rural approximation of the addressing systems that sought to divine legibility for urban governments elsewhere (ROSE-REDWOOD 2009).

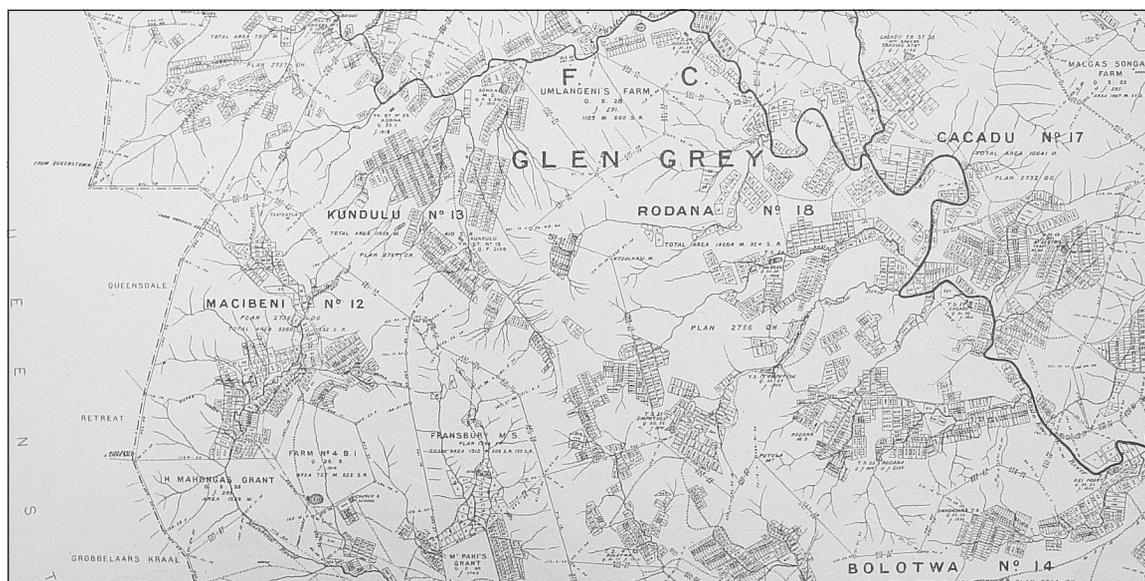


Fig. 9: Detail from a district map of the Glen Grey district (today Cacadu), 1898, showing location areas and blocks of allotments with labels

Source: File S/8168, Office of the Surveyor General, Cape Town, South Africa

The new location areas were usually named after a major feature, often a natural one like a river, mountain, or forest to avoid hurt feelings among the headmen being combined, and the farms were laid out in blocks with coordinates at the corners for ease of survey and monitoring (Fig. 9). Although the system changed to take local complaints into account by the time it crossed the Kei into Fingoland, the system of block addressing numeralised households and supposedly rendered them controllable and taxable, while making it possible to uproot excess labour and assure its departure to mines and farms. In reality, people transferred these lots along family lines, farmed in absentia, rented lots to others, and otherwise circumvented the system, to the point that a large percentage were not in their titular owners' hands just a few decades later (Vos 1923, 5–8). The state had its names, numbers, and coordinates, but local people undermined that illusion in the process of pursuing their own lives and disregarded much of its toponymy as irrelevant to them.

Conclusion

Ultimately, a certain level of co-production and semiotic flexibility was necessary in the creation and application of lasting toponyms in the districts around the Kei. In a few cases names applied in ways that were so irrelevant to local people that they stuck, especially if they did not displace or even address other names. Once in a while, as in Idutywa, the ironic convergence of name and idea also created longevity. In some other cases, names were different from their meanings on the map, but that did not prevent some toponyms from retaining other meanings—a matter that has resurfaced in the years since 1994. We can follow these applications and appropriations to learn more about how colonialism tried to rearrange society, and how societies exerted their own power on the landscape.

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